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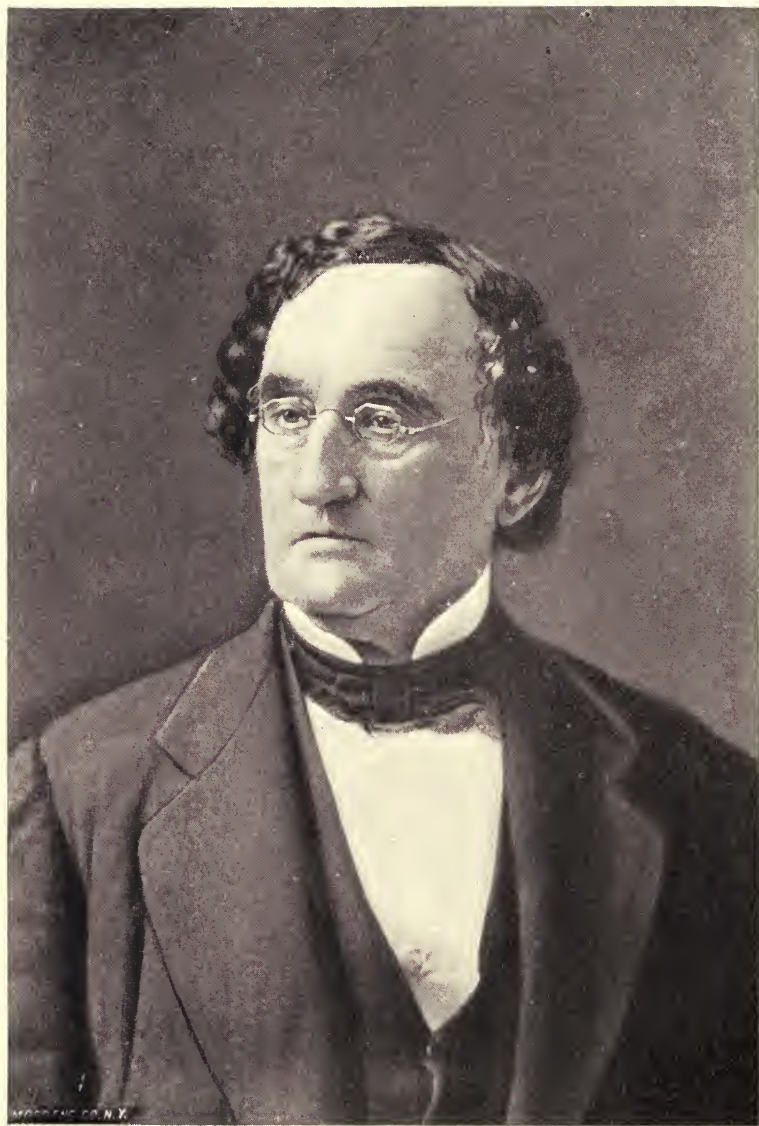
From Mrs B. F. Perry. "Wife" of
Governor Benjamin Franklin Perry.

Sans Souci. Greenville.

South Carolina.

August 19. 1889.





Very yours W. H. Percy

WITH RESPECTS OF MRS. GOVERNOR B. F. PERRY.

REMINISCENCES

OF

PUBLIC * MEN,

WITH

SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES,

BY

EX-GOV. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN PERRY,
OF GREENVILLE, S. C.

SECOND SERIES.

"NOBLE IN EVERY THOUGHT
AND IN EVERY DEED."

GREENVILLE, S. C.
SHANNON & CO., PRINTERS,
1889.



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THIS BOOK
IS DEDICATED TO OUR GRANDCHILDREN,
IN MEMORY OF THEIR NOBLE GRANDFATHER,
BY THEIR GRANDMOTHER;
COMPILED BY HER,
THAT THEY MAY UNDERSTAND THE EXALTED PRINCIPLES
THAT GOVERNED HIM THROUGH LIFE
AND MADE HIM THE WISE, THE BRAVE, THE UNSELFISH PATRIOT
THAT HE WAS,
"WITHOUT FEAR AND WITHOUT REPROACH."

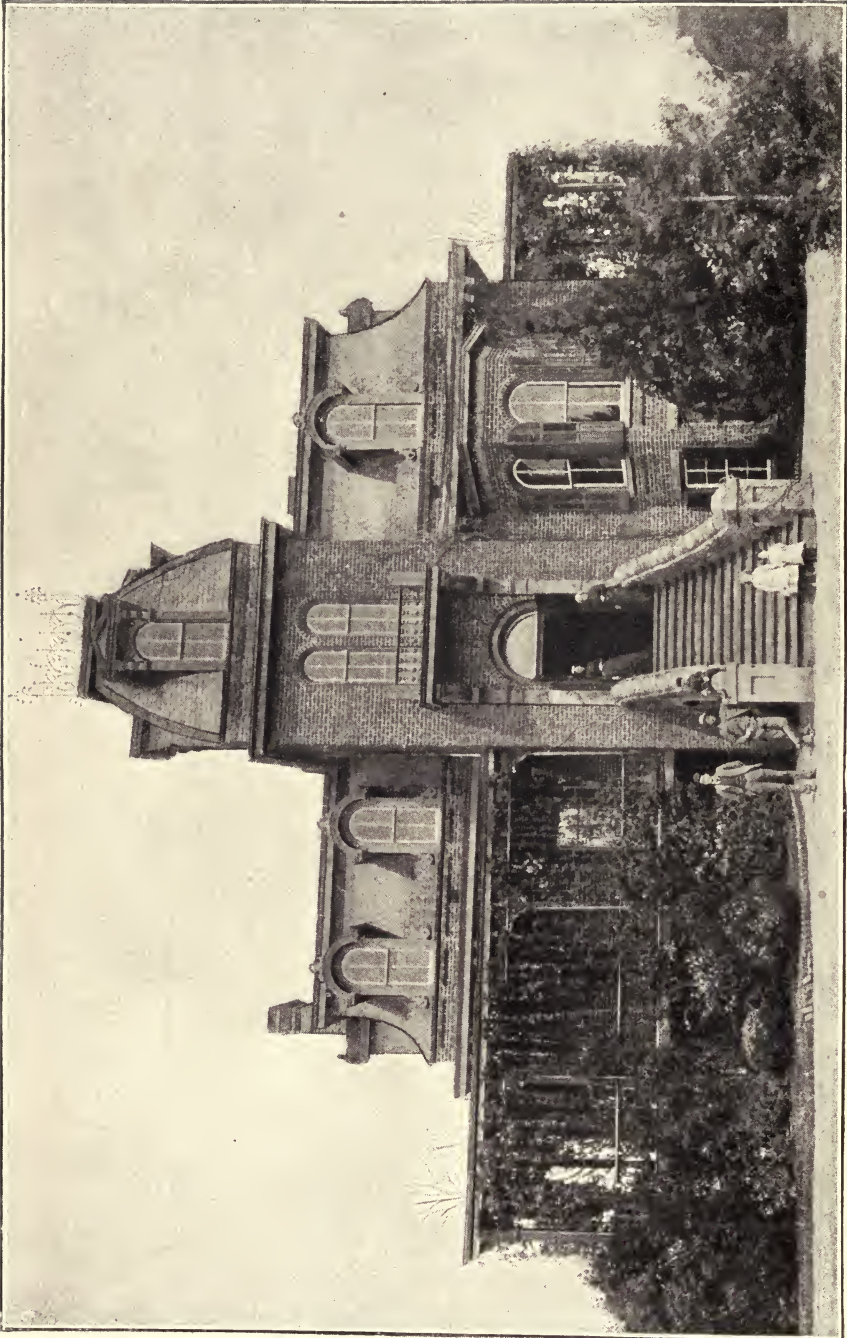
"So dear I love him, that with him all deaths I would endure;
Without him live no life."

39373

SANS SOUCI, GREENVILLE, So. Ca., April 27, 1889.







"SANS SOUCI," RESIDENCE OF GOVERNOR PERRY.

PREFACE.

The Reminiscences and other articles in this book were written (with a few exceptions) between the years 1872 and 1876, when South Carolina was under *Radical* and *Negro* rule, before the State was "redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled" through the influence and by the efforts of General Wade Hampton. Hence the frequent allusions of the writer to the lamentable condition of South Carolina. The articles selected by the *wife* (unassisted) are of historic value, interesting to the surviving actors in the troublous times of Nullification, Secession and Disunion, and giving information to many of the present generation who are unacquainted with the history of that period.

INDEX.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES—

	<i>Page.</i>
Benton, Thomas H.....	18
Burke, Ædanus.....	13
Burt, Armistead	5
Butler, Mrs. Jane Tweedy	25
Butler, Gen. M. C.....	22
Butler, Benjamin F.....	32
Chase, Salmon P.....	48
Colcock, Charles J.....	35
Corwin, Thomas.....	39
Crittenden, John J.....	44
Cunningham, Mrs. Louisa.....	53
Dargan, George W.....	63
Dawkins, Thomas N.....	68
DeSaussure, William Henry.....	59
Earle, Samuel.....	77
Easley, William K.....	72
Everett, Edward.....	83
Fair, Simeon.....	86
Fillmore, Millard.....	96
Frost, Edward.....	91
Gaston, William.....	103
Hampton, Wade.....	108
Hancock, Winfield Scott.....	51
Henry, James Edward.....	114
Houston, Sam.....	119
Irby, James H.....	123
Johnston, Job.....	130
“Johnston’s Wife of Louisiana”.....	135
Kent, James.....	139
Lieber, Francis.....	145
Martin, William D.....	150
Meade, George G.....	148
Pierce, Franklin	100
Polk, James K.....	98
Scott, Winfield.....	121
Seymour, Horatio.....	153
Simms, William Gilmore..	155

Stanton, Edwin M	158
Thomson, Andrew W	161
Van Buren, Martin	184
Wardlaw, David Lewis	166
Whitner, Joseph N	180
Wright, Silas	186
Young, Henry C	173
LETTERS—	
Austin, W. G	190
Austin, W. G	195
Battle, Kemp P	386
Bird, Hugh S	385
Courtenay, Hon. William A	331
Davis, Jefferson C	337
Desportes, R. S	334
Dozier, Hon. R	335
Ewbanks, Henry	333
Ferguson, Rev. Henry G	192
Fowler, G. B	197
Harris, N. S	338
Jones, Lambert J	384
Keitt, Joseph L	336
Kollock, Dr. Cornelius	333
Kollock, Dr. Cornelius	195
Loos, Charles Louis	386
Patterson, Hon. Giles J	332
Patton, Prof. E. L	194
Patton, Prof. E. L	198
Perry, Hon. Amos	337
Reid, Rev. Robert H	192
Reid, Rev. Robert H	362
Rice, Hon. Jas. H	339
Richardson, H. Clay	339
Shannon, J. R	387
Simonton, Judge Charles H	189
Weber, John L	190
Williams, Hon. George W	332
History of Nullification, written by Gov. Perry in 1872	199
History of the State Conventions in South Carolina in 1832 and 1833, written by Gov. Perry in 1872	214
Speech delivered by Gov. Perry in Greenville, after the surrender of Gens. Lee and Johnston, July 3, 1865	229

History of the Provisional Government in 1865.....	242
Farewell Speech of the Provisional Governor in 1865.....	292
History of the National Union Convention in Philadelphia, in 1866.	297
Who Freed the Slaves. Letter written by Governor Perry in 1876	308
Address before the Literary Societies of Furman University, Greenville, South Carolina, June 24, 1878.....	315
Address before the Philophrenian Society of Walhalla Female College, South Carolina, June 24, 1879.....	341
Joining the Republican Party, written July 8, 1880..	358
Address before the Reidville Female College, Spartanburg County, South Carolina, June 20, 1882 (Subject, "The Past, Present and Future of South Carolina").....	362
History of the New York Convention in 1868, written by Governor in 1875.	380



GOV. B. F. PERRY, OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

COMMUNICATION FROM REV. DR. H. MELVILLE
JACKSON, OF GRACE CHURCH, RICHMOND, VA.

This remarkable man and eminent statesman, who but a short time ago brought to its close a long and useful life, is, perhaps, owing to the privacy and seclusion in which he spent the closing years of his life, but little known to the younger men of the present generation.

And yet there are few men of our times whose lives are so well worth the knowing. The sterling integrity and strength of character, the firm adherence to principles, the undaunted courage of conviction, the manliness and self-restraint which he constantly displayed through stormy and turbulent times, constitute him a worthy exemplar of youth.

The recent publication of his *Speeches, Addresses and Sketches of Eminent Men* (*) is the occasion of this paper. That publication is itself a graceful tribute to his memory by his wife, the noble helpmeet of a noble man, who has chosen the best products of his thought and pen, and given them to the world with the proud conviction that they establish his title to remembrance and fame.

The speeches which this volume contains are of great value to the historian and the student of the period in which they were delivered. Governor Perry occupied a unique position as the leader of the Union party in South Carolina, the political opponent of Calhoun, and the unwavering antagonist of the nullification and secession doctrines which resulted in civil war. As early

(*) *Biographical Sketches of Eminent American Statesmen, with Speeches, Addresses and Letters*, by ex-Governor B. F. Perry, of Greenville, S. C. For sale in Richmond by West, Johnston & Co.

GOVERNOR B. F. PERRY.

as 1831, then a young man but twenty-six years of age, he foresaw the end, gave evidence of his truly wonderful political foresight, and began his predictions of coming events, which fell unheeded by the excited, exasperated and ebullient men of his time. In his Fourth of July oration delivered in that year, remarkable for its maturity of thought in one so young, he pointed out the evils which would follow upon a dismemberment of the Union, and declared that he was unwilling "on any account to put in jeopardy this Union, this government, our independence and our name as a people." This declaration is the keynote of his career, and consistently through his whole life he fought the spirit of disunion with a stubborn gallantry, with a political sagacity, and with a noble forgetfulness of self which distinguish him among eminent compeers as a great and good man. One cannot avoid speculating how differently history might have been written if his generation had but listened to the powerful and pathetic pleading of which these speeches are full, and had been guided by the wisdom which time has so amply justified.

We are accustomed to looking in the annals of war for our own exemplars of heroic conduct, and we are justified in this, if physical courage is to be rated higher than moral. But who does not know that moral courage is the quality which lifts heroism out of the animal and into the intellectual life and endows it with all the splendid attributes of the soul?

The man who is content to be maligned, misunderstood, hissed, scorned, jeered, scoffed, for truth's sake, for the sake of his principles, after all, is a nobler man and a grander hero than the defenders of the pass of Thermopylæ. A Luther calmly facing an angry council with the memorable utterance, "One with God is a majority," is a nobler figure than the trained gladiator of the circus whose courage is shared, and perhaps surpassed, by the brutes. It is always so easy to hedge and trim. It is always so easy to say the many are pro-

GOVERNOR B. F. PERRY.

bably right. But the spectacle is superbly inspiring when a man who has reached a settled conviction of the right stands for it against his enemies, and harder still, against his friends; stands for it through the weary years, contesting the tide of popular opinion, and voluntarily sacrificing his popularity, hope of preferment—political or other—and the cherished ambitions of a lifetime upon its altar. Such a spectacle does the life of Governor Perry afford us. It is not for us to question whether he was right and the many were wrong. It suffices to recognize in his career a man who stood for his convictions with a stalwart consistency and rigid firmness, which neither seductive persuasion, the alienation of friends, the hisses of the rabble, the sense of isolation, nor the tremendous influence of popular *furor* and clamor could shake for an instant. I call this a valuable moral lesson, valuable to the young men of these times, and the life which contained and embodied it is worthy of all honor and remembrance.

Of his speech delivered before the South Carolina House of Representatives in 1850, in opposition to disunion, he said, "I leave it as a legacy to my country and to my children," and when it is remembered that he stood all but alone in that body advocating measures the most unpopular, and with his one arm endeavoring to stay the rush of a whole people, it must be confessed that no nobler heritage can man transmit. His sons can receive it at his hands as the attestation of the courage, fidelity and integrity of their sire.

It is not my purpose, nor have we the space, to analyze the speeches which this volume contains, or even to quote from them. They are the utterances of a man versed in political affairs, of which he was a profound student. Those which are literary in character show a wide acquaintance with the world of letters. They abound with elegant and instructive thoughts, expressed in choice language, often eloquent, but severe in its classic simplicity. While there are passages in these

speeches which in rhetorical grace and diction, purity of style and cogency of thought may be truly styled eloquent; yet it is quite evident that his eloquence consisted rather in the tremendous moral earnestness of the man than in the arts of the rhetorician and the declaimer.

But we have left to ourselves too little space in which to speak of what, to the general reader, is the most interesting portion of this book. "The Sketches of Eminent Men," which compose a principal part of the volume, have, indeed, great literary merit. Almost every man prominent in American life is delineated in these pages with an accuracy of touch, a boldness of outline and a faithfulness of portraiture which leaves scarcely anything to be desired. The Sketches are enriched with a copious fund of anecdote, which lends its peculiar charm to the narration of facts, and leads the reader on, only to leave him at the end with the regret that there is no more. Otis and Pinckney and Crawford, Washington, Adams and Jefferson, Henry, Webster, Randolph and Choate, and many others distinguished in politics, in science, at the Bar and on the Bench, are introduced to us in detail and made to us familiar personages in the history of our country. We cannot avoid expressing the opinion that it were better to have published these Sketches in a separate volume as a convenient handbook of American biography, in which form they would, no doubt, have attained a wider popularity.

And now this brief review must be brought to a close. It is at the dictate of a warm personal affection and regard for him whose literary remains are enshrined in this volume that I have ventured to write. If anything I have written shall seem strained or exaggerated, let it be set down to the high admiration I entertain for one of whom I have said elsewhere that he comes nearer to my ideal of a public man—a man of affairs—than any other I have known.

H. MELVILLE JACKSON.



ARMISTEAD BURT.

THE sudden and unexpected death of this eminent lawyer and venerable gentleman, respected and esteemed by all who knew him, was a great shock to his friends and State at large. He died in his office, all alone, of heart disease. No one was present to hear his last words or watch over his dying struggle. When found he was lying on his sofa, as if in deep slumber. His eyes were closed and his arm across his breast. The features of his face unaltered and his spirit had departed, as it were, without a struggle.

The last time I had the pleasure of seeing him he was in fine health and looking remarkably well for a man of his age. He had been temperate all his life, lived prudently and was remarkably well preserved. Seeing him and hearing him converse, one would have supposed that he might have lived ten or fifteen years longer. He was a tall, fine looking gentleman with a remarkably imposing presence. He was cheerful in conversation, entertaining his friends with his wit and humor, as well as his learning and wisdom. He was dignified in his manners, though courteous and affable to all. It may be said that he was an accomplished gentleman of the old school.

There were few men in South Carolina, with whom I had been more intimate, and none for whom I entertained a more sincere regard. His death seems to have deprived me of the last of my intimate contemporaries. He was three years my senior; our intimacy commenced with my admission to the bar. He kindly offered me an opportunity of making my first speech at the bar, in a murder case, tried at Old Pendleton, a few months after my admission to practice. It was a dreadful case of a

man killing his wife and the only witness against him was his own daughter, only fourteen or fifteen years old!

