

W. PORCHER MILES

Hon. W. Parker Miles:

with respects of

B. F. Atwater

20 Jan'y 1861



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JOURNAL

OF THE

PUBLIC PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

CONVENTION OF THE PEOPLE

OF

SOUTH CAROLINA,

HELD IN 1860-'61.

TOGETHER WITH THE ORDINANCES ADOPTED.

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PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE CONVENTION.

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RESOLUTION  
ORDERING THE PUBLICATION

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IN CONVENTION,  
Monday, December 24, 1860.

*Resolved,* That immediately after the Convention shall have terminated its present session in Charleston, the several Ordinances adopted by it, together with the journal of its public proceedings, be printed in pamphlet form : and that five hundred copies be struck off for the use of the Convention, to be disposed of, under the direction of the President.

THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX

By JOHN STUBBS, Esq. F.R.S. &c.

Vol. I.

London, Printed by R. and J. DODD, in Pall-mall, 1816.

By J. JOHNSON, St. Paul's Church-yard.

Price 10s. 6d.

THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIODS TO THE PRESENT TIME. BY JOHN STUBBS, ESQ. F.R.S. &c. VOL. I. LONDON, PRINTED BY R. AND J. DODD, IN PALL-MALL, 1816. BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD. PRICE 10S. 6D.

# JOURNAL OF THE CONVENTION.

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MONDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1860.

Pursuant to an Act of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina, entitled "an Act to provide for the calling of a Convention of the People of this State," ratified the 9th day of November, 1860, the Delegates from the several Election Districts of this State, assembled in the Baptist Church, in the town of Columbia, on this day, at twelve o'clock, M.

On motion of Mr. James H. Adams, of Richland, Mr. D. F. Jamison, a Delegate from Barnwell, was called to the chair.

On motion of Mr. J. Izard Middleton, of All Saints, it was

*Resolved*, That the President appoint a member of the Convention temporary Secretary.

The President, in accordance with this Resolution, requested Mr. T. Y. Simons, of St. Philip and St. Michael, to act as temporary Secretary; and then addressed the Convention as follows:

*Gentlemen*: We have met here under circumstances more solemn than any of us have ever been placed in before. No one, it seems to me, is duly impressed with the magnitude of the work before him, who does not, at the same time, feel that he is about to enter upon the gravest and

most solemn act which has fallen to the lot of this generation to accomplish. It is no less than our fixed determination to throw off a Government to which we have been accustomed, and to provide new safeguards for our future security. If anything has been decided by the elections which sent us here, it is, that South Carolina must dissolve her connection with the Confederacy as speedily as possible.

In the progress of this movement we have two great dangers to fear—overtures from without, and precipitation within. I trust that the door is now forever closed to all further connection with our Northern confederates; for what guarantees can they offer us, more strictly guarded, or under higher sanctions, than the present written compact between us? And did that sacred instrument protect us from the jealousy and aggressions of the North, commenced forty years ago, which resulted in the Missouri Compromise?

Did the Constitution protect us from the cupidity of the Northern people, who, for thirty-five years, have imposed the burden of supporting the General Government chiefly on the industry of the South? Did it save us from Abolition petitions, designed to annoy and insult us, in the very halls of our Federal Congress? Did it enable us to obtain a single foot of the soil acquired in the war with Mexico, where the South furnished three-fourths of the money, two-thirds of the men, and four-fifths of the graves? Did it oppose any obstacle to the erection of California into a free-soil State, without any previous territorial existence, without any defined boundaries, or any census of her population? Did it throw any protection around the Southern settlers of Kansas, when the soil of that territory was invaded by the emissaries of Emigrant Aid Societies, in a crusade preached from Northern pulpits, when churchmen and women contributed Sharp's rifles and Colt's revolvers, to swell the butchery of Southern men? And has not that Constitution been trodden under foot by almost every Northern State, in their Ordinances nullifying all laws

made for the recovery of fugitive slaves, by which untold millions of property have been lost to the South?

Let us be no longer duped by paper securities. Written Constitutions are worthless, unless they are written at the same time, in the hearts, and founded on the interests of a people; and as there is no common bond of sympathy or interest between the North and the South, all efforts to preserve this Union will not only be fruitless, but fatal to the less numerous section. The other danger to which I referred, may arise from too great impatience on the part of our people to precipitate the issue, in not waiting until they can strike with the authority of law.

At the moment of inaugurating a great movement like the present, I trust that we will go forward, and not be diverted from our purpose by influences from without. In the outset of this movement I can offer you no better motto than Danton's, at the commencement of the French Revolution: "To dare! and again to dare! and without end to dare!"

Mr. J. H. Adams, of Richland, offered the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That the proceedings of this meeting be opened with prayer, and that the Rev. Mr. Breaker be invited to officiate this morning.

*Resolved*, That each successive day of our Convention be opened with prayer, and that the President of the Convention be requested to invite some clergyman to perform that duty.

The question being taken, the resolution was agreed to, and the proceedings were opened with prayer accordingly.

The President laid before the Convention the following communication:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Dec. 17, 1860.

*To the Honorable the President of the Convention  
of the People of South Carolina:*

SIR,—In accordance with a resolution adopted by the House this day, I have the honor of extending to you and

the members of the Convention, an invitation to attend the inauguration of the Governor elect, to take place this day in the Hall of the House of Representatives.

With profound respect,

I have the honor to be,

Respectfully yours,

JAMES FARROW,

*Chairman Committee of Arrangements.*

On motion of Mr. James L. Orr, of Anderson, it was

*Resolved*, That the communication be laid on the table until the organization of the Convention is completed.

The credentials of the following individuals were then exhibited, and their names enrolled as members of the Convention:

*Abbeville*—Thos. Chiles Perrin, Edw. Noble, J. H. Wilson, Thos. Thomson, David Louis Wardlaw, Juno. Alfred Calhoun.

*All Saints*—John Izard Middleton, Benjamin E. Sessions.

*Anderson*—J. N. Whitner, James L. Orr, J. P. Reed, R. F. Simpson, Benjamin Franklin Mauldin.

*Barnwell*—Lewis Malone Ayer, Jr., W. Peronneau Finley, J. J. Brabham, Benj. W. Lawton, D. F. Jamison.

*Chester*—Juno. McKee, Thomas W. Moore, Richard Woods, A. Q. Dunovant.

*Chesterfield*—John A. Inglis, Henry McIver, Stephen Jackson.

*Christ Church*—W. Pinckney Shingler, Peter P. Bonnaeu.

*Clarendon*—John P. Richardson, John J. Ingram.

*Darlington*—Edgar W. Charles, Julius A. Dargan, Isaac D. Wilson, John M. Timmons.

*Edgefield*—Francis Hugh Wardlaw, R. G. M. Dunovant, James Parsons Carroll, Wm. Gregg, Andrew J. Hammond, James Tompkins, James C. Smyly.

*Fairfield*—John Hugh Means, William Strother Lyles, Henry Campbell Davis, Jno. Buchanan.

*Greenville*—James C. Furman, P. E. Duncan, W. K. Easley, James Harrison, W. H. Campbell.

*Horry*—Thos. W. Beaty, Wm. J. Ellis.

*Kershaw*—T. J. Withers, James Chesnut, Jr.

*Lancaster*—R. L. Crawford, W. C. Cauthen, D. P. Robinson.

*Laurens*—H. C. Young, H. W. Garlington, John D. Williams, W. D. Watts, Thos. Wier.

*Lexington*—H. I. Caughman, John C. Geiger, Paul Quattlebaum.

*Marion*—W. B. Rowell, Chesley D. Evans, Wm. W. Harllee, A. W. Bethea.

*Marlboro'*—E. W. Goodwin, William D. Johnson, Alex. McLeod.

*Newberry*—John P. Kinard, Robert Moorman, Joseph Caldwell, Simeon Fair.

*Orange*—Thomas Worth Glover, Lawrence M. Keitt, Donald Rowe Barton.

*Pickens*—Wm. Hunter, Andrew F. Lewis, Robt. A. Thompson, William S. Grisham, John Maxwell.

*Prince Williams*—Jno. E. Frampton, W. Ferguson Hut-

*Richland*—W. F. De Saussure, William Hopkins, James H. Adams, Maxey Gregg, John H. Kinsler.

*St. Andrew's*—Ephraim M. Clark, Alex. H. Brown.

*St. Bartholomew's*—E. St. P. Bellingier, Merrick E. Carn, E. R. Henderson, Peter Stokes.

*St. George's, Dorchester*—Daniel Flud, David C. Appleby.

*St. Helena*—R. W. Barnwell, Jos. Dan'l Pope.

*St. James', Goose Creek*—John M. Shingler, C. P. Brown.

*St. James', Santee*—Daniel Du Pre, A. Mazyck.

*St. John's, Berkley*—William Cain, P. G. Snowden.

*St. John's, Colleton*—Geo. W. Seabrook, John Jenkins.

*St. Luke's*—R. J. Davant, E. M. Seabrook.

*St. Matthew's*—John J. Wannamaker.

*St. Paul's*—Elias B. Scott, Joseph E. Jenkins.

*St. Peter's*—Langdon Cheves, George Rhodes.

*St. Philip's and St. Michael's*—A. G. Magrath, Wm. Porcher Miles, John Townsend, Robert N. Gourdin, H. W. Conner, Theodore D. Wagner, R. Barnwell Rhett, C. G. Memminger, Gabriel Manigault, John Julius Pringle Smith, Isaac W. Hayne, Jno. H. Honour, Rich'd De Treville, Thos. M. Hanckel, A. W. Burnet, Thos. Y. Simons, L. W. Spratt, Williams Middleton, F. D. Richardson, B. H. Rutledge, Edward McCrady, Francis J. Porcher.

*St. Stephen's*—T. L. Gourdin, John S. Palmer.

*St. Thomas' and St. Demis'*—John L. Nowell, John S. O'Hear.

*Spartanburg*—John G. Landrum, B. B. Foster, Benjamin F. Kilgore, J. H. Carlisle, Simpson Bobo, Wm. Curtis.

*Sumter*—H. D. Green, Matthew P. Mayes, Thomas Reese English, Sr., Albertus Chambers Spain.

*Union*—J. M. Gadberry, J. S. Sims, Wm. H. Gist, James Jefferies.

*Williamsburg*—Anthony W. Dozier, John G. Pressley, R. C. Logan.

*Winycaw*—Francis S. Parker, Benjamin Faneuil Dunkin, Samuel Taylor Atkinson, Alex. M. Forster.

*York*—William Blackburn Wilson, Robert T. Allison, Samuel Rainey, A. Baxter Springs, A. I. Barron,

On motion of Mr. Quattlebaum, of Lexington, the Convention proceeded to ballot for permanent President, with the following result:

#### First Ballot.

Whole number of votes cast .....	151
Necessary to a choice.....	76

Mr. W. H. Gist .....	received 27 votes,
J. L. Orr.....	“ 22 “
J. Chesnut, Jr. ....	“ 22 “
R. W. Barnwell.....	“ 17 “
D. F. Jamison .....	“ 15 “



D. L. Wardlaw .....	received	15	votes,
J. P. Carroll .....	"	6	"
J. C. Furman.....	"	6	"
R. B. Rhett.....	"	5	"
B. F. Dunkin .....	"	4	"
J. H. Adams .....	"	3	"
J. A. Inglis.....	"	3	"
J. P. Richardson .....	"	2	"
D. J. Jamison.....	"	1	"
W. F. De Saussure .....	"	1	"
J. H. Means .....	"	1	"
Blank .....		1	"

## Second Ballot.

Whole number of votes cast.....	152
Necessary to a choice.....	77

Mr. W. H. Gist .....	received	38	votes,
J. L. Orr .....	"	31	"
D. F. Jamison .....	"	27	"
J. Chesnut, Jr. ....	"	27	"
D. L. Wardlaw .....	"	13	"
R. W. Barnwell.....	"	12	"
J. P. Carroll .....	"	1	"
B. F. Dunkin .....	"	1	"
D. J. Jamison.....	"	1	"
J. P. Richardson.....	"	1	"

## Third Ballot.

Whole number of votes cast.....	150
Necessary to a choice.....	76

Mr. D. F. Jamison .....	received	64	votes,
J. L. Orr .....	"	32	"
W. H. Gist .....	"	28	"
J. Chesnut, Jr. ....	"	17	"
R. W. Barnwell.....	"	6	"
D. L. Wardlaw .....	"	2	"
D. J. Jamison .....	"	1	"

## Fourth Ballot.

Whole number of votes cast.....	151
Necessary to a choice.....	76

Mr. D. F. Jamison .....	received	118	votes,
J. L. Orr .....	“	30	“
J. Chesnut, Jr.....	“	3	“

Mr. J. Izard Middleton, of All Saints, was called temporarily to the Chair, and announced that Mr. D. F. Jamison, having received a majority of the votes cast, was duly elected permanent President of the Convention.

On motion of Mr. A. W. Burnet, of St. Philip's and St. Michael's, it was

*Resolved*, That a Committee of three be appointed to conduct the President elect to the Chair.

The following gentlemen were appointed: Messrs. A. W. Burnet, Thomas Thomson and W. Porcher Miles.

The President elect, on taking the Chair, addressed the Convention as follows:

*Gentlemen of the Convention:*

When I say that I have no words to express the gratification which your confidence has afforded me, I only say precisely what I mean. There is no honor I esteem more highly than to sign the Ordinance of Secession, as a member of this body; but I will regard it as the greatest honor of my life to sign it as your presiding officer. We have entered on a great work, and God, who holds in His hands the destinies of nations, only knows what may be the result. That it may lead to the honor and glory of South Carolina is my most fervent prayer. May God aid our State! I am too little accustomed to the duties of presiding over a body like this, not to feel my want of qualification for the position you have assigned me; and I have been so long withdrawn from deliberative

bodies, that I must ask your indulgence for the errors I may commit. I stated in commencing that I was so overcome by your confidence that I had nothing to say. All I can do would be to express but imperfectly the emotions that agitate my bosom.

On motion of Mr. Quattlebaum, of Lexington, it was

*Resolved*, That the rules adopted by the Convention of South Carolina in April, 1852, be adopted by this Convention for the government of the same.

On motion of Mr. W. S. Lyles, of Fairfield, it was

*Resolved*, That the President of the Convention be authorized to appoint a Clerk, a Messenger, and a Door Keeper for the Convention.

On motion of Mr. J. H. Adams, of Richland, it was

*Resolved*, That the Hon. John A. Elmore, Commissioner to this Convention from the State of Alabama, and the Hon. Charles E. Hooker, Commissioner from the State of Mississippi, be invited to take seats on the floor of the Convention.

*Resolved*, That a Committee of three be appointed by the Chair to wait on the Hon. Messrs. Elmore and Hooker, and invite them to address the Convention, in the Hall, this evening, at seven o'clock.

The Chair appointed Messrs. J. H. Adams, I. W. Hayne, and A. W. Burnet, said Committee.

On motion of Mr. Keitt, of Orange, it was

*Resolved*, That a Committee of three be appointed to wait on the Hon. Howell Cobb, of Georgia, and invite him to a seat on the floor of the Convention.

The Chair appointed Messrs. L. M. Keitt, J. L. Orr, and W. P. Miles, said Committee.

Mr. Inglis, of Chesterfield, offered the following resolutions :

*Resolved*, That when this Convention adjourns, it stand adjourned to meet in the City of Charleston, on Tuesday, the 18th inst., at four o'clock.

*Resolved*, That the Delegates from St. Phillip's and St. Michael's be requested to procure a suitable building for the said meeting, and be requested to report to the President of this Convention as to the same.

Mr. Mazyek, of St. James', Santee, moved to lay the resolutions on the table. Ayes, 68; Nays, 87.

Mr. W. F. De Saussure, of Richland, moved to amend the resolutions by striking out "Tuesday, the 18th," and inserting "Wednesday, the 19th."

On motion of Mr. J. J. P. Smith, of St. Philip's and St. Michael's, the amendment was laid on the table.

The original resolutions were then agreed to.

On motion of Mr. J. J. Wannamaker, of St. Matthew's, it was ordered that

*Whereas*, At the election held in St. Mathew's Parish, for delegates to the Convention, to convene on this day, but one candidate received a majority of votes cast. The next two receiving the same numbers, there was consequently but one elected. The Parish being entitled to two, is but in part represented; therefore,

*Resolved*, That the President of the Convention do issue a writ of election, to be held on Monday, the 24th instant, in all respects as the former, to fill said vacancy.

On motion of Mr. Maxey Gregg, of Richland, the Convention took a recess until seven o'clock, p. m.

THOMAS Y. SIMONS,

*Temporary Secretary.*

## RECESS.

The President resumed the Chair.

The President announced the following gentlemen as officers of the Convention, viz: B. F. Arthur, *Clerk*; C. O. La Motte, *Messenger*; and Samuel J. Nettles, *Doorkeeper*.

Mr. Adams, from the Committee appointed to wait upon the Commissioners from the State of Alabama, and from the State of Mississippi, introduced to the Convention, Hon. John A. Elmore, Commissioner from the State of Alabama, and Hon. Charles E. Hooker, Commissioner from the State of Mississippi, who, respectively, addressed the Convention.

Mr. J. B. Kershaw, delegate from Kershaw, appeared at the Clerk's desk, produced his credentials, signed the roll and took his seat.

Mr. Inglis offered the following Resolutions :

*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this Convention that the State of South Carolina should forthwith secede from the Federal Union, known as the United States of America.

*Resolved*, That a Committee of ——— members be appointed to draft an Ordinance, proper, to be adopted by this Convention, in order to accomplish this purpose of secession; and that individual members desiring to submit for the consideration of the Convention, any draft or scheme of such Ordinance, be requested to hand the same, without delay, to the said Committee.

*Resolved*, That the Act of the General Assembly of this State, providing for the assembling of this Convention, be referred to the same Committee, with instructions to consider and report thereon.

The question being put, will the Convention agree to the first resolution? it passed in the affirmative :

Yeas, 159; nays, none.

The yeas and nays were demanded, and are as follows :

Those who voted in the affirmative, are :

Hon. D. F. JAMISON, President ; and

Messrs. Adams,	Ellis,
Allison,	English,
Appleby,	Evans,
Atkinson,	Fair,
Barnwell,	Finley,
Barron,	Flud,
Barton,	Forster,
Beaty,	Foster,
Bethea,	Frampton,
Bellinger,	Furman,
Bobo,	Gadberry,
Bonmean,	Garlington,
Brabham,	Geiger,
Brown, A. H.	Gist,
Brown, C. P.	Glover,
Buchanan,	Goodwin,
Burnet,	Gourdin, R. N.
Cain,	Gourdin, T. L.
Calhoun,	Gregg, Maxey
Caldwell,	Gregg, William
Campbell,	Grisham,
Carlisle,	Hammond,
Carroll,	Harlee,
Caughman,	Harrison,
Cauthen,	Hayne,
Charles,	Henderson,
Chesnut,	Honour,
Cheves,	Hopkins,
Clarke,	Hunter,
Conner,	Hutson,
Crawford,	Inglis,
Curtis,	Ingram,
Dargan,	Jackson,
Davant,	Jefferies,
Davis,	Jenkins, John
De Saussure,	Jenkins, J. E.
De Treville,	Johnson,
Dozier,	Keitt,
Duncan,	Kershaw,
Dunkin,	Kilgore,
Dunovant, A. Q.	Kinard,
Dunovant, R. G. M.	Kinsler,
Du Pre,	Landrum,
Easley,	Lawton,

Lewis,	Richardson, J. P.
Logan,	Rowell,
Lyles,	Scott,
McCrary,	Seabrook, E. M.
McIver,	Seabrook, G. W., Sr.
McKee,	Sessions,
McLeod,	Shingler, J. M.
Magrath,	Shingler, W. P.
Manigault,	Simons,
Mauldin,	Simpson,
Maxwell,	Smyly
Mayes,	Smith,
Mazyck,	Snowden,
Means,	Spain,
Middleton, John Izard	Spratt,
Middleton, W.	Springs,
Miles,	Stokes,
Moore,	Sims,
Moorman,	Thompson, R. A.
Noble,	Thomson, Thomas
Nowell,	Timmons,
O'Hear,	Tompkins,
Orr,	Townsend,
Palmer,	Wagner,
Parker,	Wannamaker,
Perrin,	Wardlaw, D. L.
Pope,	Wardlaw, F. H.
Porcher,	Wier,
Pressley,	Whitner,
Quattlebaum.	Williams,
Rainey,	Wilson, I. D.
Reed,	Wilson, J. H.
Rhett,	Wilson, W. B.
Rhodes,	Withers,
Richardson, F. D.	Woods.

The Convention proceeded to the consideration of the second resolution.

Mr. Rhett moved to amend the second resolution by adding the words, "all the matters appertaining to the business of the Convention."

On motion of Mr. Hutson, the amendment was ordered to lie on the table.

On motion of Mr. D. L. Wardlaw, the blank was filled

with the number seven ; and the resolution was agreed to.

Mr. Inglis withdrew the third resolution.

On motion of Mr. Orr, the Hon. Henry Dickinson, Commissioner from the State of Mississippi to the State of Delaware, was invited to a seat on the floor of the Convention.

On motion of Mr. Manigault, it was

*Resolved*, That it is the earnest desire of this Convention that the Commissioners from the States of Alabama and Mississippi accompany the Convention to Charleston.

On motion of Mr. Pope, it was

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be returned to the Baptist Congregation, of Columbia, for the use of their building.

On motion of Mr. Keitt, it was

*Resolved*, That a message be sent to the Committee of Arrangements of the Legislature, returning the thanks of the Convention for their invitation to attend the inauguration of the Governor, and explaining why this Convention could not attend.

The President presented the credentials of Hon. John A. Elmore, Commissioner from the State of Alabama, and the credentials of Hon. Charles E. Hooker, Commissioner from the State of Mississippi, which were ordered to be filed and entered on the Journal.

On motion, the Convention was adjourned at ten o'clock,  
P. M.

B. F. ARTHUR,  
*Clerk of the Convention.*



## STATE OF MISSISSIPPI.

JOHN J. PETTUS, *Governor of the State of Mississippi,*

*To His Excellency, the Governor of the State of South Carolina, Greeting:*

BE IT KNOWN, That, reposing special trust and confidence in the ability, integrity and fitness of Hon. C. E. Hooker, I have, in compliance with a Resolution passed by the Legislature of this State, on the 30th day of November, A. D. 1860, appointed, and by these presents do appoint him a Commissioner from Mississippi, to proceed to the Capital of South Carolina, to inform the people of that Commonwealth, through their Executive, that the Legislature of this State has passed an Act calling a Convention of the people of the State, to consider the present threatening relations of the Northern and Southern sections of the United States—aggravated by the recent election of a President upon principles of hostility to the States of the South. and to express the earnest hope of Mississippi that South Carolina will co-operate with her in the adoption of efficient measures for the common defence and safety of the South.

Given under my hand, and the Great Seal of the State hereunto affixed, at the City of Jackson, this 5th day of December, A. D. 1860.

By the Governor,

[L. S.]

JOHN J. PETTUS.

C. A. BROUGHNER, *Secretary of State.*

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## STATE OF ALABAMA.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Dec. 8, 1860.

Whereas, the election of Abraham Lincoln, a Black Republican, to the Presidency of the United States, by a purely sectional vote, and by a party whose leading and publicly avowed object is the destruction of the institution of slavery, as it exists in the slaveholding States: And whereas, the success of said party, and the power which it now has, and soon will acquire, greatly endanger the peace, interests, security and honor of the slaveholding States, and make it necessary that prompt and efficient measures should be adopted to avoid the evils which must result from a Republican administration of the Federal Government; and, as the interests and destiny of the slaveholding States are the same, they must naturally sympathize with each other; they, therefore, so far as it may be practicable, should consult and advise together as to what is best to be done to protect their mutual interests and honor:

Now, therefore, in consideration of the premises, I, Andrew B. Moore, Governor of the State of Alabama, by virtue of the general powers in me vested, do hereby constitute and appoint Col. John A. Elmore, a citizen of said State, a Commissioner to the sovereign State of South Carolina, to consult and advise with his Excellency, Governor W. H. Gist, and the members of the Convention to be assembled in said State on the 17th day of December, instant, as to what is best to be done to protect the rights, interests and honor of the slaveholding States, and to report the result of such consultation in time to enable me to communicate the same to the Convention of the State of Alabama, to be held on Monday, the 7th day of January next.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the Great Seal of the State to be affixed, in the City of Montgomery, this 8th day of December, A. D. 1860.

[L. S.]

A. B. MOORE.

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Main body of the document containing several paragraphs of extremely faint, illegible text. The text appears to be organized into sections, but the specific content is unreadable due to the low contrast and blurriness of the scan.