Mr. Burt was born in Edgefield District, November, 1802, and was consequently in the eighty-first year of his age at the time of his death, 1883. His father, who represented that district in the State Senate, moved to Pendleton when Armistead was a small boy, and there he grew up and was educated in the Pendleton Academy. Although Mr. Burt was not a graduate of any college, yet he was a fine classical scholar, and few men in the State had a better knowledge of the English language or spoke it with more correctness and purity. He was artistic in his choice and use of words, on all occasions, whether speaking, conversing or writing. He read law with Hon. Warren R. Davis and was admitted to the bar in 1823. He commenced the practice of his profession at Pendleton and remained there till his marriage in 1828, when he moved to Abbeville.

Mr. Burt had a commanding practice at both these places, although he had to contend with Warren R. Davis and Thomas Harrison and Judge Earle at Pendleton, and with Governor Noble, Judge Wardlaw, Col. Perrin, Judge McGowan, Judge Thomson, Judge Cothran and others at Abbeville. He was elected a member of the State Convention, called to nullify the tariff law, in 1832, and he espoused the cause of nullification with great zeal and ability. He then served several years in the Legislature as a representative from Abbeville. In 1843 he was elected a member of Congress from the District of Edgefield and Abbeville by a large majority over his opponent, Col. Whitfield Brooks, a gentleman of learning and talents, and a member of the bar. He served in Congress ten years and was re-elected every term without opposition. He then became tired of his position and declined a re-election.

After Mr. Burt's retirement from public life he went to

his plantation on the Savannah river, adjoining that of Governor McDuffie's, and occupied himself in planting for two or three years. But his partiality for the bar drew him again to the practice of his loved profession. He always delighted in it. If he was not born a lawyer he was certainly born for one and proudly fulfilled his destiny. For many years during the latter part of his life, he stood confessedly at the head of his profession. He was learned, possessed a most logical mind, very industrious in studying his cases and managed them in court most successfully. As a criminal lawyer he was unsurpassed and many a culprit owed his life to Mr. Burt. The State Reports will show the extent of his practice and his eminence as a lawyer.

In Congress Mr. Burt did not take the stand which his talents and learning and high character entitled him to assume. The bar was his great forte. He was a lawyer and not a statesman. Legislation did not seem to suit the character of his mind. In Congress he was diffident and did not thrust himself forward in debate as others did with much less ability and learning. But in court he had no diffidence, and was always self-possessed and prepared for the conflict. He saw the strong points of his case and presented them to the court and jury with great force and logic. Often he was eloquent as well as logical in his arguments before the court. His great speech before a military court in Charleston, in defence of Keys and others for murder, was remarkable for its beauty and eloquence. It was published in the Charleston Courier and merits preservation.

Mr. Burt was a disciple of Mr. Calhoun and espoused, as I have said, the doctrine of nullification with zeal and ability. But he did not believe in separate State secession. He agreed with me in saying that if any movement was made by South Carolina, it should be in concert with all the Southern States. I remember his telling me of an article which he had written for publica-

tion on the subject of State action, and that he did not know at the time, that any one would approve of it except myself! When the issue was made, like all the Union men of South Carolina, he went heartily with his State. It is true, as has been said of him—"He staked his all on the issue and his handsome fortune was swept away." In his old age he found himself poor, but he did not despair, and went to work as cheerfully and hopefully as he did when he commenced his profession. He sought no office or honors after the war. It is to be regretted that he was not honored with a seat on the bench. He would have made a model judge.

I have stated that Mr. Burt and myself were on terms of great intimacy. We served together in the Legislature for several years, sat together at the same desk, slept in the same room, eat together at the same table and were generally together throughout the day whilst the Legislature was in session. On the circuit we practiced together, though on different sides of the same case, and were always boon companions, cutting our wit and jokes at each other. Mr. Burt, with all his dignity and pride of character, was full of fun and humor. In speaking of our ages he affected to be my junior. I told him playfully in company that when I was a school boy I went to Pendleton Court and saw a tall, fine looking gentleman, exquisitely dressed, and inquired who he was. I was told that he was Armistead Burt, a promising lawyer who had just been admitted to the bar, and was destined to be distinguished in his profession. He replied: "That cannot be so, for whilst I was a student in the Pendleton Academy I memorized a Fourth of July speech of yours made at Greenville, spoke it at our exhibition and took the third honor!"

Like William Pinkney, of Maryland, the greatest lawyer and the most accomplished orator America ever produced, Mr. Burt was always particular and fastidious about his dress. I have frequently heard Judge O'Neill

tell him that the honorable Warren R. Davis took him into the Court of Appeals, where Mr. Burt was, to show him "a natural born dandy." It is true that some men are born to be always neat and particular in their dress, whilst others are born slovens. It is also equally true in regard to manners. Some persons, in the lowest stations of life, are naturally polite and courteous, whilst others, born and educated in the highest stations, are rude, morose and ill-bred. Every one has seen in the course of his life many such persons. When Andrew Jackson was presented to a courtly circle of ladies in New Orleans they expected to see a rough, ill-mannered Indian fighter. But so great was their surprise that they declared his manners were princely and they would have supposed that he had been brought up in a court instead of the wilds of Tennessee.

Mr. Burt did not open his heart to all the world. I was in Washington when he left there a few days before Congress adjourned and never expected to return. I went to the House of Representatives and proposed that we should go and call on the President. He readily consented and as we were going I said something to him about our returning to the House. He replied, "I do not intend to return there." I said do you not intend to bid your friends and colleagues farewell? "No," said he, "I will not do that penance." I mentioned this fact to his brother, Governor Frank Burt, who was then in Washington. He said to me: "Armistead is not so intimate with many persons as yourself. He does not care for every acquaintance or companion he may make in Congress or elsewhere."

In early manhood Mr. Burt was a disbeliever in Christianity and pronounced it in my presence "a grand humbug." But in after life, his opinions and convictions were entirely changed, and he became a devout member of the Episcopal Church. The Sunday before death he knelt at the altar and partook of the holy communion.

He was always kind and charitable and obliging. No one was ever more honorable and high minded. Judge Huger, after serving a session in the Senate of the United States, with Governor McDuffie and keeping house with him, said to me that McDuffie was a Christian without knowing it. This may have been the case with Mr. Burt in early life. There are many persons who practice all the Christian virtues without making any profession of Christianity. And there are many too who make great profession of religion and practice none of its duties in private.

I have said that Mr. Burt did not take the high position in Congress to which his talents and learning entitled him. Yet there was no member of Congress more highly esteemed by all as a gentleman. His high sense of honor, courtly manners and conversational talents won the admiration of all the members. He was frequently called to the chair to preside over the house when in committee of the whole.

For several years before his death Mr. Burt was engaged in writing the life of Governor McDuffie. It is greatly to be regretted that he did not live to complete this labor of love in his old age. It would have been read with great interest and valued by all literary men. His sketch of Judge Wardlaw, so admirable for its graphic portraiture of the high traits of the Judge's character, is evidence enough to show what his life of McDuffie would have been. There are few writers whose style was so terse and pure as Mr. Burt's; and it is to be deeply regretted that he did not write more, which would have preserved his memory in the future.

In the Northern States when a distinguished man dies, his life is immediately written and published to the world. But in South Carolina our great men die and are forgotten. There is no memorial left of them or their greatness. It is enough to suffuse the face of every Carolinian with the blush of shame to think that no one has written

the lives of such men as Calhoun, Cheves, Hayne, McDuffie, Hamilton, Lowndes, Poinsett, O'Neill, the Pinckneys and Rutledges and many others! Nothing could be more inspiring to future generations than well written lives of such men. They would stimulate young men in all time to emulate their virtues, their learning, their eloquence and their patriotism.

Mr. Burt possessed a good deal of playful sarcasm with his wit and humor. I once witnessed a lively contest in this respect between him and Judge Butler at Anderson. The Judge remarked that he had seen more drunkenness at Abbeville court the past week than he had ever seen at Edgefield. Mr. Burt observed that there was this difference, however: "In Edgefield the *gentlemen* got drunk, but in Abbeville they did not." Judge Butler quickly replied: "I did not know that you had any *gentlemen* at Abbeville to get drunk." Mr. Burt felt that the sarcastic retort was excusable and said nothing in reply.

With all of his good sense and sterling honesty, Mr. Burt had a spice of affectation in his character. On one occasion we were seated at the dinner table in Columbia with Judge Huger, when a huge dish of backbones was placed opposite Burt. He looked at it with seeming curiosity and said: "Perry, what kind of dish is that?" I replied: "It is a dish, Mr. Burt, that you and I used to be very familiar with in Pendleton, during hog killing time, and you ought not to pretend ignorance of an old acquaintance."

Mr. Burt was married in 1828 to Miss Martha Calhoun, the daughter of William Calhoun, and niece of John C. Calhoun, a beautiful and accomplished young lady, who died some eight or ten years before him. They never had any children and at his death Mr. Burt was without a relative in the State. At the close of the war, President Davis and his lady were lodged with Mr. and Mrs. Burt in his fine residence at Abbeville. It was said that the Union army would burn the house if they found

President Davis and his wife there. The reply of Mr. Burt was that it could not be destroyed in a better cause.

The last time I had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Burt he said to me, "I believe, Perry, you know my age." "Yes," said I, "but you never would tell me and made yourself out much younger than myself." There was a gentleman present who was never known to tell his age. Mr. Burt said to him, "Colonel, you had better tell your age, for every one, from your appearance, will take you to be ten years older than you are."

Mr. Vance told me several years since that whilst he and Mr. Burt were reading my "Reminiscences of Public Men," as they were originally published in the newspapers, he said to Mr. Burt that I would write one of him. He replied: "I intend to disappoint Perry and outlive him." It has happened otherwise and I have now verified the prediction of Mr. Vance and paid this last tribute of respect to the memory of a dear friend whom I have known and loved for more than half a century.





ÆDANUS BURKE.

ON my return from Spartanburg Court of Equity, the other day, I stopped at my friend, Dr. James Bivings', and the name of Judge Burke was accidentally mentioned. The latter told me that he then had in his house the veritable walking stick of this distinguished gentleman. I asked to see it, and expressed great interest in it, as a relic of one about whom I had heard so much. It was made of a West India stick, with a neat ivory head. The stick had been presented to a gentleman in Camden, who gave it to Dr Bivings. A few days afterwards I received the walking cane, with a kind note, from the doctor, stating that he begged me to accept it as a relic of one whom I seemed to admire, and likewise as an evidence of his regard for me. He had left the stick, in his will, to his son, but thinking I would appreciate it more than his son, he gave it to me.

Judge Burke had passed off the scene of action long before my day and time; but I have heard so many anecdotes of him, and so many strange stories of his eccentricity and humor, that I am induced to include him in my sketches.

Ædanus Burke was an Irishman by birth, and came to South Carolina from one of the West India Islands at the commencement of our troubles with the mother country. He was a republican by nature, as all Irishmen are, and he determined to link his fate with the independence of the colonies. He entered the army, and in 1778, he was elected a Judge of South Carolina, and also a member of Congress whilst he sat on the bench, and continued to sit there. When the government was first organized under the Federal Constitution, he was elected one of the Senators from South Carolina. After-

ward she was elected one of the Chancellors of the State.

Judge Burke died an old bachelor, and in his will he left a maiden lady in Charleston six hundred pounds sterling, and gave as a reason for leaving this legacy, that he had courted the lady ten years, and "before his God he believed that, if he had persevered, she would have had him." Whilst holding court at "Ninety-Six," just after the revolutionary war, a man was tried before him for horse stealing, and acquitted under the treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain, as to an amnesty for all past offences. He had been a noted tory and plunderer and murderer. General Butler, with a party of friends, went into the Court House, took him out and hung him to a tree in the court yard. The wife of the unfortunate man rushed into the presence of the Judge and besought him to save the life of her husband. He replied to her: "Good woman, before God, they will hang me if I attempt to interfere." He ordered his horses and left the court.

Judge Burke was once the second of Colonel Aaron Burr, in one of his duels, and in loading his pistol did not ram the bullet down on the powder. Colonel Burr saw this, and protested against it as the pistol was handed to him, but the Judge said: "Never mind, Colonel, the gentleman is waiting on you; and the next time I will grease the patching!" Whilst in Congress he resented some expression of Alexander Hamilton, about the cowardice of the militia, at the battle of Camden. The Colonel replied by saying he did not particularly allude to the militia of South Carolina. Judge Burke replied that he did not particularly allude to Colonel Hamilton in pronouncing the charge to be false.

Judge Colcock, who was Solicitor at the time, told me the following anecdote: He was prosecuting a man before Judge Burke, for hog stealing, who had been a member of the Legislature, and Captain of the militia. Judge Burke charged the jury to acquit the prisoner before

leaving their box, which they did. At dinner, the Judge said to the Solicitor: "Before God, that fellow stole the pig." "Why, then," said the Solicitor, "did you advise the jury to acquit him?" "For the honor of the State, sir. Would you have it go abroad, sir, that a member of your Parliament, and a Captain of your trained band was guilty of hog stealing?"

Riding the circuit one day, with a number of lawyers, one of them was thrown from his horse and killed. Judge Burke came up, and after expressing deep sorrow at the unfortunate death of the lawyer, he said: "And think, too, that so clever a man should be killed by such a damned tackey of a horse!"

Judge Burke was no temperate man, but prided himself in drinking good liquors. Whilst holding court, at some place, there was nothing to drink but corn whiskey. The Judge drank of it as he would have done of a bottle of claret, and got gloriously drunk. As they were carrying him from the table some wag slipped two or three silver spoons into his pocket. The next morning, in dressing, his Honor discovered the spoons, and inquired of his servant if he knew anything about them. The boy replied that he did not know how they came in his pocket; but he recognized them as belonging to the landlady. The Judge was a good deal disturbed, and exclaimed:

"Before God, I thought I was an honest man. I do not remember ever to have stolen anything before when I was drunk. It must have been that vile stuff they call corn whiskey which prompted me to steal these spoons."

Sometime afterwards, there was a case of larceny tried before him, and it appeared in evidence that the offender was drunk when he committed the theft. His Honor inquired if the witnesses could tell him what kind of liquor the fellow had been drinking. He was informed that it was whiskey; thereupon he turned to the jury, and said:

“Before God, gentlemen of the jury, you ought to acquit the prisoner. I know, from my own experience, that corn whiskey does give a man a propensity to steal; and, his reason being dethroned, he should not be held responsible for his larceny.”

Chief Justice O’Neill tells the following story of Judge Burke, who was very absent minded: He was riding the circuit on horse back, with a servant mounted on another horse behind. The Judge was in a brown study, and his servant rode up pretty close to him, whereupon his horse kicked the servant on the leg. Jumping off his horse, the boy picked up a stone and threw it at his master’s horse, which struck his honor on the back. Turning round, he saw his servant in seeming great agony, and inquired what was the matter. The servant told him that his horse had kicked him on the leg. “And before God,” replied the Judge, “he kicked me too just between the shoulders.”

In going in court one morning, he mistook an old black silk dress of the landlady’s for his judicial robe! As he mounted the Judge’s seat he began to unfold the dress, and was for sometime turning it about and trying in vain to get into it, to the great amusement of the bar and spectators. “Before God,” he exclaimed, “some devil has sewed it up in front.”

Judge Burke was a man of great ability, and spoke and wrote well. He was the author of a pamphlet against the “Cincinnati Society,” which excited great popular favor against the hereditary features of the society, and produced a reformation in that respect. Just before the Judge died, his physician told him that he would have to tap him for the dropsy. “Before God, then,” said the Judge, “my days are numbered, for nothing was ever tapped in this house that lasted long.”

Judge Burke lived to a good old age, and was a Chancellor of the State at his death. He was in the

habit of sitting in Congress whilst he was a Judge of the State, which caused the passage of the law prohibiting a Judge leaving the State without permission of the Legislature.





THOMAS H. BENTON.

ON my first visit to Washington, I carried a letter of introduction from Mr. Poinsett to Colonel Benton. Before I had delivered the letter, or seen Colonel Benton, I accompanied Senator Archer, of Virginia, to the senate chamber. He said to me: "I will point out to you any of the Senators you may wish to know." In looking over the Senate chamber, I was very much struck with the imperial air and noble person of a Senator opposite to us, and inquired who he was. That is Col. Benton, said Mr. Archer. I thought him the most remarkable looking man in the Senate. I called on Colonel Benton in the evening to deliver my letter of introduction. He was not at home. Mrs. Benton and her daughter, however, received me very kindly. Miss Jessie, afterwards Mrs. Fremont, was a great admirer of Mr. Poinsett, and seemed delighted to hear from him. The next day I met the colonel in the senate chamber, who was very cordial and glad to hear from Mr. Poinsett. The Mexican War was at that time in full blast, and our flying artillery had distinguished itself in several battles. This arm of the service had been suggested by Mr. Poinsett whilst Secretary of War, and was carried into effect by Colonel Benton, who was then chairman of the Military Committee of the Senate. In his letter of introduction, Mr. Poinsett alluded to the success of his and Colonel Benton's pet scheme of making the artillery more effective in battle.

I met Colonel Benton one evening, in company with his daughter, at the President's. In conversation, I said to him, in the presence of President Polk, that I had never understood the Oregon question till I read his speech on that subject. The countenance of the Pres-

ident seemed unpleasantly moved by the remark. It then occurred to me that he himself had written an elaborate message on the Oregon question, that my compliment to Colonel Benton was rather discourteous to the President. The Colonel replied: "Yes, sir, I never write or speak on any subject till I have thoroughly mastered it." On my return to the hotel, I told General Thompson of what had occurred, and that I thought the President did not relish the compliment. He mentioned to Colonel Benton the next day that he understood I had paid him a compliment the evening before at the expense of the President. Colonel Benton replied: "Polk knows very well that he did not understand the Oregon question till I explained the matter in my speech."

Colonel Benton was a very cordial and warm-hearted man, excessively impressed with his own greatness and intellectual powers and acquirements. He would talk of himself and family in the most extravagant terms. William L. Yancey said something to the colonel, complimentary of his daughters. "Yes sir," said he, "they are accomplished girls. I educated them myself, and they are capable of conversing with any of the crowned heads of Europe, and in their own language, sir." Colonel Benton was very much opposed to his daughter marrying Colonel Fremont. But after he became distinguished as a Senator, and the Republican candidate for the Presidency, the colonel remarked that Jessie had formed a better appreciation of Fremont's character and talents than he had. It does sometimes happen that the instincts of love are superior to the wisdom of age. This was the case with a young lady of Laurens, South Carolina, who engaged herself to President Johnson whilst he was a journeyman tailor, and the engagement was broken off by the young lady's mother on account of a want of appreciation of his true character and talents.

After serving thirty years in the United States Senate, Colonel Benton was turned out of his seat by the Legislature of Missouri. He was immediately afterwards elected member of the House of Representatives from the District of St. Louis. During a spell of very hot weather in Washington, the Colonel one day made his appearance in the House of Representatives without stockings, and in his slippers. Some one noticed his bare legs, and inquired of him where he got his stockings. He replied: "Sir, they are a pair which my mother gave me sixty-five years ago, and they have never required any darning!"

A great many hard things have been said of Colonel Benton, and, amongst others, he has been charged with cowardice. I do not think any unprejudiced man could have looked at Colonel Benton and believed it possible that such a man did not possess the highest degree of courage. His Roman face, eagle eye and manly form were surely no indications of cowardice. He was a man of great talents and attainments, and a most laborious student all his life. It was true, as he said to me, that he always investigated a subject thoroughly, and when he did speak he was armed at all points with facts and authorities.

In his domestic relations he was a most exemplary man. His kindness and devotion to his wife and children were touching and beautiful. He spent a portion of almost every day in teaching his children. How he could find time from his various public duties to educate his children, or even instruct them in their studies daily, is most wonderful indeed! Nothing but the strongest parental love and affection could have induced such a course, and I am loth to believe the man who did it a bad hearted man. It is very rare that domestic virtues are linked with crime.

Colonel Benton was born in North Carolina, and whilst in college at Chapel Hill there was a disparaging

report about him, which caused him to leave college, and caused his expulsion from one of the literary societies. Many years afterwards, when Colonel Benton had been distinguished, the students of Chapel Hill elected him an honorary member of one of their societies, which he promptly declined accepting. He moved to Tennessee, and whilst there had his famous rencounter with General Jackson, in which he said to Mr. Clay, who taunted him with it, that "they fought like brave men, and had since made friends."

Colonel Benton, published, before his death, the "Abridgement of the Debates of Congress," a work of great labor and industry. He also published "Thirty Years in the Senate," which is a book of great value and interest.





HON. M. C. BUTLER.

GEN. MATTHEW CALBRAITH BUTLER is a native of Greenville District, and was born at his father's homestead on Pike's Mountain, four or five miles east of the city of Greenville, where he was reared and spent his boyhood till the removal of his father and family to the State of Arkansas. His father, Dr. William Butler, was a surgeon in the United States Navy during the war of 1812, and afterwards a representative in Congress from the Districts of Greenville, Laurens, Anderson and Pickens. He was a high-toned gentleman, of pure and unsullied honor and patriotism, cordial in his manners and warm in his friendship, possessing a tall and strikingly handsome person, and very popular with the people. All of these virtues and graces his distinguished son has inherited.

There are few men in South Carolina who can boast a prouder family inheritance than General Butler. For three generations his ancestors and relations on both sides of the house have been distinguished in public service, as naval and army officers, Judges, Governors and United States Senators. His paternal grandfather, General William Butler, was a gallant officer of the American Revolution, and for many years a representative in Congress from the Edgefield District. His sons, the uncles of the subject of this sketch, were all men of ability and distinction. Andrew Pickens Butler was for many years a Judge of our State Courts and United States Senator. Pierce Mason Butler was an officer of the United States Army and Governor of the State of South Carolina. He served with distinction in the Florida war, and was killed at the head of the Palmetto Regiment in Mexico. On his mother's side, General

Butler's ancestors and relatives were no less distinguished. His maternal grandfather, Christopher Raymond Perry, of Rhode Island, was a Captain in the United States Navy, and a gallant officer on sea and land during the whole of the American Revolution. His sons, the brothers of Mrs. Jane Tweedy Butler, mother of General Butler, were Oliver Hazard Perry, the brilliant immortal hero of Lake Erie, and Matthew Calbraith Perry, a commodore in the United States Navy and Commissioner to Japan. Commodore Rodgers, another gallant naval hero of the war of 1812, married the sister of Mrs. Butler and daughter of Captain Christopher Raymond Perry. The descendants of these distinguished naval heroes are now holding high offices in the United States Navy.

General Matthew Calbraith Butler, named after his uncle, Commodore Perry, returned to South Carolina with his mother and family after the death of his father in Arkansas. He graduated at the South Carolina College, and commenced the practice of his profession at the Edgefield Bar. He was very soon after his admission to the Bar elected a member of the Legislature from Edgefield District. This was in 1860, and in 1861 our civil war broke out. He immediately raised a company of cavalry and joined Hampton's Legion. He served through the whole of the war, and rose to the rank of a Major General of Cavalry in the Confederate Army. At the desperate battle of Brandy Station in 1863, he lost a leg; but he now walks without a stick, and very few persons would notice his lameness. We will not attempt to give a sketch of his military services. They are a matter of history and known to his country. But we will say that no officer of the Confederate army was more gallant or heroic. In the invasion of Pennsylvania, under Lee, the scrupulously honorable conduct of General Butler towards the citizens of the country through which the Confederate army was passing drew

from them the highest admiration, and since the war he has received their grateful thanks.

At the Bar General Butler has shown in the argument of his cases great learning and the most brilliant talents as an advocate. In a celebrated libel case tried at Greenville some time since, his speech was said to be, by competent judges, the most forcible and finished argument they had ever heard in a court of justice. Persons who had witnessed a similar trial at Anderson, in which Governor McDuffie made one of his greatest efforts, say, without hesitation, that General Butler's speech was greatly superior in every respect—more brilliant, more logical, more eloquent, more learned and more conclusive.

In the Senate of the United States where General Butler has just been seated, he is destined to make his mark and sustain the high reputation which South Carolina has had in the councils of the Republic for more than a century past. He is comparatively a young man, strikingly handsome in his person, courtly and polished in his manners, punctilliously honorable in his character, and wins popular favor wherever he goes, even in a Radical Senate.

General Butler married the daughter of Governor Francis W. Pickens, and lives in Edgefield, the home of the Butlers for more than a century past. But we know that he has a strong attachment for his native district, Greenville, where lie the remains of his honored and noble mother.





MRS. JANE TWEEDY BUTLER.

THIS most estimable and highly gifted lady of a distinguished family and connections, departed this life on the 11th day of July, A. D. 1875, in the seventy-sixth year of her age, at the residence of her son-in-law, Charles A. Carson, Esq., in Greenville county, South Carolina, after a most painful and lingering illness. She requested her daughter, a short time before her death, that I, as her oldest friend in Greenville, who had known her intimately and enjoyed her friendship longer than any one else now living, should write her obituary notice. But this last sad duty was immediately done and well done by another friend in the columns of the Enterprise and Mountaineer. I can therefore only add my reminiscences of her life, her character and family, in obedience to her wishes, recently communicated to me, by Mrs. Carson, her youngest daughter.

My acquaintance with Mrs. Butler commenced more than a half of a century since. She had then been married only a few years and was in the bloom of her youth and beauty. I was reading law in the office of Judge Earle, and had charge of the Greenville Female Library. She had just moved into Greenville from Edgefield District, and came to the office in company with some other ladies to get books. I was struck with her uncommonly bright, beaming, intelligent countenance, and frank, cordial manners. I thought her one of the most prepossessing ladies I had ever seen. The life of her brother, Commodore Oliver H. Perry, was in the library, with a likeness, which I thought strikingly handsome. I remember calling her attention to it. She immediately said it did not do him justice, and that his face and ex-

pression of countenance were much more animated and intellectual than represented in the likeness.

Mrs. Butler was born in Rhode Island, on Tower Hill, South Kingston, December 15th, 1799. Her paternal ancestors were English, born in the county of Devonshire. Three brothers immigrated to America and settled in Plymouth, Massachusetts, about thirty years after the foundation of that colony. They fled from the religious persecutions of Cromwell. But Edmund Perry, paternal ancestor of Mrs. Butler, in the fourth generation, who belonged to the Society of Friends, and was a gentleman of education and literary attainments, was forced to move to Rhode Island in order to enjoy his religious belief, and worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. He found the Puritans, of Massachusetts, as inveterate in their religious persecutions as the followers of Cromwell were in England. Freeman Perry, the great grandson of Edmund, and grandfather of Mrs. Butler, married the daughter of Oliver Hazard, whose brother was Lieutenant Governor of Rhode Island. Hence the christian name given to Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry. Oliver Hazard was said to have been "a gentleman of large property, elegant manners and cultivated tastes." Freeman Perry was a lawyer, who acquired distinction in his profession, and after filling various offices of distinction, he was elected Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. The third son of this gentleman, Christopher Raymond Perry, was the father of Mrs. Butler. He entered the Revolutionary war at a very early age, and was engaged throughout the whole of it in "fighting the battles of his country, both by sea and land." He rose to be a Captain in the United States Navy, and was married to Miss Sarah Alexander the mother of Mrs. Butler, in 1784. She was born in Ireland, though of Scotch parentage, and I remember seeing it stated, in a life of Commodore Perry, that she was a descendant of Sir William Wallace. The Captain

and his bride, whom he married in Philadelphia, at the house of her uncle, Matthew Calbraith, were said to have been "an uncommonly handsome couple." It seems that beauty was the inheritance of the family.

Mrs. Butler was married in Brooklyn, New York, December, 22d, 1819, to Dr. William Butler, of South Carolina, then a young surgeon in the navy of the United States. Dr. Butler was the son of General William Butler, a distinguished officer of the American Revolution, and for many years a member of the United States Congress from South Carolina. The Doctor was also the brother of Judge Butler, afterward United States Senator, and Governor Butler, who was killed at the head of his regiment in Mexico. He once represented the congressional district of Greenville, Anderson, and Pickens in the House of Representatives, and afterwards received the appointment of Indian Agent. He removed with his family to Arkansas and there died. After his death, his widow and children returned to South Carolina, except his eldest daughter, who married a gentleman in Philadelphia and was living there at the death of her father.

I have heard Mrs. Butler speak of her courtship and marriage. It seems that both she and Dr. Butler fell in love at first sight. The young surgeon was a very handsome and prepossessing gentleman, tall and slender in person, graceful and courteous in his manners, and dressed in his uniform of the navy, was calculated to make an impression on the heart of a young beauty, just entering the fashionable world, and whose whole family belonged to the United States Navy. When he addressed her his frank and manly nature prompted him to say to her in all candor that her life in South Carolina, on a cotton plantation, surrounded by slaves and in some measure cast off from fashionable society, would be very different from the life she had been accustomed to in the gay and fashionable circles of Brooklyn and Newport. But she told him that she was willing

to forego all the pleasures and charms of fashionable society, give up her early associates, kindred and home for his sake. How this declaration must have touched the heart of her young lover, we can well imagine.

But the cotton plantation was in an unhealthy region, and after trying it as a residence for a year or two, and losing two little children, the Doctor determined to move to Greenville, where he and his young wife could enjoy both health and society. Mrs. Butler was always fond of the society of her friends, and even in her old age took great pleasure in seeing and contributing to the innocent enjoyment of young persons. She was all her life a most devout member and communicant of the Episcopal Church, and a sincere Christian. But she did not believe that music and dancing were inconsistent with Christian duties, feelings and sentiments. She was a regular attendant at church every Sabbath, till her hearing became so impaired that she could hear neither sermon nor service. And she likewise attended most of our balls, and parties in her younger days. Like Judge Huger she thought it right "to live for both this world and the next"—worship God and enjoy the society of your friends.

In 1846 Mrs. Butler, hearing that I was going north as far as Boston, proposed giving me letters of introduction to her family and relatives in Rhode Island. Amongst these letters was one to her sister, Mrs. Comodore Rodgers, living in New London, then a widow of, middle age, but still a magnificently handsome lady and a lady of great intelligence and charming manners. She had been in her youth the lovely belle of Newport. My name attracted her attention, and she immediately began to trace up a relationship between our ancestors, two hundred years ago, who came to Massachusetts. She told me afterwards that her little son enquired who I was. She told him that I was a kinsman of his from

South Carolina. He replied: "I thought so when I saw him getting out of the steamboat."

The family of Mrs. Butler all belonged to the navy. I think she had five brothers, all naval officers. Two of them greatly distinguished. Oliver Hazard became the hero of Lake Erie, and in his report of the great victory there, he said: "We have met the enemy and they are ours." This terse expression will be as immortal as Cæsar's "veni, vidi, vici." Matthew Calbraith Perry also became a Commodore, and his Japan expedition has made him distinguished. Commodore George Rodgers, one of the most gallant officers of the war of 1812 was likewise her brother-in-law. One of her nephews is now Rear Admiral Rodgers, and I think there are several others in the naval service. Her young brother, Alexander Perry, twelve years old, was an officer in the battle of Lake Erie.

Mrs. Butler was a worthy sister of her distinguished brothers, and a very remarkable lady, endowed by nature with a vigorous mind, which had been highly cultivated, a warm and sincere heart, and a disposition as frank and open as the day. Amidst all her household duties, with a large family of children, she nevertheless found time to read a great deal and enjoy the society of her friends, even in her old age. When our civil war broke out, though a Northern lady by birth, and connected by blood with a great many distinguished officers in the navy and army of the United States, she espoused the Southern cause with all of her zeal and energy of character, and gave to the Confederacy seven noble, gallant sons, one of whom rose to the rank of General in the Confederate army. General M. C. Butler was distinguished as a cavalry officer throughout the war and ranked next to Hampton in the estimation of his army corps.

After the close of the war General Brown with a division of the Union or Yankee army went through South

Carolina, robbing and plundering everywhere, stealing fine horses and valuable jewelry. Mrs. Butler had the misfortune to lose one of her horses by these highwaymen of the Federal army, and she immediately went to General Brown and demanded her horse. Some one who accompanied her thought he would make fair weather with the General by introducing her as the sister of Commodore Oliver H. Perry. She sternly remarked: "I would much rather, sir, you had introduced me as the mother of General M. C. Butler, of the Confederate army!" This noble expression was worthy of a Roman matron, and would have done credit to the mother of the Gracchi!

Mrs. Butler was a lady of strong feelings and quick impulses, which governed her conduct through life. Our friendship continued for more than a half century, with the exception of one brief interval. Dr. Butler was the Whig candidate for Congress, and I was the Democratic candidate for a seat in the State Senate. She met me during the canvass, and said with a good deal of feeling: "You have been electioneering against my husband!" I replied that I had been making Democratic speeches against the Whigs, but had said nothing personally against Dr. Butler. I also remarked, that I deeply regretted party divisions would require me to vote against him! This she regarded, woman-like, as a violation of friendship, and a sort of *læsæ majistatis*, and said to me most indignantly, "I will never speak to you again, sir!" I calmly replied that she had the right to refuse to speak to whom she pleased, and I would endeavor to bear it as best I could. But in a very short time she not only spoke to me, but acted as if no difference had ever occurred between us.

A short time before her death she wrote me that she had understood I was trying to collect the unpublished poetry of the Hon. Warren R. Davis—that he had addressed to her several

pretty odes which she had sent to her sister, Mrs. Commodore Rodgers, and that if I would write to her son, Rear Admiral Rodgers, he could probably find them amongst his mother's papers. In this note she took occasion to remark that I and one lady only were now living who had known her intimately from the time she came to Greenville to live.

Mrs. Butler was the mother of sixteen children, eight of whom, four sons and four daughters, are still living. One of her sons died before the civil war, an officer in the United States army. One was killed in the Confederate service, and two others lost limbs in the same service. In the death of this remarkable lady, of high character and most distinguished family and connections, society has lost one of its most valued members. Her high endowments of mind and heart, her moral worth, and deep religious character, are the noblest inheritance she could leave her children and grandchildren.

In a memorandum of her father's family, and her own children, written in 1864 by Mrs. Butler, which has been sent me by her daughter, she says: "I may add to this record that my children are all doing well, and that I have lived to have them fill my heart with pride by following in a measure the examples of some of their noble ancestors and relatives." She did take a great pride in her children, and had a right to do so. They likewise will ever cherish the memory of their noble mother.





BENJAMIN F. BUTLER.

THE most unscrupulous and shameless public man I have ever met in life, is certainly General Butler, who has been dubbed, "Beast," "Brute," and "Spoons." It has been said, that there once lived a good old man, who always said something in praise of everyone whom he heard abused. In order to test the extent of this feeling on the part of the old man, some one commenced abusing the Devil in his presence, to which he listened for some time, and finally replied by saying: "You must admit, however, that he has great ability." I will make the same admission for General Butler.

Ten or twelve years ago, I was in Massachusetts, whilst Butler was the Democratic candidate for Governor of that State. He was then fiercer than the fiercest Southern Secessionists in his denunciations of the black Republicans. I read with great interest his speeches, and was amused with biographical sketches of him by the Radical press, during the canvass, and determined to make his acquaintance, if it was ever in my power. The opportunity did not occur till the Charleston Convention in 1860. I went up to him and introduced myself, after he was pointed out to me by a member of the Massachusetts delegation, who said he was "a singe cat," a much greater man than he looked to be. I said to him that I was staying with a friend, Dr. F. Y. Porcher, who had requested me to invite some Northern gentleman, a member of the Democratic convention, to come and take up his quarters with us during the sitting of the convention, and that I should be very happy if he would accept the Doctor's invitation. I thought he would find it more pleasant than being at the overcrowded hotels in the city. He thanked me very kindly

for the invitation, but said he was messing with a party of friends on board of a steamboat and could not leave them. In the course of our conversation then, or at some other time, whilst in the Convention, he said to me, speaking of the slavery question: "This issue will come some day, but you of the South are in no danger. We at the North will have to meet it, and they will have to pass over our dead bodies before they reach you." Those were his very words. I have frequently repeated them, and thought of them since. They made a deep impression on my mind at the time, and I have often contrasted them with the subsequent conduct of General Butler.

He voted thirty seven times in the convention for Jefferson Davis, and afterwards bolted from the Baltimore Convention with General Cushing and joined the Secessionists. After all this, he went over to the black Republicans and was honored for his desertion of the Democratic principles which he had so boldly defended for a number of years in Massachusetts. He embraced the faith and creed of those whom he had denounced with more bitterness, perhaps, than any other man in America. When commissioners were sent by the South Carolina State Convention to treat with President Buchanan about the forts in Charleston, General Butler was in Washington, and even then counselled and advised with the commissioners as to their best mode of action. His outrageous conduct since is well known to the American people. His infamous course in New Orleans and his course in Congress need no comments.

In the winter of 1866, I met General Butler in Washington, and in speaking of the condition of the Southern States, he said to me: "You may make any qualifications you please in South Carolina, in reference to the right of suffrage, so you apply it to both races. If you wish to avoid negro suffrage, you may enact that no one but a graduate of the South Carolina College shall

be allowed to vote. Or you may annex other qualifications, applying them equally to the whites and blacks. This will satisfy the North." The General had improved so much in his personal appearance during the war, that I did not at first recognize him, notwithstanding his very remarkable features. He had grown much stouter, and looked more genteel than he did in the Charleston Convention.

General Butler is one of the most remarkable looking men I ever saw. It would seem that nature had given him a face to correspond with his heart. I will not attempt to describe either. But as the good old man said of the devil, he has great ability. In repartee he has few equals. He is always prompt and severe, rude and unscrupulous.

Shortly after the trial and execution of Dr. Webster, a professor in the Harvard University, a gentleman was being very rudely handled by Butler on the witness stand in court, when the Judge stopped him and said, "you must remember, General Butler, that the witness is one of the learned professors of the Harvard University, and entitled to more respect in your cross examination." "Yes, may it please your Honor," was his prompt reply, "I remember we hung one of those learned professors not long since."





CHARLES J. COLCOCK.