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## TUESDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1860.

Pursuant to adjournment, the Convention assembled at Institute Hall, in the City of Charleston, at four o'clock, P. M. The President took the chair, and the proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. J. C. Furman.

The Clerk called the Roll, and the following delegates answered to their names:

Messrs. Adams,	Dunovant, A. Q.
Allison,	Du Pre,
Appleby,	Easley,
Atkinson,	Ellis,
Barron,	English,
Barton,	Evans,
Beaty,	Fair,
Bethea,	Finley,
Bellinger,	Flud,
Bobo,	Forster,
Bonneau,	Foster,
Brabham,	Frampton,
Brown, C. P.	Furman,
Brown, A. H.	Garlington,
Cain,	Geiger,
Calhoun,	Glover,
Caldwell,	Gourdin, R. N.
Campbell,	Gourdin, T. L.
Carn,	Green,
Carlisle,	Gregg, William
Carroll,	Grisham,
Cauthen,	Hammond,
Cheves,	Harlee,
Clarke,	Harrison,
Conner,	Hayne,
Crawford,	Honour,
Curtis,	Hunter,
Dargan,	Hutson,
Davant,	Inglis,
Davis,	Jackson,
De Treville,	Jefferies,
Dozier,	Jenkins, John
Duncan,	Johnson,
Dunkin,	Kershaw,

Kilgore,	Rhodes,
Kinard,	Richardson, F. D.
Kinsler,	Robinson,
Landrum,	Rowell,
Lawton,	Scott,
Lewis,	Seabrook, E. M.
Logan,	Sessions,
Lyles,	Shingler, W. P.
McCady,	Simons,
Melver,	Simpson,
McKee,	Smyly,
Magrath,	Smith,
Mauldin,	Snowden,
Maxwell,	Spain,
Mayes,	Spratt,
Mazyek,	Springs,
Means,	Stokes,
Memminger,	Sims,
Middleton, J. Izard	Thompson, R. A.
Middleton, W.	Thomson, Thomas
Moore,	Timmons,
Moorman,	Wagner,
Nowell,	Wannamaker,
O'Hear,	Wardlaw, D. L.
Orr,	Wardlaw, F. H.
Palmer,	Watts,
Parker,	Wier,
Perrin,	Whitner,
Porcher,	Williams,
Pressley,	Wilson, J. H.
Quattlebaum,	Wilson, W. B.
Rainey,	Withers,
Reed,	Woods,
Rhett,	Young.

Mr. John L. Manning, a delegate from Clarendon, appeared at the Clerk's desk, produced his credentials, enrolled his name, and took his seat.

Messrs. Carn, Memminger, Young and Watts asked to give the vote they would have given, if present, on a resolution adopted yesterday, declaring it to be the sense of this Convention, that the State of South Carolina should forthwith secede from the Federal Union; and those gentlemen being called respectively, answered "aye."

On motion of Mr. Rhett, it was

*Resolved*, That a committee consisting of \_\_\_\_\_ members be appointed to prepare an address to the people of the Southern States.

On motion, the blank was filled with the number Seven.

Whereupon, the President appointed the following gentlemen, of the committee:

Messrs. R. B. Rhett,  
John A. Calhoun,  
W. P. Finley,  
I. D. Wilson,  
W. F. De Saussure,  
Langdon Cheves,  
M. E. Carn.

On motion of Mr. Orr, it was

*Resolved*, That the Charleston Delegation be requested to inquire into and report upon the expediency of procuring another Hall for the use of this Convention, and that they publish their decision to-morrow in the newspapers of the city.

Mr. Hutson offered the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That the President do appoint four standing Committees for this Convention, each consisting of seven, as follows:

1. A Committee on Relations with the Slaveholding States of North America.
2. A Committee on Foreign Relations.
3. A Committee on Commercial Relations.
4. A Committee on the Constitution of the State.

On motion of Mr. F. D. Richardson, the Resolutions were made the special order of the day for to-morrow, at one o'clock, P. M., and were ordered to be printed.

On motion of Mr. Quattlebaum, it was

*Resolved*, That a Committee of three be appointed to receive proposals for printing the proceedings of this Convention, and that they report thereon as soon as practicable.

Whereupon, the President appointed the following gentlemen, of the Committee :

Messrs. Paul Quattlebaum,  
T. Y. Simons, Jr.,  
J. H. Kinsler.

Mr. Magrath offered the following resolutions :

*Resolved*, That so much of the Message of the President of the United States as relates to what he designates "the property of the United States in South Carolina," be referred to a committee of        to report, of what such property consists, how acquired, and whether the purpose for which it was so acquired can be enjoyed by the United States after the State of South Carolina shall have seceded, consistently with the dignity and safety of the State; and that the said committee further report the value of the property of the United States not in South Carolina; and the value of the share thereof to which South Carolina would be entitled upon an equitable division thereof among the United States.

On motion of Mr. Orr, the resolutions were made the special order of the day for to-morrow, at one o'clock, P. M., and were ordered to be printed.

Mr. De Treville offered the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That it is expedient that a Council, to consist of five citizens of the State, to act with the Governor of the State as his counsellors and advisers, and to be called a Council of Safety, should be forthwith appointed; and that



it be referred to a committee of this Convention to report thereon, by ordinance or otherwise.

On motion of Mr. Orr, the resolution was made the special order of the day for to-morrow, at one o'clock, P. M., and was ordered to be printed.

Mr. J. I. Middleton offered the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That the President be authorized to appoint an Assistant Clerk.

Mr. Means moved to amend the resolution by adding the words: "whenever it shall become necessary."

The amendment was accepted by the mover of the resolution,

When, on motion of Mr. Reed, the resolution, as amended, was ordered to lie on the table.

The President stated that since the adjournment of the Convention at Columbia, he had received a communication from the State of Georgia, with a request to present it to the Convention.

On motion of Mr. Withers, it was ordered that the communication be laid on the table.

The President announced the following gentlemen as the Committee appointed under a resolution offered by the member from Chesterfield, (Mr. Inglis,) to draft an Ordinance proper to be adopted by the Convention, viz :

Messrs. John A. Inglis,  
R. B. Rhett,  
James Chesnut, Jr.,  
James L. Orr,  
Maxey Gregg,  
B. F. Dunkin,  
W. F. Hutson.

On motion of Mr. Simons, it was

*Resolved*, That when this Convention adjourns, it shall be adjourned to meet to morrow, at eleven o'clock, A. M.

On motion of Mr. Simons, the Convention was adjourned at four minutes past five o'clock, P. M.

B. F. ARTHUR,

*Clerk of the Convention.*

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1860.

Pursuant to the action of the Committee, appointed to make arrangements for providing another Hall for the use of the Convention, the Convention assembled at St. Andrew's Hall; the President took the Chair, and the proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. William Curtis.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following delegates answered to their names :

Messrs. Adams,	Charles,
Allison,	Cheves,
Appleby,	Clarke,
Atkinson,	Conner,
Ayer,	Crawford,
Barron,	Curtis,
Barton,	Dargan,
Beaty,	Davis,
Bethia,	De Saussure,
Bellinger,	De Treville,
Bobo,	Dozier,
Bouneau,	Duncan,
Brown, A. H.	Dunkin,
Brown, C. P.	Du Pre,
Burnet,	Easley,
Buchanan,	English,
Cain,	Evans,
Calhoun,	Finley,
Campbell,	Forster,
Carn,	Foster,
Carlisle,	Frampton,
Caughman,	Furman,
Cauthen,	Flud,

Gadberry,	O'Hear,
Garlington,	Orr,
Geiger,	Palmer,
Glover,	Parker,
Goodwin,	Perrin,
Gourdin, R. N.	Pope,
Green,	Porcher,
Gregg, Maxcy	Pressley,
Gregg, William	Quattlebaum,
Grisham,	Reed,
Hammond,	Rhodes,
Hanckel,	Richardson, F. D.
Harlee,	Robinson,
Harrison,	Rutledge,
Hayne,	Seabrook, G. W., Sr.
Henderson,	Sessions,
Honour,	Shingler, W. P.
Hopkins,	Shingler, J. M.
Hutson,	Simons,
Inglis,	Simpson,
Ingram,	Smyly,
Jackson,	Smith,
Jefferies,	Spratt,
Jenkins, J. E.	Snowden,
Johnson,	Spain,
Kilgore,	Stokes,
Landrum,	Sims,
Lyles,	Scott,
Logan,	Thompson, R. A.
Lawton,	Thomson, Thomas
McIver,	Timmons,
McKee,	Wagner,
McLeod,	Wardlaw, F. H.
Magrath,	Wannamaker,
Manigault,	Watts,
Mauldin,	Wier,
Mayes,	Whitner,
Means,	Williams,
Middleton, J. Izard	Wilson, J. H.
Middleton, W.	Wilson, W. B.
Miles,	Withers,
Moore,	Woods,
Noble,	Young.
Nowell,	

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read.

The President laid before the Convention the following communication :

POST OFFICE, Charleston,  
December 19, 1860.

T. Y. SIMONS, Esq.—

*Dear Sir:* I send herewith a package containing letters for delegates to the Convention, and I ask the favor of you to announce that it will give me great pleasure to have all matter for members of that body placed in your hands at the opening of the Convention on each succeeding day.

Also, that a clerk from this office will be in attendance at your desk at half-past twelve every afternoon, to receive such letters as gentlemen of the Convention, or their guests, may wish to have mailed for other places.

Very respectfully, your fellow-citizen,

ALFRED HUGER, P. M.

The President laid before the Convention the following communication :

CHARLESTON, Dec. 19, 1860.

*To the Hon. D. F. JAMISON, President of the  
Convention of the State of South Carolina :*

SIR: On the night of the 17th instant, after the adjournment of the Convention at Columbia, I received from his Excellency, the Governor of the State of Alabama, a despatch, by telegraph, of that date, and which I herewith enclose, and have the honor to request may be read and submitted to the Convention as directed by his Excellency, Gov. Moore.

Permit me to assure the Convention that in making this communication, his Excellency, Gov. Moore, offers it in no spirit of dictation, but as the friendly counsel and united voice of the true men of Alabama, for the consideration of this Convention, and in the same spirit of consultation and conference which impelled him to send a Commissioner to this and the other Southern States.

With sentiments of the highest respect for the Convention and for yourself,

I am, your obedient servant,

J. A. ELMORE.

The despatch referred to is as follows :

MONTGOMERY, Dec. 17, 1860.

TO JOHN A. ELMORE :

Tell the Convention to listen to no propositions of compromise or delay.

A. B. MOORE.

On motion of Mr. D. L. Wardlaw, the communication was referred to the Committee on the Southern Address.

Mr. Reed offered the following resolutions :

1. *Ordered*, That the President appoint a Cashier and Deputy Cashier.

2. *Ordered*, That the Clerk act as Reading Clerk, and also superintend such printing as the Convention may order.

3. *Ordered*, That the reporters for the public journals be allowed access to the Hall for the purpose of reporting.

4. *Ordered*, That the regular hour of meeting shall be ten o'clock, A. M., subject to special orders fixing some other time.

5. *Ordered*, That there be printed, for the use of the Convention, an alphabetical list of the names of the members, and also a list of the names arranged according to State Election Divisions, with their Post Offices.

6. *Ordered*. That the journal of each day's proceedings be printed, and laid on the tables of members, before the hour of meeting.

*Resolved*, That the rules adopted for the government of the Convention, be published with the Journal of this day's proceedings.

Mr. Quattlebaum moved to divide the question, so as to take the vote on each separately.

Mr. Inglis moved to amend the third order by adding the words "newspapers in this State."

Mr. F. H. Wardlaw moved to amend the third order by adding the words "one reporter for each newspaper."

Mr. Cheves moved to amend by requesting the President to make such arrangements on the subject as to him might seem proper.

The consideration of the resolutions was suspended, and

Mr. Manning moved that a bar be erected at the head of the stairs, and a sergeant-at-arms appointed, so that members might have convenient access to the Hall.

After some debate, it was ordered that the duty of making arrangements for convenient access to the Hall be entrusted to the Charleston Delegation.

On motion of Mr. Dargan, the Convention resumed the consideration of the resolutions offered by Mr. Reed.

Mr. Dargan moved to strike out the third resolution, and insert the following :

*Ordered,* That the President be authorized to issue tickets of admission to such reporters of newspapers as he may deem proper.

The amendment was adopted.

Mr. Reed withdrew the fourth order.

On motion of Mr. Dargan, the sixth order was laid on the table.

The resolutions, as amended, were adopted.

On motion of Mr. D. L. Wardlaw, the communication from a portion of the members of the Legislature of the State of Georgia was taken up from the table, and was referred to the Committee on the Southern Address.

Mr. Cauthen stated that his colleague, Mr. D. P. Robinson, was absent from indisposition, when the vote was taken on the resolution declaring it to be the sense of the Convention that the State of South Carolina should forthwith

secede from the Federal Union, and asked that he might now be permitted to record the vote he would have given if present.

Whereupon, Mr. Robinson being called, answered "aye."

Messrs. B. H. Rutledge, John L. Manning, L. M. Ayer, T. M. Hanckel, and H. D. Green, asked to record the vote they would have given, if present, on the same resolution; and these gentlemen being called, respectively, answered "aye."

Mr. Quattlebaum, from the Committee on Printing, made the following report, which was considered immediately and was agreed to:

The Committee, appointed to receive proposals for printing for the Convention of South Carolina, have to report,

That they have received an offer from Messrs. Evans & Cogswell, to do "all the work to be done, in style and quality fully equal to that done for the State, by the Printer in Columbia, at the same proportionate rates of compensation as is paid to the Printer to the State Senate."

The Committee, believing Messrs. Evans & Cogswell to be reliable, and that they will do the work as stated, recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That Messrs. Evans & Cogswell be appointed Printers to this Convention while it holds its sittings in Charleston.

*Resolved*, That the Committee appointed to receive proposals for Printing, be continued as a Standing Committee, and that one of its duties be to supervise the printing of this Convention.

### SPECIAL ORDER.

The Convention proceeded to the consideration of the following resolutions, which had been made the special order of the day for this day, at one o'clock, P. M.:

*Resolved*, That the President do appoint four standing

Committees for this Convention, each consisting of seven, as follows :

1. A Committee on relations with the slaveholding States of North America ;
2. A Committee on Foreign Relations ;
3. A Committee on Commercial Relations ;
4. A Committee on the Constitution of the State.

Mr. Smith moved to amend the third clause of the resolution by adding the words "and Postal Arrangements ;" which amendment was accepted by the mover of the resolution.

Mr. Mazyck moved to strike out the number seven, and insert thirteen; which amendment was also accepted by the mover of the resolution.

Mr. W. B. Wilson moved to add an additional section, providing for a separate Committee on Postal Arrangements.

Mr. Maxey Gregg moved to amend the second clause of the resolution by adding the words "with other States." Mr. Gregg withdrew his amendment.

On motion of Mr. Calhoun, the question was divided; and the Resolutions were finally adopted in the following form :

*Resolved*, That the President do appoint four standing Committees for this Convention, each consisting of thirteen, as follows :

1. A Committee on relations with the slaveholding States of North America.
2. A Committee on Foreign Relations.
3. A Committee on Commercial Relations and Postal Arrangements.
4. A Committee on the Constitution of this State.

#### SPECIAL ORDER.

The Convention proceeded to the consideration of the



following Resolution, which had been made the special order of the day for this day at one o'clock, P. M.:

*Resolved*, That so much of the Message of the President of the United States as relates to what he designates "the property of the United States in South Carolina," be referred to a committee of \_\_\_\_\_ to report, of what such property consists; how acquired; and whether the purpose for which it was so acquired, can be enjoyed by the United States after the State of South Carolina shall have seceded, consistently with the dignity and safety of the State. And that said committee further report the value of the property of the United States not in South Carolina; and the value of the share thereof to which South Carolina would be entitled upon an equitable division thereof among the United States.

On motion of Mr. Harlee, the blank was filled with the number thirteen.

Mr. W. P. Shingler moved to amend the Resolution by requiring the committee to report the *debt*, as well as the property of the United States.

On motion of Mr. Harlee, the amendment was ordered to lie on the table.

The Resolution was agreed to.

### SPECIAL ORDER.

The Convention proceeded to the consideration of the following Resolution, which had been made the special order of the day, for this day, at one o'clock, P. M.:

*Resolved*, That it is expedient that a Council, to consist of five citizens of the State, to act with the Governor of the State as his counsellors and advisers, and to be called a Council of Safety, should be forthwith appointed; and that it be referred to a committee of this Convention to report thereon, by ordinance or otherwise.

On motion of Mr. De Treville, the special order was discharged and was made the special order of the day for tomorrow, at one o'clock, P. M.

Mr. Memminger offered the following Resolution, which was considered immediately, and was agreed to:

*Resolved*, That a Committee, to consist of seven members, be appointed to draft a summary statement of the causes which justify the secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union.

Mr. Dunkin offered the following Resolution, which was considered immediately, and was agreed to:

*Resolved*, That it be referred to the Committee on Commercial Relations and Postal Arrangements, to inquire and report what measures of a temporary or permanent nature, or both, it may be proper to adopt in reference to Custom House and Postal Arrangements, in consequence of the contemplated withdrawal of South Carolina from the Union.

Mr. Hayne offered the following resolutions:

Whereas, the causes which have produced the separation of South Carolina from the Federal Union, have emanated from the States north of Mason and Dixon's line, using hireling labor only; and, whereas, it has not been against the Constitution of the United States that South Carolina has opposed her sovereignty, but the usurpations of a government in violation of this instrument:

*Resolved*, That a Commissioner be sent to each of the slaveholding States, bearing a copy of the Ordinance of Secession, and proffering to such State, or any one or more of them, the existing Constitution of the United States as the basis of a Provisional Government, to be adopted on the part of South Carolina, and any other slaveholding State or States, which, after seceding from the present Federal Union, shall be willing to unite with South Carolina

in the formation of a new Confederacy; and we do hereby ratify and confirm, from the date thereof, any action taken by such Commissioner, or Commissioners, by and with the consent of the Governor of South Carolina, in the formation of such Provisional Union; and we do further earnestly recommend that in \_\_\_\_\_ days after two or more States, in addition to South Carolina, shall have acceded to the said Provisional Union, an election shall be held for Senators and members of the House of Representatives of the new Congress, and President and Vice President of the new Confederacy.

*Resolved*, That three Commissioners be appointed to carry an authenticated copy of the Ordinance of Secession to Washington, to be laid before the President of the United States, with the request that the same shall be communicated to the Congress now in session; and said Commissioners are hereby authorized and empowered to treat for the delivery of the Forts, Magazines, Light Houses, and other real estate, and all appurtenances thereto, within the geographical limits of South Carolina, the authority to treat upon these subjects to be extended to the \_\_\_\_\_ day of February, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one: provided, in the meantime, the said Forts, Magazines, and other places, are allowed to remain in the condition in which they may be at the adoption of this Ordinance; and they shall be further empowered to treat upon the subject of the public debt, and for a proper division of all other property than the above, now held by the government of the United States, as agent of the States now embraced in said Confederacy, until such time as a new Confederacy of States shall be formed, of which South Carolina shall be one.

On motion of Mr. Hayne, the first resolution was referred to the Committee on Relations with the slaveholding States of North America, and was ordered to be printed.

Mr. Inglis moved that the second resolution be laid on the table.

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Mr. Inglis withdrew his motion.

On motion of Mr. Hayne, the second resolution was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and was ordered to be printed.

Mr. Memminger offered the following resolutions :

1. *Resolved*, That a Commission, to consist of three persons, be elected by ballot of this Convention, to proceed to Washington, to negotiate with the United States, acting through their General Government, as to the proper measures and arrangements to be made or adopted in the existing relations of the parties, and for the continuance of peace and amity between them.

2. *Resolved*, That five persons be elected by this Convention, by ballot, who shall be authorized to meet such Deputies as may be appointed by any other slaveholding State, for the purpose of organizing or forming a Southern Confederacy, with power to discuss and settle a Constitution or plan of Union, to be reported to the said States for their ratification, amendment or rejection. That the said Deputies shall invite a meeting at Columbia, or at such other place as may be agreed upon among the Deputies of the several States, and shall report to this Convention such Constitution or Articles, as may be agreed on by said Deputies.

On motion of Mr. Memminger, the first of these resolutions was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations ; and the second resolution to the Committee on Relations with the Slaveholding States of North America.

The resolutions were ordered to be printed.

On motion of Mr. Hutson, it was ordered that when the Convention adjourns, it shall be adjourned to meet to-morrow, at twelve o'clock, M.

Mr. Mazyek offered the following resolution, which was made the special order of the day for to-morrow, at one o'clock, P. M., and was ordered to be printed :

*Resolved*, That a Committee, to consist of \_\_\_\_\_ mem-

bers, be appointed, whose duty it shall be to inquire and report to this Convention how much of the legislation of Congress would be *ipso facto* abrogated so far as this State is concerned, by the secession of the State from the Federal Union, and how much of it might remain of force, notwithstanding the act of secession.

On motion of Mr. Orr, the Convention was adjourned at forty-five minutes past four o'clock, P. M.

B. F. ARTHUR,

*Clerk of the Convention.*



# RULES

OF THE

CONVENTION OF DECEMBER 17, 1860.

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RULE 1. The President and eighty-four members shall be a quorum to transact business.

2. If any member shall absent himself without leave, he may be sent for at his own expense, and be subject to the censure of the Convention.

3. No member shall speak more than twice to the same point without leave of the Convention.

4. Each member, when speaking, shall address himself to the Chair, standing and uncovered, at his place.

5. If two members rise to speak nearly at the same time, the President shall decide which was first up.

6. Every member, when speaking, shall adhere to the point before the Convention, and shall not be interrupted unless he departs from it, when he may be called to order.

7. When a question of order arises, it shall be decided by the President in the first instance, but any member may appeal from his determination to the Convention.

8. When a motion is made and seconded, it shall, if required by a member, be reduced to writing, and delivered in at the table.

9. When a question is put by the President, and the Convention divides, the Clerk shall, at the request of any seven members present, take down and enter on the Journal the names of all those members who vote for and against

the question, and cause them to be published in any gazette of the State.

10. When the President desires to be heard, the members shall take their seats, and keep order whilst he is speaking.

11. When a motion is made for adjournment and seconded, no question shall be debated until the Convention shall have decided that motion.

12. Motions to adjourn, to take a recess, to lay on the table, to postpone indefinitely, or to a day beyond the session, to adjourn a debate, shall be decided without debate, after such short conversations as the President may permit.

13. On points not specified in the above rules, the Convention shall be governed by "the rules of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of South Carolina," so far as they are applicable.



## THURSDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1860.

At the hour to which the Convention was adjourned, the President took the chair, and the proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. T. R. English.

The Clerk called the Roll, and the following delegates answered to their names:

Messrs. Adams,	Davis,
Allison,	De Saussure,
Appleby,	De Treville,
Atkinson,	Dozier,
Ayer,	Duncan,
Barnwell,	Dunkin,
Barron,	Dunovant, A. Q.
Barton,	Dunovant, R. G. M.
Beaty,	Du Pre,
Bethea,	Easley,
Bellinger,	Ellis,
Bobo,	English,
Bonneau,	Evans,
Brabham,	Fair,
Brown, C. P.	Finley,
Brown, A. H.	Flud,
Buchanan,	Forster,
Burnet,	Foster,
Cain,	Frampton,
Calhoun,	Furman,
Caldwell,	Gadberry,
Campbell,	Garlington,
Carn,	Geiger,
Carlisle,	Gist,
Carroll,	Glover,
Caughman,	Goodwin,
Cauthen,	Gourdin, R. N.
Charles,	Gourdin, T. L.
Chesnut,	Green,
Cheves,	Gregg, Maxcy
Clarke,	Gregg, William
Conner,	Grisham,
Crawford,	Hammond,
Curtis,	Hanckel,
Dargan,	Harlee,
Davant,	Harrison,

- |                  |                      |
|------------------|----------------------|
| Hayne,           | Palmer,              |
| Henderson,       | Parker,              |
| Honour,          | Perrin,              |
| Hopkins,         | Pope,                |
| Hunter,          | Porcher,             |
| Hutson,          | Pressley,            |
| Inglis,          | Quattlebaum,         |
| Ingram,          | Rainey,              |
| Jackson,         | Reed,                |
| Jefferies,       | Rhett,               |
| Jenkins, John    | Rhodes,              |
| Jenkins, J. E.   | Richardson, F. D.    |
| Johnson,         | Richardson, J. P.    |
| Keitt,           | Robinson,            |
| Kershaw,         | Rowell,              |
| Kilgore,         | Rutledge,            |
| Kinard,          | Scott,               |
| Kinsler,         | Seabrook, E. M.      |
| Landrum,         | Seabrook, G. W., Sr. |
| Lawton,          | Sessions,            |
| Lewis,           | Shingler, J. M.      |
| Logan,           | Shingler, W. P.      |
| Lyles,           | Simons,              |
| McCrary,         | Simpson,             |
| Melver,          | Smyly,               |
| McKee,           | Smith,               |
| McLeod,          | Snowden,             |
| Magrath,         | Spain,               |
| Manigault,       | Spratt,              |
| Manning,         | Springs,             |
| Mauldin,         | Stokes,              |
| Maxwell,         | Sims,                |
| Mayes,           | Thompson, R. A.      |
| Mazyck,          | Thomson, Thomas      |
| Means,           | Timmons,             |
| Memminger,       | Tompkins,            |
| Middleton, J. I. | Townsend,            |
| Middleton, W.    | Wagner,              |
| Miles,           | Wannamaker,          |
| Moore,           | Wardlaw, D. L.       |
| Moorman,         | Wardlaw, F. H.       |
| Noble,           | Watts,               |
| Nowell,          | Wier,                |
| O'Hear,          | Whitner,             |
| Orr,             | Williams,            |

Wilson, I. D.  
 Wilson, J. H.  
 Wilson, W. B.

Withers,  
 Woods,  
 Young.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read.

Mr. Reed offered the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That the Mayor of the City of Charleston be invited to a seat on the floor of the Convention.

Mr. Means moved that the resolution be amended so as to include in the invitation the Governor, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The amendment was accepted by the mover of the resolution : and the resolution, as amended, was adopted.

The President announced the following Committees :

Committee to draft a summary of the causes which justify the secession of South Carolina :

Messrs. C. G. Memminger,  
 F. H. Wardlaw,  
 R. W. Barnwell,  
 J. P. Richardson,  
 B. H. Rutledge,  
 J. E. Jenkins,  
 P. E. Duncan.

Committee on so much of the Message of the President of the United States as relates to the claim of property of the United States within the limits of South Carolina :

Messrs. A. G. Magrath,  
 L. M. Keitt,  
 J. P. Carroll,  
 W. W. Harlee.  
 J. H. Wilson,  
 R. G. M. Dunovant,  
 W. H. Campbell,

Messrs. J. P. Reed,  
 W. Hopkins,  
 W. S. Lyles,  
 G. W. Seabrook, Sr.  
 J. J. Ingram.  
 E. M. Clarke.

Committee on Relations with the slaveholding States of  
 North America :

Messrs. T. J. Withers,  
 J. H. Means,  
 J. L. Manning,  
 J. Townsend,  
 H. C. Young,  
 A. Mazyck,  
 L. M. Ayer,  
 W. B. Wilson,  
 T. R. English,  
 S. Fair,  
 R. J. Davant,  
 J. M. Gadberry,  
 E. St. P. Bellinger.

Committee on Foreign Relations :

Messrs. W. P. Miles,  
 J. H. Adams,  
 W. H. Gist,  
 F. D. Richardson,  
 L. W. Spratt,  
 Wm. Cain,  
 T. L. Gourdin,  
 A. W. Burnet,  
 G. Manigault,  
 E. Noble,  
 J. S. O'Hear,  
 J. D. Pope,  
 E. W. Charles.

## Committee on Commercial Relations and Postal Arrangements :

Messrs. B. F. Dunkin,  
E. McCrady,  
H. W. Conner,  
R. N. Gourdin,  
J. L. Nowell,  
T. D. Wagner,  
Wm. Gregg,  
J. J. P. Smith,  
J. Jenkins,  
W. Middleton,  
A. H. Brown,  
E. M. Seabrook,  
R. F. Simpson.

## Committee on the Constitution of the State :

Messrs. D. L. Wardlaw,  
J. N. Whitner,  
T. W. Glover,  
I. W. Hayne,  
R. De Treville,  
J. A. Dargan,  
T. Thomson,  
J. Buchanan,  
A. C. Spain,  
H. McIver,  
T. C. Perrin,  
W. D. Johnson,  
J. B. Kershaw.

The President announced that Mr. R. C. Logan is appointed Cashier; and Mr. J. G. Pressley, Deputy Cashier of the Convention.

Mr. Rhett offered the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That a Committee of Thirteen be appointed to report to this Convention an Ordinance proposing and

providing for the assemblage of a Convention of the slaveholding States of the United States to form the Constitution of a Southern Confederacy.

On motion of Mr. F. H. Wardlaw, the resolution was referred to the Committee on the slaveholding States of North America.

Mr. Inglis, from the Committee appointed to prepare an Ordinance proper to be adopted by the Convention, presented the following

#### REPORT:

The Committee appointed to prepare a draft of an Ordinance proper to be adopted by the Convention in order to effect the secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union, respectfully report,

That they have had the matter referred, under consideration, and believing that they would best meet the exigencies of the great occasion, and the just expectations of the Convention, by expressing, in the fewest and simplest words possible to be used, consistently with perspicuity, all that is necessary to effect the end proposed and no more, and so excluding everything, which, however proper in itself, for the attention and action of the Convention, is not a necessary part of the solemn act of secession, but may, at least, be as well effected by a distinct Ordinance or resolution, they submit for the consideration of the Convention the accompanying brief draft:

#### AN ORDINANCE

To dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled "The Constitution of the United States of America."

*We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained,*

That the Ordinance adopted by us in Convention, on

the twenty-third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also all Acts, and parts of Acts, of the General Assembly of this State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of "The United States of America," is hereby dissolved.

Mr. Spain moved that business be suspended for fifteen minutes; which motion was not agreed to.

The question being put, will the Convention adopt the Ordinance? it passed in the affirmative;

Yeas, 169; Nays, none.

The yeas and nays were demanded, and are as follows:

Those who voted in the affirmative are:

Hon. D. F. JAMISON, President; and

Messrs. Adams,	Carroll,
Allison,	Caughman,
Appleby,	Caughen,
Atkinson,	Charles,
Ayer,	Chesnut,
Barnwell,	Cheves,
Barron,	Clarke,
Barton,	Conner,
Beaty,	Crawford,
Bethea,	Curtis,
Bellinger,	Dargan,
Bobo,	Davant,
Bonneau,	Davis,
Brabham,	De Saussure,
Brown, A. H.	De Treville,
Brown, C. P.	Dozier,
Buehanan,	Duncan,
Burnet,	Dunkin,
Gain,	Dunovant, A. Q.
Calhoun,	Dunovant, R. G. M.
Caldwell,	Du Pre,
Campbell,	Easley,
Carn,	Ellis,
Carlisle,	English,

Evans,	Logan,
Fair,	Lyles,
Finley,	McCrary,
Flud,	Melver,
Forster,	McKee,
Foster,	McLeod,
Frampton,	Magrath,
Furnan,	Manigault,
Gadberry,	Manning,
Garlington,	Mauldin,
Geiger,	Maxwell,
Gist,	Mayes,
Glover,	Mazyek,
Goodwin,	Means,
Gourdin, R. N.	Memminger,
Gourdin, T. L.	Middleton, John Izard
Green,	Middleton, W.
Gregg, Maxcy	Miles,
Gregg, William	Moore,
Grisham,	Moorman,
Hammond,	Noble,
Hanckel,	Nowell,
Harlee,	O'Hear,
Harrison,	Orr,
Hayne,	Palmer,
Henderson,	Parker,
Honour,	Perrin,
Hopkins,	Pope,
Hunter,	Porcher,
Hutson,	Pressley,
Inglis,	Quattlebaum,
Ingram,	Rainey,
Jackson,	Reed,
Jefferies,	Rhett,
Jenkins, John	Rhodes,
Jenkins, J. E.	Richardson, F. D.
Johnson,	Richardson, J. P.
Keitt,	Robinson,
Kershaw,	Rowell,
Kilgore,	Rutledge,
Kinard,	Scott,
Kinsler,	Seabrook, E. M.
Landrum,	Seabrook, G. W., Sr.
Lawton,	Sessions,
Lewis,	Shingler, W. P.



Shingler, J. M.	Townsend,
Simons,	Wagner,
Simpson,	Wannamaker,
Smyly,	Wardlaw, D. L.
Smith,	Wardlaw, F. H.
Snowden,	Watts,
Spain,	Wier,
Spratt,	Whitner,
Springs,	Williams,
Stokes,	Wilson, I. D.
Sims,	Wilson, J. H.
Thompson, R. A.	Wilson, W. B.
Thomson, Thomas	Withers,
Timmons,	Woods,
Tompkins,	Young.

On motion of Mr. Miles, it was ordered that the Clerk telegraph forthwith to our members of Congress in Washington the result of the vote and the Ordinance of Secession.

Mr. De Sanssure offered the following resolutions, which were considered immediately, and were agreed to :

*Resolved*, That a message be sent to His Excellency the Governor, and to both branches of the Legislature, inviting their attendance at the Institute Hall, at seven o'clock this evening; and that this Convention move in procession to the Institute Hall, and there, at seven o'clock, in the presence of the constituted authorities of the State, and of the People, sign the Ordinance of Secession.

*Resolved*, That the President invite a member of the reverend clergy to attend at Institute Hall, at seven o'clock, this evening, and, upon the signing of the Ordinance, to return thanks to Almighty God on behalf of the People of this State, and to invoke His blessing upon our proceedings.

*Resolved*, That the Ordinance be engrossed, under the direction of the Attorney General and the Solicitors, upon parchment, and signed by the President and members of the Convention at the Institute Hall, in the alphabetical

order of Election Districts, and be deposited in the archives of the State.

Mr. Dunkin offered the following Ordinance, which was considered immediately:

Be it ordained, by the People of South Carolina, by their Delegates in Convention assembled,

That until otherwise provided by the Legislature, the Governor shall be authorized to appoint Collectors and other officers connected with the customs for the several ports within the State of South Carolina, and also all Post Masters within the said State; and that, until such appointment shall have been made, the persons now charged with the duties of the said several offices shall continue to discharge the same, keeping an account of the moneys received and disbursed by them respectively.

Mr. Gadberry moved to amend, by striking out the words "by the Legislature."

Mr. Dunkin accepted the amendment.

Mr. E. M. Seabrook moved that the Ordinance be referred to the Committee on Commercial Relations and Postal Arrangements.

Mr. Seabrook withdrew his motion.

Mr. Carroll moved that the Ordinance be made the special order of the day for to-morrow, at one o'clock, p. m., which motion was not agreed to.

Mr. Maxey Gregg moved to strike out all after the ordaining words, and insert the following:

We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that until otherwise provided for by the General Assembly, the importation of merchandize into this State shall be free and unrestricted; and it shall be the duty of the Governor to make such temporary regulations as may be requisite, concerning the entry and clear-

ance of vessels, and to appoint such officers as may be needed for the purpose; and it shall be the duty of the General Assembly to provide proper compensation for all officers whose appointment is required by this Ordinance.

Section 2. And it is further ordained and declared that, until otherwise provided for by the General Assembly, it shall be the duty of the Governor to appoint Post Masters, and to make such temporary arrangements as may be requisite for the transportation of the mails, having due regard to mail contracts with the government of the United States, now subsisting.

Mr. J. I. Middleton proposed the following amendment, as an additional clause to the Ordinance:

And the Collectors of the Customs are hereby instructed to levy and collect duties on all goods, wares and merchandize, at half the rates heretofore exacted by operation of the last Tariff Act of the United States government, until otherwise directed by law.

Mr. Hutson offered the following amendment:

We, the people of the Commonwealth of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained,

That until the General Assembly shall otherwise provide, all citizens of this State now holding office under the Government of the United States, within the limits of South Carolina, be, and they are hereby appointed to hold, under the Government of this State, the same offices they now fill, with the pay and the emoluments they now receive.

And be it further ordained, that until the General Assembly shall otherwise provide, the revenue and postal laws of the United States be, and they are hereby adopted and made the laws of this State; saving and excepting that no duties shall be collected upon goods, wares, merchan-

dizes and productions imported from any of the slaveholding commonwealths of North America.

And be it further ordained, that all moneys collected by any of the officers aforesaid shall, after deducting the sums necessary for the compensation of officers and other expenses, be paid into the Bank of the State of South Carolina, subject to the order of the General Assembly.

And be it further ordained, that the officers aforesaid shall retain in their hands all property of the United States in their possession, custody and control, subject to the disposal of the General Assembly, who will account for the same upon a final settlement with the Government of the United States.

Mr. A. H. Brown offered the following amendment :

That the Governor of the State be empowered forthwith to collect duties on imports at the rates now existing in the United States, and appoint Collectors or other recipients for the same, and hold them subject to the further direction of this body, and also continue the present Postal Arrangements, in part contracted on our behalf, till further arrangements can be effected.

On motion, the ordinance, and the amendments proposed, were ordered to be printed.

Pending the debate,

On motion of Mr. Mazyek, business was suspended at forty-five minutes past three o'clock, p. m., till half-past six o'clock, p. m.

#### RECESS.

The President resumed the chair.

On motion of Mr. Rhett, it was ordered, that when the Convention adjourn, it shall be adjourned to meet to-morrow, at twelve o'clock, m.

Mr. DeSaussure offered the following resolution, which, on motion of Mr. Bonneau, was ordered to lie on the table:

*Resolved*, That the Charleston Delegates to the Convention be requested to cause an alteration to be made in the arrangement of the Hall, so that the seat of the President shall be in the centre of the Hall, on the south side, opposite to the front entrance; and the chairs of the members be arranged on the right hand and the left, facing the chair, thus bringing the members face to face and ensuring the chance of being distinctly heard.

A message was received from the Senate, through their Clerk, Mr. William E. Martin, informing the Convention that the Senate accepted the invitation of the Convention, to attend the signing of the Ordinance of Secession at Institute Hall, this evening, at seven o'clock.

A message was received from the House of Representatives, through their Clerk, Mr. John T. Sloan, informing the Convention that the House of Representatives accepted the invitation of the Convention to attend the signing of the Ordinance of Secession at Institute Hall, this evening, at seven o'clock.

The Convention moved in procession to Institute Hall. The President took the chair, and the proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. Bachman.

The Attorney General, Mr. I. W. Hayne, made the following report:

The Attorney General and the Solicitors, to whom was confided the care of the Ordinance of this Convention for engrossing and enrollment, have performed that duty, and caused the great seal of the State to be attached thereto.

Whereupon, the Ordinance was presented, and was signed by every member of the Convention, the Election Districts having been called in alphabetical order.

When the signing was completed, the President of the Convention said:

The Ordinance of Secession has been signed and ratified,

and I proclaim the State of South Carolina an Independent Commonwealth.

On motion, the Convention was adjourned at fifteen minutes past nine o'clock, P. M.

B. F. ARTHUR,  
*Clerk of the Convention.*

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FRIDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1860.

At the hour to which the Convention was adjourned, the President took the chair, and the proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. D. Du Pre.

The Clerk called the Roll, and the following delegates answered to their names :

Messrs. Adams,	Cauthen,
Allison,	Chesnut,
Appleby,	Cheves,
Atkinson,	Clarke,
Ayer,	Conner,
Barnwell,	Crawford,
Barron,	Curtis,
Barton,	Dargan,
Beaty,	Davant,
Bethca,	Davis,
Bellinger,	De Sanssure,
Bobo,	De Treville,
Bonneau,	Duncan,
Brabham,	Dunkin,
Brown, A. H.	Du Pre,
Buchanan,	Easley,
Calhoun,	Ellis,
Caldwell,	English,
Campbell,	Evans,
Carn,	Fair,
Carlisle,	Finley,
Carroll,	Flud,
Caughman,	Forster,

Foster,	Manning,
Frampton,	Mauldin,
Furman,	Maxwell,
Gadberry,	Mayes,
Garlington,	Means,
Geiger,	Memminger,
Glover,	Middleton, J. Izard
Goodwin,	Middleton, W.
Gourdin, R. N.	Moore,
Green,	Moorman,
Gregg, Maxey	Nowell,
Gregg, William	Orr,
Grisham,	Palmer,
Hammond,	Parker,
Hanckel,	Perrin,
Harlee,	Pope,
Harrison,	Porcher,
Hayne,	Pressley,
Henderson,	Quattlebaum,
Honour,	Rainey,
Hopkins,	Reed,
Hunter,	Rhett,
Hutson,	Rhodes,
Inglis,	Richardson, J. P.
Ingram,	Robinson,
Jackson,	Rowell,
Jefferies,	Rutledge,
Jenkins, John	Scott,
Jenkins, J. E.	Seabrook, E. M.
Johnson,	Seabrook, G. W., Sr.
Keitt,	Sessions,
Kershaw,	Shingler, W. P.
Kilgore,	Shingler, J. M.
Kinard,	Simons,
Kinsler,	Simpson,
Landrum,	Smyly,
Lawton,	Smith,
Lewis,	Snowden,
Logan,	Spain,
Lyles,	Springs,
McCrary,	Stokes,
McIver,	Sims,
McKee,	Thompson, R. A.
McLeod,	Thomson, Thomas
Magrath,	Timmons,

Tompkins,	Whitner,
Townsend,	Williams,
Wagner,	Wilson, I. D.
Wannamaker,	Wilson, J. H.
Wardlaw, D. L.	Wilson, W. B.
Wardlaw, F. H.	Withers,
Watts,	Woods,
Wier,	Young.

Mr. Adams moved that this Convention go into secret session.

On motion of Mr. Perrin, the motion was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Rhett presented the report of the Committee appointed to prepare an address to the people of the Southern States.

On motion of Mr. D. L. Wardlaw, the address was ordered to be printed.

Mr. Carn moved that the address be made the special order of the day for Monday next, at one o'clock, P. M.

Mr. Reed moved to amend, by striking out "Monday next" and inserting "to-morrow," which amendment was agreed to; and the address was made the special order of the day for to-morrow, at one o'clock, P. M.

Mr. D. L. Wardlaw, from the Committee on the Constitution of the State, made a report, and reported the following

#### ORDINANCE :

An Ordinance to alter the Constitution of the State of South Carolina in respect to the oath of office.

We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained,

That the Fourth Article of the Constitution of the State of South Carolina, heretofore amended, be now altered, so as to read as follows, to wit :

All persons who shall be elected or appointed to any office of profit or trust, before entering on the execution



thereof, shall take (besides special oaths, not repugnant to this Constitution prescribed by the General Assembly) the following oath: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will be faithful, and true allegiance bear, to the State of South Carolina, so long as I may continue a citizen thereof; and that I am duly qualified, according to the Constitution of this State, to exercise the office to which I have been appointed; and that I will, to the best of my ability, discharge the duties thereof, and preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of this State, so help me God."

On motion of Mr. D. L. Wardlaw, the Ordinance was considered immediately, was adopted, was ordered to be engrossed and to be signed by the President and the Clerk.

On motion of Mr. Pressley, leave of absence was granted to Mr. Dozier, on account of sickness.

On motion of Mr. Spain, leave of absence, until Monday, the 31st instant, was granted to Mr. Green, on account of indisposition.

#### SPECIAL ORDER.

On motion of Mr. De Treville, the Convention proceeded to the consideration of the following resolution, which had been made the special order of the day for Thursday, at one o'clock, P. M.:

*Resolved*, That it is expedient that a Council, to consist of five citizens of the State, to act with the Governor of the State as his counsellors and advisers, and to be called a Council of Safety, should be forthwith appointed; and that it be referred to a Committee of this Convention to report thereon, by Ordinance or otherwise.

On motion of Mr. De Treville, the resolution was amended by striking out all after the word "Resolved," and inserting the following: "That it be referred to the Committee on the Constitution to enquire and report on the expediency of appointing forthwith a Council to consist of —"

citizens of the State, to act with the Governor of the State, as his counsellors and advisers, and to be called a Council of Safety."

On motion of Mr. De Treville, the resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. Adams, the Convention went into secret session.

After some time passed therein, on motion of Mr. Gist, the doors of the Hall were thrown open.

On motion of Mr. Buchanan, it was ordered, that when the Convention adjourns, it shall be adjourned to meet to-morrow, at twelve o'clock, M.

On motion of Mr. J. I. Middleton, leave of absence, till Monday next, was granted to Mr. Appleby.

On motion of Mr. Inglis, business was suspended at fifty-five minutes past three o'clock, P. M., until seven o'clock, P. M.

#### RECESS.

The President resumed the Chair.

The President laid before the Convention the following communication, which was received as information, and was left in the possession of the President:

CHARLESTON HOTEL, December 21, 1860.

Hon. D. F. JAMISON,

*President of the South Carolina Convention,  
now sitting in Charleston:*

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to lay before you, for information, a despatch, just received by me, from his Excellency, John J. Pettus, Governor of Mississippi, in which he informs me that in Hinds County, where the most formidable opposition, or co-operation, ticket in the State was organized, those in favor of separate State action have succeeded by a majority of three hundred; and that we have the State Convention by a majority of *four to one*.

I have the honor to enclose the despatch, to be disposed of at your pleasure.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

C. E. HOOKER.

The despatch referred to is as follows :

To Hon. C. E. HOOKER, Commissioner :

Hinds County three hundred majority for prompt secession. Our majority in Convention four to one.

JOHN J. PETTUS.

Mr. Adams, from the Committee appointed to count the ballots cast for three Commissioners to Washington, reported that one hundred and sixty-four (164) ballots were cast, with the following result :

Mr. W. P. Miles received 22 votes ; R. W. Barnwell, 104 ; L. M. Keitt, 4 ; C. G. Memminger, 38 ; T. J. Withers, 44 ; J. H. Adams, 21 ; A. G. Magrath, 69 ; I. W. Hayne, 1 ; J. S. Preston, 23 ; J. P. Carroll, 4 ; J. L. Orr, 59 ; Wm. H. Trescott, 34 ; R. B. Rhett, 10 ; J. Chesnut, Jr., 29 ; D. L. Wardlaw, 9 ; W. P. Finley, 3 ; J. L. Manning, 1 ; W. F. De Saussure, 2 ; Maxey Gregg, 6 ; John McQueen, 1 ; W. H. Gist, 1 ; John A. Inglis, 4 ; I. D. Wilson, 1 ; W. W. Harlee, 1 ; B. F. Dunkin, 2 ; J. P. Richardson, 1 ; J. Townsend, 1. Eighty-three being a majority, R. W. Barnwell only, is elected.

On motion of Mr. De Treville, the Convention proceeded to a second ballot for Commissioners to Washington.

Mr. Memminger, from the Committee appointed to prepare a declaration of the causes which justify the secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union, made a report, which, on motion of Mr. Dargan, was made the special order of the day for to-morrow, at one o'clock, p. m., and was ordered to be printed.

Mr. Atkinson, from the Committee appointed to count the ballots cast on the second ballot for Commissioners to

the Federal Government at Washington, reported that no one had received a majority of the ballots cast, and that, consequently, there was no election.

The Convention proceeded to a third ballot for Commissioners to the Federal Government at Washington.

On motion of Mr. Bobo, leave of absence, till Wednesday next, was granted to Mr. Carlisle, on account of the illness of his family.

On motion of Mr. Dunkin, the following Ordinance, together with the amendments thereto, was taken up from the table :

Be it ordained by the People of South Carolina, by their Delegates in Convention assembled,

That until otherwise provided, the Governor shall be authorized to appoint Collectors and other officers connected with the customs for the several ports within the State of South Carolina, and also all Post Masters within the said State; and that until such appointment shall have been made, the persons now charged with the duties of the said several offices shall continue to discharge the same, keeping an account of the moneys received and disbursed by them respectively.

On motion of Mr. Dunkin, the Ordinance, together with the amendments, was referred to the Committee on Commercial Relations and Postal Arrangements.

Mr. Cheves offered the following Ordinance, which, on motion of Mr. Cheves, was referred to the Committee on Commercial Relations and Postal Arrangements, and was ordered to be printed :

Whereas, the Federal Government of the United States of America, has, from time to time, with the consent of this State, created certain offices of profit and trust, as well within as without the limits of this State;

And whereas, divers persons, as well citizens of this State, as others, have, with the consent of this State, and

by the appointment of the said Federal Government of the United States of America, undertaken the execution of the functions of the said offices, and become bound by official oaths and heavy penalties, to the Federal Government aforesaid, for the performance of the same ;

And whereas, the sudden arrest of the functions of the said offices would work great inconvenience to the citizens of this State, and grievous hardship to the persons bound as aforesaid ;

Wherefore, for the convenience of this State and for the relief of said persons,

Be it ordained, and by the people of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, it is ordained,

That all persons who were in occupation of any office of profit or trust under the government of the United States of America, immediately previous to the adoption of the Ordinance of Secession, shall continue to exercise the functions of the same, in like manner and form precisely as before the adoption of said Ordinance, until otherwise ordered.