JUDGE COLCOCK was one of the Appeal Judges, before whom I was admitted to the bar. He had been an Associate Judge for many years, Solicitor, and a leading member of the Legislature. He resigned his seat on the Appeal bench, and was elected president of the Bank the State. After his resignation of his seat on the bench, he became a very active politician in Charleston, and presided at most of their Nullification meetings. When I was first elected a member of the Legislature, I made a speech in opposition to some interests of the bank. Judge Colcock was present and heard it. After the Legislature adjourned, I went to Charleston, and met the Judge in the streets. He enquired when it would be convenient for me to dine with him. A day was named, and I met at his table a very pleasant party of gentlemen. Not having previously had any particular acquaintance with the Judge, I was at a loss to account for his especial hospitality—whether it was in compliment to my independence in opposing his bank, or whether it was on the principle that Doctor Franklin acted when he borrowed a book of a young member of the Pennsylvania Legislature who had made a speech against his election as Clerk of the House. But I afterwards ascertained that Mrs. Colcock was the intimate friend and kinswoman of my intended mother-in-law, and the Judge's kindness was on that account.

In the fall of 1837 I find the following memoranda of conversations with Judge Colcock, noted in my journal: "*September 27th.*—Judge Colcock and lady arrived here yesterday. I had a long talk with him on banks and banking last night. He favors the separation of governments from all banks, and also the payment of

the revenue in gold and silver. He is opposed to a national Bank, and says there is no doubt of its unconstitutionality. He was opposed to the State Bank suspending specie payments. His plan was to go on and pay out every dollar they had, and that it would have taken a great while to collect all the two dollar bills issued by the bank. Judge Colcock as President of the Bank of the State, refused to adopt the measure till the citizens petitioned for it. He said if the banks had continued to pay specie, it would have been the means of getting rid of one half of them. The insolvent ones would have had to stop, and the solvent banks could have gone on. I have been very much pleased with Judge Colcock. He is said to be a self-willed and stubborn man. These qualities are very apt to be associated with honesty. Mrs. Colcock is a very interesting lady, and I like her very much."

"*October 1st, 1837.*—Chancellor DeSaussure is very ill. I went into his room last night. He appeared cheerful and talked of England and the English Government. He said O'Connell had the power of that government in his own hands, the Whigs and Conservatives being equally divided. Ireland was destined to be a thorn in the side of England, and the Union was bad at present. Judge Colcock spoke of his first circuit in the upper country as a practicing lawyer. He and a Charleston lawyer went to Spartanburg court, and what a scene they witnessed! In the night they saw several hundred persons stripped and fighting by torch lights and light wood fires. The Charleston lawyer, Mr. Tenant, left next morning without waiting for court to meet, or making his appearance in court at all. Judge Colcock mentioned the following anecdote of Judge Burke, who had a great horror of gouging. He thought boxing a manly exercise, and not at all disreputable in the settlement of difficulties between the yeomanry of the country; but gouging and biting were savage and

brutal, and unbecoming manhood. Whilst trying a land case at Cambridge, Judge Burke took special notice of the parties litigant and their witnesses. He observed a good many eyes missing and was greatly horrified at the spectacle which had not attracted the attention of any one else. After the testimony was heard, and the argument concluded, it became the duty of his Honor to charge the jury on the law of the case, and he commenced in the following language: 'Before God, gentlemen of the jury, I never saw such a thing before in the world! There is a plaintiff with an eye out! The defendant with an eye out! A juror with an eye out! And two witnesses with an eye out! What a state of society you must have in this part of the country! It is savage and brutal.'"

"*October 3d, 1837.*—Governor Hayne returned last evening. He is full of anecdotes. In speaking of Lord Selkirk, whom his son, William Hayne, had just visited in England, the Governor said his Lordship was in South Carolina a few years since, and gave him a most graphic description of his passage from Columbia to Charleston in the stage. Whilst passing through a gloomy region of the country, amidst the pines and swamps, late in the night, the horses ran off, but kept the road. Lord Selkirk had heard dreadful accounts of the stage drivers, their driving, and the roughness of the roads. At first he thought the driver was giving him and his white servant (no one else being in the coach) a specimen of his fast, rough, Democratic driving. The jolting was terrible, but he bore it patiently for sometime. At last he began to remonstrate, but he was not heeded by the driver. Finally he got up and found there was no one on the driver's box. Suddenly one of the wheels came off, and the horses were unable to proceed any farther. He went back to look for the driver and found him lying in the road with his head crushed to pieces. In speaking of Mr. Calhoun's speech on the President's message,

Governor Hayne said he was surprised to find the separation of the government from all banks and the payment of the revenue in specie so favorably received in Charleston. Both the Courier and Mercury approved the measure, and Judge Colcock, president of the bank, expressed himself in favor of it the other night. The Governor said he had no doubt all this was owing to Mr. Calhoun's letters and correspondence. That Mr. Calhoun had been writing to his friends with a view of feeling his strength on this question; that Judge Colcock had the most implicit confidence in the wisdom and sagacity of Mr. Calhoun, and that the Mercury had probably received a lesson from Barnwell Smith, who is the brother-in-law of the editor."

Judge Colcock whilst on the Appeal bench, was very much given to indulging himself in a short nap, whilst the lawyers were boring the court with their long and dull arguments. Now and then he would be roused from his slumbers by the vehemence of the counsel, to the great amusement of his associates on the bench, who, no doubt, envied him his happy faculty of killing time.





THOMAS CORWIN.

IN the latter part of the Winter of 1853, whilst assisting in the defence of Dr. Gardiner, in the District Court at Washington, it was my good fortune to make the acquaintance of Governor Corwin, who was then a member of President Fillmore's Cabinet. He had already been, for many years, a member of the House of Representatives of the United States, and Senator in Congress from the State of Ohio, as well as Governor of that State. I had known him by reputation for many years previous to my introduction to him, and was prejudiced against him. He had taken a strong stand against the South, and said many bitter things against us, both in Congress and in his electioneering speeches before the people. A gentleman, who had a wonderful memory, once repeated to me portions of a speech he heard him make in Ohio, whilst canvassing the State for Governor. Nothing could have been more sarcastic and venomous than his allusion to South Carolina and her politics at that time. Whilst a member of the United States Senate, he made a most eloquent and powerful speech against the Mexican War, and went so far as to say that our soldiers and officers there should be welcomed by the Mexicans "with bloody hands to hospitable graves."

Whilst Mr. Corwin was a member of the House of Representatives with Hugh S. Legare, there was a dispute about some classical allusion or quotation, which was referred to Mr. Legare. This gentleman, who was pre-eminent for his scholarship and classical learning, said: "Ask Corwin; he remembers everything." Mr. Corwin was, at that time, comparatively a young man; but his reputation as a scholar was unsurpassed in Con-

gress. His eloquence, too, was of the most stirring and thrilling character. In the delivery of his speeches and orations, he was an actor as well as an orator.

The next day, after my introduction to Governor Corwin, he invited me to dine with him. There were two or three gentlemen present with his daughters at the table. Mrs. Corwin had returned to Ohio, and was not present. I do not know that I was ever more agreeably entertained at a gentleman's table. In writing home an account of the entertainment, I said: "I have just returned from a most agreeable and interesting dinner party at Mr. Secretary Corwin's, and really I have seldom, if ever, met a more charming gentleman than Governor Corwin. How little do we know of public men whom we have never seen?" How often, too, is our opinion of them founded in error and prejudice. This, I am free to confess, was my case in regard to Senator Corwin. In conversation, he is surpassed by no one, full of learning and information, wit and humor, and his manners are warm, frank and cordial. He spoke in strong terms of denunciation of the abolition feeling, and the character of the Yankee Abolitionists. He said they were a whining, canting, praying set of fellows, who kept regular books of debit and credit with the Almighty. They would lie and cheat all the week, and pray off their sins on Sunday. If they could steal a negro, that made a very large entry to their credit, and would cover a multitude of peccadillos and fraud. This sort of entries they were always glad to make, because it cost them nothing. When they could not steal a negro, they gave something in charity and for the extension of the Gospel, and then commenced a system of fraud and cheating, till they thought they had balanced accounts with their God!

Governor Corwin said on his return to Ohio, after he had accepted a seat in President Fillmore's Cabinet, he was met by a long-faced Yankee preacher, who took him

to task for sanctioning and approving the compromise. The Governor inquired what objections he had to the compromise, to which the preacher replied: "The Fugitive Slave Bill." "Are you better," said Mr. Corwin, "than St. Paul?" "No," said the preacher, "I do not suppose I am." "Well," said Mr. Corwin, "he advised a fugitive slave to return to his master, but you, a damned hypocrite, would have assisted him in making his escape to Canada."

Governor Corwin was a gentleman of ordinary height, rather stout and well built, with a very dark complexion, black hair and black eyes. There was nothing very striking or commanding in his appearance. But every one who saw him would see that he was a man of strong intellect and firm purpose. I should not have taken him for an orator, but for a man of great practical sense and wisdom. There was nothing of the scholar or student in his appearance. He would have passed, amongst strangers, as the most practical of men, a great manufacturer or merchant, cool, calculating and mechanical. Looking at him, one would suppose he was a good liver, though temperate. He was so. No one would have supposed there was any poetry in his composition, or eloquence in his nature, or love of literature in the man.

In the letter from which I have made a quotation, I state that Governor Corwin is very much like Chancellor Dunkin in his manner of conversing. He tells a story better than any one I ever heard, because he acts the story. On the stage he would have had few equals. I once heard him tell a story of his early reminiscences of the bar in the Great West, to a number of gentlemen, with wonderful humor and dramatic effect. He was attending court in some remote county in Ohio, where there was a young, gauky, green lawyer, who wished to be initiated into the fraternity of Free Masons. The Judge and bar concluded they would have rare sport

with the fellow. Corwin was present, and took an active part in the mysterious ceremonies. The lodge was dimly lighted, and one of the company was dressed up to represent the Devil, with horns, tail and cloven foot. All the paraphernalia of Masonry, with a good deal besides, was placed in order to have the best effect. The young lawyer was introduced with great solemnity, and told to make a confession of all his sins before initiation. He commenced, and related a great many little peccadillos which he had committed in the course of his life. He had lied a good deal, cheated some, and stolen a little. When he concluded, the father-confessor told him to make a clean breast of it, or the Devil would take him off instantly. This terrible looking personage commenced stamping with his cloven foot, and wagging his ugly tail furiously. The young lawyer began to tremble like an aspen leaf; great drops of perspiration rolled down his ashy-pale face, and his knees were seen to knock together. He hesitated, and begged that the ceremony might be suspended. His father-confessor replied that it must go on. He then begged that he might be permitted to withdraw, but he was told that this was not permissable. Having once entered the lodge he was compelled to go through the ceremony, and it could not be postponed to a future night. The Devil, too, began to advance on him, and told him to "out with it," for he knew very well the crime which he was trying to conceal from his brother Masons. In utter desperation, the fellow said, on one occasion—giving time and place—he had been too intimate with the Judge's wife! If a thunder-bolt had fallen on the floor, it could not, said Governor Corwin, have produced greater consternation. Instantly the meeting broke up, and the Judge separated from his wife.

Governor Corwin was a native of Kentucky, and told me that it was his purpose to return to Kentucky, and spend the remainder of his life. He said he had de-

terminated so to do from a circumstance which had happened on his return home to vote for Governor Scott. He was seated by the fire, playing with his children, the evening of his arrival at home, when a number of Germans called to demand his reasons for refusing to vote supplies for the troops in Mexico? He said, in all probability, they were the descendent of those Hessians whom his father had fought in the Revolutionary War. One of them he kicked out of his house, and shut the door on the others. But Governor Corwin did not return to his native State, but died a citizen of Ohio.





JOHN JAY CRITTENDEN.

IN my early youth, long before Mr. Crittenden entered public life at Washington, I heard him spoken of by gentlemen from Kentucky, as one of the ablest lawyers and most eloquent advocates at any Bar in the United States. By many he was even then regarded as the equal of Henry Clay in learning, talents and ability. So rapid was his rise at the Bar, and so brilliant was his fame as a lawyer, that he was nominated by President John Quincy Adams, as Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States when he was only thirty-seven years old. But the Senate did not approve of the nomination of one so young to so high a position in the Judiciary. It is likely, too, that the opposition to Mr. Adams in the Senate of the United States was unwilling to see the bosom friend of Mr. Clay, his Secretary of State, placed on the Supreme Bench. Political parties were very bitter at that time, and Mr. Clay had made himself very odious to the Jackson party by his support of Adams and taking office under him.

Mr. Crittenden was elected to the Senate of the United States from Kentucky in 1835, as the colleague of Henry Clay. When he made his *debut* in that illustrious body as a public speaker, it is said that Mr. Clay was deeply interested, and manifested great concern for the success of his friend. But he never felt any uneasiness afterwards when his colleague rose to address the Senate. He was sure he would not only sustain the high reputation he had brought with him from Kentucky, but that his fame would increase with every effort he made.

In 1841 Mr. Crittenden resigned his seat in the Senate and accepted the office of Attorney General, under President Harrison. The death of President Harrison

and the accession of Tyler to the Presidency of the United States, caused the resignation of the Attorney General. I saw several letters from Mr. Crittenden to General Thompson, explaining his reasons for retiring from the cabinet of President Tyler. They expressed the highest and most delicate sense of honor, in terms most courtly and graceful. I was in admiration of the man, the patriot and statesman. We are very apt to form some idea of the personal appearance of those we know by reputation only and admire. How seldom are those ideas correctly drawn. The pious and philosophical writer of "The Leisure Moments of a Country Parson," says that he had never seen Dickens and never wished to see him. He admired him so much, and had formed such an opinion of his appearance, manners, &c., that he was afraid of being disappointed in seeing him. My opinion of Crittenden, after reading his letters and speeches in the United States Senate, was, that he must be a most polished gentleman, tall, graceful and fine looking, dignified in his manners, and not easily approached. When I visited Washington in 1846, I had the pleasure of an introduction to Mr. Crittenden and received an invitation to spend the evening with him and Senator Archer at their rooms on Capitol Hill. Senator Barron of Louisiana, Mr. Pendleton of Virginia, the Russian Minister, Boadisco, and one or two other gentlemen were present. A game of whist was proposed, and Mr. Crittenden pulled off his coat, placed a bottle of whiskey on the table, and commenced the game, with the Russian Minister as his partner. Whilst looking at him in his shirt sleeves, taking a glass of corn whiskey, and cutting his wit at his Imperial Highness' Ambassador, I thought to myself, is it possible that this little plain, rough-looking man, is the tall, high bred, polished and courtly gentleman I had pictured to my mind on reading his noblest speeches and high toned letters! The charm was broken, and I thought that "distance lends enchantment

to the view" of human greatness, as well as that of mountain scenery! Mr. Crittenden was really ugly, with contracted features, and had no stamp of greatness in his personal appearance, or manners. He was rather under the medium height and slender. It seemed to me that age was rapidly telling on him, but he lived in useful public life for upwards of fifteen years afterwards, and married his third wife when he must have been seventy years old.

He was a good whist player, I suppose, for he found great fault with his Russian partner and abused his playing roundly. He told him he ought not to have expected anything better from one of the great Czar's subjects, for they were only semi-civilized, and most of them not much above the North American aborigines! The Russian Minister, who was as plain in his appearance as Mr. Crittenden, and equally democratic, took all this in good part and retorted as well as he could.

Boadiseo was fifty or sixty years old and had not many years before this married a school girl in Georgetown, about sixteen or seventeen years old. The wedding was said to have been a most magnificent one, and the bride's trousseau was made up in Paris and presented by the bridegroom. She was a very beautiful and lovely girl, and I remember hearing Mrs. Poinsett, who was at the wedding, say that she departed herself on the occasion as if she had been a princess born and educated.

When I met Mr. Crittenden in 1846, he had been married several years to his second wife, a fine looking and magnificent lady. She was a widow with seven or eight children, and he had about the same number. A pretty good number for a married couple to commence life with. It is said they all lived together in beautiful harmony and domestic happiness. I had the pleasure of making Mrs. Crittenden's acquaintance, and she was, indeed, a charming lady. A gentleman who was on terms of great intimacy with the family, told me that he

once advised her to speak to Mr. Crittenden about the bad habits one of his sons was contracting. She replied: "I have made it a rule never to speak to Mr. Crittenden reprovingly of any of his children." Some years after this, Mr. Crittenden had the misfortune to lose this most excellent and accomplished lady. He then married his third wife, who was the widow of General Ashley, of Kentucky, a gay and fashionable lady between fifty and sixty.

It was in this session of 1846, and just before my arrival in Washington that Mr. Crittenden made his indignant burst in the Senate against Senator Allen, of Ohio, who had undertaken to lecture the Senators on their duty and propriety in some measure before the Senate. He commenced with a familiar quotation from Shakespeare: "What meat is this our Cæsar feeds on, that he has grown so great," &c.; and then said: "Mr. President, I never meet vulgar arrogance or pretension, but that the instinct of my nature prompts me to trample it in the dust," &c. The whole speech was scornful and withering in the extreme and greatly applauded.

In 1846 Mr. Crittenden retired from the Senate and was elected Governor of Kentucky. He was then appointed the second time Attorney-General of the United States by President Fillmore. In 1852 or '53, he was again elected to the Senate, and continued a member of that body till the breaking out of the civil war. He strove most zealously and patriotically to avert this dreadful issue, but his proposed compromise was rejected and he died before the close of the war. His eldest son took sides with the Confederacy and became a general in the regular army. The father of Mr. Crittenden was one of the early pioneer settlers of Kentucky, and was killed by the falling of a tree, leaving his family in very humble circumstances. His children were noted for intellectual ability. Few men have died in Kentucky more distinguished or venerated for their virtues and talents than John Jay Crittenden.



SALMON P. CHASE.

AS I was on my way to the New York Democratic Convention, I stopped in Washington a day or two for the purpose of seeing the President and others. Mr. Long, of Ohio, kindly invited me to visit the Chief Justice, and have a conversation with him in reference to his political views and opinions.

The name of Chief Justice Chase had been prominently brought before the public as a candidate for the Presidential nomination by the New York Convention. Governor Bonham, of South Carolina, and Col. Jones, of Kentucky, accompanied us. The Chief Justice received us very kindly and we discussed the politics of the day for some time. In reference to himself, he said, that he had always adhered to the Democratic principles and was a States' Rights man. I mentioned that I remembered on one occasion he and Mr. Barnwell Rhett, of South Carolina, voted together in the Senate on a very important States' Rights question as to the rendition of fugitive slaves. He replied, that, on that occasion, after expressing his views in reference to the fugitive slave bill, Mr. Rhett came over to his seat and said: "I agree with you in the views you have expressed, they are the true States' Rights doctrine." The Chief Justice contended in that debate, that Congress had no constitutional power to pass the fugitive slave bill, but that the Constitution required the States to do so. I remember thinking at the time, that Mr. Chase knew very well the Northern States would pass no law on the subject, and that if Congress did not, no fugitives would be surrendered. I thought, likewise, that Mr. Rhett entertained the same opinion, and that this refusal on the part of the Northern States would greatly increase the excite-

ment at the South and pave the way to disunion.

The Southern States could say the North has broken the Federal compact, and we are no longer bound by it.

In thinking this, I may have done both the Chief Justice and Mr. Rhett injustice. But it was rather strange to see two Senators, the anti-podes of each other on slavery, voting together on so vital a question.