And that all Laws of the Federal Government of the United States of America, which shall have been abrogated by virtue of said Ordinance, are hereby declared in full force and effect for the purposes aforesaid, and no other.

And be it further ordained, that the operation of this Ordinance may be, at any time, suspended by the Governor of this State at his discretion.

And that the General Assembly of this State is authorized and empowered to repeal the same whensoever it shall be by them deemed expedient.

Mr. Reed offered the following resolution, which, on motion of Mr. Means, was ordered to lie on the table :

*Resolved*, That when this Convention adjourns, it shall be adjourned to meet on Tuesday, the fifteenth day of January next, at twelve o'clock, M.

Mr. John Izard Middleton offered the following resolu-

tions, which were referred to the Committee on Commercial Relations and Postal Arrangements :

*Resolved*, That until the General Assembly shall otherwise determine, all goods, wares, and merchandize imported, into this Commonwealth, be subjected to a rate of duties amounting to one-half of that exacted by the late Government of the United States, excepting all goods, wares, and merchandize imported from any of the slaveholding States of this Continent, at amity with this Commonwealth, the products of which shall be free of all duties.

*Resolved*, That until the General Assembly shall otherwise provide, duties on the tonnage of all vessels resorting to the ports of this Commonwealth, shall be at the rates heretofore exacted by the late Government of the United States.

On motion of Mr. Mazyek, the following Resolution was taken up :

*Resolved*, That a Committee, to consist of \_\_\_\_\_ members, be appointed, whose duty it shall be to inquire and report to this Convention how much of the Legislation of Congress would be *ipso facto* abrogated, so far as this State is concerned, by the secession of the State from the Federal Union, and how much of it might remain of force, notwithstanding the Act of Secession.

On motion of Mr. Mazyek, the blank was filled with the number thirteen, and the Resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

Mr. Middleton offered the following Ordinance, which, on motion of Mr. Chesnut, was ordered to lie on the table :

Be it ordained, by the People of the State of South Carolina, now met and sitting in Convention, that all citizens of South Carolina in the naval and military service of the United States who have, in consequence of the present aspect of political affairs, resigned their commissions, or

who may, for that cause, resign their commissions within the term of \_\_\_\_\_ months, shall be entitled to and shall be placed in the same grade in the service of the Commonwealth of South Carolina, with that which they relinquish. and shall receive, respectively, the pay and emoluments attached to their grade in the late United States service, subject, in all cases, to such enactments in relation to naval and military affairs as may be passed by the General Assembly.

Mr. Barron, from the Committee appointed to count the ballots cast on the third ballot for Commissioners to the Federal Government at Washington, reported that Messrs. James H. Adams and James L. Orr had received a majority of the ballots cast. Whereupon, the President announced that Messrs. R. W. Barnwell, James H. Adams, and James L. Orr, are duly elected Commissioners to the Federal Government at Washington.

On motion of Mr. Bobo, the Convention was adjourned at five minutes past ten o'clock, P. M.

B. F. ARTHUR,  
*Clerk of the Convention*

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SATURDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1860.

At the hour to which the Convention was adjourned, the President took the Chair, and the proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. John G. Landrum.

The Clerk called the Roll, when the following delegates answered to their names :

Messrs. Adams,	Barron,
Allison,	Barton,
Atkinson,	Beaty,
Ayer,	Bethea,
Barnwell,	Bellinger,

Bobo,	Geiger,
Bonneau,	Gist,
Brabham,	Glover,
Brown, A. H.	Goodwin,
Brown, C. P.	Gourdin, R. N.
Buchanan,	Gourdin, T. L.
Burnet,	Gregg, Maxey,
Cain,	Gregg, William
Calhoun,	Grisham,
Caldwell,	Hammond,
Campbell,	Hanckel,
Carn,	Harlee,
Carroll,	Harrison,
Caughman,	Hayne,
Cauthen,	Henderson,
Charles,	Honour,
Chesnut,	Hopkins,
Cheves,	Hunter,
Clarke,	Hutson,
Conner,	Inglis,
Crawford,	Ingram,
Curtis,	Jackson,
Dargan,	Jefferies,
Davant,	Jenkins, John
Davis,	Jenkins, J. E.
De Saussure,	Johnson,
De Treville,	Keitt,
Duncan,	Kershaw,
Dunkin,	Kilgore,
Dunovant, A. Q.	Kinard,
Dunovant, R. G. M.	Kinsler,
Du Pre,	Landrum,
Easley,	Lawton,
Ellis,	Lewis,
English,	Logan,
Evans,	Lyles,
Fair,	McCrary,
Finley,	McIver,
Flud,	McKee,
Forster,	McLeod,
Foster,	Magrath,
Frampton,	Manigault,
Furman,	Manning,
Gadberry,	Mauldin,
Garlington,	Maxwell,



Mayes,	Sessions,
Mazyck,	Shingler, J. M.
Means,	Shingler, W. P.
Memminger,	Simons,
Middleton, J. I.	Simpson,
Middleton, W.	Smyly,
Miles,	Smith,
Moore,	Snowden,
Moorman,	Spain,
Noble,	Spratt,
Nowell,	Springs,
O'Hear,	Stokes,
Orr,	Sims,
Palmer,	Thompson, R. A.
Parker,	Thomson, Thomas
Perrin,	Timmons,
Pope,	Tompkins,
Porcher,	Townsend,
Pressley,	Wagner,
Quattlebaum,	Wannamaker,
Rainey,	Wardlaw, D. L.
Reed,	Wardlaw, F. H.
Rhett,	Watts,
Rhodes,	Wier,
Richardson, F. D.	Whitner,
Richardson, J. P.	Williams,
Robinson,	Wilson, I. D.
Rowell,	Wilson, J. H.
Rutledge,	Wilson, W. B.
Scott,	Withers,
Seabrook, E. M.	Woods,
Seabrook, G. W., Sr.	Young.

The President announced the following gentlemen as the Committee to inquire how much of the legislation of Congress would be abrogated by the secession of the State from the Federal Union:

Messrs. Alexander Mazyck,  
 H. C. Davis,  
 B. B. Foster,  
 T. M. Hanckel,  
 B. F. Kilgore,

Messrs. J. Maxwell,  
 R. Moorman,  
 J. S. Palmer,  
 W. P. Shingler,  
 A. B. Springs,  
 J. Tompkins,  
 S. Bobo,  
 H. I. Caughman.

The President laid before the Convention the following communication :

CHARLESTON, Dec. 21, 1860.

*Honorable the President and Delegates  
 of the Commonwealth of South Carolina:*

GENTLEMEN: The Commissioners of the Orphan House have instructed me to invite you to visit the Institution of the Orphan House in this city, whenever it may suit your convenience to do so, individually or as a body.

The House will be at all times open for your inspection.  
 Respectfully,

H. A. DE SAUSSURE,  
*Chairman of Commissioners of Orphan House.*

On motion, the communication was received as information, and the invitation was accepted.

Mr. Means offered the following Resolution, which was considered immediately, and was agreed to:

*Resolved,* That the Commissioners to the Federal Government at Washington be authorized to appoint a Secretary, if necessary.

Mr. Gadberry offered the following Resolution, which was considered immediately, and was agreed to:

*Resolved,* That it be referred to the Committee on the Constitution, to inquire whether the powers heretofore del-

egated to the Federal Government by this State, and resumed by the Ordinance of Secession, may not be properly bestowed upon the Legislature of this State; and if so, to report to this Convention an Ordinance for that purpose.

Mr. De Saussure, from the Committee on the Address to the People of the Southern States, made a Report on the Address of a portion of the members of the General Assembly of Georgia; which, on motion of Mr. Withers, was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

Mr. Miles offered the following Resolution, which was considered immediately, and was agreed to:

*Resolved*, That the travelling expenses of our Commissioners to Washington be paid, and that they receive ten dollars each, *per diem*, for their personal expenses during the time they may be employed in the discharge of the duties of their mission.

Mr. Hayne offered the following Resolution, which was considered immediately, and was agreed to:

*Resolved*, That the resolution, adopted in secret session, for the appointment of Commissioners to the Government of the United States, be committed to C. D. Melton, Esq., one of the Solicitors of the State, for the purpose of preparing commissions for the Commissioners elected by this body—the said C. D. Melton being first sworn to secrecy.

Mr. Simons offered the following Resolution, which was considered immediately, and was agreed to:

*Resolved*, That there be added to the Standing Committees of this Convention an Engrossing Committee, to consist of three members, to be appointed by the President.

Mr. Miles offered the following Resolution, which was considered immediately, and was agreed to:

*Resolved*, That the injunction of secrecy be removed as to yesterday's proceedings, and that the report of the Committee on Foreign Relations be printed with the Journal of this day.

On motion of Mr. Magrath, the Convention went into secret session.

B. F. ARTHUR,  
*Clerk of the Convention.*

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## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS.

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The Committee on Foreign Relations, to whom was referred certain resolutions touching the appointment of Commissioners, to treat with the United States concerning the property of the latter in South Carolina, and other matters, beg leave respectfully to

### REPORT:

That they have duly considered the subjects submitted to them, and recommend the immediate adoption of the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That three Commissioners, to be elected by ballot of this Convention, be directed forthwith to proceed to Washington, authorized and empowered to treat with the Government of the United States for the delivery of the Forts, Magazines, Light Houses, and other real estate, with their appurtenances, within the limits of South Carolina, and also for an apportionment of the public debt, and for a division of all other property, held by the Government of the United States, as agent of the Confederated

States, of which South Carolina was recently a member : and, generally, to negotiate as to all other measures and arrangements proper to be made and adopted, in the existing relation of the parties, and for the continuance of peace and amity between this Commonwealth and the Government at Washington.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

WM. PORCHER MILES, *Chairman.*

MONDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1860.

At the hour to which the Convention was adjourned, the President took the Chair, and the proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. J. M. Timmons.

The Clerk called the Roll, and the following delegates answered to their names :

Messrs. Allison,	Cauthen,
Atkinson,	Charles,
Ayer,	Chesnut,
Barron,	Cheves,
Barton,	Clarke,
Beaty,	Conner,
Bethica,	Crawford,
Bellinger,	Dargan,
Bobo,	Davis,
Bonneau,	De Saussure,
Brabham,	De Treville,
Brown, A. H.	Dunkin,
Brown, C. P.	Dunovant, R. G. M.
Burnet,	Du Pre,
Cain,	Easley,
Calhoun,	Ellis,
Caldwell,	English,
Campbell,	Evans,
Carn,	Fair,
Carroll,	Finley,
Caughman,	Flud,

Forster,	Manning,
Foster,	Mauldin,
Frampton,	Maxwell,
Furman,	Mazyek,
Gadberry,	Means,
Garlington,	Memminger,
Geiger,	Middleton, J. Izard
Gist,	Middleton, W.
Glover,	Moore,
Goodwin,	Moorman,
Gourdin, R. N.	Noble,
Gourdin, T. L.	Nowell,
Gregg, William	O'Hear,
Grisham,	Palmer,
Hammond,	Parker,
Hanckel,	Perrin,
Harlee,	Pope,
Harrison,	Porcher,
Hayne,	Pressley,
Henderson,	Quattlebaum,
Honour,	Rainey,
Hopkins,	Reed,
Hunter,	Rhett,
Hutson,	Richardson, F. D.
Inglis,	Richardson, J. P.
Ingram,	Robinson,
Jackson,	Rowell,
Jefferies,	Rutledge,
Jenkins, John	Scott,
Jenkins, J. E.	Seabrook, G. W., Sr.
Johuson,	Sessions,
Keitt,	Shingler, W. P.
Kershaw,	Simpson,
Kilgore,	Smyly,
Kinard,	Smith,
Kinsler,	Snowden,
Landrum,	Spain,
Lawton,	Spratt,
Lewis,	Springs,
Logan,	Sims,
Lyles,	Thompson, R. A.
McIver,	Thomson, Thomas
McKee,	Timmons,
McLeod,	Tompkins,
Magrath,	Townsend,

Wannamaker,	Wilson, I. D.
Wardlaw, D. L.	Wilson, J. H.
Wardlaw, F. H.	Wilson, W. B.
Watts,	Withers,
Wier,	Woods,
Whitner,	Young.
Williams,	

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read.

The President announced the following as the Engrossing Committee:

Messrs. T. Y. Simons,  
S. Fair,  
H. McIver.

Mr. Lyles offered the following Resolution, which was considered immediately, and was agreed to:

*Resolved*, That the Honorable M. S. Perry, Governor of the State of Florida, now in the City of Charleston, be, and he is hereby, invited to a seat on the floor of the Convention.

Mr. De Saussure presented the account of E. R. Stokes, for putting the Baptist Church in Columbia in condition for receiving the Convention; which, on motion of Mr. Maxey Gregg, was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Quattlebaum offered the following Resolutions, which were considered immediately, and were agreed to:

*Resolved*, That the accounts of the Printers for this Convention be audited by the Comptroller General, allowing them the rates designated in the Resolution conferring upon them their appointment; and that the said accounts, when so audited, be paid by the Treasurer of the Lower Division.

*Resolved*, That immediately after the Convention shall have terminated its present session in Charleston, the several Ordinances adopted by it, together with the Journal of

its public proceedings, be printed in pamphlet form; and that five hundred copies be struck off, for the use of the Convention, to be disposed of under the direction of the President.

Mr. Pressley offered the following Resolution, which was considered immediately, and was agreed to:

*Resolved*, That a Committee on Accounts, to consist of five members, be appointed by the President.

Mr. Caughman offered the following Resolution, which was considered immediately, and was referred to the Committee on Printing:

*Resolved*, That \_\_\_\_\_ copies of the Ordinance of Secession and the signatures thereto, be photographed for the use of the members of the Convention.

Mr. Magrath offered the following Ordinance, which was considered immediately, and was referred to the Committee on the Constitution of the State, and was ordered to be printed:

We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that until otherwise provided for by the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina, the Judges of the Courts of Law in this State shall have and take cognizance of all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction. And that the said Judges shall further have jurisdiction of all offences under the laws of the United States relating to the Post Office department, the public customs, seamen, and offences upon the high seas. That the laws of the United States, which were in operation at the time of the secession of this State, in relation to these several offences, be and are hereby retained as parts of the laws of this State, until otherwise provided for by the



General Assembly of the State; saving and excepting therefrom so much as relates to the Courts in which such offences shall be tried. That the said Judges shall have power to appoint such officers under them as may be necessary for the proper discharge of the duties herein provided. And that in such cases as have been tried by a jury, the trial shall be by a jury according to the mode of force in this State in relation thereto. And in cases in the admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, in which the trial by jury has not been established, the forms and modes of proceeding shall be such as have been heretofore in use in Courts within this State, having cognizance of such cases.

On motion of Mr. D. L. Wardlaw, Mr. Magrath was added to the Committee on the Constitution of the State.

On motion of Mr. Rhett, the Convention proceeded to the consideration of the Address of the People of South Carolina, assembled in Convention, to the People of the Slaveholding States of the United States.

Mr. Dargan moved that the Address, together with the Declaration of the Causes which justify the secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union, be recommitted to a Special Committee, to be composed of the Committee on the Address, and the Committee on the Declaration; which motion was not agreed to.

#### SPECIAL ORDER.

On motion of Mr. Dunkin, the Convention proceeded to the consideration of the Report of the Committee on Commercial Relations and Postal Arrangements, and the Report of the Minority of the same Committee; which had been made the special order of the day for this day at one o'clock, P. M.

On motion of Mr. Harlee, the special order was discharged for thirty minutes.

The Convention resumed the consideration of the Address to the People of the Slaveholding States.

After some time passed in the consideration thereof, the Address was adopted.

The Convention proceeded to the consideration of the Declaration of the Causes which justify the secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union.

Mr. Gregg moved that the Declaration be ordered to lie on the table; and the question being put, will the Convention agree thereto? it was decided in the negative:

Yeas, 31; nays, 124.

The yeas and nays were demanded, and are as follows:  
Those who voted in the affirmative are:

Messrs. Atkinson,	Kinsler,
Ayer,	Logan,
Bonneau,	Lyles,
Burnet,	Manigault,
Cain,	Maxwell,
Calhoun,	Mazyek,
Carroll,	Noble,
Davis,	Palmer,
De Saussure,	Parker,
Du Pre,	Smith,
Flud,	Snowden,
Furman,	Spain,
Gist,	Timmons,
Gourdin, T. L.	Tompkins,
Gregg, Maxey	Wilson, J. H.
Kilgore,	

Those who voted in the negative are:

Hon. D. F. JAMISON, President; and	
Messrs. Allison,	Carn,
Barron,	Caughman,
Barton,	Cauthen,
Beaty,	Charles,
Bethca,	Chesnut,
Bellinger,	Cheves,
Bobo,	Clarke,
Brabham,	Conner,
Brown, A. H.	Crawford,
Brown, C. P.	Curtis,
Caldwell,	Dargan,
Campbell,	De Treville,

CONVENTION OF 1860.

Duncan,  
 Dunkin,  
 Dumovant, A. Q.  
 Dumovant, R. G. M.  
 Easley,  
 Ellis,  
 Evans,  
 Fair,  
 Finley,  
 Forster,  
 Foster,  
 Frampton,  
 Gadberry,  
 Garlington,  
 Geiger,  
 Glover,  
 Goodwin,  
 Gourdin, R. N.  
 Gregg, William  
 Grisham,  
 Hammond,  
 Hanckel,  
 Harlee,  
 Harrison,  
 Hayne,  
 Henderson,  
 Honour,  
 Hopkins,  
 Hunter,  
 Hutson,  
 Inglis,  
 Ingram,  
 Jackson,  
 Jefferies,  
 Jenkins, J. E.  
 Jenkins, John  
 Johnson,  
 Keitt,  
 Kershaw,  
 Kinard,  
 Landrum,  
 Lawton,  
 Lewis,  
 McCrady,  
 McIver,

McKee,  
 McLeod,  
 Magrath,  
 Manning,  
 Mauldin,  
 Means,  
 Memminger,  
 Middleton, J. Izard  
 Middleton, W.  
 Miles,  
 Moore,  
 Moorman,  
 Nowell,  
 O'Hear,  
 Perrin,  
 Pope,  
 Porcher,  
 Pressley,  
 Quattlebaum,  
 Rainey,  
 Reed,  
 Rhodes,  
 Richardson, F. D.  
 Richardson, J. P.  
 Robinson,  
 Rowell,  
 Rutledge,  
 Scott,  
 Seabrook, E. M.  
 Seabrook, G. W., Sr.  
 Sessions,  
 Shingler, J. M.  
 Simons,  
 Simpson,  
 Smyly,  
 Springs,  
 Stokes,  
 Sims,  
 Thompson, R. A.  
 Thomson, Thomas  
 Townsend,  
 Wagner,  
 Wannamaker,  
 Wardlaw, D. L.  
 Wardlaw, F. H.

Watts,  
Wier,  
Whitner,  
Williams,  
Wilson, I. D.

Wilson, W. B.  
Withers,  
Woods,  
Young.

So the motion was not agreed to.

After sundry amendments, the Declaration was adopted, and was committed to the Engrossing Committee.

Mr. D. L. Wardlaw, from the Committee on the Constitution of the State, made a report, and reported "an Ordinance to alter the Constitution of the State of South Carolina, in respect to the Executive Department;" which was ordered for consideration to-morrow, and to be printed.

Mr. D. L. Wardlaw, from the Committee on the Constitution of the State, reported an Ordinance to alter the Constitution of the State of South Carolina, by striking out certain words in sundry places; which was ordered for consideration to-morrow, and to be printed.

On motion of Mr. E. M. Seabrook, leave of absence for a few days was granted to Mr. Davant, on account of sickness.

On motion of Mr. Cheves, business was suspended at twenty-five minutes past four o'clock, P. M., until seven o'clock, P. M.

#### RECESS.

When the President resumed the Chair,

On motion of Mr. Dunkin, an Ordinance to make provisional Postal Arrangements in South Carolina, was committed to the Engrossing Committee.

On motion of Mr. Dunkin, the Convention went into secret session.

B. F. ARTHUR,  
*Clerk of the Convention.*

## TUESDAY, DECEMBER 25, 1860.

At the hour to which the Convention was adjourned, the President took the Chair, and the proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. John J. Wannamaker. The Clerk called the Roll, and the following delegates answered to their names:

Messrs. Allison,	Dunovant, A. Q.
Atkinson,	Dunovant, R. G. M.
Ayer,	Du Pre,
Barron,	Ellis,
Barton,	Evans,
Beaty,	Fair,
Bethca,	Finley,
Bellinger,	Flud,
Bobo,	Forster,
Bonneau,	Foster,
Brabham,	Frampton,
Brown, A. H.	Furman,
Brown, C. P.	Gadberry,
Burnet,	Garlington,
Cain,	Geiger,
Calhoun,	Gist,
Caldwell,	Glover,
Carn,	Goodwin,
Carroll,	Gourdin, R. N.
Caughman,	Gourdin, T. L.
Cauthen,	Gregg, Maxey
Charles,	Gregg, William
Chesnut,	Grisham,
Cheves,	Hammond,
Clarke,	Hanckel,
Comer,	Harlee,
Crawford,	Harrison,
Curtis,	Hayne,
Dargan,	Honour,
Davis,	Hopkins,
De Saussure,	Hunter,
De Treville,	Hutson,
Duncan,	Inglis,
Dunkin,	Ingram,

Jackson,	Rhodes,
Jefferies,	Richardson, F. D.
Jenkins, John	Richardson, J. P.
Jenkins, J. E.	Robinson,
Johnson,	Rowell,
Kershaw,	Rutledge,
Kilgore,	Scott,
Kinard,	Seabrook, E. M.
Kinsler,	Seabrook, G. W., Sr.,
Landrum,	Sessions,
Lawton,	Shingler, J. M.
Lewis,	Simons,
Logan,	Simpson,
Lyles,	Smyly,
McIver,	Smith,
McKee,	Snowden,
McLeod,	Spain,
Manigault,	Spratt,
Manning,	Springs,
Mauldin,	Stokes,
Maxwell,	Sims,
Mazyek,	Thompson, R. A.
Means,	Thomson, Thomas
Memminger,	Tinmons,
Middleton, J. Izard	Tompkins,
Middleton, W.	Townsend,
Miles,	Wagner,
Moore,	Wannamaker,
Moorman,	Wardlaw, D. L.
Noble,	Wardlaw, F. H.
Nowell,	Watts,
O'Hear,	Wier,
Palmer,	Whitner,
Parker,	Williams,
Perrin,	Wilson, I. D.
Porcher,	Wilson, J. H.
Pressley,	Wilson, W. B.
Quattlebaum,	Withers,
Rainey,	Woods,
Reed,	Young.
Rhett,	

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read.

Mr. Withers presented the report of the Committee on Relations with the Slaveholding States of North America,

on the various resolutions referred to them; which, on motion of Mr. Smith, was made the special order of the day for to-morrow, at one o'clock, P. M., and was ordered to be printed.

On motion of Mr. F. H. Wardlaw, leave of absence from and after to-morrow, until Monday next, was granted to Mr. William Gregg, on account of important business.

The President presented to the Convention the following communication, which was ordered to be entered on the Journal and to be printed:

CHARLESTON, December 24, 1860.

*To the President and Delegates of the Convention  
of the Independent State of South Carolina:*

GENTLEMEN: I have this moment been informed that you did me the honor, by Resolution, to invite me to a seat on the floor of the Convention. I am wanting in language, gentlemen, adequately to express the feelings this very unexpected courtesy at your hands has given rise to. In the whole course of life, now nearing half a century—a life not entirely devoid of incidents calculated to inspire a laudable manly pride—I have never felt so honored as in being privileged to a seat among those who, smarting under wrongs inflicted by the hands of a perverted government, have, with an unanimity and firmness unparalleled, broken the link of union with faithless confederates, and are engaged in the high, laudable, (may I not say) holy purpose of improvising a government which shall “confer the greatest liberty consistent with the rights, liberty and happiness of the governed.” I may say to *you*, without subjecting myself to the charge of treason, that I approve of every act of your Convention, in so far as known to me, in every particular. Your Ordinance is in good taste, to the point, and covers the whole ground.

Permit me to assure you, gentlemen, that gallant little Florida will be the next to follow your wise and patriotic lead. Upon the meeting of the Convention, Florida will,

as certainly as any thing in the future can be certain, wheel immediately into line with the gallant old Palmetto. We are identified with you in interest, in feeling, in determination not to submit to Black Republican rule, and a common destiny must be ours.

I regret exceedingly that urgent official duties, which I may not, in prudence, postpone, will deprive me of the pleasure of availing myself of your kindly courtesy.