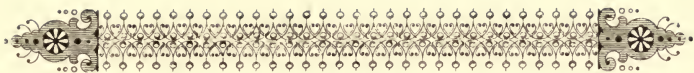
In reference to the right of suffrage, the Chief Justice said it was for the States to regulate this matter, and that Congress had no power to legislate on the subject. He thought there would be no difficulty in controlling the negro vote in the Southern States. "Property and brains," said he, "will always controllabor." I thought to myself, why are you, then, in favor of negroes voting, when you admit they may be always controlled by their employers? It is nothing more or less, than giving additional suffrage to property and brains. I replied to the Chief Justice, that carpet baggers from the North had the negroes under their control in the Southern States, and that they would not be influenced by their former owners and true friends. He said this could not continue long. The carpet-baggers would have to leave the country pretty soon, or become identified with the people in interest and feeling.

I was very much impressed with the Chief Justice as a man of talents and ability. He is certainly one of the ablest men in America. He is a noble looking gentleman and his manners are very pleasant and agreeable. He converses extremely well. I thought he seemed very willing to be nominated by the Democratic party. But it would be strange indeed, as I wrote General Hampton, to see the Democratic party going into the camp of the enemy to select a general to command their forces in battle. Mr. Chase would have been the nominee of the Radical party, but for the military reputation of General Grant.

There was a strong feeling in the convention to bring

forward the Chief Justice, and he would have been nominated by the New York delegation, had not Horatio Seymour's name been presented, when it was, by the Ohio delegation. His nomination would have been a bitter pill for Southern Democrats to swallow, as he had always been the fiercest of Abolitionists, and one of the bitterest opponents of the South.





WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK.

I SAW General Hancock for the first time, in the ladies' parlor at the Metropolitan Hotel in Washington, as I was on my way to the Democratic Convention in New York. I admired very much his appearance and manners. He is a tall, stout gentleman, with a fine face and head. He left his card for me at the office of the hotel, and I called to see him the next day, in company with several others, and amongst them, General Bonham, whose Adjutant, General Hancock had been in the Mexican war. He talked very freely about the Presidential nomination, and seemed very willing to be selected as the standard bearer of the Democracy. He has all the frankness of a soldier, with the polish and cordiality of a well-bred gentleman. He is a man of great good sense and ability, and I should say possesses a good heart. His administration in Louisiana and Texas rendered him very popular with the Democracy everywhere, North as well as South. His conduct was in striking contrast with that of the military satraps who had been appointed in the Southern States. He showed in every act of his government a love of republican principles, and a devotion to civil and constitutional liberty. His letters in defence of his conduct, and his instructions to civil officers, are admirable. He has a very happy way of expressing himself in his letters and writings.

South Carolina, and most of the Southern States, cast their votes for him after President Johnson was withdrawn. Independent of the high appreciation of his wise, just and liberal administration, the South wished to show the world that she could honor and respect a brave General, who, in the discharge of his duty, had waged

war against her, and after the war was over, had been disposed to treat her with the magnanimity of an honorable victor.

After the convention adjourned, General Hancock came on to New York, where I had the pleasure of meeting him again. He seemed a little dispirited at his defeat, but very grateful to the South for her support. I witnessed the introduction between him and General Wade Hampton. They fought a terrible battle in Virginia, where Hampton captured twenty-three hundred of his troops, and would have captured him if he had been allowed to pursue his victory. Immediately on their introduction, General Hancock said to Hampton: "We have met before, General." "Yes, sir," replied Hampton, "we met once before in Virginia, I know." They commenced fighting over their battle again, and had quite an interesting conversation.

General Hancock is in the prime of life, and may yet live to be President. His letter, after the nomination, to a friend in Missouri, who informed him that it was reported he would not support the nomination, is a manly and admirable one. The General says in this letter that he was thought of only on account of his principles, and that it would be strange indeed for him to abandon his principles because another had been selected to carry them out.

The record of General Hancock in the history of the war is equal to that of any of his distinguished compeers in the Federal Army.





MRS. LOUISA CUNNINGHAM.

THIS accomplished and patriotic lady deserves more than a passing obituary notice, which I have been requested to write by her talented and distinguished daughter, the Regent of the Mount Vernon Association. I knew her well, and enjoyed her warm and disinterested friendship for nearly the half of a century. In the course of a long life, I have never met a lady of higher social qualities, or purer sentiments of duty and patriotism.

Mrs. Cunningham departed this life on the 6th of October, 1873, at her old family mansion, "Ross Mount," in Laurens County, South Carolina, in the eightieth year of her age. She was the wife of Captain Robert Cunningham, distinguished for his wealth, culture and noble hospitality. He lived in baronial style, surrounded by all the luxuries which fortune can give. His house was ever the resort of friends and acquaintances, from the lower and upper country, who always met a most cordial and hospitable reception, and the longer they stayed the more welcome they were. He was a gentleman of great public spirit and charity, as well as hospitality and friendship. During the War of 1812, he raised a volunteer company, and entered the service of his country. He adopted and educated several of his own and his wife's nephews and nieces. The Hon. William L. Yancey, and his brother, Benjamin C. Yancey, were among them.

Mrs. Cunningham was the daughter of Colonel William Bird, of Pennsylvania, who moved to Georgia in 1796. His family was one of great social distinction and wealth in Pennsylvania, and three of his sisters married into the families of signers of the Declaration of American

Independence—Reed, of Delaware; George Ross and Judge Wilson of the Supreme Court of the United States. The family mansion of the Birds, in Birdsborough, is historical, and was one of the most elegant residences in the Colony. Mrs. Cunningham was born in Alexandria, Virginia, and was six years old when her father, who was a younger son, and inherited none of the patrimonial estate, moved to Georgia to seek his fortune in a new country. The mother of Mrs. Cunningham was a daughter of Colonel Dalton, of Alexandria, and after her marriage to William Bird, was known as “the Pretty Bird of Virginia.” Her youngest sister, who died young, had the honor of winning the heart and refusing the hand of the immortal Washington, when he was surveying lands for Lord Fairfax, and only seventeen or eighteen years old. The second sister of Mrs. Cunningham’s mother married Mr. Herbert, who was afterwards connected by marriage with the Washingtons and Fairfaxes.

Colonel Bird, the father of Mrs. Cunningham, had a large family of daughters, who were all remarkable for their beauty and accomplishments, and were great belles in Georgia. General McComb, of the United States Army, very appropriately dubbed the Colonel’s residence “The Aviary,” by which it was extensively known afterwards, and so called. One of his daughters married Benjamin Yancey, perhaps the most talented and highly gifted member of the South Carolina Bar at that time. He died very young, leaving two sons, whom I have already mentioned as the wards of Mr. Cunningham. Mrs. Cunningham had the reputation of being the most beautiful of all Colonel Bird’s lovely, talented and accomplished daughters. She was not only beautiful herself, but she had a love and taste for the beautiful. Her passion for flowers was unsurpassed; she collected them from all parts of the world. Her flowers and shrubbery covered acres of ground around “Rose Mont,” which

she watched over and cultivated with the care of a mother for her infant children. She had the honor of being the pioneer florist in the up country. Soon after her marriage, she settled at her husband's old family mansion, which was more than one hundred years old. She had the honor and great pleasure of receiving a collection of rare flowers from Mount Vernon, sent her by Judge Bushrod Washington. Years afterwards, when I saw her pioneer garden and shrubbery, they were surpassingly beautiful, and laid off with great taste and artistic skill. She was most generous, too, in the distribution of her rare and beautiful flowers and plants amongst her friends and acquaintances. Her nature was kind and generous in the extreme, as well as lovely and spirited. She was also truly pious and religious, and all her life a devout member of the Presbyterian Church. She was sensitive, perhaps too sensitive, to the slightest wrong, and her frank and spirited nature prompted her to give expression to her sentiments and feelings. Indeed, she was, as I have often said, a model lady, wife, mother and friend.

To Mrs. Cunningham belongs the distinguished honor of having suggested, and made the first effort, towards the organization of the Mount Vernon Association, for the purpose of purchasing the home of the illustrious Washington, the Father of his Country, and keeping it as a sacred shrine for his countrymen to visit, and there feel the inspiration of patriotism and public virtue. She heard with horror that it was likely to be sold to speculators, and urged her young and highly gifted daughter, Miss Pamela, to write an article on the subject for the newspapers. She did so, and entered into the project with all her mother's zeal, enthusiasm and patriotism. The article was fortunate in attracting public attention. It was signed "A Southern Matron," and every one supposed it was written by a married lady of mature years. Through the influence of Miss Pamela Cunningham, the

Hon. Edward Everett was enlisted in the cause, and his oration on "The Life and Character of Washington," which he delivered all over the United States, brought to the Association sixty or seventy thousand dollars. Private subscriptions, procured by the untiring energy and zeal of the fair "Southern Matron," from the South, North, East and West, made up the necessary sum to make the purchase. During all this time, this remarkable and extraordinary daughter was in extreme ill health, and her physicians told her that if she persevered in her labors, it would be fatal to her. But she expressed a willingness to die in so noble an undertaking.

When the Association was organized by the ladies of the United States, Miss Pamela, who had accomplished the great work suggested by her mother, was unanimously elected President of the Association, and forced to accept the position. She removed to Mount Vernon, and received the applause and well-done of a grateful people. The Civil War came on, and with it bitter sectional prejudices and hatred. There were those in the North who, on seeing a South Carolina lady presiding at Mount Vernon, felt like Haaman seeing Mordecai sitting at the King's gate, and vented their vile feelings in base calumny and slander. With that proud spirit which belongs to her family and country, as well as her own nature, this true and noble-hearted young lady resigned her exalted position, and returned to her native home in South Carolina—her health and her fortune wrecked in the cause of her country, and her own noble purpose of carrying out the patriotic suggestion of her mother. But history will do her justice, and, as I said to her some years ago in the City of Washington, "her name will be associated, in all time to come, with that of the Father of his Country." This is glory and honor enough to have won for any fair maiden lady of the South.

Little did Mrs. Cunningham think, when she made her suggestion to her invalid daughter, that she was imposing on her a task so Herculean, a labor of twenty years, which would bring her to death's door, and leave her almost penniless, with the vile slander of a base Yankee neighbor casting, for a time, a cloud over her pure and spotless life, her public-spirited and patriotic services, and her sensitive womanly nature. The mother anticipated nothing of this, but thought only of the national reproach—the grave of Washington falling into the hands of speculators and showmen! She felt, too, for her own family. Their blood, mixed with that of the Washingtons, lay in that sacred vault.

Captain Robert Cunningham, the husband of Mrs. Louisa Cunningham, was a gentleman of education and literary taste. He read law with John C. Calhoun, and was one of his favorite pupils. But, being a gentleman of very large fortune, he abandoned his profession, and devoted himself to planting. Once or twice he served the people of Laurens in the Legislature. It is well known that his family were all Loyalists in the Revolutionary War; but, as he once said to Colonel W. C. Preston: "History does not accuse them." They were officers under the British Government at the breaking out of the Revolution, and adhered to their allegiance. The father of Captain Cunningham was Deputy Surveyor General of the Province under Sir Egerton Leigh. His uncle, Robert Cunningham, was a Brigadier-General in the British service. John Cunningham, another brother, held some appointment under the Royal Government. In speaking of the Cunninghams of the Revolution, I remember to have heard the Hon. Samuel Earle, who was a gallant Whig officer in the war, and knew every landholder above Columbia, say that there were not three more worthy and respectable gentlemen in the Upper Country than the three Cunninghams I have mentioned.

But, suppose the leaders of the Revolution in South Carolina could have foreseen the present condition of their descendants, living under the government of their former slaves, led on by roguish carpet-baggers and scalawags, would they have rebelled? Sooner would the Gadsdens, Pinckneys, Elliots, Hegers, Marions, Sumters and Pickenses have fallen on their swords like old Romans, than have brought such ignominy on their country and descendants.

The death of Mrs. Cunningham was sad in one respect. She had just returned to her desolate home, where, in former days, there was so much joy and happiness, troops of friends, and all the comforts that luxury could desire. It was deserted, and scarcely a living soul to be seen! No doubt the contrast weighed heavily on her heart, and may have hastened her death. The loss of fortune, the absence of her children and grandchildren with the remembrance of her public wrongs, were too much for her refined nature and feeling heart. Death came suddenly to rescue her from all her troubles, and carry her pure, bright spirit to a world of bliss and heavenly glory. Her daughter was summoned home too late to see her mother die, and now remains there in the saddest affliction, which was once her happy home.

I have said that Mrs. Cunningham was my warm and steadfast friend through life. I now recall, with a melancholy pleasure, the many pleasant hours and days I have spent in her charming society, with her noble husband and fair daughter, at their hospitable mansion, amidst the flowers, books and luxuries of "Rose Mont." And I am happy in having this opportunity of paying an humble, though grateful, tribute of respect to her memory.





WILLIAM HENRY DESAUSSURE.

CHANCELLOR DESAUSSURE was a most venerable and learned judge, and greatly esteemed by all who knew him. He was an officer in the American Revolution, and afterwards appointed by Washington Superintendent of the Mint, when first established in Philadelphia. His father was a man of position and distinction in the Revolutionary War, and was captured by the British, and sent to St. Augustine, with many others, who were the principal citizens of Charleston. Chancellor DeSaussure was as remarkable for his manners and politeness in society as he was for his learning and ability on the bench. He was justly termed "The Chesterfield of South Carolina." I came to the bar not long before he had resigned his seat on the bench, in consequence of old age and feebleness, and yet I saw a good deal of him, and have recorded in my journal several very interesting conversations with him, to which I will refer.

August 14th, 1837.—Judge DeSaussure was here some weeks since. He is very infirm, and must in a short time be gathered to his fathers. He has been an able and distinguished Chancellor and faithful public servant. He is a gentleman of remarkable manners, always courteous and polite, kind and obliging, gallant to the ladies, even in old age. Judge O'Neal and Judge David Johnson have also been here—the two judges who weathered the storm of nullification so nobly, and whose court was swept away by its blighting influence. In their persons the Judiciary of South Carolina received a blow which will affect its independence. Jefferson said that the independence of the judges over popular opinion was at war with the fundamental principles of our republi-

can institutions. In theory he was right. Judges should be elected for a term of years, to be consistent with republican principles. But what sort of judiciary might we not have? The independence of the judiciary alone can restrain popular violence, usurpation and misrule. This alone can preserve our institutions: and yet it is at war with them! Governor McDuffie was here yesterday. He has all the appearance of old age and decrepitude. In speaking of Fisk, the anti-bank agitator in Charleston, he remarked there was a great deal of sound philosophy in the 'loco-foco' principles, but it was hard to reduce them to practice. He did not think a national bank would be again chartered."

"*September 4th, 1837.*—Last night I had a very interesting conversation with Chancellor DeSaussure relative to our Revolution, and it was owing to the education of her sons. The Pinckneys, Rutledges, Pringles, Heywards, Middletons, and others, were well educated, and most of them educated in England. They returned home and gave tone and character to the public sentiment of the State. In the Upper Country there were very worthy and excellent men at the head of affairs—such men as General Pickens, General Butler, General Anderson, and others, who, though not educated, were wise, patriotic men. These men gave South Carolina a high character, which succeeding sons have endeavored to sustain and keep up. He mentioned a singular anecdote in reference to Governor Rutledge's proclamation, which was told him by Senator John C. Calhoun, who was in the Governor's camp at the time. His Excellency was desirous of rallying the State, and wished to issue a proclamation for that purpose. But there was no type outside of Charleston, and Charleston was in the possession of the British. In the Governor's very small army there was an ingenious gunsmith, whose name was McElroy. He told McElroy he wanted him to make some type to print his proclamation. McElroy replied

that he had never seen any type in his life. But Governor Rutledge described the type, and gave him some instructions. Therefore the gunsmith got a number of pewter plates, basins and spoons and went to work. He succeeded in making the type, and the proclamation was printed and disseminated over the State. The State did rally, and, perhaps, these pewter type saved South Carolina."

"*September 27th, 1837.*—Chancellor DeSaussure told me yesterday that previous to the American Revolution, all the offices in South Carolina were bestowed by the Crown on favorites in England, instead of being given to meritorious, distinguished Carolinians. Chief Justice Skinner was a copying clerk in Counsellor Dagg's office in London. He came into the Counsellor's office one day, and told him to congratulate him; that His Majesty had just appointed him Chief Justice of South Carolina. 'Well, Skinner,' said the Counsellor, 'I congratulate you, but not the country over which you are to preside.' Skinner then begged Dagg to tell him what books to read in order to prepare himself for discharging his official duties. Dagg replied: 'Don't entangle yourself with law! It is too late in life for you to commence studying law! Decide every case according to your notions of justice!' This anecdote was told the father of Colonel Drayton by Dagg himself. Skinner was the laughing-stock of the bar in Charleston. The only instance of native Carolinians being appointed Chief Justices were those of the grandfather of General Pinckney and William Henry Drayton. Chancellor DeSaussure drew the act dividing the State into circuits. Till 1769, no court was ever held out of Charleston in South Carolina. There was some difficulty in regard to the sheriff's office on extending the courts. The Duke of Cumberland was Grand Provost of the Colony, and exercised the office by deputy. The office was hereditary. The Duke was paid five thousand pounds to relinquish

the office! Chancellor DeSaussure spoke of Burke and Pendleton as judges in South Carolina. The former was an Irishman, residing in one of the West India Islands at the commencement of the American Revolution. He came to South Carolina for the sole purpose of fighting her battles, and was a most gallant officer. After the Revolution commenced, he was rewarded with a judgeship. Judge Burke was a man of talents and great humor, but not much learning. Pendleton was a Virginian by birth, and brother of the Chancellor of Virginia. 'He was not a good judge,' said Chancellor DeSaussure. Lawyers in those days, learned in their profession, were scarce. The Pinckneys and Rutledges gave themselves up to politics and military life. There were not many eminent lawyers in Charleston in those days who devoted themselves exclusively to their profession.

"Chancellor DeSaussure told me that Colonel William Drayton's father was a judge in Florida under the British Government during the American Revolution, and returned to South Carolina after Florida was ceded back to Spain. He was a man of high character, and much esteemed by the leading men of the State, although he did not return to his native State when the Revolution broke out. Judge Bay and Robert J. Turnbull were also citizens of Florida during the American War, and came to South Carolina after the war was pretty well over."





GEORGE W. DARGAN.

CHANCELLOR DARGAN was born in the eastern part of the State; graduated in the South Carolina College, and for many years represented his native District in the State Senate. He was a most devoted States' Rights man, nullifier, secessionist and disunionist. His boast for many years was, that he had never been beyond the limits of South Carolina, and hoped never to be under the necessity of going out of the State. In the latter part of his life I inquired of him if he had adhered to his purpose of never going beyond the limits of the State? He said he had once been out of the State, but he kept it a secret as well as he could, and said nothing about it! He regarded South Carolina as his country, his whole country, and all beyond her limits as aliens and foreigners! He was devoted to the State, and to the State alone, her honor and her glory. He once said to me: "You old fogies may be Union men, and glorify the Union, because you have been educated and brought up in that school, but the rising generation will scorn that Union and sever it into fragments. Mark what I tell you."