With a tender of my sincere thanks, for the honor conferred, I am, gentlemen,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

M. S. PERRY.

The President announced the following Committee on Accounts:

Messrs. T. Thomson,  
R. T. Allison,  
D. R. Barton,  
J. J. Brabham,  
A. J. Hammond.

Mr. De Saussure presented the account of P. B. Glass, for stationery furnished to the Convention during its session in Columbia; which was referred to the Committee on Accounts.

On motion of Mr. De Saussure, the account of E. R. Stokes was taken up, and was referred to the Committee on Accounts.

Mr. Perrin offered the following Resolution, which, on motion of Mr. Rhett, was ordered to lie on the table:

*Resolved*, That this Convention take a recess from and after four o'clock, Wednesday, the 26th inst., until twelve o'clock, m., Wednesday, the 16th day of January next, unless called together at an earlier day by the President.

Mr. Manigault offered the following resolution, which, on



motion of Mr. Manigault, was ordered to lie on the table for the present :

*Resolved*, That this Convention hereby instruct the Governor to make, forthwith, all the preparations which may be needed for asserting, by force, the rights and jurisdiction of South Carolina within its territories.

On motion of Mr. Simons, it was

*Ordered*, That the Engrossing Committee be authorized to employ two Clerks.

Mr. Finley offered the following Resolution, which was considered immediately, and was agreed to :

*Resolved*, That copies of the "Ordinance of Secession," adopted by this Convention, and of the "Declaration of the immediate causes which induce and justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union," and of "The Address of the People of South Carolina assembled in Convention to the People of the Slaveholding States of the United States," be transmitted by the Governor of this State to the Governors of the Slaveholding States of the United States," for the information of their respective Legislatures or Conventions, where Conventions of the People have been called in any of the said Slaveholding States.

On motion of Mr. Dunkin, the Convention went into secret session.

B. F. ARTHUR,

*Clerk of the Convention.*

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1860.

At the hour to which the Convention was adjourned, the President took the Chair, and the proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. J. H. Honour.

The Clerk called the Roll, and the following delegates answered to their names :

Messrs. Allison,	Dunovant, R. G. M.
Appleby,	Du Pre,
Atkinson,	Easley,
Barron,	Ellis,
Barton,	Evans,
Beaty,	Fair,
Bethea,	Finley,
Bellinger,	Flud,
Bobo,	Forster,
Bonneau,	Foster,
Brabham,	Frampton,
Brown, A. H.	Furman,
Brown, C. P.	Gadberry,
Burnet,	Garlington,
Cain,	Geiger,
Calhoun,	Gist,
Caldwell,	Glover,
Campbell,	Goodwin,
Carn,	Gourdin, R. N.
Carroll,	Gourdin, T. L.
Caughman,	Gregg, Maxcy
Cauthen,	Grisham,
Charles,	Hammond,
Chesnut,	Hanckel,
Cheves,	Harlee,
Clarke,	Harrison,
Conner,	Hayne,
Crawford,	Henderson,
Curtis,	Honour,
Dargan,	Hopkins,
Davis,	Hunter,
De Treville,	Hutson,
Dozier,	Inglis,
Duncan,	Ingram,
Dunkin,	Jackson,

Jefferies,	Rhodes,
Jenkins, John	Richardson, F. D.
Jenkins, J. E.	Richardson, J. P.
Johnson,	Robinson,
Kershaw,	Rowell,
Kilgore,	Rutledge,
Kinard,	Scott,
Kinsler,	Seabrook, E. M.
Landrum,	Seabrook, G. W., Sr.
Lawton,	Sessions,
Lewis,	Shingler, J. M.
Logan,	Shingler, W. P.
Lyles,	Simons,
McCrary,	Simpson,
McIver,	Smyly,
McKee,	Smith,
McLeod,	Snowden,
Magrath,	Spain,
Mauldin,	Spratt,
Maxwell,	Springs,
Mayes,	Stokes,
Mazyck,	Thompson, R. A.
Means,	Thomson, Thomas
Memminger,	Timmons,
Middleton, J. Izard	Tompkins,
Middleton, W.	Townsend,
Miles,	Wagner,
Moore,	Wannamaker,
Moorman,	Wardlaw, D. L.
Noble,	Wardlaw, F. H.
Nowell,	Watts,
O'Hear,	Wier,
Palmer,	Whitner,
Parker,	Williams,
Perrin,	Wilson, I. D.
Porcher,	Wilson, J. H.
Pressley,	Wilson, W. B.
Quattlebaum,	Withers,
Rainey,	Woods,
Reed,	Young.
Rhett,	

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read.

Mr. Spain offered the following resolution, which, on motion of Mr. Inglis, was ordered to lie on the table:

*Resolved*, That the Governor be requested to communicate to this Convention, in secret session, any information he may possess in reference to the condition of Forts Moultrie and Sumter, and Castle Pinckney; the number of guns mounted and ready for service in each; the number of workmen employed in each, and in what kind of labor; the number of soldiers, sailors and marines in each, and what addition (if any) has been made thereto since the 20th inst.

Also, whether he has any assurance that said Forts and Castle shall not be reinforced; and if so, from what source these assurances emanated, and what limit as to time and circumstance is attached thereto.

Also, what police or other regulations (if any) he has made in relation to the harbor of Charleston and the coast of the State.

Mr. Gist offered the following resolution, which was considered immediately, and was agreed to:

*Resolved*, That Hon. J. W. Garrott, a Commissioner from the State of Alabama to the State of North Carolina, be invited to a seat on the floor of the Convention.

On motion of Mr. McIver, leave of absence, on and after this day, until and inclusive of Monday next, was granted to Mr. Inglis, on account of important business.

Mr. A. H. Brown offered the following resolution, which was referred to the Committee on the Constitution of the State, and was ordered to be printed:

*Resolved*, That all citizens of the United States, domiciled within this State at the adoption of the Ordinance of Secession, to wit: the 20th December, 1860, be, and the same are hereby, declared citizens of South Carolina, entitled to all the privileges and subject to all the liabilities incident thereto.

On motion of Mr. Fair, leave of absence from and after

this day, until Wednesday next, was granted to Mr. Williams, on account of sickness in his family.

Mr. Kinard offered the following resolution, which, on motion of Mr. Lyles, was ordered to lie on the table :

*Resolved*, That this Convention take a recess from and after four o'clock, Friday, the 25th inst., until two o'clock, p. m., Friday, the 18th day of January next, unless called together at an earlier day by the President.

On motion of Mr. D. L. Wardlaw, the Convention proceeded to the consideration of

An Ordinance to amend the Constitution of the State of South Carolina in respect to the Executive Department, (reported by the Committee on the Constitution of the State;) and,

An Ordinance to alter the Constitution of the State of South Carolina, by striking out certain words in sundry places, (reported by the Committee on the Constitution of the State:)

And, on motion of Mr. D. L. Wardlaw, the Ordinances were made the special order of the day for this day, to be taken up as soon as the business now under consideration should have been disposed of.

Mr. Rhett presented an Ordinance recommending and providing for a Convention of the Slaveholding States of the United States, to form the Constitution of a Southern Confederacy; which, on motion of Mr. Rhett, was made the special order of the day for this day, at one o'clock, p. m., in connection with the Report of the Committee on Relations with the Slaveholding States of North America; and was ordered to be printed.

On motion of Mr. Dunkin, the Convention went into secret session.

B. F. ARTHUR,

*Clerk of the Convention.*

## THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1860.

At the hour to which the Convention was adjourned, the President took the Chair, and the proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. D. P. Robinson.

The Clerk called the Roll, and the following delegates answered to their names :

Messrs. Allison,	Frampton,
Appleby,	Furnan,
Atkinson,	Gadberry,
Barron,	Garlington,
Barton,	Geiger,
Beaty,	Gist,
Bellinger,	Glover,
Bobo,	Goodwin,
Bonneau,	Gourdin, R. N.
Brown, A. H.	Gourdin, T. L.
Burnet,	Gregg, Maxey
Calhoun,	Grisham,
Caldwell,	Hammond,
Campbell,	Hanckel,
Carn,	Harlee,
Caughman,	Harrison,
Cauthen,	Hayne,
Charles,	Henderson,
Chesnut,	Honour,
Cheves,	Hopkins,
Clarke,	Hunter,
Crawford,	Hutson,
Dargan,	Jackson,
Davant,	Jefferies,
Davis,	Jenkins, John
De Treville,	Jenkins, J. E.
Duncan,	Johnson,
Dunkin,	Kershaw,
Easley,	Kilgore,
Ellis,	Kinard,
English,	Kinsler,
Evans,	Landrum,
Fair,	Lawton,
Flud,	Lewis,
Foster,	Logan,

Lyles,	Scott,
McIver,	Sessions,
McKee,	Shingler, J. M.
McLeod,	Shingler, W. P.
Mauldin,	Simons,
Maxwell,	Simpson,
Mayes,	Smyly,
Means,	Smith,
Memminger,	Snowden,
Middleton, J. Izard	Spain,
Middleton, W.	Spratt,
Miles,	Springs,
Moore,	Stokes,
Moorman,	Thompson, R. A.
Noble,	Thomson, Thomas
Nowell,	Timmons,
O'Hear,	Tompkins,
Palmer,	Wagner,
Parker,	Wannamaker,
Perrin,	Wardlaw, D. L.
Porcher,	Wardlaw, F. H.
Pressley,	Watts,
Quattlebaum,	Wier,
Rainey,	Wilson, I. D.
Reed,	Wilson, J. H.
Richardson, J. P.	Wilson, W. B.
Robinson,	Withers,
Rowell,	Woods,
Rutledge,	Young.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read. Whereupon, the Convention went into secret session.

B. F. ARTHUR,

*Clerk of the Convention.*

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FRIDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1860.

At the hour to which the Convention was adjourned, the President took the Chair, and the proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. B. F. Mauldin.

The Clerk called the Roll, and the following delegates answered to their names :

Messrs. Allison,	Furman,
Appleby,	Gadberry,
Atkinson,	Garlington,
Barron,	Geiger,
Barton,	Glover,
Beaty,	Goodwin,
Bethia,	Gourdin, R. N.
Bellinger,	Gourdin, T. L.
Bobo,	Gregg, Maxey
Bonneau,	Grisham,
Brabham,	Hammond,
Brown, A. H.	Hanckel,
Brown, C. P.	Harlee,
Calhoun,	Harrison,
Caldwell,	Hayne,
Campbell,	Henderson,
Carn,	Honour,
Carroll,	Hopkins,
Caughman,	Hunter,
Cauthen,	Hutson,
Charles,	Jackson,
Chesnut,	Jefferies,
Cheves,	Jenkins, John
Clarke,	Jenkins, J. E.
Crawford,	Johnson,
Curtis,	Keitt,
Dargan,	Kershaw,
Davant,	Kilgore,
Davis,	Kinard,
Duncan,	Kinsler,
Dunkin,	Landrum,
Dunovant, R. G. M.	Lawton,
Du Pre,	Lewis,
Easley,	Logan,
Ellis,	Lyles,
English,	McIver,
Evans,	McKee,
Fair,	McLeod,
Finley,	Magrath,
Flud,	Mauldin,
Foster,	Maxwell,
Frampton,	Mayes,



Mazyck,	Seabrook, G. W., Sr.
Means,	Sessions,
Memminger,	Shingler, W. P.
Middleton, J. Izard	Simons,
Middleton, W.	Simpson,
Moore,	Smith,
Moorman,	Snowden,
Noble,	Spain,
Nowell,	Springs,
O'Hear,	Stokes,
Parker,	Thompson, R. A.
Perrin,	Thomson, Thomas
Porcher,	Timmons,
Pressley,	Tompkins,
Quattlebaum,	Wagner,
Rainey,	Wannamaker,
Reed,	Wardlaw, D. L.
Rhett,	Watts,
Rhodes,	Wier,
Richardson, F. D.	Wilson, I. D.
Richardson, J. P.	Wilson, J. H.
Robinson,	Wilson, W. B.
Rowell,	Withers,
Rutledge,	Woods,
Scott,	Young.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read.

Mr. A. T. Darby, delegate from St. Matthew's, appeared at the Clerk's desk, produced his credentials, signed the Roll, and took his seat.

On motion of Mr. Glover, it was

*Resolved*, That Mr. A. T. Darby have leave to sign the Ordinance of Secession.

The President laid before the Convention the following communication, which was ordered to be entered on the Journal and to be printed :

*To the Hon. the President and Members of the*

*Convention of the Independent State of South Carolina :*

GENTLEMEN : I am to-night informed, that a resolution was this day adopted, inviting me to a seat on the floor of

your Convention. For the compliment thus paid my State, in my person, please accept my grateful acknowledgments. I regret that engagements elsewhere imperatively forbid the enjoyment of your proffered courtesies.

Intelligence received to-night makes "assurance doubly sure," that Alabama stands by the side of South Carolina, prepared to share with her a common destiny.

Information, obtained on diligent inquiry in the last few days, justifies me in saying, that the gallant sons of North Carolina, and Virginia, are now ready to rally around the standard of Southern Rights and Honor, which you have so gloriously reared; and that those two States will also be members, in all probability, of the Great Southern Confederacy by the 4th of next March. The other Slave States must, sooner or later, take the same course, or be involved in inevitable ruin. To the bold, deliberate, and decisive action of your body, are the people of the South indebted for the great movement which must end in the vindication of their rights; and the future historian must award to South Carolina the honor of leadership in carrying out the measures destined to release them from the wrongs and oppressions under which they have so long and so patiently suffered.

With sentiments of profound consideration, I am,  
Most respectfully,

J. W. GARROTT.

CHARLESTON, December 26, 1860.

On motion of Mr. Magrath, leave of absence was granted to Mr. Conner, on account of sickness.

On motion of Mr. Carroll, leave of absence was granted to Mr. Hammond, on account of indisposition.

On motion of Mr. Atkinson, leave of absence was granted to Mr. Forster, on account of illness in his family.

On motion of Mr. Reed, leave of absence was granted to Mr. Mauldin, on account of illness in his family.

On motion of Mr. W. P. Shingler, leave of absence was granted to Mr. J. M. Shingler, on account of indisposition.

On motion of Mr. Rhett, the Convention proceeded to the consideration of an

*Ordinance*, Recommending and providing for a Convention of the Slaveholding States of the United States, to form the Constitution of the Southern Confederacy; and

The Report of the Committee on Relations with the Slaveholding States of North America;

And, pending the consideration thereof,

On motion of Mr. D. L. Wardlaw, the Convention went into secret session.

B. F. ARTHUR,  
*Clerk of the Convention.*

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SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1860.

At the hour to which the Convention was adjourned, the President took the Chair, and the proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. D. C. Appleby.

The Clerk called the Roll, and the following delegates answered to their names:

Messrs. Allison,	Carn,
Appleby,	Carroll,
Atkinson,	Caughman,
Barron,	Cauthen,
Barton,	Charles,
Beaty,	Chesnut,
Bethea,	Cheves,
Bellinger,	Clarke,
Bonneau,	Crawford,
Brabham,	Darby,
Brown, A. H.	Dargan,
Brown, C. P.	Davant,
Cain,	Davis,
Calhoun,	De Saussure,
Caldwell,	Dunkin,
Campbell,	Du Pre,

Easley,	Mazyck,
Ellis,	Memminger,
English,	Middleton, J. Izard
Evans,	Middleton, W.
Fair,	Moore,
Flud,	Moorman,
Foster,	Noble,
Frampton,	Nowell,
Furman,	O'Hear,
Gadberry,	Palmer,
Garlington,	Parker,
Geiger,	Perrin,
Gist,	Porcher,
Glover,	Pressley,
Goodwin,	Quattlebaum,
Gourdin, R. N.	Rainey,
Gourdin, T. L.	Reed,
Gregg, Maxcy	Rhett,
Grisham,	Rhodes,
Hanckel,	Richardson, F. D.
Harlee,	Robinson,
Harrison,	Rowell,
Hayne,	Scott,
Henderson,	Seabrook, G. W., Sr.
Honour,	Sessions,
Hunter,	Shingler, J. M.
Hutson,	Shingler, W. P.
Jackson,	Simons,
Jefferies,	Simpson,
Jenkins, John	Smyly,
Jenkins, J. E.	Smith,
Johnson,	Snowden,
Kershaw,	Spain,
Kilgore,	Spratt,
Kinard,	Springs,
Kinsler,	Stokes,
Landrum,	Thompson, R. A.
Lawton,	Thomson, Thomas
Logan,	Timmons,
McCrary,	Tompkins,
McIver,	Wannamaker,
McKee,	Wardlaw, D. L.
McLeod,	Wardlaw, F. H.
Maxwell,	Watts,
Mayes,	Wier,

Wilson, I. D.  
 Wilson, J. H.  
 Wilson, W. B.

Withers,  
 Woods,  
 Young.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read.

The President laid before the Convention the following communication; which, on motion of Mr. Dunkin, was ordered to lie on the table:

COLLECTOR'S OFFICE, Charleston, S. C.  
 December 28, 1860.

Hon. D. F. JAMISON,

*President of the Convention:*

SIR: I beg leave, respectfully to inform the Convention, that, in obedience to the Ordinance passed on the 26th inst., all the officers attached to this Custom House, entered yesterday into the service of the State, and that I then commenced to receive duties and to transact all other business as Collector of the State of South Carolina for the Port and District of Charleston.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

W. F. COLCOCK,

*Collector of South Carolina, for the Port and*

*District of Charleston.*

Mr. Dunkin offered the following Resolution:

*Resolved,* That, until otherwise ordered, the Collectors of the Ports in the State, be authorized to receive payment of duties in bills of the banks of this State.

And, pending the consideration thereof, a message was received from his Excellency, the Governor;

Whereupon, the Convention went into secret session.

B. F. ARTHUR,

*Clerk of the Convention.*

## SUNDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1860.

At the hour to which the Convention was adjourned, the President took the Chair, and the proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. J. C. Furman.

The Clerk called the Roll, and the following delegates answered to their names:

Messrs. Allison,	Fair,
Atkinson,	Finley,
Ayer,	Flud,
Beaty,	Foster,
Bethea,	Frampton,
Bellinger,	Furman,
Bonneau,	Gadberry,
Brabham,	Garlington,
Brown, A. H.	Geiger,
Brown, C. P.	Gist,
Burnet,	Glover,
Calhoun,	Gourdin, R. N.
Caldwell,	Gourdin, T. L.
Campbell,	Gregg, Maxey
Carn,	Grisham,
Carroll,	Hanckel,
Caughman,	Harlee,
Cauthen,	Harrison,
Charles,	Hayne,
Chesnut,	Henderson,
Cheves,	Honour,
Clarke,	Hunter,
Crawford,	Hutson,
Darby,	Jackson,
Davant,	Jefferies,
Davis,	Jenkins, John
De Saussure,	Jenkins, J. E.
De Treville,	Johnson,
Duncan,	Kershaw,
Dunkin,	Kilgore,
Du Pre,	Kinard,
Easley,	Kinsler,
Ellis,	Landrum,
English,	Lewis,
Evans,	McCrady,

McIver,	Seabrook, G. W., Sr.
McKee,	Sessions,
Magrath,	Shingler, J. M.
Maxwell,	Shingler, W. P.
Mayes,	Simons,
Mazyck,	Simpson,
Means,	Smyly,
Memminger,	Smith,
Middleton, J. Izard	Snowden,
Miles,	Spain,
Moore,	Spratt,
Moorman,	Springs,
Noble,	Stokes,
Nowell,	Thompson, R. A.
O'Hear,	Timmons,
Parker,	Tompkins,
Perrin,	Townsend,
Porcher,	Wardlaw, D. L.
Pressley,	Wardlaw, F. H.
Quattlebaum,	Watts,
Rainey,	Wier,
Rhett,	Wilson, I. D.
Rhodes,	Wilson, J. H.
Richardson, F. D.	Wilson, W. B.
Robinson,	Withers,
Rowell,	Woods,
Seabrook, E. M.	Young.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read.

The following communication was received from his Excellency the Governor:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE,  
Charleston, Dec. 30, 1860.

*To the President of the Convention:*

By an Ordinance of your body, transmitted to me, I am required to nominate immediately four gentlemen, as a Council of State.

I, therefore, hereby nominate to the Convention, for their confirmation, Hon. David F. Jamison, of Barnwell District; Hon. A. G. Magrath, of Charleston; Hon. C. G. Mem-

minge, of Charleston; and Hon. A. C. Garlington, of Newberry District.

Respectfully,

F. W. PICKENS.

On motion of Mr. R. N. Gourdin, the Convention went into secret session.

B. F. ARTHUR,

*Clerk of the Convention.*

MONDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1860.

At the hour to which the Convention was adjourned, the President took the Chair, and the proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. T. R. English.

The Clerk called the Roll, and the following delegates answered to their names:

Messrs. Allison,	Cheves,
Appleby,	Clarke,
Atkinson,	Crawford,
Barton,	Darby,
Beaty,	Davant,
Bethea,	Davis,
Bellinger,	De Saussure,
Bonneau,	Duncan,
Brown, A. H.	Dunkin,
Burnet,	Dunovant, A. Q.
Cain,	Du Pre,
Calhoun,	Easley,
Caldwell,	Ellis,
Campbell,	English,
Carn,	Evans,
Carroll,	Finley,
Caughman,	Flud,
Cauthen,	Foster,
Charles,	Frampton,
Chesnut,	Furman,



Gadberry,	Moore,
Garlington,	Moorman,
Geiger,	Noble,
Glover,	Nowell,
Gourdin, R. N.	O'Hear,
Gourdin, T. L.	Parker,
Gregg, Maxey	Perrin,
Gregg, William	Porcher,
Grisham,	Pressley,
Hanckel,	Quattlebaum,
Harlee,	Rainey,
Harrison,	Rhett,
Hayne,	Rhodes,
Henderson,	Rowell,
Honour,	Rutledge,
Hunter,	Scott,
Hutson,	Sessions,
Jackson,	Shingler, J. M.
Jefferies,	Shingler, W. P.
Jenkins, John	Simpson,
Jenkins, J. E.	Smyly,
Johnson,	Smith,
Kershaw,	Snowden,
Kilgore,	Spain,
Kinard,	Spratt,
Kinsler,	Springs,
Landrum,	Sims,
Lawton,	Thompson, R. A.
Lewis,	Timmons,
Logan,	Tompkins,
McIver,	Wardlaw, D. L.
McKee,	Watts,
Maxwell,	Wier,
Mayes,	Wilson, I. D.
Mazyck,	Wilson, J. H.
Means,	Wilson, W. B.
Memminger,	Withers,
Middleton, J. Izard	Woods,
Middleton, W.	Young.
Miles,	

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read.

On motion of Mr. R. N. Gourdin, the Convention went into secret session.

B. F. ARTHUR,

*Clerk of the Convention.*

## TUESDAY, JANUARY 1, 1861.

At the hour to which the Convention was adjourned, the President took the Chair, and the proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. D. Du Pre.

The Clerk called the Roll, and the following delegates answered to their names :

Messrs. Allison,	Foster,
Appleby,	Frampton,
Atkinson,	Furman,
Barron,	Gadberry,
Barton,	Garlington,
Beaty,	Geiger,
Bethca,	Gist,
Bellinger,	Glover,
Bonneau,	Gourdin, R. N.
Brown, A. H.	Gourdin, T. L.
Brown, C. P.	Gregg, William
Burnet,	Grisham,
Calhoun,	Hanckel,
Caldwell,	Harlee,
Campbell,	Harrison,
Carr,	Henderson,
Carroll,	Honour,
Caughman,	Hunter,
Cauthen,	Hutson,
Charles,	Jefferies,
Cheves,	Jenkins, John
Crawford,	Jenkins, J. E.
Darby,	Johnson,
Davant,	Kershaw,
Davis,	Kilgore,
De Saussure,	Kinard,
Duncan,	Kinsler,
Dunkin,	Landrum,
Du Pre,	Lewis,
Easley,	Logan,
Ellis,	McIver,
English,	McKee,
Evans,	McLeod,
Finley,	Maxwell,
Flud,	Mayes,

Mazyck,	Simons,
Means,	Smyly,
Middleton, J. Izard	Smith,
Middleton, W.	Snowden,
Moore,	Spain,
Moorman,	Spratt,
Nowell,	Springs,
O'Hear,	Stokes,
Parker,	Sims,
Perrin,	Thompson, R. A.
Pressley,	Timmons,
Quattlebaum,	Tompkins,
Rainey,	Wagner,
Rhodes,	Wardlaw, D. L.
Richardson, F. D.	Wardlaw, F. H.
Robinson,	Wier,
Rowell,	Wilson, I. D.
Scott,	Wilson, J. H.
Seabrook, G. W., Sr.	Wilson, W. B.
Sessions,	Withers,
Shingler, J. M.	Woods,
Shingler, W. P.	Young.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read, and the Convention went into secret session.