When I was admitted to the bar, I saw for the first time Chancellor Dargan. He was then a young lawyer of promise and talents; rapidly rising in his profession, and his friends had great expectations of his future success and eminence. But I had no particular acquaintance or intimacy with him till we met as Senators in the State Legislature. In that body we served together several years—always opposed to each other, and became warm friends. When he was elected Chancellor and resigned his seat in the Senate, he came to where I was sitting to bid me farewell, and said: "I was thinking last night, that it was something remarkable that we

had been so long associated together in this body, entertaining a high respect for each other, and both conscientious men as we thought ourselves, and yet we had never voted together on any great or important question which divided the Senate." I said to him playfully: There is an old adage, that "great minds will think alike," but there are exceptions to this rule.

Chancellor Dargan was as pure a man as ever lived. He was as simple as a child in his manners and deportment. He was unpretending and unambitious. In his personal appearance he was very plain and extremely homely—though I think he was a handsomer man than Chief Justice Taney. In fact he was not unlike Chief Justice Taney in his face and person. And I might say there was a similarity in their talents, acquirements and minds. Chancellor Dargan was a profound lawyer and a well-read gentleman in every branch of learning. He was tall and slender, with a long face, sallow complexion, thick lips and dull, sleepy eyes. In conversation he was pleasant and entertaining.

The Chancellor became a firm believer in spirit rappings, mesmerism, psychology, clairvoyance, etc., etc., and was a very efficient and powerful agent in these occult sciences. I have seen him put a servant at the hotel in Columbia to sleep with a waiter of dishes in his hands by simply looking at him. He told me he had at home a very simple negro boy who was a great medium. He called him up one day and put him into a mesmeric state. The Chancellor pictured in his own mind the assassination of Marat by Charlotte Corday whilst he was in his bath. He asked the negro boy what he saw? The boy replied, he saw a man lying in the water stabbed, and a beautiful woman standing over him. He said her name was Charlotte Corday. This boy had never before, the Chancellor was well assured, heard of Marat or Charlotte Corday. On another occasion he called up the spirit of an old negro fellow who had been found

dead in a ditch. It was uncertain whether he had met his death by accident or violence. The Chancellor inquired if he was murdered, and his spirit replied, through the boy above mentioned, that he was. The Chancellor inquired who murdered him? His spirit replied that it was all over now; he was happy, and did not wish to tell the name of the person who killed him! He pictured in his mind a faithful old negro woman who had died not long previously, and asked the medium if he saw any one? The boy instantly replied, he saw this old woman, calling her by name! The Chancellor imagined her most fantastically dressed, and inquired of the boy what sort of dress she had on? He answered: "a most beautiful dress, covered all over with shining stars!" It would be almost endless if I were to mention the many stories of this kind told by the Chancellor. No one who knew Chancellor Dargan would for a moment suppose he was capable of telling a falsehood. I never knew a more truthful or honorable gentleman.

In speaking of the necessity of employing a lawyer to draw up all legal papers, wills, deeds, &c., the Chancellor told me the following incident, which happened in his practice at the bar: There was an old planter possessed of a large fortune, who came to him to draw his will, and asked him how much he would charge him. The Chancellor told him fifty dollars. The planter said it was exorbitant, and he knew a man who would draw it for five dollars. The Chancellor said very well, he had better get his man to draw it, if his sole purpose was cheapness. The will was accordingly drawn for five dollars. The old man died, and his executors had to file a bill in the Court of Equity to construe the will. Chancellor Dargan was employed in the case, and his fees amounted to fifteen hundred dollars before the suit ended! This was independent of the costs of the suit and the counsel fees of the opposing lawyers.

It was formerly the habit of our Chancellors to hear

a case, take notes of the evidence and argument, bundle up the papers and carry them off to write out their decrees at home when they had perhaps forgotten all about the case. Chancellor Dargan introduced a new practice in this respect. He delivered his decrees immediately after the argument closed, or the next morning at farthest. He seldom took off a case. His opinion was, that he understood the case better, after it was closed on the circuit, than he could do two or three months afterwards. His decrees were delivered orally, and he required the successful counsel to reduce its substance to writing.

I have mentioned that Chancellor Dargan and myself never thought alike in the Senate on political questions. Whilst practicing before him on the bench for many years, I never had a Judge to concur with me so generally and uniformly on all questions of law. On principles of law we seldom differed, and in politics seldom agreed.

When he was first a candidate for the State Senate, the Chancellor told me he was opposed by Mr. Gregg, a brother of Colonel James Gregg, of Columbia. He said his opponent was a most eccentric man, and as a specimen of his eccentricity, he mentioned this fact. Mr. Gregg utterly repudiated the doctrine of *faith* in salvation, and contended that a man could be saved by *works* alone. He and some of his Christian neighbors had many exciting arguments on this subject. The old gentleman, when planting his corn, thought he would give them a practical proof of the folly and absurdity of their doctrine. On one side of the road leading by his house, he planted a field of corn and stuck up a board on that side of the road with the word "*faith*" painted on it in very large capital letters! On the opposite side of the road, he planted another field of corn and stuck up a board on which was painted the word "*work*" in equally large letters. The field labeled

“work” was well cultivated, plowed and hoed always in proper season. But the field labeled “faith,” he neither plowed or hoed, or did any manner of work in it. In the summer it presented a most miserable and ludicrous appearance, and no crop, of course, was saved from it. But the other field looked remarkably well; the corn grew finely, and in the fall of the year yielded an abundant crop. The old gentleman, looking at the appearance of the two fields, exultingly said: “If this does not convince the fools, nothing will.”





THOMAS N. DAWKINS.

JUDGE DAWKINS died a few years since, suddenly, in the prime of his life, and amidst his usefulness and well-merited popularity. His death was a great shock to his friends all over the State. All who knew him well, loved and admired him for his high character, social virtues, talents and amiability. He had the confidence of all, and the enmity of no one. In times of highest political excitement, he was elected to office, and had honors conferred on him by his political opponents. They appreciated his talents, had confidence in his integrity and admired his gentle, unassuming deportment. He maintained his own principles firmly, and permitted others to do the same without censure or denunciation from him. Hence, he had no political or personal enemies. He was recognized by all to whom he was known as a pure and noble-hearted gentleman. In his own—his native District—he was especially endeared to the people by a life-time's intercourse with them, socially and professionally. He was, indeed, a most amiable gentleman—courtly in his manners, and cordial in his friendship. He was dignified in appearance and deportment, and at the same time as affable to the humblest citizen who approached him as if they were equals in rank and station.

Judge Dawkins was born in Union District. General Dawkins, his father, was a man of fortune, great personal popularity, and extensive influence in his section of the State. He was a successful planter and merchant, Major-General, and member of the Legislature. He left, as an inheritance to his son, a name without blemish, and those sterling qualities of heart and head which characterized him through life. Judge Dawkins

graduated in the South Carolina College with distinction; read law at Union Court House, and, after his admission to the bar, formed a partnership with Andrew Wallace Thomson, Esq. They had a very extensive and lucrative practice, but soon discovered that it was to the interest of both they should dissolve their partnership, and practice separately.

The storm of nullification came on shortly after Judge Dawkins' admission to the bar, and although the State, and his own District, by an overwhelming majority, espoused, almost madly, this new doctrine of States' Rights, he never swerved from the faith that was in him as a Union man, or ceased to oppose, in every proper way, the inculcation of such political heresies. He was elected a member of the Legislature, while he differed in *toto cœlo* with his constituents on this subject.

Whilst a member of the Legislature, he was elected Solicitor of the Middle Circuit by those who were opposed to him in politics. He was re-elected solicitor several times, and finally resigned the office, or declined a re-election. It was admitted by all that he made a most admirable prosecuting officer. He discharged the duties with ability, fidelity and impartiality.

For many years he was an active member of the Board of Trustees of his *Alma Mater*.

During the war, he espoused the cause of his native State, though a Union man. When South Carolina seceded, he admitted the sacred right, solemnly proclaimed in our Declaration of Independence: "*The right of self-government.*"

After the close of the war, Judge Dawkins was elected a member of the State Convention, under the proclamation of the President, for re-organizing the State Government. He was an active member of that body, and participated largely in its discussions.

Whilst Provisional-Governor of South Carolina, I was requested by President Johnson to nominate a suitable

person for District Judge of this State. I tendered the appointment to Judge Dawkins. He hesitated, and said he would decide when he returned home. Shortly afterwards he wrote me, declining the office as it would necessarily compel him to reside permanently in Charleston. I then nominated Judge Bryan, who accepted the nomination and received the appointment.

The people of Union District, in 1866, elected him again to the Legislature, and he was appointed chairman of the Judiciary Committee. This was a most important position at that time, when our laws were undergoing the most important changes. With great assiduity, ability and learning, he discharged the duties of his position. Soon after this there were two vacancies on the law bench, and Dawkins was elected to fill one of them. I rode the circuit with him whilst on the bench, and was very much pleased with him as a judge. He was prompt in dispatching and deciding all matters before him, and at the same time he was pleasant and courteous. Had he remained on the bench any length of time, he would have acquired a reputation as a judge.

But Congress required South Carolina to be reconstructed over again, and a new Constitution was adopted by the carpet-baggers, negroes and scalawags, which vacated all offices in the State. Judge Dawkins had to give place to those who had succeeded in gaining the confidence of the Radical party. He returned to the Bar and resumed his practice a short time before his death.

Whilst Judge Dawkins was on the Western Circuit, I insisted that he should stay with me whilst holding court at Greenville. I had spent a week at his house whilst I was attending Union Court the summer preceding. He said, "No," most emphatically, and assigned as a reason, that a judge should not only be honest and impartial, but that he should never subject himself to a position in which a base mind might suspect his fairness

and impartiality. He said if a judge was staying with a practicing lawyer, and decided a case in his favor, the opposite party—unless pure and honorable themselves—would think he had been influenced in his decision by something said in private. The same sentiment had been expressed by Judge David Johnson, and acted on through life.

Judge Dawkins was twice married, but left no children by either marriage. His first wife was the belle of Greenville for several years, and greatly admired by all who knew her for her beauty, amiability and pleasant manners. His second wife was a young English lady, handsome, intellectual, accomplished and learned; cordial in her manners, and devoted in her friendship. Judge Dawkins met me once at Spartanburg, and said Mrs. Dawkins had understood that I was to be at Union Court, and insisted that I should stay with them, and consider myself her guest. I did so, and was charmed with her's and the Judge's elegant hospitality. The Judge attracted my attention to his beautiful lawn in front of his house, and the surrounding shrubbery, with tasteful walks, etc. He said it was originally an old field, and one spring, whilst he was on the circuit, Mrs. Dawkins had it laid out and planted in his absence.

Judge Dawkins, with Judge Wardlaw and Mr. Alfred Huger, were appointed by the Convention in 1865 to visit President Johnson and ask for the release of Jefferson Davis. They went to Washington and had a personal interview with the President. In his younger days, Judge Dawkins was appointed aide to one of our Governors, with the rank of Colonel—a title by which he was usually known till his election to the bench.

Judge Dawkins was a fine looking gentleman, and bore the stamp of one of nature's noblemen.

And there were very few of my friends, for whom I had so strong an attachment whilst living, whose death I so deeply mourned, and for whose memory I have such an affectionate reverence.



WILLIAM K. EASLEY.

THE sudden and most unexpected death of General Easley, a few days since, was a great shock to the community of Greenville, in whose midst he had lived many years, and by whom he was greatly respected and admired for his many high and noble traits of character. He was a gentleman of feeble constitution by nature, and for some time had been in delicate health. But when he left home for Atlanta, Georgia, where he died, his family and friends regarded him in ordinary health. He went to Atlanta on business connected with the Air Line Railroad, an enterprise in which he had taken a deep interest, and one which he was mainly instrumental in carrying through to a successful result. For the last two or three years he had devoted all the energies of his nature to the accomplishment of this great work. It was through his influence, in a great measure, that this road was located to pass through the city of Greenville. He prevailed on the County of Greenville and the city authorities to make appropriations which secured the location of the road.

The first news of General Easley's illness, three or four days after leaving home, was a telegram stating that he was not expected to live! In the course of a few hours another telegram announced his death, and that his remains would be sent by the 8 o'clock train that evening. The community was startled by this appalling news. His friends immediately appointed a committee to go down on the morning train and meet his remains in Columbia. They reached Greenville, on their return, by an express train the next morning before daylight. His remains were carried to his residence, and the next day, at 9 o'clock in the morning, escorted by the Masons to the Baptist church, where the funeral services were per-

formed by the Rev. Dr. Buist, of the Presbyterian Church, assisted by the Rev. Dr. Furman, pastor of the Baptist church. Dr. Buist spoke of the talents, ability and virtues of the deceased, but said he came not to praise the dead; that mournful duty he left for the Bar to perform, of which the deceased was so bright and shining a light; for the Masons to perform, and for the community and the press of the country. The funeral services were then completed by the Masonic Fraternity, at the country residence of the deceased, where he was interred by the side of his wife's grave.

The sadness of General Easley's death was made more sad by the reflection that only a few short months since, his beloved wife and the companion of his sorrows and joys for twenty years past, and the model of a domestic lady, was taken from him by death, leaving eight motherless young children to his care and protection. They are now bereft of father as well as mother! This is a most terrible affliction, and well calculated to increase the sorrow of his friends and the community. There were few persons living in this community who had so many warm and devoted friends as General Easley. He seemed to have some mesmeric influence over those who came in social contact with him. They all admired him, and loved him for his purity of character, his sincerity in friendship, and the warmth and generous feelings of his heart.

General Easley was born in Pickens County, not far from Greenville Court House. His father, Colonel John Easley, was one of the early settlers of Pickens, and came to this part of the State quite a youth, with his father. The General was well educated and a fine classical scholar, though not a graduate of any college. In his boyhood he manifested a great love of polite literature. He read poetry and novels with absorbing, passionate interest. But his reading was by no means confined to this class of literature. He was a laborious

student of history and science, as well as poetry and general literature. Nor did he neglect the hard and dry studies of his profession, as may be well supposed from his success at the Bar. He would set up the greater part of the night in reading and studying, and no doubt in early life injured his constitution in this way. This habit was so firmly riveted on him that he could not throw it off in more mature years. He was a great student throughout his life, and yet he spent a large portion of his time, during the day, when not engaged in his professional duties, in conversation with his friends and associates. He was essentially a social gentleman, and yet there was a tinge of melancholy about him, which cast a gloom over his whole life.

Shortly after his admission to the Bar, General Easley went to New Orleans for the purpose of practicing his profession, rightly believing that it was better for a young lawyer, who had talents and ambition, to settle where there is business, no matter how crowded the Bar was. But the yellow fever broke out in the city and forced him to leave. He returned to his father's and temporarily established himself at Pickens Court House. He remained there some time, and found the law at so low an ebb that he deemed it prudent to move to Greenville. But during his short residence in that mountain village, he made warm friends of all the prominent men in the District, and was some years afterwards elected a member of the Legislature from Pickens, although his law office was at Greenville. Whilst in the Legislature he originated some important measures, and amongst them a Bill, which I drew for him, making the parties in a suit or criminal prosecution competent witnesses in the case. We both thought it absurd that those who knew all about the matter in controversy should be excluded from giving testimony as to the facts in dispute. This Bill was remodelled in committee and became the law of the land. The present Code of South Carolina

embodies the same principle, and was taken from the New York Code. The wisdom of this alteration has now been acknowledged by the Bar and Courts of the State.

General Easley was elected a member of the State Convention from Greenville in 1860. This Convention was called for the purpose of seceding from the Union. The General was a fierce secessionist, and had been a Democrat all his life. When the civil war commenced he raised a company of cavalry in Pickens and Greenville Districts, and was received into the Confederate army in Charleston, South Carolina. But his health became so bad that he was forced most reluctantly to resign his command and return home. Before his resignation, however, he had been promoted to the rank of Major in the army. He was again elected a member of the Legislature from Pickens in 1865, and took an active part in all the debates whilst he continued in that body. He was selected by me, whilst I was Provisional Governor, to represent the Executive, and defend his measures in the Legislature. This he did with zeal and ability on all occasions. The unanimity with which Governor Manning and myself were elected to the United States Senate, in 1865, was owing in some measure to his exertions in our behalf. During the canvass it was proposed to him by the friends of one of the candidates for the United States Senate, that twenty votes would be cast for me if an equal number of my friends would vote for this other candidate, Colonel James B. Campbell. He promptly replied that he could not dare to make such a proposition to me, if he was unscrupulous enough himself to think of it.

After the expiration of his term in the Legislature, the State went into the hands of the present corrupt and infamous Radical party, under their new constitution. The General then confined himself to his profession, and acquired a very large practice in the courts of Greenville, Pickens and Anderson Districts. In the argument of his cases he always evinced great ability and

learning. As an advocate before the jury, he had no superior on the circuit. He always spoke well, and often was truly eloquent in his addresses to the Court and jury. He had great fluency of language, and great taste and beauty of expression on all occasions. Some of the most touching and beautiful bursts of passion and sentiment that I ever heard were made by General Easley.

In his character and political principles, he was upright and pure, but often eccentric. He had no great faith in Republican principles, or the permanency of the Republic. The little faith he had in those matters was very much weakened by the present condition of South Carolina. He would willingly have exchanged, at any moment, the present corrupt and despotic government of South Carolina for a monarchy! He thought a King would rule over us more wisely, more justly and more patriotically than the ignorance and corruption of the present masses could. He had theoretically very little confidence in, or love for the great mass of mankind! And yet, in practical life, he was a most kind and benevolent man, and would relieve a fellow-creature, in distress, as quick as any one I ever saw. He was also a most warm and sincere friend, and had the faculty, as I have already said, of attracting friends to him in an eminent degree. His health was bad all his life, and this, I am sure, tinged his nature with that misanthropic melancholy which he often exhibited through life.

I knew General Easley well, and understood his character better than most persons. For many years we were on terms of great intimacy, and I never can forget the many, very many, pleasant hours we have spent together. They have endeared his memory to me.



SAMUEL EARLE.

I MENTIONED this gentleman very briefly in my "Reminiscences of Greenville," and I now propose to give a more extended notice of him as a public man. He was an elderly gentleman and I was a boy when our acquaintance commenced. I saw him frequently at my father's, and often at my uncle's, Robert Foster, between whom there was a very great intimacy and friendship for more than half a century. I was also a frequent visitor at his house for many years, in the latter part of his life. I had for him a very high regard and great respect, and I believe he entertained the kindest feelings towards myself. I read law three years in the office of his son, Judge Earle, which further increased our intercourse and intimacy.

I believe Mr. Samuel Earle was born in Virginia. His parents moved to Spartanburg District in the early settlement of the Upper Country. His education was such as one could receive in those times at the common schools of the country. I know that he regretted, in after life, his defective education, and determined to give his sons all those advantages which were denied him in his youth. In the commencement of the Revolutionary war, in the Southern States, Mr. Earle espoused with great spirit the cause of his country, and received the commission of Captain in the regular army. He was appointed to command a company of rangers, in the Upper Country, which caused him to traverse over and over again the entire country above Columbia. He told me that at the close of the war he was personally acquainted with every landowner between Columbia and the mountains. He was elected a member of the State Convention which framed the Constitution; and he was also

a member of the State Convention which adopted the Constitution of the United States. There was, at the time, in South Carolina, considerable opposition to the Federal Constitution, but Mr. Earle voted for its adoption. He was afterwards elected a member of Congress, for the Districts of Greenville, Pendleton, Laurens, Abbeville and Spartanburg, as the successor of General Pickens, who, I believe, was our first member of Congress under the Federal Constitution. After serving one or two terms, the General declined a re-election, and Captain Earle, his compeer in arms, was chosen to succeed him. Whilst a member of Congress, Mr. Earle devoted himself to the improvement of his mind, and purchased a wellselected library of standard works. General Wade Hampton, Sr., was in Congress with Mr. Earle, whose niece Mr. Earle had married. He told me that one morning, as he entered the House of Representatives, he met General Hampton going out to attend the races in Philadelphia. He jestingly said to him: "I will go your halves to day, General," and thought nothing more of it. In the evening General Hampton handed him a hundred dollars and said: "That is your share of my winnings to-day." Mr. Earle declined to receive the money, and said that he spoke in jest. The General replied it was no jest with him, and if he had lost on the races he should have made Mr. Earle pay one half. This taught Mr. Earle to consider how he bantered afterwards with the General.