B. F. ARTHUR,  
*Clerk of the Convention.*

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WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 2, 1861.

At the hour to which the Convention was adjourned, the President took the Chair, and the proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. J. H. Honour.

The Clerk called the Roll, and the following delegates answered to their names:

Messrs.	Allison,	Glover,
	Appleby,	Goodwin,
	Atkinson,	Gourdin, R. N.
	Ayer,	Gregg, Maxcy
	Barron,	Gregg, William
	Barton,	Hanckel,
	Beaty,	Harrison,
	Bethea,	Hayne,
	Bellinger,	Henderson,
	Bonneau,	Honour,
	Brabham,	Hunter,
	Brown, A. II.	Hutson,
	Brown, C. P.	Jackson,
	Burnet,	Jefferies,
	Calhoun,	Jenkins, J. E.
	Caldwell,	Johnson,
	Campbell,	Kershaw,
	Carn,	Kilgore,
	Carroll,	Kinard,
	Caughman,	Kinsler,
	Cauthen,	Landrum,
	Chesnut	Lewis,
	Cheves,	Logan,
	Clarke,	Lyles,
	Crawford,	McIver,
	Darby,	McKee,
	Dargan,	McLeod,
	Davis,	Maxwell,
	De Saussure,	Mazyck,
	De Treville,	Means,
	Duncan,	Middleton, J. Izard
	Dunkin,	Middleton, W.
	Du Pre,	Moore,
	Easley,	Nowell,
	Ellis,	Palmer,
	English,	Parker,
	Evans,	Perrin,
	Fair,	Porcher,
	Finley,	Quattlebaum,
	Flud,	Rhett,
	Foster,	Rhodes,
	Frampton,	Robinson,
	Furman,	Rowell,
	Garlington,	Scott,
	Geiger,	Seabrook, G. W., Sr.

Shingler, J. M.	Tompkins,
Shingler, W. P.	Townsend,
Simons,	Wannamaker,
Simpson,	Wardlaw, D. L.
Smyly,	Wardlaw, F. H.
Smith,	Wier,
Snowden,	Williams,
Spain,	Wilson, I. D.
Springs,	Wilson, J. H.
Stokes,	Wilson, W. B.
Sims,	Withers,
Thomson, Thomas	Woods,
Timmons,	Young.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read.

On motion of Mr. Fair, leave of absence was granted to Mr. Moorman, on account of illness in his family.

Mr. A. H. Brown, from the Committee appointed to count the ballots cast for Commissioners to the States of Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas, made the following report: That for Commissioner to Alabama, Mr. A. P. Calhoun received 98 votes; scattering, 32; and that Mr. A. P. Calhoun, having received a majority of the ballots cast, was consequently elected.

That for Commissioner to the State of Mississippi, Mr. M. L. Bonham received 102 votes; scattering, 28; and that Mr. Bonham, having received a majority of the ballots cast, was consequently elected;

That for Commissioner to the State of Louisiana, Mr. John L. Manning received 100 votes; scattering, 30; and that Mr. Manning, having received a majority of the ballots cast, was consequently elected;

That for Commissioner to the State of Arkansas, Mr. A. C. Spain received 105 votes; scattering, 25; and that Mr. Spain, having received a majority of the ballots cast, was consequently elected;

That for Commissioner to the State of Georgia, no one had received a majority of the ballots cast, and that consequently there was no election; and

That for Commissioner to the State of Texas, no one

had received a majority of the ballots cast, and that consequently there was no election.

Whereupon, the President announced that Mr. A. P. Calhoun is duly elected Commissioner to the State of Alabama; Mr. M. L. Bonham, Commissioner to the State of Mississippi; Mr. John L. Manning, Commissioner to the State of Louisiana; and Mr. A. C. Spain, Commissioner to the State of Arkansas.

On motion of Mr. R. N. Gourdin, the Convention went into secret session.

B. F. ARTHUR,

*Clerk of the Convention.*

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THURSDAY, JANUARY 3, 1861.

At the hour to which the Convention was adjourned, the President took the Chair, and the proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. William Curtis.

The Clerk called the Roll, and the following delegates answered to their names:

Messrs. Allison,	Caughlanan,
Appleby,	Charles,
Atkinson,	Cheves,
Barron,	Clarke,
Barton,	Curtis,
Beaty,	Darby,
Bethea,	Dargan,
Bellinger,	Davis,
Bobo,	De Saussure,
Bonneau,	De Treville,
Brown, A. H.	Dunkin,
Brown, C. P.	Du Pre,
Cain,	Easley,
Caldwell,	Ellis,
Campbell,	English,
Carn,	Evans,

Fair,	Middleton, W.
Finley,	Miles,
Flud,	Moore,
Forster,	Nowell,
Foster,	O'Hear,
Frampton,	Palmer,
Furman,	Parker,
Garlington,	Perrin,
Geiger,	Porcher,
Gist,	Quattlebaun,
Glover,	Rainey,
Goodwin,	Reed,
Gourdin, R. N.	Rhett,
Gourdin, T. L.	Rhodes,
Gregg, Maxcy	Robinson,
Gregg, William	Rowell,
Grisham,	Rutledge,
Hammond,	Scott,
Hanckel,	Seabrook, G. W., Sr.
Harlee,	Shingler, J. M.
Harrison,	Shingler, W. P.
Henderson,	Simons,
Honour,	Simpson,
Hunter,	Smith,
Hutson,	Snowden,
Jackson,	Spain,
Jefferies,	Springs,
Jenkins, John	Stokes,
Jenkins, J. E.	Sims,
Johnson,	Thompson, R. A.
Kershaw,	Thomson, Thomas
Kilgore,	Timmons,
Kinard,	Tompkins,
Kinsler,	Townsend,
Landrum,	Wagner,
Lewis,	Wannamaker,
Lyles,	Wardlaw, D. L.
McIver,	Wardlaw, F. H.
McKee,	Wier,
McLeod,	Williams,
Magrath,	Wilson, J. H.
Maxwell,	Wilson, W. B.
Mazyck,	Withers,
Means,	Woods,
Memminger,	Young.
Middleton, J. Izard	

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read.

The President laid before the Convention the following communication :

CHARLESTON, January 1, 1861.

D. F. JAMISON, Esq.,

*President of the Convention of the People  
of South Carolina :*

SIR : At a regular Monthly Meeting of the St. Andrew's Society of Charleston, held last evening, On motion, it was unanimously agreed, that the gratuitous use of their Hall be granted to the Convention now in session.

I was requested to communicate the same to you.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

ROBERT MURE,

*President of St. Andrew's Society of Charleston.*

On motion of Mr. Withers, the thanks of the Convention were returned to the St. Andrew's Society for the use of their Hall, and to the Charleston Delegation for their services in making arrangements for the accommodation of the Convention.

Mr. A. H. Brown offered the following resolution, which, on motion of Mr. D. L. Wardlaw, was ordered to lie on the table :

*Resolved,* That all citizens of the United States, not domiciled in South Carolina at the time of the adoption of the Ordinance of Secession, but owning real estate within its limits, be, and the same are hereby, empowered to hold and to dispose of the same by sale or otherwise, without hindrance or molestation by this Government.

On motion of Mr. Scott, leave of absence was granted to Mr. J. E. Jenkins, on account of illness in his family.

The Convention went into secret session.

B. F. ARTHUR,

*Clerk of the Convention.*



## FRIDAY, JANUARY 4, 1861.

At the hour to which the Convention was adjourned, the President took the Chair, and the proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. J. J. Wannamaker.

The Clerk called the Roll, and the following delegates answered to their names:

Messrs. Allison,	Foster,
Appleby,	Furman,
Atkinson,	Garlington,
Barron,	Geiger,
Barton,	Glover,
Beaty,	Goodwin,
Bellinger,	Gourdin, R. N.
Bobo,	Gourdin, T. L.
Bonneau,	Grisham,
Brown, A. H.	Hanckel,
Burnet,	Harlee,
Calhoun,	Harrison,
Caldwell,	Hayne,
Campbell,	Henderson,
Carn,	Honour,
Carroll,	Hopkins,
Caughman,	Hunter,
Chesnut,	Hutson,
Cheves,	Inglis,
Clarke,	Jackson,
Curtis,	Jefferies,
Darby,	Jenkins, John
Dargau,	Johnson,
Davis,	Keitt,
De Saussure,	Kershaw,
Duncan,	Kilgore,
Dunkin,	Kinard,
Du Pre,	Kinsler,
Ellis,	Landrum,
English,	Lawton,
Evans,	Lewis,
Fair,	McIver,
Finley,	McKee,
Flud,	McLeod,
Forster,	Maxwell,

Mazyek,	Simpson,
Means,	Smyly,
Memminger,	Smith,
Middleton, J. Izard	Spain,
Middleton, W.	Springs,
Moore,	Stokes,
Nowell,	Sims,
Palmer,	Thompson, R. A.
Parker,	Thomson, Thomas
Perrin,	Timmons,
Porcher,	Tompkins,
Quattlebaum,	Wannamaker,
Rainey,	Wardlaw, D. L.
Reed,	Wardlaw, F. H.
Rhett,	Wier,
Rhodes,	Williams,
Rutledge,	Wilson, I. D.
Scott,	Wilson, J. H.
Seabrook, E. M.	Wilson, W. B.
Seabrook, G. W., Sr.	Withers,
Shingler, J. M.	Woods,
Shingler, W. P.	Young.
Simons,	

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read.

The President announced the following Committee to call together the Convention in the event of the death or disqualification of the President:

Messrs. B. F. Dunkin,  
 D. L. Wardlaw,  
 R. W. Barnwell,  
 R. B. Rhett,  
 W. W. Harlee.

On motion of Mr. Dunkin, the Convention went into secret session.

#### RECESS.

The President resumed the chair.

Mr. Cheves, from the Committee appointed to count the ballots cast for Delegates, reported, that Mr. R. B. Rhett

received 92 votes; Mr. R. W. Barnwell, 78 votes; Mr. C. G. Memminger, 66 votes; Mr. W. P. Miles, 61 votes, and Mr. James Chesnut, Jr., 68 votes.

And that Messrs. R. B. Rhett, R. W. Barnwell, C. G. Memminger, W. P. Miles and James Chesnut, Jr., having received, respectively, a majority of the ballots cast, were consequently elected.

On motion of Mr. Chesnut, the Convention proceeded to a second ballot for Deputies.

Mr. Quattlebaum presented the Report of the Committee on Printing, on a Resolution providing for having photographed, the Ordinance of Secession; which was ordered for consideration to-morrow.

On motion of Mr. Chesnut, the Convention went into secret session.

B. F. ARTIUR,

*Clerk of the Convention.*

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SATURDAY, January 5, 1861.

At the hour to which the Convention was adjourned, the President took the Chair, and the proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. J. M. Timmons.

The Clerk called the Roll, and the following delegates answered to their names:

Messrs. Allison,	Bonneau,
Appleby,	Brabham,
Ayer,	Brown, A. H.
Barron,	Brown, C. P.
Barton,	Burnet,
Beaty,	Cain,
Bethea,	Caldwell,
Bellinger,	Campbell,
Bobo,	Carn,

Carroll,	Kinsler,
Caughman,	Lawton,
Chesnut,	Lewis,
Cheves,	Lyles,
Clarke,	McCrary,
Curtis,	McIver,
Darby,	McKee,
Dargan,	McLeod,
De Saussure,	Maxwell,
De Treville,	Mazyek,
Dunkin,	Middleton, J. Izard
Du Pre,	Middleton, W.
Ellis,	Moore,
English,	Noble,
Evans,	Nowell,
Fair,	O'Hear,
Finley,	Palmer,
Flud,	Parker,
Forster,	Perrin,
Foster,	Quattlebaum,
Furman,	Rainey,
Garlington,	Reed,
Geiger,	Rowell,
Gist,	Rutledge,
Goodwin,	Scott,
Gourdin, R. N.	Seabrook, G. W., Sr.
Gourdin, T. L.	Shingler, J. M.
Hanckel,	Shingler, W. P.
Harlee,	Simpson,
Harrison,	Smyly,
Hayne,	Smith,
Henderson,	Snowden,
Honour,	Spain,
Hopkins,	Springs,
Hutson,	Stokes,
Inglis,	Sims,
Ingram,	Thomson, Thomas
Jackson,	Timmons,
Jefferies,	Tompkins,
Jenkins, John	Townsend,
Johnson,	Wagner,
Keitt,	Wardlaw, D. L.
Kershaw,	Wardlaw, F. H.
Kilgore,	Wier,
Kinard,	Williams,

Wilson, J. H.  
Wilson, W. B.  
Withers,

Woods,  
Young.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read.

The President laid before the Convention the following despatch :

“NEW ORLEANS, January 3, 1861.

To D. F. JAMISON, *President of the Convention* :

New Orleans fully sympathizes with Charleston in the perils to which she is exposed, and will not fail to support her when the occasion demands action.

JOHN T. MUNROE, *Mayor.*”

The President laid before the Convention the following communication :

“January 2, 1861.

Hon. D. F. JAMISON, *President of the Convention* :

SIR : Rev. Henry D. Green, a member of the Convention, now at home on leave of absence, is prevented by sickness from resuming at present his seat in that body. As his attending physician, I would say that his return just now would be highly improper. He asks that the Convention will excuse him until his health improves.

Very respectfully,

H. D. GREEN.”

On motion of Mr. Spain, Mr. Green was excused, in compliance with his request.

Mr. Hutson presented an Ordinance to vest in the General Assembly the power to establish Postal Arrangements ; which was considered immediately, was agreed to, and was ordered to be signed by the President and the Clerk.

On motion of Mr. Hutson, the Ordinance was committed to the Engrossing Committee.

Mr. Keitt offered the following Resolution, which was considered immediately, and was agreed to :

*Resolved*, That no officers in any forces, regular or volunteer, raised under order of this Convention, shall, by reason of anything in the Constitution of the State, be disqualified from holding a seat in either House of the General Assembly, or any other office in the State to which he has been, or shall be appointed.

On motion of Mr. Quattlebaum, Mr. A. Burt, Commissioner to Mississippi, and Mr. A. P. Calhoun, Commissioner to Alabama, were invited to seats on the floor of the Convention.

Mr. Curtis offered the following resolution, which was considered immediately, and was agreed to :

*Resolved*, That our late Commissioners to Washington be requested to prepare a written statement of the oral communications, to this body, connected with their recent attempts at negotiation with the President of the United States, for the delivery of the forts and other State property, and that said document be deposited with the President of this body, under the injunction of secrecy, until otherwise ordered by this body.

Mr. Quattlebaum, from the Committee on Printing, presented the following report, which was considered immediately, and was agreed to :

“That they have placed in the hands of the Printers of the Convention, the correspondence between the Commissioners of South Carolina and the President of the United States, of which correspondence five thousand copies have been ordered to be printed for the use of the Convention. The Committee recommend that each member of the Convention be allowed twenty copies, and that the balance be distributed under the direction of the Committee.”

They further recommend, that the manuscript be returned by the printer to the Clerk of the Convention, as soon as possible, to be transcribed on his Journal, and then deposited in the Secretary of State's office, with the several Ordinances of this Convention.

Mr. R. N. Gourdin offered the following Resolution, which was considered immediately, and was agreed to :

*Resolved*, That the table, chair, and appurtenances used in Secession Hall on the evening of the 20th December, 1860, for the signature of the Ordinance of Secession, be deposited, with a memorandum of the same, after the final adjournment of the Convention, in the Legislative Library in the State House in Columbia.

Mr. Thomas Thomson offered the following Resolution, which was considered immediately, and was agreed to :

*Resolved*, That the Clerk, Messenger, Door-keeper, and Engrossing clerks of this Convention, receive, severally, as compensation for their services to this day, the same rate of payment in proportion to the time they have served, as is allowed the same officers of the House of Representatives of this State; and the President of the Convention is authorized and directed to issue his warrants upon the Treasury, in the manner already directed, for payment of said officers.

Mr. Porcher presented the accounts of J. L. Barnwell, of F. L. Seouboe, and of P. Brady, for articles furnished, and services rendered, to the Convention : which were severally referred to the Committee on Accounts.

On motion of Mr. D. L. Wardlaw, it was

*Resolved*, That our late Representatives in the Congress of the United States, have leave to print the paper, which they were, by resolution of this Convention, requested to prepare, if, in their opinion, it shall become necessary.

On motion of Mr. Spain, the Convention was adjourned at eleven o'clock, A. M.





ALPHABETICAL LIST  
OF THE  
MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION,

DECEMBER 17, 1860.

*With their Post-Offices and Election Districts.*

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NAME.	DISTRICT.	POST-OFFICE.
D. F. JAMISON, <i>Pres't</i> .....	Barnwell.....	Midway
ADAMS, James H.....	Richland.....	Gadsden.
ALLISON, R. T.....	York.....	Meek's Hill.
APPLEBY, D. C.....	St. George's, Dorchester...	Branchville
ATKINSON, S. T.....	Winyaw.....	Georgetown.
AYER, L. M.....	Barnwell.....	Buford's Bridge.
BARNWELL, R. W.....	St. Helena.....	Beaufort.
BARRON, A. I.....	York.....	Yorkville.
BARTON, D. R.....	Orange.....	Branchville
BEATY, T. W.....	Horry.....	Conwayboro
BETHEA, A. W.....	Marion.....	Little Rock
BELLINGER, E. St. P.....	St. Bartholomew's.....	Walterboro.
BOBO, S.....	Spartanburg.....	Spartanburg C. H.
BONNEAU, P. P.....	Christ Church.....	Haddrell's
BRABHAM, J. J.....	Barnwell.....	Buford's Bridge
BROWN, A. H.....	St. Andrew's.....	Charleston
BROWN, C. P.....	St. James', Goose Creek.....	Charleston
BUCHANAN, J.....	Fairfield.....	Winnsboro'
BURNET, A. W.....	St. Philip and St. Michael...	Charleston.
CAIN, W.....	St. John's, Berkley.....	Black Oak.
CALHOUN, John A.....	Abbeville.....	Abbeville C. H.

CALDWELL, Joseph.....	Newberry.....	Mount Bethel.
CAMPBELL, William H.....	Greenville.....	Greenville C. H.
CARN, M. E.....	St. Bartholomew's.....	Walterboro'.
CARLISLE, James H.....	Spartanburg.....	Spartanburg C. H.
CARROLL, J. P.....	Edgefield.....	Aiken
CAUGHMAN, H. I.....	Lexington.....	Lexington C. H.
CAUTHEN, W. C.....	Lancaster.....	Hanging Rock.
CHARLES, E. W.....	Darlington.....	Darlington C. H.
CHESSNUT, James, Jr.....	Kershaw.....	Camden.
CHEVES, Langdon.....	St. Peter's.....	Savannah, Ga.
CLARKE, E. M.....	St. Andrew's.....	Charleston.
CONNER, H. W.....	St. Philip and St. Michael...	Charleston.
CRAWFORD, R. L.....	Lancaster.....	Lancaster C. H.
CURTIS, William.....	Spartanburg.....	Limestone Springs.
DARBY, A. T.....	St. Mathew's.....	Fort Motte.
DARGAN, J. A.....	Darlington.....	Darlington C. H.
DAVANT, R. J.....	St. Luke's.....	Gillisonville.
DAVIS, H. C.....	Fairfield.....	Ridgeway.
DE SAUSSURE, W. F.....	Richland.....	Columbia.
DE TREVILLE, R.....	St. Philip and St. Michael...	Charleston.
DOZIER, A. W.....	Williamsburg.....	Johnsonville.
DUNCAN, Perry E.....	Greenville.....	Greenville C. H.
DUNKIN, B. F.....	Winyaw.....	Charleston.
DUNOVANT, A. Q.....	Chester.....	Chesterville.
DUNOVANT, R. G. M.....	Edgefield.....	Edgefield C. H.
DU PRE, D.....	St. James', Santee..	South Santee Ferry.
EASLEY, W. K.....	Greenville.....	Greenville C. H.
ELLIS, W. J.....	Horry.....	Conwayboro'.
ENGLISH, T. R.....	Sumter.....	Mayesville.
EVANS, C. D.....	Marion.....	Marion C. H.
FAIR, Simcon.....	Newberry.....	Newberry C. H.
FINLEY, W. P.....	Barnwell.....	Aiken.
FLUD, Daniel.....	St. George's, Dorchester...	Summerville.
FORSTER, A. M.....	Winyaw.....	Georgetown.
FOSTER, B. B.....	Spartanburg.....	Glenn Springs.
FRAMPTON, J. E.....	Prince William's.....	Pocotaligo.
FURMAN, J. C.....	Greenville.....	Greenville C. H.
GADBERRY, James M.....	Union.....	Union C. H.
GARLINGTON, H. W.....	Laurens.....	Laurens C. H.
GEIGER, J. C.....	Lexington.....	Sandy Run.
GIST, William H.....	Union.....	Union C. H.

GLOVER, T. W.	Orange	Orangeburg.
GOODWIN, E. W.	Marlboro'	Brightsville.
GOURDIN, R. N.	St. Philip and St. Michael	Charleston.
GOURDIN, T. L.	St. Stephen's	Pineville.
GREEN, H. D.	Sumter	Mechanicsville.
GREGG, Maxey	Richland	Columbia.
GREGG, William	Edgefield	Aiken.
GRISHAM, W. S.	Pickens	Walhalla.
HAMMOND, A. J.	Edgefield	Hamburg.
HANCKEL, T. M.	St. Philip and St. Michael	Charleston.
HARLLEF, W. W.	Marion	Mar's Bluff.
HARRISON, James	Greenville	Cedar Falls.
HAYNE, I. W.	St. Philip and St. Michael	Charleston.
HENDERSON, E. R.	St. Bartholomew's	Blue House.
HONOUR, J. H.	St. Philip and St. Michael	Charleston.
HOPKINS, William	Richland	Hopkins' T. O.
HUNTER, William	Pickens	Wolf Creek.
HUTSON, W. F.	Prince William's	Pocotaligo.
INGLIS, John A.	Chesterfield	Cheraw.
INGRAM, J. J.	Clarendon	Manning.
JACKSON, S.	Chesterfield	Mount Crogan.
JEFFERIES, James	Union	Gowdeysville.
JENKINS, John	St. John's, Colleton	Edisto Island.
JENKINS, J. E.	St. Paul's	Adams' Run.
JOHNSON, W. D.	Marlboro'	Bennettsville.
KEITT, L. M.	Orange	Orangeburg.
KERSHAW, J. B.	Kershaw	Camden.
KILGORE, B. F.	Spartanburg	Laurensville.
KINARD, J. P.	Newberry	Newberry C. H.
KINSLER, J. H.	Richland	Columbia.
LANDRUM, J. G.	Spartanburg	Spartanburg C. H.
LAWTON, B. W.	Barnwell	Allendale.
LEWIS, A. F.	Pickens	Pendleton.
LOGAN, R. C.	Williamsburg	Kingstree.
LYLES, W. S.	Fairfield	Strother.
MCCRADY, Edward	St. Philip and St. Michael	Charleston.
MCIVER, Henry	Chesterfield	Cheraw.
McKEE, John	Chester	Chester C. H.
McLEOD, A.	Marlboro'	Bennettsville.
MAGRATH, A. G.	St. Philip and St. Michael	Charleston.
MANIGALT, G.	St. Philip and St. Michael	Charleston.