After serving a short time in Congress, Mr. Earle resigned his seat in the House of Representatives. He was on his way to Philadelphia, and was taken sick in Virginia. When he recovered, he returned home, and did not attend that session of Congress at all. That gloomy despondency which hung over his after life as a black cloud, had overtaken him, and he had no taste or love for politics. Whilst in Congress, he belonged to the Federal party, and formed a very unfavorable opinion

of Mr. Jefferson. I once heard him say that he thought Jefferson "a hollow hearted demagogue." He looked upon Madison as the subservient tool of Jefferson.

I don't think that Mr. Earle was ever a member of the Legislature of South Carolina, although he served in both of the State Conventions, as already mentioned. He was once a candidate for the State Senate in Greenville, before he moved to Pendleton, and was beaten by his kinsman, Colonel Elias Earle, who afterwards represented the District in Congress for a great number of years. Colonel Elias Earle was a great and most successful electioneerer. He treated bountifully, which Mr. Samuel Earle refused to do. There was but one place of voting then in the whole District, and that was at the Court House. Colonel Elias Earle came riding into the village, with several hundred of his voters, on horseback. When Mr. Samuel Earle saw this strong array of partisans, and heard them huzzaing for the Colonel, he cried out, "Huzza! for the half-pint tickets!"

After his removal to Pendleton he was elected Sheriff of that District by the Legislature, and served in that office four years. The business was all transacted by his deputies, and he lived fifteen or twenty miles from the Court House, on his farm. Mr. Earle was a man of high and pure character, and I don't think his honor and integrity were ever questioned throughout his long life. By nature he was a great man, but endowed with a most unfortunate and hypochondriac disposition. If there happened to be a dry spell in the summer, Mr. Earle would imagine that he and his family would certainly starve the next year, and made himself perfectly miserable under the delusion. He was a sober man all his life, and seldom tasted spirits. Not, however, he would say, because he did not like the taste of spirits. He had an apprehension I suppose, that with his temperament it would be dangerous for him to drink at all.

He had too much good sense and philosophy to think of drowning his sorrows or imagined distresses in liquor, which fools and weak minded men are apt to do. Mr. Earle was a pious member of the Baptist Church for many years, in the latter part of his life, and died a communicant in that Church. I have heard it said that when he joined the Church, his "experience," as it is termed by the Baptists, was a most impressive one. In his younger days, Mr. Earle was no doubt a fine looking and handsome man. All of his children were exceedingly fine looking and handsome—seven sons and five daughters. He was tall and well proportioned, but in the latter part of his life, had an unfortunate habit of blinking one eye. He was very negligent in his dress, though a man of very large fortune. He was appointed one of the commissioners, on the part of South Carolina, to settle the boundary line between this State and Georgia. When the commissioners met, one from Georgia said afterwards, that Mr. Earle surprised him twice—first, by his humble, rustic dress, and appearance; and secondly, by the good sense and wisdom which he displayed in all of their discussions. He showed himself a man of talents, ability and information, which his appearance did not indicate to the polished Georgian, who could not well separate mind and character from dress and appearance.

In conversation, Mr. Earle was very pleasant and agreeable, except when his melancholy fits were on him.

No one in the Upper Country knew so well as he did the Revolutionary history of the State, and the early settlement of the back country, as it was termed. I am indebted to him for a great deal of information on those subjects. He knew all the prominent men of those times, and did not hesitate to sketch their characters as they appeared to him. He always spoke in high terms of Generals Pickens and Marion, but did not entertain so favorable an opinion of General Sumter.

He spoke well of General Robert Cunningham, to whom he and General Pickens surrendered themselves after the capture of Charleston by the British. He said, though Tories, Cunningham and his two brothers, John and Patrick, were gentlemen of honor and integrity. They had unfortunately taken the wrong side, as many honest and intelligent men did. There are not a few in South Carolina at this day, seeing how our Republican experiment has turned out, who do not think they took the right side, and that the American Revolution was a great blunder. They insist that we would be better off, more happy and prosperous, higher toned and more honorable, freer and better protected in life and property under the English Government than we are under the military-carpet-bag-scalawag negro rule of the present *regime*. If this condition of things is to be permanent, no honest man above the grade of an idiot, would hesitate to pronounce the American Revolution a most horrible blunder, a most damnable blunder! and instead of celebrating the 4th of July as the birthday of Republican liberty, would proclaim it as the grave of the South! But this cannot last always, and we should still adhere to the notion that our forefathers were wise, honorable and patriotic Rebels.

In the latter part of his life, Mr. Earle lived almost secluded from society, and seldom left his home, except to look after his farms in Greenville. He was kind and charitable, though a great economist, and devoted to making money. He had a great scorn and contempt for all the pretensions of fashion, and fashionable society. He lived well, though plainly, and was very hospitable at his house. His wife was a most excellent lady, the daughter of James Harrison, Esq., of Greenville, who married the sister of General Wade Hampton, of Revolutionary fame. His seven sons, who all grew up to manhood, are dead, and only one of them ever married.

Mr. Earle told me that he served, as Deputy Provost Marshal, the first writ ever made returnable to Old Cambridge, at Ninety-Six. Whilst the sitting of the Courts for South Carolina was limited to Charleston, the Provost Marshal of the State, a gentleman living in England, and who had never been in South Carolina, exercised, through his deputies, all the powers of sheriff:

When the sitting of the courts was extended to Camden, Columbia and Cambridge, the Provost Marshal sold his office to the Government, and then sheriffs were elected in the different judicial districts. Before this sale was completed, Mr. Earle was the Deputy Provost Marshal for the western part of the State, and served the first writ ever issued to Cambridge Court, as already stated.





EDWARD EVERETT.

I FIRST saw Mr. Edward Everett at his own house, whilst President of Harvard College. Mr. Poinsett had given me a letter of introduction to him. He was then in feeble health. He was mild and soft in his manners, showing a refined and most polished gentleman, full of varied information and extremely interesting in conversation. His person seemed fragile.

He spoke of the cultivation of the grape in the United States, and said it never could be successful. He thought this was proved by the history of China. Although the Chinese were a very industrious, pains-taking and ingenious people, greatly devoted to agriculture through necessity, they had never been able to succeed to any extent in making wine. He said their climate was that of ours, and their country similarly situated. If the Chinese could not succeed in the culture of the grape, he did not think the Americans ever could. He said that the flavor of the grape in Europe was very different from that of the same species in the United States.

In speaking of the rich lands near the lakes, through which I had just passed, on my trip to Niagara Falls, he told me that his father-in-law once owned all of those lands, had purchased them in the early history of New York, for a few cents an acre, and disposed of them for a very inconsiderable sum, thinking they were too remote ever to be saleable. These lands were then worth fifty and one hundred dollars per acre. Such has been the progress of society, and the development of the country, brought about by canals and railroads.

Mr. Everett was once a Unitarian preacher, and I noticed lying open on his centre-table, a large and magnificently bound Bible. For many years he was a member of Congress, Governor of the State of Massachusetts,

Minister to England, United States Senator, and President of Harvard College. Since this visit to him in 1846, he was the Whig candidate for Vice-President.

In one of his speeches in the House of Representatives, many years ago, and before abolition was so popular at the North, Mr. Everett declared that he would shoulder his musket and march to the South to assist in suppressing any insurrection of our slaves. Mr. Richard Yeadon, of Charleston, told me that he once referred to this speech in the presence of Mr. Everett, and he had, or affected to have, forgotten it.

When the ladies of the United States, under the lead of my friend, Miss Pamela Cunningham, of South Carolina undertook to purchase Mount Vernon, Mr. Everett delivered, throughout the Republic, in aid of the Association, his famous oration on the life and character of Washington. From this noble effort of Mr. Everett's, the ladies realized fifty or sixty thousand dollars. The enterprise was mainly successful owing to Mr. Everett's exertions. Everywhere he stirred up the people to subscribe to the Association. I had the pleasure of visiting very recently this hallowed residence of the father of his country, and found the regent, Miss Cunningham, in possession of the premises and noble old mansion. Her triumph has been a great one, and heartily does she enjoy it.

Mr. Everett was through life more a literary man than a politician. He wrote a great deal, and no one wrote the English language with more purity and taste. Many of his essays and orations are models of fine writing and eloquence. He has been justly styled the Cicero of America. His style was always that of the great Roman orator.

In the latter part of his life, he procured from Mr. Dowse, for the Historical Society of Boston, the most magnificent collection of books in any private library in America. Mr. Dowse was a tanner by trade, started

in the world poor and lame, made money and purchased books, always the most costly editions, till, in his old age, he had collected the finest and most costly private library in America. This library Mr. Everett induced him to give, in his life-time, to the Historical Society of Boston.





SIMEON FAIR.

COL. SIMEON FAIR represented the District of Newberry in the Legislature for several years, and took a high position amongst the eminent men of that body, in the better days of the Republic. He was respected by all of his compeers for his talents, integrity, honor and patriotism, and they elected him Solicitor of the middle circuit. This important office he continued to fill, by successive elections, for nearly a quarter of a century. He was once or twice put in nomination for the office of Judge, and came within a few votes of being elected. As Solicitor, he was a model officer. Always prepared in his cases, he argued them with ability and learning. The guilty seldom escaped, and the innocent had nothing to fear from the prosecuting officer on the part of the State. In the administration of his office, he was firm and impartial, and gave universal satisfaction. He had an extensive practice as a lawyer on the civil side of the court in his circuit, which was composed of the Districts of Newberry, Richland, Lexington, Sumter and Kershaw.

Colonel Fair was born in Newberry District. His father was a prosperous farmer and planter, and gave his son a good classical education. Dr. Fair, one of the old gentleman's sons, graduated at the Medical College of Paris, established himself in Columbia and became one of the most eminent physicians of the State. Simeon established himself at Newberry C. H., as a lawyer, and there had to contend at the Bar with Chief Justice O'Neall, Chancellors Job Johnston and Caldwell and John Caldwell, who were all practicing lawyers and resided at Newberry when Simeon Fair entered his profession. That he was able to achieve success, where there was so

much talent and learning to contend with, is high evidence of his merit, industry and integrity.

For almost a half century, Col. Fair and myself were personal and political friends, and there always up to his death, existed a great intimacy between us. He was one of my groomsmen when I was married, and I had for him through life a cordial friendship. I knew well his high moral qualities and greatly esteemed and admired him as a friend. In 1831, when the Nullification controversy sprung up in South Carolina, Col. Fair and myself took sides against this political heresy, and were ever afterwards identified in politics. The Union party was in a very lean minority in Newberry District, and hence Col. Fair did not go into the Legislature as soon as he otherwise would have done. But the Florida war came on, and he volunteered his services in that campaign and against the Indians. I think he commanded a company in the regiment of Gov. Butler. As soon as he returned home, his fellow-citizens of Newberry overlooked his political principles and elected him to the Legislature for his gallant and patriotic services. This Seminole campaign was extraordinary in elevating all who served in it to public office. It elected Col. Butler Governor of the State, and I believe every office within the gift of the Legislature, down to the door-keeper, was filled by a Florida volunteer.

In the summer of 1846, Col. Fair, Col. Frederick Nance and myself made the tour of the Northern States and Canada together. We spent two or three months very pleasantly, indeed. Neither of us had ever been North, and everything was new and interesting. We visited Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, the Falls of Niagara, Montreal, Quebec, Boston, &c. I paid my respects to Gov. Kemble, in Albany, who was there as a member of the New York Convention, and also to Silas Wright, then Governor of the State. In Washington, Congress was still in session, and we had the pleas-

ure of making the acquaintance of most of the distinguished men there. In Boston I had a letter of introduction to Mr. Everett, from Joel R. Poinsett, and called to see him, who was very kind and civil. We were greatly interested in Montreal and Quebec. Everything we saw reminded us that we were in a foreign country. In walking the streets of Quebec, and in passing down the St. Lawrence River, we were struck with the diminutive size of the French people. Col. Fair said he frequently saw the Canadians stop and gaze at us as we were walking the streets. The height and size of three such men as we were attracted their notice especially. But in Montreal I never saw finer looking men than the English officers and soldiers stationed there. In Quebec there was a Scotch Regiment of Highlanders, who were all over six feet in stature, and fancifully dressed in the Highland costume. Their appearance was indeed very imposing.

Whilst in Albany, Col. Fair remarked to me, one morning, that we were a long ways from home. "Yes," said I, "we are a thousand miles." "But," says he, "I allude to the higher civilization of this region of country over Newberry and Greenville in agriculture, commerce, magnificent buildings, and in all the comforts and luxuries of life." I replied that I had once heard Gen. Thompson say, whilst abusing the North, that it would not do, however, for one who thought meanly of the Northern people to travel amongst them and witness their great wealth and high civilization, if he wished to retain his opinion of the people and country. My impression was that all their superiority consisted in their superior industry and homogeneity of race. In the South we had slavery and the African race.

Col. Fair was a most genial companion and pleasant in conversation. He had a happy faculty of gathering news, and retailing it to his associates, both at home and in travelling. Whenever I met him on the circuit

or in Columbia, I eagerly expected a budget of news, interesting and racy. He was greatly loved and esteemed by all his associates and acquaintances. Everyone had confidence in his sincerity, integrity and honor. He was a gentleman of sterling good sense and judgment. At the Bar and in the Legislature, his arguments and speeches were always to the point, and conceived in wisdom. There was nothing rhetorical about them, or for display and vain glory. His mind was solid and substantial, like his person. The graces he did not cultivate in speech or manners, and thought them more appropriate for those of less calibre.

A few weeks before he died, he passed through Greenville on his way to the Glenn Springs. He came to my office and sat some time chatting with me. He was evidently in feeble health, and said he was going to the Springs to recruit up for the winter's work in his profession. He said he would not abandon his profession, but intended to die in harness. When he left the office, I remarked to my son that I thought he was over sanguine in his expectations of recruiting up for the winter's professional labor, and I greatly feared he was then sinking into his grave.

I made the acquaintance of Col. Fair's parents unexpectedly and rather strangely, after a long and very intimate acquaintance with him, and his brother, Dr. Fair. In returning from Columbia, one winter, I took the road through Lexington, to avoid the mud on the main road to Newberry. Night overtook me, the weather was excessively cold, and the road, which I never passed over before, was very bad. Some miles below Newberry Court House, I saw a farm house lighted up some distance from the road. I determined to drive up and appeal to the humanity of the owners for a night's lodging. An elderly gentleman came out, and hearing my representation, he said, with great cordiality: "Surely you can stay, sir." When I went into

the house, the old lady, hearing me say that I had left Columbia that morning, and had been there for some weeks, enquired if I had seen her son, Dr. Fair, and how he and his family were. I said to her: "I am, indeed, most happy, madam, to meet the mother of my dear friend and groomsman, Col. Simeon Fair, your son. The Doctor, is quite well, and I saw him the day before I left Columbia." The kindness and hospitality of that night, I never can forget.

Col. Fair married late in life, a young, beautiful and accomplished lady, who made him a most loving and affectionate wife. I saw her before her marriage, and thought her one of the most beautiful young ladies I had ever seen. She died several years before her noble husband. She left two children, a son and daughter. The Colonel felt deeply the loss of his companion, and well he might mourn for one who was the solace of his life, and the stay and prop of his household. He died at Glenn Springs, in the seventy-second year of his age, esteemed and regretted by all who knew him.





EDWARD FROST.

THIS most amiable and excellent gentleman was for many years one of the Law Judges of South Carolina. He did what very few judges have done in South Carolina—voluntarily resigned his seat on the bench. I remember, some years before Judge Frost sent his resignation to the Legislature, Mr. Robert W. Barnwell, speaking of the life of a judge, said it was surprising that Judge Frost, who was a gentleman of fortune, and fond of his family and domestic life, should continue on the Bench, and spending the greater part of his life at hotels, holding courts and taking down the testimony of rude and ignorant men. That a distinguished lawyer should aspire to the highest honors of his profession, is very natural and commendable; but if he has a fortune, it is a little remarkable that he should continue to perform, in his old age, the laborious drudgery of a judge. Most of our judges in South Carolina have been men in moderate circumstances, and felt that they could not, in justice to themselves and families, give up their position and its salary.

Judge Frost was born in the city of Charleston, and graduated at Yale College. He read law and was admitted to the Bar at an early age. He had a fine practice, but left to his partner, as I have heard him say, the entire settlement of all fees, as well as the amounts their clients were to pay. He had no taste for making charges and collecting fees. Whilst a very young man he was elected a member of the Legislature from the city of Charleston, and continued in that body till he was elected to the Bench. The first time I ever saw Judge Frost he was making a speech in the House of Representatives, on some local question connected

with the interests of his constituents. The opposition to his measure seemed to come from the upper country. He was very much excited, and spoke with great warmth of manner and evident sincerity. He thought those who were opposing him did not understand the question, as they were from the country. He tauntingly said that they could not see the propriety of the measure, for they had in all probability "never smelt salt water." This expression greatly amused the House, and became a by-word afterwards with some of the members from the upper districts. They would say, in addressing the Speaker, that although they had "never smelt salt water," they knew certain facts to be true, &c. This quotation was made so often, that the young member became a little restive under it.

I served in the Legislature many years with Judge Frost, and never saw a more pure, upright, conscientious and honorable man. He told me, whilst he was on the Bench, and when the question of separate secession was first mooted in South Carolina, that he had yielded his conscientious convictions of propriety to the judgment of others, in our Nullification struggle, and that he was resolved he would never do so again.

After he resigned his Judgeship, he was elected President of the Blue Ridge Railroad Company, and devoted himself for several years to the great interests of that Company. During his presidency, the company was involved in a most tedious and harassing litigation with Bangs & Co., who were contractors on the road. The suit was brought in Georgia, and the judge had to attend the court for some time. He told me that after the adjournment of court, every day, his counsel and himself would repair to his rooms at the hotel, and take a drink of some good old brandy which he had brought with him from Charleston. The counsel suggested one day, that he should invite the presiding Judge to go with them and join them in a glass of brandy. Judge

Frost replied that he would be very happy indeed to have the pleasure of His Honor's company, but he doubted very much the propriety of such a step. In South Carolina it would be regarded as indelicate, and that he had never heard of such a thing as treating the Judge who was trying an important case, either whilst he was at the Bar or on the Bench. The counsel assured him that there was no such delicacy existing in their courts. Thereupon, the Judge was invited, and went with them regularly to his rooms. Judge Frost said his brandy soon gave out, and he had to send off to some grocery establishment to get a fresh supply. His counsel and His Honor did not perceive any difference in the liquor. They continued to praise it, and said it was far superior to anything of the kind they could get in that region of country.