MANNING, John L.....	Clarendon.....	Fulton.
MAULDIN, B. F.....	Anderson.....	Williamston.
MAXWELL, John.....	Pickens.....	Pendleton.
MAYES, M. P.....	Sumter.....	Mayesville.
MAZYCK, Alexander.....	St. James', Santee.....	Charleston.
MEANS, John H.....	Fairfield.....	Buckhead.
MEMMINGER, C. G.....	St. Philip and St. Michael..	Charleston.
MIDDLETON, John Izard..	All Saints.....	Georgetown.
MIDDLETON, W.....	St. Philip and St. Michael..	Charleston.
MILES, W. P.....	St. Philip and St. Michael..	Charleston.
MOORE, Thomas W.....	Chester.....	Smith's T. O.
MOORMAN, R.....	Newberry.....	Maybinton.
NOBLE, Edward.....	Abbeville.....	Abbeville C. H.
NOWELL, J. L.....	St. Thomas and St. Dennis..	Charleston.
O'HEAR, J. S.....	St. Thomas and St. Dennis..	Charleston.
ORR, James L.....	Anderson.....	Anderson C. H.
PALMER, J. S.....	St. Stephen's.....	Echaw.
PARKER, F. S.....	Winyaw.....	Georgetown.
PERRIN, Thomas C.....	Abbeville.....	Abbeville C. H.
POPE, J. D.....	St. Helena.....	Beaufort.
PORCHER, F. J.....	St. Philip and St. Michael..	Charleston.
PRESSLEY, J. G.....	Williamsburg.....	Kingstree.
QUATTLEBAUM, Paul.....	Lexington.....	Lightwood Creek.
RAINEY, Samuel.....	York.....	Guthriesville.
REED, J. P.....	Anderson.....	Anderson C. H.
RHETT, R. B.....	St. Philip and St. Michael..	Charleston.
RHODES, George.....	St. Peter's.....	Lawtonville.
RICHARDSON, F. D.....	St. Philip and St. Michael..	Charleston.
RICHARDSON, J. P.....	Clarendon.....	Fulton.
ROBINSON, D. P.....	Lancaster.....	Craigville.
ROWELL, W. B.....	Marion.....	Marion C. H.
RUTLEDGE, B. H.....	St. Philip and St. Michael..	Charleston.
SCOTT, E. B.....	St. Paul's.....	Summerville.
SEABROOK, E. M.....	St. Luke's.....	Bluffton.
SEABROOK, G. W., Sr.....	St. John's, Colleton.....	Charleston
SESSIONS, B. E.....	All Saints.....	Conwayboro'.
SHINGLER, J. M.....	St. James', Goose Creek.....	Holly Hill.
SHINGLER, W. P.....	Christ Church.....	Charleston
SIMONS, T. Y., Jr.....	St. Philip and St. Michael..	Charleston.
SIMPSON, R. F.....	Anderson.....	Pendleton.
SMYLY, J. C.....	Edgefield.....	Lotts.

SMITH, J. J. P.....	St. Philip and St. Michael...	Charleston.
SNOWDEN, P. G.....	St. John's, Berkley.....	Black Oak.
SPAIN, A. C.....	Sumter.....	Sumter C. H.
SPRATT, L. W.....	St. Philip and St. Michael...	Charleston.
SPRINGS, A. B.....	York.....	Fort Mills.
STOKES, P.....	St. Bartholomew's.....	Branchville.
SIMS, J. S.....	Union.....	Paeolet Mills.
THOMPSON, Robert A.....	Pickens.....	Pickens C. H.
THOMSON, Thomas.....	Abbeville.....	Abbeville C. H.
TIMMONS, J. M.....	Darlington.....	Timmons ville.
TOMPKINS, James.....	Edgefield.....	Park's Store.
TOWNSEND, John.....	St. Philip and St. Michael.	Edisto Island.
WAGNER, T. D.....	St. Philip and St. Michael...	Charleston.
WANNAMAKER, John J.	St. Mathew's.....	St. Mathew's.
WARDLAW, D. L.....	Abbeville.....	Abbeville C. H.
WARDLAW, F. H.....	Edgefield.....	Edgefield C. H.
WATTS, W. D.....	Laurens.....	Laurens C. H.
WIER, Thomas, Sr.....	Laurens.....	Clinton.
WHITNER, J. N.....	Anderson.....	Anderson C. H.
WILLIAMS, J. D.....	Laurens.....	Spring Grove.
WILSON, I. D.....	Darlington.....	Society Hill..
WILSON, J. H.....	Abbeville.....	Abbeville C. H.
WILSON, W. B.....	York.....	Yorkville.
WITHERS, T. J.....	Kershaw.....	Camden.
WOODS, Richard.....	Chester.....	Carmel Hill.
YOUNG, Henry C.....	Laurens.....	Laurens C. H.
B. F. ARTHUR, Clerk.....	Union.....	Union C. H.



ORDINANCES.





## ORDINANCES.

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### THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

At a Convention of the People of the State of South Carolina, begun and holden at Columbia, on the seventeenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, and thence continued by adjournment to Charleston, and there, by divers adjournments, to the twentieth day of December in the same year.

### AN ORDINANCE

TO DISSOLVE THE UNION BETWEEN THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA AND OTHER STATES UNITED WITH HER UNDER THE COMPACT ENTITLED "THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA."

*We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained,*

That the Ordinance adopted by us in Convention, on the twenty-third day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also, all Acts and parts of Acts of the General Assembly of this State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of "The United States of America," is hereby dissolved.

D. F. JAMISON, *Del. from Barnwell, and Pres't Convention.*

THOS. CHILES FERRIN,

EDW. NOBLE,

J. H. WILSON,

THOS. THOMSON,

DAVID LEWIS WARDLAW,	HENRY CAMPBELL DAVIS,
JNO. ALFRED CALHOUN,	JNO. BUCHANAN,
JOHN IZARD MIDDLETON,	JAMES C. FURMAN,
BENJAMIN E. SESSIONS,	P. E. DUNCAN,
J. N. WHITNER,	W. K. EASLEY,
JAMES L. ORR,	JAMES HARRISON,
J. P. REED,	W. H. CAMPBELL,
R. F. SIMPSON,	T. J. WITHERS,
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN MAULDIN,	JAMES CHESNUT, Jr.,
LEWIS MALONE AYER, Jr.,	JOSEPH BREVARD KERSHAW,
W. PERONNEAU FINLEY,	THOS. W. BEATY,
J. J. BRABHAM,	WM. J. ELLIS,
BENJ. W. LAWTON,	R. L. CRAWFORD,
JNO. MCKEE,	W. C. CAUTHEN,
THOMAS W. MOORE,	D. P. ROBINSON,
RICHARD WOODS,	H. C. YOUNG,
A. Q. DUNOVANT,	H. W. GARLINGTON,
JOHN A. INGLIS,	JOHN D. WILLIAMS,
HENRY McIVER,	W. D. WATTS,
STEPHEN JACKSON,	THOS. WIER,
W. PINCKNEY SHINGLER,	H. I. CAUGHMAN,
PETER P. BONNEAU,	JOHN C. GEIGER,
JOHN P. RICHARDSON,	PAUL QUATTLEBAUM,
JOHN L. MANNING,	W. B. ROWELL,
JOHN J. INGRAM,	CHESLEY D. EVANS,
EDGAR W. CHARLES,	WM. W. HARLLEE,
JULIUS A. DARGAN,	A. W. BETHEA,
ISAAC D. WILSON,	E. W. GOODWIN,
JOHN M. TIMMONS,	WILLIAM D. JOHNSON,
FRANCIS HUGH WARDLAW,	ALEX. McLEOD,
R. G. M. DUNOVANT,	JOHN P. KINARD,
JAMES PARSONS CARROLL,	ROBERT MOORMAN,
WM. GREGG,	JOSEPH CALDWELL,
ANDREW J. HAMMOND,	SIMEON FAIR,
JAMES TOMPKINS,	THOMAS WORTH GLOVER,
JAMES C. SMYLY,	LAWRENCE M. KEITT,
JOHN HUGH MEANS,	DONALD ROWE BARTON,
WILLIAM STROTHER LYLES,	WM. HUNTER,

ANDREW F. LEWIS,  
 ROBT. A. THOMPSON,  
 WILLIAM S. GRISHAM,  
 JOHN MAXWELL,  
 JNO. E. FRAMPTON,  
 W. FERGUSON HUTSON,  
 W. F. DE SAUSSURE,  
 WILLIAM HOPKINS,  
 JAMES H. ADAMS,  
 MAXCY GREGG,  
 JOHN H. KINSLER,  
 EPHRAIM M. CLARKE,  
 ALEX. H. BROWN,  
 E. S. P. BELLINGER,  
 MERRICK E. CARN,  
 E. R. HENDERSON,  
 PETER STOKES,  
 DANIEL FLUD,  
 DAVID C. APPLEBY,  
 R. W. BARNWELL,  
 JOS. DAN'L POPE,  
 C. P. BROWN,  
 JOHN M. SHINGLER,  
 DANIEL DU PRE,  
 A. MAZYCK,  
 WILLIAM CAIN,  
 P. G. SNOWDEN,  
 GEO. W. SEABROOK,  
 JOHN JENKINS,  
 R. J. DAVANT,  
 E. M. SEABROOK,  
 JOHN J. WANNAMAKER,  
 ELIAS B. SCOTT,  
 JOSEPH E. JENKINS,  
 LANGDON CHEVES,  
 GEORGE RHODES,  
 A. G. MAGRATH,  
 WM. PORCHER MILES,

JOHN TOWNSEND,  
 ROBERT N. GOURDIN,  
 H. W. CONNER,  
 THEODORE D. WAGNER,  
 R. BARNWELL RHETT,  
 C. G. MEMMINGER,  
 GABRIEL MANIGAULT,  
 JOHN JULIUS PRINGLE SMITH,  
 ISAAC W. HAYNE,  
 JNO. H. HONOUR,  
 RICH'D DE TREVILLE,  
 THOS. M. HANCKEL,  
 A. W. BURNET,  
 THOS. Y. SIMONS,  
 L. W. SPRATT,  
 WILLIAMS MIDDLETON,  
 F. D. RICHARDSON,  
 B. H. RUTLEDGE,  
 EDWARD MCCRADY,  
 FRANCIS J. PORCHER,  
 T. L. GOURDIN,  
 JOHN S. PALMER,  
 JOHN L. NOWELL,  
 JOHN S. O'HEAR,  
 JOHN G. LANDRUM,  
 B. B. FOSTER,  
 BENJAMIN F. KILGORE,  
 JAS. H. CARLISLE,  
 SIMPSON BOBO,  
 WM. CURTIS,  
 H. D. GREEN,  
 MATTHEW P. MAYES,  
 THOMAS REESE ENGLISH, Sr.  
 ALBERTUS CHAMBERS SPAIN,  
 J. M. GADBERRY,  
 J. S. SIMS,  
 WM. H. GIST,  
 JAMES JEFFERIES,

ANTHONY W. DOZIER,  
JOHN G. PRESSLEY,  
R. C. LOGAN,  
FRANCIS S. PARKER,  
BENJ. FANEUIL DUNKIN,  
SAMUEL TAYLOR ATKINSON,  
ALEX. M. FORSTER,

WM. BLACKBURN WILSON,  
ROBERT T. ALLISON,  
SAMUEL RAINEY,  
A. BAXTER SPRINGS,  
A. I. BARRON,  
A. T. DARBY.

Attest: B. F. ARTHUR, *Clerk.*

## THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

At a Convention of the People of the State of South Carolina, begun and holden at Columbia, on the seventeenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, and thence continued by adjournment to Charleston, and there, by divers adjournments, to the twenty-second day of December, in the same year.

## AN ORDINANCE

To alter the Constitution of the State of South Carolina, in respect to the Oath of Office.

*We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained,*

That the Fourth Article of the Constitution of the State of South Carolina, heretofore amended, be now altered so as to read as follows, to wit:

“All persons who shall be elected or appointed to any office of profit or trust, before entering on the execution thereof, shall take, (besides special oaths not repugnant to this Constitution, prescribed by the General Assembly,) the following oath: I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will be faithful, and true allegiance bear, to the State of South Carolina, so long as I may continue a citizen thereof, and that I am duly qualified, according to the Constitution of this State, to exercise the office to which I have been appointed, and that I will, to the best of my ability, discharge the duties thereof, and preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of this State. So help me God.”

Done at Charleston, the twenty-second day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty.

D. F. JAMISON, *President.*

Attest: B. F. ARTHUR, *Clerk.*

The first part of the book is devoted to a general survey of the subject. It begins with a definition of the term 'philosophy' and proceeds to discuss the various branches of the discipline. The author then examines the historical development of philosophy, from ancient Greece to the modern era. This section is particularly interesting for its detailed analysis of the contributions of major philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, and Descartes. The text is well-organized and easy to read, making it an excellent resource for students and scholars alike.

### THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY

The history of philosophy is a vast and complex field. It encompasses the study of the ideas and theories of philosophers from different cultures and time periods. The ancient Greeks laid the foundation for Western philosophy, with their emphasis on logic and reason. The medieval period was characterized by the integration of philosophy with theology, while the Renaissance and Enlightenment eras saw a renewed interest in humanism and scientific inquiry. The modern era has witnessed significant developments in various branches of philosophy, including phenomenology, existentialism, and postmodernism. This section provides a comprehensive overview of these historical trends and the key figures who shaped the discipline.

In the second part of the book, the author delves into the specific areas of philosophy. This includes a detailed exploration of metaphysics, which deals with the nature of reality and existence. The text also covers epistemology, the study of knowledge and how it is acquired. Other topics discussed include ethics, political philosophy, and the philosophy of language. Each section is supported by clear examples and references to relevant philosophical works. The author's approach is both scholarly and accessible, providing a solid foundation for understanding the complexities of these subjects. The book concludes with a summary of the main points discussed throughout the text.

## THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

At a Convention of the People of the State of South Carolina, begun and holden at Columbia, on the seventeenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, and thence continued by adjournment to Charleston, and there, by divers adjournments, to the twenty-second day of December, in the same year.

## AN ORDINANCE

To make Provisional Postal Arrangements in South Carolina.

*Whereas*, the State of South Carolina owes it to her own citizens, and to those of the other States, that, as one of the contracting parties, she should not prevent or interrupt the performance of the pending contract for carrying and delivering of the Mails made by the United States while South Carolina was one of said States: *Be it ordained by the People of South Carolina, in Convention assembled*, That the existing postal contracts and arrangements shall be continued, and the persons charged with the duties thereof shall continue to discharge said duties until a Postal Treaty or Treaties shall be concluded, or until otherwise ordered by this Convention.

Done at Charleston, the twenty-second day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty.

D. F. JAMISON, *President.*

Attest: B. F. ARTHUR, *Clerk.*





## THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

At a Convention of the People of the State of South Carolina, begun and holden at Columbia, on the seventeenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, and thence continued by adjournment to Charleston, and there, by divers adjournments, to the twenty-sixth day of December, in the same year.

## AN ORDINANCE

To make Provisional Arrangements for the Continuance of Commercial Facilities in South Carolina.

*Whereas*, it is due to our late confederates in the political union, known as the United States of America, as also to the citizens of South Carolina engaged in commerce, that no abrupt or sudden change be made in the rate of duties upon imports into this State; and, whereas, it is not desired by this State to secure any advantage in trade to her own ports above those of any of the slaveholding States, her late confederates in the said Union; and, whereas, this Ordinance, for the considerations indicated, is designed to be provisional merely; therefore,

*We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained,*

First: That all citizens of this State, who, at the date of the Ordinance of Secession, were holding office connected with the Customs, under the Government of the United States, within the limits of South Carolina, be, and they are hereby appointed to hold, under the Government of this State, exclusive of any further connection whatever with the Federal Government of the United States, the same offices they now fill, until otherwise directed, and to receive the same pay and emoluments for their services.

Second: That until this Convention, or the General Assembly, shall otherwise provide, the Governor shall appoint to all vacancies which may occur in such offices.

Third: That, until otherwise provided by this Convention, or the General Assembly, the revenue, collection and navigation laws of the United States, so far as they may be applicable, be, and they are hereby adopted, and made the laws of this State, saving that no duties shall be collected upon imports from the States forming the late Federal Union, known as the United States of America, nor upon the tonnage of vessels owned in whole or in part by the citizens of the said States, and saving and excepting the Act of Congress, adopted the 3d day of March, 1817, entitled "An Act authorizing the deposit of papers of foreign vessels with the Consuls of their respective nations," which said Act is hereby declared to be of no force within the limits of this State.

Fourth: That all vessels built in South Carolina, or elsewhere, and owned to the amount of one-third by a citizen or citizens of South Carolina, or any of the slaveholding commonwealths of North America, and commanded by a citizen thereof, and no other, shall be registered as vessels of South Carolina, under the authority of the Collector and Naval Officer.

Fifth: That all the official acts of the officers aforesaid, in which it is usual and proper to set forth the authority under which they act, or the style of documents issued by them, or any of them, shall be in the name of the State of South Carolina.

Sixth: That all moneys hereafter collected by any of the officers aforesaid shall, after deducting the sums necessary for the compensation of officers and other expenses, be paid into the Treasury of the State of South Carolina, for the use of the said State, subject to the order of this Convention, or the General Assembly.

Seventh: That the officers aforesaid shall retain in their hands all property of the United States in their possession, custody, or control, subject to the disposal of this State,

who will account for the same upon a final settlement with the Government of the United States.

Done at Charleston, the twenty-sixth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty.

D. F. JAMISON, *President.*

Attest: B. F. ARTHUR, *Clerk.*



## THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

At a Convention of the People of the State of South Carolina, begun and holden at Columbia, on the seventeenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, and thence continued by adjournment to Charleston, and there, by divers adjournments, to the twenty-seventh day of December, in the same year.

## AN ORDINANCE

To amend the Constitution of the State of South Carolina in respect to the Executive Department.

*We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained,*

That the Governor shall have power to receive ambassadors, ministers, consuls, and agents from foreign powers; to appoint such agents, to be paid out of the contingent fund, as in his discretion he may choose to employ; to conduct negotiations with foreign powers; to make treaties by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, provided two-thirds of the Senators present agree; to nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint such ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, as the General Assembly shall have previously directed to be appointed, and also all other officers, whose appointment otherwise shall not have been provided for by law; to fill all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, in the offices to which he had the power to nominate as above mentioned, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of the next session of the Senate, and to convene the Senate whenever, in his opinion, it may be necessary: *Provided, nevertheless,* That, during the exist-

ence of a Convention, all treaties and directions for appointment of ambassadors, ministers, or consuls, shall be subject to the advice and consent of the Convention, or to its separate action.

*And it is further ordained,* That the Governor shall immediately appoint four persons, with the advice and consent of this Convention, who, together with the Lieutenant-Governor, shall form a Council, to be called the Executive Council, whose duty it shall be, when required by the Governor, to advise with him upon all matters which may be submitted to their consideration; and that a record of such consultations shall be kept: *Provided, nevertheless,* That the Governor shall, in all cases, decide upon his own action.

Done at Charleston, the twenty-seventh day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty.

D. F. JAMISON, *President.*

Attest: B. F. ARTHUR, *Clerk.*

## THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

At a Convention of the People of the State of South Carolina, begun and holden at Columbia, on the seventeenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, and thence continued by adjournment to Charleston, and there, by divers adjournments, to the twenty-seventh day of December in the same year.

## AN ORDINANCE

To alter the Constitution of the State of South Carolina, by striking out certain words in sundry places.

*We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained,*

That the Constitution of the State of South Carolina be altered by striking therefrom certain words in sundry places, as follows, to wit: In the Twenty-first Section of the First Article, strike out in two places where they occur in this Section, the following words—"the United States or either of them." In the Third Clause of the Second Section of the Second Article, strike out the following words—"or under any State or the United States." In the Sixth Section of the Second Article, strike out the following words—"except when they shall be called into the actual service of the United States." In the Second Clause of the First Section of the Third Article, strike out the following words—"the United States." In the amendment of the amendment of the Fourth Section of the First Article, (which amendment of the amendment was ratified December twentieth, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six,) strike out the following words—"and non-commissioned officers and private soldiers of the Army of the United States." In the Fifth Section of Second

Article, strike out in the places where they occur in this Section, the word "absence," and in lieu thereof, insert "removal;" also strike out "being absent," and insert in lieu thereof, "removal from the State."

Done at Charleston, the twenty-seventh day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty.

D. F. JAMISON, *President.*

Attest: B. F. ARTHUR, *Clerk.*



## THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

At a Convention of the People of the State of South Carolina, begun and holden at Columbia, on the seventeenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, and thence continued by adjournment to Charleston, and there, by divers adjournments, to the thirty-first day of December, in the same year.

## AN ORDINANCE

Concerning Powers lately vested in the Congress of the United States.

*We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained,*

That all powers which, by this State, were heretofore delegated to the Congress of the United States, shall be vested in the General Assembly, except that during the existence of this Convention, the powers of the General Assembly shall not extend, without the direction of this Convention, to any of these subjects, viz: Duties and Imposts, the Post-Office, the Declaration of War, Treaties, Confederacy with other States, Citizenship and Treason.

Done at Charleston, the thirty-first day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty.

D. F. JAMISON, *President.*

Attest: B. F. ARTHUR, *Clerk.*



## THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

At a Convention of the People of the State of South Carolina, begun and holden at Columbia, on the seventeenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, and thence continued by adjournment to Charleston, and there, by divers adjournments, to the thirty-first day of December, in the same year.

## AN ORDINANCE

To Define and Punish Treason.

*We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained,*

That in addition to what has been already declared to be treason by the General Assembly, treason against this State shall consist only in levying war against the State, or adhering to its enemies, giving them aid and comfort; and that treason shall be punished by death, without benefit of clergy.

Done at Charleston, the thirty-first day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty.

D. F. JAMISON, *President.*

Attest: B. F. ARTHUR, *Clerk.*



## THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

At a Convention of the People of the State of South Carolina, begun and holden at Columbia, on the seventeenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, and thence continued by adjournment to Charleston, and there, by divers adjournments, to the thirty-first day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty.

## AN ORDINANCE

## Concerning Judicial Powers.

*We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained,*

That the judicial power heretofore delegated by this State, so as to form a part of the judicial power of the United States, having reverted to this State, shall be exercised by such Courts as the General Assembly shall direct.

Done at Charleston, the thirty-first day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty.

D. F. JAMISON, *President.*

Attest: B. F. ARTHUR, *Clerk.*



## THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

At a Convention of the People of the State of South Carolina, begun and holden at Columbia, on the seventeenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, and thence continued by adjournment to Charleston, and there, by divers adjournments, to the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one.

## AN ORDINANCE

## Concerning Citizenship.

*We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained,*

1. Every person who, at the date of the Ordinance of Secession, was residing in this State, and was then by birth, residence, or naturalization, a citizen of this State, shall continue a citizen of this State, unless a foreign residence shall be established by such person with the intention of expatriation.

2. So, also, shall continue every free white person who, after the date aforesaid, may be born within the territory of this State, or may be born outside of that territory, of a father who then was a citizen of this State.

3. So, also, every person, a citizen of any one of the States now confederated under the name of the United States of America, who, within twelve months after the date of the Ordinance of Secession, shall come to reside in this State, with the intention of remaining, upon such person's taking the oath of allegiance to this State, below provided.

4. So, also, every free white person who shall be engaged in the actual service, military or naval, of the State, and

shall take an oath of his intention to continue in such service for at least three months, unless sooner discharged honorably, and also the oath of allegiance below prescribed. In this case, the oaths shall be administered by some commissioned officer of the service, in which the applicant for citizenship may be engaged, superior in rank to the applicant, and thereupon certificate of the citizenship of the applicant shall be signed by the officer and delivered to the applicant.

5. So, also, every free white person, not a citizen of any of the States above mentioned, who, at the date of the Ordinance of Secession, was residing in this State, or who, within one year from that date, shall come to reside in this State, with the intention of remaining, upon such person's appearing before the Court of Common Pleas for any of the Districts of this State, establishing, by his or her own oath, the residence and intention here required, and taking the oath of allegiance and abjuration below prescribed.

6. So, also, every person, not a citizen of any of the States above mentioned, at the date aforesaid, who may come to reside in this State, with the intention of remaining, and may be naturalized according to the naturalization laws of this State. Until they may be altered or repealed, the naturalization laws of the United States, accommodated to the special condition of the State, are hereby made the laws of this State, except that instead of the oaths required by those laws in the final Act, the oath of allegiance to this State, and of abjuration below provided, shall be taken.

7. In all cases, the citizenship of a man shall extend to his wife, present or future, whenever she shall have a residence in the State, and shall extend also to each of his children, that under the age of eighteen years, may have a residence in the State. In like manner, the citizenship of a woman shall extend to each of her children, that under the age of eighteen years, may have a residence in the State; *Provided*, That in no case shall citizenship extend to any person who is not a free white person.



8. That the oath of allegiance to this State shall be in the following form, to wit: "I do swear (or affirm) that I will be faithful, and true allegiance bear, to the State of South Carolina, as long as I may continue a citizen thereof."

9. The oath of abjuration shall be in the following form, to wit: "I do swear (or affirm) that I do renounce, and forever abjure, all allegiance and fidelity to every prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty whatsoever, except the State of South Carolina."

Done at Charleston, the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one.

D. F. JAMISON, *President.*

Attest: B. F. ARTHUR, *Clerk.*

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## THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

At a Convention of the People of the State of South Carolina, begun and holden at Columbia, on the seventeenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, and thence continued by adjournment to Charleston, and there, by divers adjournments, to the fifth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one.

## AN ORDINANCE

To vest in the General Assembly the power to establish  
Postal Arrangements.

*We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained,*

That all power necessary to make Postal Arrangements, and enact Postal Laws, is hereby vested in the General Assembly.

Done at Charleston, the fifth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one.

D. F. JAMISON, *President.*

Attest: B. F. ARTHUR, *Clerk.*



CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN THE

Commissioners of the State of So. Ca.

AND

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.



[LETTER OF THE COMMISSIONERS TO THE PRESIDENT.]

WASHINGTON, 28th DECEMBER, 1860.

*Sir:* We have the honor to transmit to you a copy of the full powers from the Convention of the People of South Carolina, under which we are "authorized and empowered to treat with the Government of the United States for the delivery of the forts, magazines, light houses and other real estate, with their appurtenances, within the limits of South Carolina, and also for an apportionment of the public debt and for a division of all other property held by the Government of the United States as agent of the confederated States, of which South Carolina was recently a member; and generally to negotiate as to all other measures and arrangements proper to be made and adopted in the existing relation of the parties, and for the continuance of peace and amity between this commonwealth and the Government at Washington."

In the execution of this trust, it is our duty to furnish you, as we now do, with an official copy of the Ordinance of Secession, by which the State of South Carolina has resumed the powers she delegated to the Government of the United States and has declared her perfect sovereignty and independence.

It would also have been our duty to have informed you that we were ready to negotiate with you upon all such questions as are necessarily raised by the adoption of this ordinance, and that we were prepared to enter upon this negotiation with the earnest desire to avoid all unnecessary and hostile collision, and so to inaugurate our new relations as to secure mutual respect, general advantage and a future of good will and harmony beneficial to all the parties concerned.

But the events of the last twenty-four hours render such an assurance impossible. We came here the representatives of an authority which could, at any time within the past sixty days, have taken possession of the forts in Charleston harbor, but which, upon pledges given in a manner that, we cannot doubt, determined to trust to your honor rather than to its own power. Since our arrival here an officer of the United States, acting, as we are assured, not only without but against your orders, has dismantled one fort and occupied another, thus altering, to a most important extent, the condition of affairs under which we came.

Until these circumstances are explained in a manner which relieves us of all doubt as to the spirit in which these negotiations shall be conducted, we are forced to suspend all discussion as to any arrangements by which our mutual interests might be amicably adjusted.

And, in conclusion, we would urge upon you the immediate withdrawal of the troops from the harbor of Charleston. Under present circumstances, they are a standing menace which renders negotiation impossible, and, as our recent experience shews, threatens speedily to bring to a bloody issue questions which ought to be settled with temperance and judgment.

We have the honor, Sir, to be,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servants,

R. W. BARNWELL,

J. H. ADAMS.

JAMES L. ORR,

*Commissioners.*

*To the PRESIDENT  
of the United States.*



[REPLY OF THE PRESIDENT TO THE COMMISSIONERS.]

WASHINGTON CITY, 30th December, 1860.

*Gentlemen*: I have the honor to receive your communication of 28th inst., together with a copy of your "full powers from the Convention of the People of South Carolina," authorising you to treat with the Government of the United States on various important subjects therein mentioned, and also a copy of the Ordinance bearing date on the 20th instant, declaring that "the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States under the name of 'the United States of America,' is hereby dissolved."

In answer to this communication, I have to say, that my position as President of the United States was clearly defined in the message to Congress of the 3d instant. In that I stated that, "apart from the execution of the laws, so far as this may be practicable, the Executive has no authority to decide what shall be the relations between the Federal Government and South Carolina. He has been invested with no such discretion. He possesses no power to change the relations heretofore existing between them, much less to acknowledge the independence of that State. This would be to invest a mere executive officer with the power of recognizing the dissolution of the Confederacy among our thirty-three sovereign States. It bears no resemblance to the recognition of a foreign *de facto* government—involving no such responsibility. Any attempt to do this would, on his part, be a naked act of usurpation. It is, therefore, my duty to submit to Congress the whole question, in all its bearings."

Such is my opinion still. I could, therefore, meet you only as private gentlemen of the highest character, and was entirely willing to communicate to Congress any proposition you might have to make to that body upon the subject. Of this you were well aware. It was my earnest

desire, that such a disposition might be made of the whole subject by Congress, who alone possess the power, as to prevent the inauguration of a civil war between the parties in regard to the possession of the Federal Forts in the harbor of Charleston; and I therefore deeply regret, that, in your opinion, "the events of the last twenty-four hours render this impossible." In conclusion, you urge upon me "the immediate withdrawal of the troops from the harbor of Charleston," stating that, "under present circumstances, they are a standing menace which renders negotiation impossible, and as our recent experience shows, threatens speedily to bring to a bloody issue, questions which ought to be settled with temperance and judgment."

The reason for this change in your position is, that since your arrival in Washington, "an officer of the United States, acting as we (you) are assured, not only without, but against your (my) orders, has dismantled one fort and occupied another, thus altering, to a most important extent, the condition of affairs under which we (you) came." You also allege that you came here "the representatives of an authority which could, at any time, within the past sixty days have taken possession of the forts in Charleston harbor, but which, upon pledges given in a manner that we (you) cannot doubt, determined to trust to your (my) honor rather than to its own power."

This brings me to a consideration of the nature of those alleged pledges, and in what manner they have been observed. In my message of the third of December last, I stated, in regard to the property of the United States in South Carolina, that it "has been purchased for a fair equivalent 'by the consent of the Legislature of the State,' 'for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals,' &c., and over these the authority 'to exercise exclusive legislation' has been expressly granted by the Constitution to Congress. It is not believed that any attempt will be made to expel the United States from this property by force; but if in this I should prove to be mistaken, the officer in command of the forts has received orders to act strictly on the defen-

sive. In such a contingency, the responsibility for consequences would rightfully rest upon the heads of the assailants." This being the condition of the parties, on Saturday, 6th December, four of the representatives from South Carolina called upon me and requested an interview. We had an earnest conversation on the subject of these forts, and the best means of preventing a collision between the parties for the purpose of sparing the effusion of blood. I suggested, for prudential reasons, that it would be best to put in writing what they said to me verbally. They did so accordingly, and on Monday morning, the 10th instant, three of them presented to me a paper signed by all the representatives from South Carolina, with a single exception, of which the following is a copy :

*To His Excellency* JAMES BUCHANAN,  
*President of the United States :*

In compliance with our statement to you yesterday, we now express to you our strong convictions that neither the constituted authorities, nor any body of the people of the State of South Carolina, will either attack or molest the United States Forts, in the harbor of Charleston, previously to the action of the Convention, and we hope and believe, not until an offer has been made, through an accredited representative, to negotiate for an amicable arrangement of all matters between the State and the Federal Government, provided that no reinforcements shall be sent into those forts, and their relative military *status* shall remain as at present.

JNO. McQUEEN,  
WM. PORCHER MILES,  
M. L. BONHAM,  
W. W. BOYCE,  
LAWRENCE M. KEITT.

WASHINGTON, 9th Dec., 1860.

And here I must, in justice to myself, remark, that at the time the paper was presented to me, I objected to the

word "provided," as it might be construed into an agreement, on my part, which I never would make. They said that nothing was farther from their intention—they did not so understand it, and I should not so consider it. It is evident they could enter into no reciprocal agreement with me on the subject. They did not profess to have authority to do this, and were acting in their individual character. I considered it as nothing more, in effect, than the promise of highly honorable gentlemen to exert their influence for the purpose expressed. The event has proven that they have faithfully kept this promise, although I have never since received a line from any one of them, or from any member of the Convention, on the subject. It is well known that it was my determination, and this I freely expressed, not to reinforce the forts in the harbor, and thus produce a collision, until they had been actually attacked, or until I had certain evidence that they were about to be attacked. This paper I received most cordially, and considered it as a happy omen that peace might still be preserved, and that time might thus be gained for reflection. This is the whole foundation for the alleged pledge.

But I acted in the same manner I would have done had I entered into a positive and formal agreement with parties capable of contracting, although such an agreement would have been, on my part, from the nature of my official duties, impossible.

The world knows that I have never sent any reinforcements to the forts in Charleston harbor, and I have certainly never authorized any change to be made "in their relative military status."

Bearing upon this subject, I refer you to an order issued by the Secretary of War, on the 11th inst., to Major Anderson, but not brought to my notice until the 21st instant. It is as follows:

*"Memorandum of verbal instructions to Major ANDERSON, 1st Artillery, Commanding Fort Moultrie, S. C.*

You are aware of the great anxiety of the Secretary of

War that a collision of the troops with the people of this State shall be avoided, and of his studied determination to pursue a course with reference to the military force and forts in this harbor, which shall guard against such a collision. He has, therefore, carefully abstained from increasing the force at this point, or taking any measures which might add to the present excited state of the public mind, or which would throw any doubt on the confidence he feels that South Carolina will not attempt by violence to obtain possession of the public works, or interfere with their occupancy. But as the counsel and acts of rash and impulsive persons may possibly disappoint these expectations of the Government, he deems it proper that you should be prepared with instructions to meet so unhappy a contingency. He has, therefore, directed me, verbally, to give you such instructions.

You are carefully to avoid every act which would needlessly tend to provoke aggression; and, for that reason, you are not, without evident and imminent necessity, to take up any position which could be construed into the assumption of a hostile attitude; but you are to hold possession of the forts in this harbor, and, if attacked, you are to defend yourself to the last extremity. The smallness of your force will not permit you, perhaps, to occupy more than one of the three forts; but an attack on, or attempt to take possession of either of them, will be regarded as an act of hostility, and you may then put your command into either of them which you may deem most proper, to increase its power of resistance. You are also authorized to take similar defensive steps whenever you have tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act.

D. P. BUTLER, *Assistant Adjutant General.*

FORT MOULTRIE, S. C., Dec. 11, 1860.

This is in conformity to my instructions to Major Buell.

JOHN B. FLOYD, *Secretary of War.*

These were the last instructions transmitted to Major Anderson before his removal to Fort Sumter, with a single exception in regard to a particular which does not, in any degree, affect the present question. Under these circumstances, it is clear that Major Anderson acted upon his own responsibility, and without authority, unless, indeed, he had "tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act," on the part of the authorities of South Carolina, which has not yet been alleged. Still, he is a brave and honorable officer; and justice requires that he should not be condemned without a fair hearing.

Be this as it may, when I learned that Major Anderson had left Fort Moultrie, and proceeded to Fort Sumter, my first promptings were to command him to return to his former position, and there to await the contingencies presented in his instructions. This could only have been done, with any degree of safety to the command, by the concurrence of the South Carolina authorities. But, before any steps could possibly have been taken in this direction, we received information, dated on the 28th instant, that "the Palmetto flag floated out to the breeze at Castle Pinckney, and a large military force went over last night (the 27th) to Fort Moultrie." Thus the authorities of South Carolina, without waiting or asking for any explanation, and doubtless believing, as you have expressed it, that the officer had acted not only without, but against my orders, on the very next day after the night when the removal was made, seized, by a military force, two of the three federal forts in the harbor of Charleston, and have covered them under their own flag, instead of that of the United States. At this gloomy period of our history, startling events succeed each other rapidly. On the very day (the 27th instant) that possession of these two forts was taken, the Palmetto flag was raised over the Federal Custom House and Post Office in Charleston; and, on the same day, every officer of the Customs—Collector, Naval Officers, Surveyor and Appraisers—resigned their offices. And this, although it was well known, from the language of my message, that, as an executive officer, I felt myself bound to collect the revenue at the

port of Charleston under the existing laws. In the harbor of Charleston, we now find three forts confronting each other, over all of which the federal flag floated only four days ago; but now, over two of them, this flag has been supplanted, and the Palmetto flag has been substituted in its stead. It is, under all these circumstances, that I am urged immediately to withdraw the troops from the harbor of Charleston, and am informed that without this, negotiation is impossible. This I cannot do; this I will not do. Such an idea was never thought of by me in any possible contingency. No allusion to it had ever been made in any communication between myself and any human being. But the inference is, that I am bound to withdraw the troops from the only fort remaining in the possession of the United States in the harbor of Charleston, because the officer then in command of all the forts thought proper, without instructions, to change his position from one of them to another. I cannot admit the justice of any such inference.

At this point of writing, I have received information, by telegram, from Captain Humphreys, in command of the Arsenal at Charleston, "that it has to-day (Sunday, the 30th) been taken by force of arms." It is estimated that the munitions of war belonging to the United States in this Arsenal are worth half a million of dollars.

Comment is needless. After this information, I have only to add, that, whilst it is my duty to defend Fort Sumter, as a portion of the public property of the United States against hostile attacks from whatever quarter they may come, by such means as I may possess for this purpose, I do not perceive how such a defence can be construed into a menace against the City of Charleston.

With great personal regard, I remain

Yours, very respectfully,

JAMES BUCHANAN.

*To Honorable*

ROBERT W. BARNWELL,

JAMES H. ADAMS.

JAMES L. ORR.

[REPLY OF COMMISSIONERS TO THE PRESIDENT.]

WASHINGTON, D. C.

January 1st, 1861.

*Sir:* We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th December, in reply to a note addressed by us to you on the 28th of the same month, as Commissioners from South Carolina.

In reference to the declaration with which your reply commences, that "your position as President of the United States was clearly defined in the Message to Congress of the 3d instant," that you possess "no power to change the relations heretofore existing" between South Carolina and the United States, "much less to acknowledge the independence of that State;" and that, consequently, you could meet us only as private gentlemen of the highest character, with an entire willingness to communicate to Congress any proposition we might have to make, we deem it only necessary to say, that the State of South Carolina having, in the exercise of that great right of self-government which underlies all our political organizations, declared herself sovereign and independent, we, as her representatives, felt no special solicitude as to the character in which you might recognize us. Satisfied that the State had simply exercised her unquestionable right, we were prepared, in order to reach substantial good, to waive the formal considerations which your constitutional scruples might have prevented you from extending. We came here, therefore, expecting to be received as you did receive us, and perfectly content with that entire willingness of which you assured us, to submit any proposition to Congress which we might have to make upon the subject of the independence of the State. That willingness was ample recognition of the condition of public affairs which rendered our pres-



ence necessary. In this position, however, it is our duty, both to the State which we represent and to ourselves, to correct several important misconceptions of our letter into which you have fallen.

You say, "It was my earnest desire that such a disposition might be made of the whole subject by Congress, who alone possesses the power to prevent the inauguration of a civil war between the parties in regard to the possession of the Federal forts in the harbor of Charleston; and I, therefore, deeply regret that, in your opinion, 'the events of the last twenty-four hours render this impossible.'" We expressed no such opinion, and the language which you quote as ours, is altered in its sense by the omission of a most important part of the sentence. What we did say was: "But the events of the last twenty-four hours render *such an assurance* impossible." Place that "assurance" as contained in our letter, in the sentence, and we are prepared to repeat it.

Again, professing to quote our language, you say:—"Thus the authorities of South Carolina, without waiting or asking for any explanation, and, doubtless, believing, as you have expressed it, that the officer had acted not only without, but against my orders," &c. We expressed no such opinion in reference to the belief of the people of South Carolina. The language which you have quoted, was applied solely and entirely to *our* assurance, obtained here, and based, as you well know, upon your own declaration—a declaration which, at that time, it was impossible for the authorities of South Carolina to have known. But, without following this letter into all its details, we propose only to meet the chief points of the argument.

Some weeks ago, the State of South Carolina declared her intention, in the existing condition of public affairs, to secede from the United States. She called a Convention of her people, to put her declaration in force. The Convention met, and passed the Ordinance of Secession. All this you anticipated, and your course of action was thoroughly considered. In your annual message, you declared

you had no right, and would not attempt, to coerce a seceding State, but that you were bound by your constitutional oath, and would defend the property of the United States within the borders of South Carolina, if an attempt was made to take it by force. Seeing very early that this question of property was a difficult and delicate one, you manifested a desire to settle it without collision. You did not reinforce the garrisons in the harbor of Charleston. You removed a distinguished and veteran officer from the command of Fort Moultrie, because he attempted to increase his supply of ammunition. You refused to send additional troops to the same garrison when applied for by the officer appointed to succeed him. You accepted the resignation of the oldest and most eminent member of your Cabinet, rather than allow these garrisons to be strengthened. You compelled an officer stationed at Fort Sumter, to return immediately to the Arsenal, forty muskets which he had taken to arm his men. You expressed not to one, but to many, of the most distinguished of our public characters, whose testimony will be placed upon the record, whenever it is necessary, your anxiety for a peaceful termination of this controversy, and your willingness not to disturb the military status of the forts, if Commissioners should be sent to the Government, whose communications you promised to submit to Congress. You received and acted on assurances from the highest official authorities of South Carolina, that no attempt would be made to disturb your possession of the forts and property of the United States, if you would not disturb their existing condition until Commissioners had been sent, and the attempt to negotiate had failed. You took from the members of the House of Representatives, a written memorandum that no such attempt should be made, "provided that no reinforcements shall be sent into those forts, and their relative military status shall remain as at present." And, although you attach no force to the acceptance of such a paper, although you "considered it as nothing more in effect than the promise of highly honorable gentlemen," as an obligation

on one side without corresponding obligation on the other, it must be remembered (if we are rightly informed) that you were pledged, if you ever did send reinforcements, to return it to those from whom you had received it before you executed your resolution. You sent orders to your officers, commanding them strictly to follow a line of conduct in conformity with such an understanding.

Beside all this, you had received formal and official notice from the Governor of South Carolina, that we had been appointed Commissioners, and were on our way to Washington. You knew the implied condition under which we came; our arrival was notified to you, and an hour appointed for an interview. We arrived in Washington on Wednesday, at three o'clock, and you appointed an interview with us at one the next day. Early on that day, Thursday, the news was received here of the movement of Major Anderson. That news was communicated to you immediately, and you postponed our meeting until half-past two o'clock, on Friday, in order that you might consult your Cabinet. On Friday we saw you, and we called upon you then to redeem your pledge. You could not deny it. With the facts we have stated, and in the face of the crowning and conclusive fact, that your Secretary of War had resigned his seat in the Cabinet, upon the publicly avowed ground that the action of Major Anderson had violated the pledged faith of the Government, and that unless the pledge was instantly redeemed, he was dishonored; denial was impossible; you did not deny it. You do not deny it now, but you seek to escape from its obligation on two grounds: 1st, That *we* terminated all negotiation by demanding, as a preliminary, the withdrawal of the United States troops from the harbor of Charleston; and 2d, That the authorities of South Carolina, instead of asking explanation, and giving you the opportunity to vindicate yourself, took possession of other property of the United States. We will examine both.

In the first place, we deny positively, that we have ever, in any way, made any such demand. Our letter is in your possession; it will stand by this on the record. In it, we

inform you of the objects of our mission. We say that it would have been our duty to have assured you of our readiness to commence negotiations with the most earnest and anxious desire to settle all questions between us amicably, and to our mutual advantage, but that events had rendered that assurance impossible. We stated the events, and we said that, until some satisfactory explanation of these events was given us, we could not proceed, and then, having made this request for explanation, we added, "and, in conclusion, we would urge upon you the immediate withdrawal of the troops from the harbor of Charleston. Under present circumstances they are a standing menace, which renders negotiation impossible," &c. "Under present circumstances!" What circumstances? Why, clearly, the occupation of Fort Sumter, and the dismantling of Fort Moultrie by Major Anderson, in the face of your pledges, and without explanation or practical disavowal. And there is nothing in the letter, which would or could have prevented you from declining to withdraw the troops, and offering the restoration of the status to which you were pledged, if such had been your desire. It would have been wiser and better, in our opinion, to have withdrawn the troops, and this opinion we urged upon you, but we *demand*ed nothing but such an explanation of the events of the last twenty-four hours as would restore our confidence in the spirit with which the negotiation should be conducted. In relation to this withdrawal of the troops from the harbor, we are compelled, however, to notice one passage of your letter. Referring to it, you say: "This I cannot do. This I will not do. Such an idea was never thought of by me in any possible contingency. No allusion to it had ever been made in any communication between myself and any human being."

In reply to this statement, we are compelled to say, that your conversation with us left upon our minds the distinct impression that you did seriously contemplate the withdrawal of the troops from Charleston harbor. And, in support of this impression, we would add that we have the positive assurance of gentlemen of the highest possible

public reputation, and the most unsullied integrity—men whose name and fame, secured by long service and patriotic achievement, place their testimony beyond cavil—that such suggestions had been made to, and urged upon you by them, and had formed the subject of more than one earnest discussion with you. And it was this knowledge that induced us to urge upon you a policy which had to recommend it, its own wisdom and the weight of such authority. As to the second point, that the authorities of South Carolina, instead of asking explanations, and giving you the opportunity to vindicate yourself, took possession of other property of the United States, we would observe, 1st. That, even if this were so, it does not avail you for defence, for the opportunity for decision was afforded you before these facts occurred. We arrived in Washington on Wednesday. The news from Major Anderson reached here early on Thursday, and was immediately communicated to you. All that day, men of the highest consideration—men who had striven successfully to lift you to your great office—who had been your tried and true friends through the troubles of your administration—sought you, and entreated you to act—to act at once. They told you that every hour complicated your position. They only asked you to give the assurance that, if the facts were so—that, if the Commander had acted without, and against your orders, and in violation of your pledges, that you would restore the *status* you had pledged your honor to maintain.

You refused to decide. Your Secretary at War—your immediate and proper adviser in this whole matter—waited anxiously for your decision, until he felt that delay was becoming dishonor. More than twelve hours passed, and two Cabinet meetings had adjourned before you knew what the authorities of South Carolina had done, and your prompt decision at any moment of that time, would have avoided the subsequent complications. But if you had known the acts of the authorities of South Carolina, should that have prevented your keeping your faith? What was the condition of things? For the last sixty days, you have had in Charleston Harbor, not force enough to hold the

forts against an equal enemy. Two of them were empty; one of those two, the most important in the harbor. It could have been taken at any time. You ought to know better than any man, that it would have been taken, but for the efforts of those who put their trust in your honor. Believing that they were threatened by Fort Sumter especially, the people were, with difficulty, restrained from securing, without blood, the possession of this important fortress. After many and reiterated assurances given on your behalf, which we cannot believe unauthorized, they determined to forbear, and in good faith sent on their Commissioners to negotiate with you. They meant you no harm; wished you no ill. They thought of you kindly, believed you true, and were willing, as far as was consistent with duty, to spare you unnecessary and hostile collision. Scarcely had their Commissioners left, than Major Anderson waged war. No other words will describe his action. It was not a peaceful change from one fort to another; it was a hostile act in the highest sense—one only justified in the presence of a superior enemy, and in imminent peril. He abandoned his position, spiked his guns, burned his gun-carriages, made preparations for the destruction of his post, and withdrew under cover of the night to a safer position. This was war. No man could have believed (without your assurance) that any officer could have taken such a step, "not only without orders, but against orders." What the State did, was in simple self-defence; for this act, with all its attending circumstances, was as much war as firing a volley; and war being thus begun, until those commencing it explained their action, and disavowed their intention, there was no room for delay; and, even at this moment, while we are writing, it is more than probable, from the tenor of your letter, that reinforcements are hurrying on to the conflict, so that when the first gun shall be fired, there will have been, on your part, one continuous consistent series of actions commencing in a demonstration essentially warlike, supported by regular reinforcement, and terminating in defeat or victory. And all this without the slightest provocation; for, among the many things which you

have said, there is one thing you cannot say—you have waited anxiously for news from the seat of war, in hopes that delay would furnish some excuse for this precipitation. But this “tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act, on the part of the authorities of South Carolina,” (which is the only justification of Major Anderson,) you are forced to admit “has not *yet* been alleged.” But you have decided. You have resolved to hold by force what you have obtained through our misplaced confidence, and by refusing to disavow the action of Major Anderson, have converted his violation of orders into a legitimate act of your Executive authority. Be the issue what it may, of this we are assured, that, if Fort Moultrie has been recorded in history as a memorial of Carolina gallantry, Fort Sumter will live upon the succeeding page as an imperishable testimony of Carolina faith.

By your course, you have probably rendered civil war inevitable. Be it so. If you choose to force this issue upon us, the State of South Carolina will accept it, and, relying upon Him who is the God of justice as well as the God of hosts, will endeavor to perform the great duty which lies before her, hopefully, bravely and thoroughly.

Our mission being one for negotiation and peace, and your note leaving us without hope of a withdrawal of the troops from Fort Sumter, or of the restoration of the *status quo* existing at the time of our arrival, and intimating, as we think, your determination to reinforce the garrison in the Harbor of Charleston, we respectfully inform you that we propose returning to Charleston on to-morrow afternoon.

We have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servants,

R. W. BARNWELL,

J. H. ADAMS,

JAMES L. ORR.

*Commissioners.*

To his Excellency, the PRESIDENT  
of the United States.

The last communication is endorsed as follows:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

3½ o'clock, Wednesday.

This paper, just presented to the President, is of such a character that he declines to receive it.

