At length Judge Frost got tired of the presidency of this railroad company, and wrote me a very kind letter, stating that his purpose was to resign, and said that he and his board of directors desired me to accept the presidency of the road. I wrote back to him that my life had been devoted to law and politics, and that I was now unfit for anything else. I could not think of accepting a position which I was wholly unfit for and knew nothing about.

During the civil war, Judge Frost resided at Pendleton, and after the surrender of Gen. Johnston, a Yankee raid came through that part of the country, and the citizens armed themselves to resist. The Judge shouldered his rifle and marched out to meet the raiders. He then returned to Charleston, which was in ruins, and socially in a state of chaos. They were without civil government, and determined to make application to the President for the appointment of a Provisional Governor for South Carolina. The Judge and four or five other gentlemen were requested by the citizens to proceed to Washington and ask an interview with President

Johnson on this subject. They did so, and several names were suggested to his Excellency, mine amongst them. The President asked Judge Frost if I was not "too much of a people's man to be acceptable to the city of Charleston." The Judge assured him that my nomination would be altogether acceptable. He called again, and the President assured him that my appointment would be made.

Judge Frost was a member of the State Convention, which assembled in 1865, to frame a new Constitution for South Carolina. He participated largely in the debates of that Convention, which was composed of the ablest men of the State. It is doubtful whether any assembly ever convened in South Carolina surpassed it for talents, wisdom and ability. But their labors availed nothing. Another Convention was ordered by Act of Congress, to make another Constitution. This Convention was the opposite in all respects of the former one, and was the disgraceful beginning of that corruption, ignorance and roguery which have governed the State ever since, and dishonored every department of its government.

Judge Frost made a very admirable Circuit Judge; always pleasant, good natured, polite and courteous. He despatched the business of his court promptly and with ability. A more pure and upright Judge never sat on any Bench. Judge Frost may have had personal enemies, but I never heard of one. In his personal appearance he was prepossessing, and his manners were those of a polished gentleman. I heard a gentleman say, who had seen Lord Brougham seated in the House of Lords, that there was a striking likeness between him and Judge Frost. But when the Lord Chancellor rose to address the House of Lords, he discovered that he was a much taller man than the Judge, and a great deal taller than any one would suppose him to be seeing him seated.

Judge Frost was most sensitive to any seeming impropriety. He was once trying a very trifling *sum. pro.*, and one of the parties litigant was put upon the stand as a witness. He shook hands with the Judge, and reminded him that he had served in the Legislature with him, and voted for him when he was elected Judge. After court adjourned, the Judge said to me: "That beast of a fellow had the indelicacy to tell me whilst trying his case, that he had voted for me in the Legislature when I was elected to the Bench!" He seemed to think that this was said to influence his decision in the case; but I told him he must attribute it to ignorance rather than to impropriety.





MILLARD FILLMORE.

PRESIDENT FILLMORE, though a stouter man, was not unlike Chief Justice O'Neal, of South Carolina, in his appearance. There was a striking resemblance, too, between him and Col. Thomas Thompson, of Abbeville, South Carolina, in their faces and features. During our political excitement, I had the honor of receiving several private and confidential letters from President Fillmore. In 1852 I was presented to him by Governor Orr, at one of his reception parties. He enquired if I was the editor of the *Southern Patriot*, and expressed himself very much gratified to see me. The dense stream of human beings carried me on, and I had no further conversation with him that evening. The next day I received an invitation to dine with him. There was a large party of gentlemen present, and among them Mr. Thackeray, of England. I went under the auspices of Col. Polk, brother of ex-President Polk, who was then a member of Congress from Tennessee. I called again the next day and had a long chat with President Fillmore. He told me that immediately after the death of General Taylor, he assembled the cabinet, and requested them to continue in their respective offices for the present. This they promptly refused to do unless they were assured that they would be permanently retained in the cabinet. Mr. Fillmore refused to give any such assurance, and accepted their resignations. He said he was very much embarrassed by this movement, but requested the chief clerks in the several departments to take charge of the offices till he could organize his cabinet.

In speaking of the negro riot in Boston, and the resistance there to the capture of runaway slaves, he said he began to think he should have to shed a little blood

in that cradle of liberty, as Boston had been termed, and that he was prepared to do so. In talking over the political excitement in South Carolina, and the threats we had made of seceding, he said his purpose was, if we had attempted such a movement in 1850, to stop the mails, and thereby cut us off from all communication with the outer world, and remove the Custom House from Charleston to some vessel in the harbor where the duties could be collected. "In this way," said he, "I intended to force you back into the Union, or let you stay out till you got tired of it." I thought his plans were well conceived, and would have been successful without shedding a drop of blood. I was greatly impressed with his good sense, wisdom and patriotism. I thought he possessed a most practical mind. He certainly made a most admirable President, and administered the government with great justice and impartiality. He told me in the same conversation, that he had a long conversation the day before, with General Pierce, who was to be inaugurated the fourth of March as his successor in the Presidential chair. He said the President-elect had communicated very freely to him his views and policy, and that he was much pleased with them.

After President Fillmore went out of office, he made a tour through the Southern States, and I had the pleasure of meeting him in Columbia. In speaking of the parties in South Carolina, I told him, in the presence of a large number of secessionists and co-operationists, that the Union party, though very small in the State; had great capacity, for they had swallowed up both the other parties, which were very large. He enjoyed the idea very much. In the election between Buchanan and Fremont, President Fillmore declared that the election of a sectional candidate, like Fremont, as President of the United States, would be cause for the Southern States withdrawing from the Union. But on the election of Lincoln, he abandoned this doctrine and sustained the war.



JAMES K. POLK.

PRESIDENT POLK was not a striking man in his appearance or manners. He reminded me very much, when I first saw him, of a silversmith in Greenville, South Carolina. He was of ordinary height and size, and would never be enquired after by a stranger. But he was a man of talents and ability. As a stump orator and electioneerer he had few equals. He understood, however, nature well, and had great tact in political management. He was full of anecdotes, and told them with great effect in his public speeches. Whilst canvassing Tennessee for Governor, he compared his opponent to a man who was captured during the Revolutionary war by a scouting party. They demanded of him to say whether he was for the king or the country. He replied: "You say first, for you are the most." I never saw him till after his election as President. He had been a member of Congress for many years, and was once Speaker of the House of Representatives. Some of his speeches in Congress were marked with great ability. I was introduced to him and Mrs. Polk in the summer of 1846. Mrs. Polk was a most charming lady, and quite handsome. Her manners were fine, and I thought there was a great contrast between her and her husband, in their manners and appearance. The Mexican war was on hand at that time, and President Polk remarked to me that he was fighting for peace. The conquest of Mexico soon followed and peace came. The administration of President Polk was a most successful and brilliant one for the country.

He was born in North Carolina, somewhere in the same region which gave birth to Andrew Jackson. Like Jackson, he moved to Tennessee, and like him, too, he

reached the Presidency. It is a singular fact, that three of the Presidents of the United States, Jackson, Polk and Johnson, should have been born near each other in North Carolina, all three should have moved to Tennessee, and been elected from that State to the Presidency. There were great doubts about Jackson's birthplace at one time. He thought, himself, that he was born in South Carolina, and for a number of years the house was regarded by everybody as being in South Carolina. But I think Parton's Life of Jackson settles the question. The spot belongs to North Carolina, and is only a few yards from the South Carolina line. The rubbish of the chimney was still to be seen by Mr. Parton, and the dividing line had been correctly ascertained between the two States. It is with deep regret that we give up the nativity of Jackson to the old North State, but the truth of history must be vindicated.





FRANKLIN PIERCE.

I SAW President Pierce a few days before his inauguration, and was very much pleased with him. He is a man of most cordial and genial nature, high-toned and generous in all his actions, and possesses a pure, broad patriotism which embraces his whole country. He is governed, however, too much by his impulses to be wise in the administration of a great Republic. A man of strong, deep feelings is more apt to err than one without such feelings. He naturally suffers his feelings to get the better of his judgment.

President Fillmore declared that he would not appoint to any office, either a secessionist or abolitionist. He did this for the purpose of building up a great National Union party North and South. He looked upon both the other parties as sectional parties, disunionists in fact, and he wished to destroy them as parties, to keep them from destroying the Republic. In this, there was great wisdom, and great statesmanship as well as good sense. President Pierce unfortunately adopted a different policy, and appointed avowed disunionists to office in the Southern States and openly acknowledged abolitionists to office in the Northern States. This was done to gratify popular sectional majority, and had the effect of destroying the true Union party North and South. All the offices in the Southern States were in a great measure filled by secessionists and disunionists. Good Union men, like Colonel Grayson, were turned out of office, to make room for secessionists like Colonel Colcock. Colonel Grayson was a Whig and Colonel Colcock was a Democrat. This policy alone gave an impetus to disunion, which nothing could stop. He called to his cabinet disunionists of

the first water, and strengthened them as a party throughout the Southern States.

President Pierce said to me that he had no desire to be President of the United States, and that the American people had committed a great mistake in electing him their Chief Magistrate. I did not think so then, but afterwards I became satisfied of the truth of his remark. He did a great deal to hasten the outbreak of secession, and President Buchanan, by pursuing the same policy, completed it. If they had filled their cabinets with Union men and refused to appoint sectional men to office, North and South, the great rebellion, so called, would have been crushed out.

I did not go to hear President Pierce's inaugural address. The day was excessively inclement, and the crowd was endless. Pennsylvania avenue, for one mile in length, was one jammed mass of human beings. His address was in character with the man, and much lauded at the time for its eloquence and patriotism.

During the war, President Pierce behaved better towards the South than any other prominent public man at the North. He regretted disunion deeply, but said that if the Southern States were determined on separation, they ought not to be coerced. He thought that according to the sacred principles of the Declaration of Independence, they were entitled to govern themselves as they thought proper. This every people had a right to. Nothing else could be self-government.

President Pierce, when elected, was quite a young looking man, tall and slender, and prepossessing in his appearance. He had been a General in the Mexican war, and was a lawyer of great distinction at the Bar. He had served several years in both Houses of Congress, and his record was as true as steel. President Davis was his Secretary of War, and he has recently said that he was more attached to Franklin Pierce than any man living. Just before Davis was released from imprison-

ment at Fortress Monroe, President Pierce paid him a friendly visit. He lost his only child, a very promising boy, just after his election as President.

In conversation with a South Carolina gentleman, President Pierce said, immediately after his inauguration, that if he had lived in the South, he, too, would have been a secessionists. I thought this very strange language for a President to use. But it was an honest confession of his impulsive heart, and in character with the man. He detested oppression and wrong, and thought that Northern interference with our domestic institutions most unwarrantable. Under these wrongs, oppressions and interferences, his feelings, and not his judgment, would have controlled his actions.

Since writing this sketch of President Pierce, he has departed this life, and no Northern statesman has left behind him a reputation more endeared to the South. He was faithful to his political principles, inherited from his Revolutionary ancestors, amidst the faithless North, in our civil war, which denied to the Southern States, in their folly, the right of self-government, at the sacrifice of half a million of human lives.





WILLIAM GASTON.

JUDGE GASTON, of North Carolina, was a distinguished jurist, an able statesman, and an accomplished gentleman. It is said that a man's autograph gives you some idea of his character. I have frequently thought of this in looking over ten or fifteen volumes of letters, substantially bound, which, in the course of a long life, I have received from distinguished men. And I have thought, too, that there was a great deal of truth in the remark. Judge Gaston, according to this rule, was an accomplished gentleman. Everything about his letters, as well as his handwriting, indicated it. They were neatly folded and endorsed. There were no flourishes in his writing. The hand was neat, plain and easily read, and perfectly uniform throughout. It showed that he never wrote in a hurry, and the English notion is, that a gentleman should never be in a hurry. He should always be calm, sedate and dignified. Any one looking at the handwriting of Washington, would be apt to say that he was a grave, dignified gentleman, taking time to reflect as well as to write. On the contrary, the autograph of Napoleon clearly showed that he was in a hurry, and did not give a moment's reflection as to the character of his writing. All that he thought of was to give expression to ideas which were crowding his mind. He had no respect for any mere accomplishment.

Judge Gaston was one of North Carolina's greatest, ablest and best of men. He was a conservative, and respected the wisdom of past ages. He belonged to the old Federal school of statesmen, and being a man of principle, he adhered in all things to what his best judgment told him was right. This kept him out of politics

the greater part of his life, and prevented him from acquiring that reputation which his talents, virtues and accomplishments entitled him to as a public man. He was born in the little town of Newbern, North Carolina, September 19th, 1778. He graduated at Princeton, in 1796, with the highest honors of the college. Two years after his admission to the Bar, he was elected a member of the State Senate, in North Carolina, and afterwards a member of the House. In 1808, he was chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives. He was elected a member of Congress in 1813, and served in that body four years, where he acquired a national reputation for talents, ability and eloquence of a high order. He was the leader of the Federal party in the House of Representatives. He retired from Congress in 1817, and devoted himself to his profession. He was employed in all the most important cases in the State. The Earl of Granville retained him to bring suit for lands granted his ancestor, one of the Lord's proprietors of North Carolina, which covered about two-thirds of the State! Neither popular clamor nor the odium of such a case could deter him from engaging in it. He said that it should not go abroad that a foreigner could not engage counsel to prosecute his claims. The suit however failed, or it would have dispossessed one-half of the free-holders of North Carolina. In 1834 he was elected a Judge of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, for which, it was said, "his tastes, character and intellectual qualities eminently fitted him." He was a Roman Catholic, and by the (then) State Constitution, incapable of holding any State office. But this provision of the Constitution was treated as a dead letter in Judge Gaston's case.

In 1835 a State Convention was called in North Carolina to revise their Constitution. The question of free-negro suffrage came up for consideration. Under the old State Constitution, all freemen, paying a tax, were

allowed to vote. It was proposed to restrict this qualification to free white men, and thereby exclude free negroes. Judge Gaston resisted this change in the Constitution with great ability and eloquence. He appealed to the members of the Convention to say whether their experience did not prove that, in all cases, the free negroes voted with the gentlemen and better class of white voters. He insisted that such was the fact, and no one controverted it. How different is our experience in South Carolina, since the abolition of slavery, and the investment of the colored man with the right of suffrage. Instead of voting with gentlemen, and for gentlemen of intelligence and character, the colored men in South Carolina, with a few exceptions, invariably vote with and for the lowest and vilest white men in the community. Why is this? Because, in Judge Gaston's day and time, the free negroes had more intelligence than the great mass of colored voters in South Carolina of the present day. They owned property, and their interests prompted them to depend on gentlemen for protection and assistance. Most unfortunately, now, the colored men have had their minds poisoned by the unprincipled white carpet-baggers and scalawags with stories of being thrown back into slavery! But the day will come when the colored voter will prefer a gentleman to a low scoundrel.

Judge Gaston died in his sixty-sixth year. He fell dead in the midst of an animated conversation, and his last words were expressing his faith in the "All-wise and Mighty." He was still Judge of the Supreme Court of North Carolina at his death, and his death was a great loss to the judiciary of that State. When it was proposed to change the judiciary system of South Carolina, I wrote letters to Chancellor Kent and Judge Gaston, as two of the most distinguished jurists in the United States, asking their counsel and advice as to the best system of judication. I wrote to no one else. The fol-

lowing letter was kindly written me in reply by Judge Gaston. It will be read with interest. Almost all of the old judges and lawyers were in favor of separate courts of equity and separate courts of appeal. In the language of Chancellor Kent, we are all the creatures, more or less, of education. But in North Carolina they had no separate courts of equity. It was the defect of the judiciary system, in this respect, as seen by Judge Gaston, which made him in favor of the English system, and that system which presided in South Carolina upto the present order of things.

BLYTHE WOOD, Sept. 22, 1836.

My Dear Sir—Your letter of the 19th July was handed me as I was about leaving home on a long excursion, and I have not since been sufficiently settled to have it in my power to answer it. I seize a few moments of rest, which I am spending in the interior of New York, with a near and dear friend, to give you my thoughts upon the subject to which you have invited my attention.

I deem it essential to a proper judiciary system, that there should be a court for the correction of errors, composed of judges entirely distinct from those who preside on the circuit. It is not possible for me, in the language of a letter, to give even a correct outline of the reasons which have produced this decided opinion. I will only say, that such an arrangement is indispensable for proper deliberation, impartiality and dignity. The revising tribunal in our State has been so constituted ever since the year 1818, and there is scarcely *now* a dissenting opinion in the profession, or among the intelligent part of the community as to the propriety of this organization.

I am not qualified by experience, to give an opinion on the comparative merits of the administration of equitable jurisprudence by judges of the courts of law, and by judges set apart wholly for that purpose. We

have never had in our State district judges to hold our courts of equity. But I have found so many serious inconveniences resulting from our system, that I have long wished it could be changed. The modes of proceeding in law and at equity are so different, the forms of pleading and the rules of practice so dissimilar, that it is scarcely possible to find a working judge who is at home with both courts. As the number of equitable controversies bear no proportion to that of legal suits, the consequence is, that we have very respectable law judges on the circuit court bench, who admit that they are mere tyros in the science of equity. In the supreme court to which appeals are brought from both sides of the circuit court, we have an admirable opportunity of comparing the skill manifested in one class of cases, with the want of it to indict in the other.

Believe me, Sir, that no apology was necessary for communicating your wishes to me, and I shall deem myself very happy if I can be able in any degree to gratify them. By the time you receive this letter, I shall be on my way to Newbern; and when there, it will afford me great pleasure to answer more in detail such further enquiries as you may please address to me. I am, Sir, with respectful sentiments,

Your very obedient servant,

WILL. GASTON.





WADE HAMPTON.

THE name of Wade Hampton has been distinguished, in three generations, for patriotic services, talents and wealth, in South Carolina. It may well be said that the name is an illustrious one, and one in which every South Carolinian feels a just pride. General Wade Hampton, of the American Revolution, was a very remarkable man and lived to a great old age. He was a dashing young cavalry officer in the Revolutionary war and distinguished himself in several engagements with the enemy. In the war of 1812 he was appointed a Major General in the United States Army, and commanded on the frontiers of Canada. After the close of the Revolutionary war, he represented his State in Congress, as soon as the Federal Government was organized. But he soon abandoned public life and devoted his great energies and talents to planting. He made large investments in Louisiana, soon after the United States acquired that Territory from the French Government, which increased in value and made him a princely estate. He became a large sugar planter as well as a cotton planter, and at his death was regarded as the wealthiest man in the Southern States. He was fond of blooded horses and the turf, and it is said would bet largely on the race ground.

Colonel Wade Hampton, the subject of this sketch or reminiscence, was the only surviving son of General Wade Hampton, of the Revolution, and the father of the present distinguished Lieutenant General Wade Hampton, of the Confederate Army, than whom there is no living Carolinian more loved and respected by the people for his virtues, talent and patriotic services. Colonel Wade Hampton was a volunteer aid of General



Andrew Jackson in the celebrated battle of New Orleans, so glorious in its result. I never saw Colonel Wade Hampton till I went to Columbia to read law in the office of Colonel James Gregg. He was then a State Senator, having beaten Governor Taylor in the preceding election. The contest was a most vigorous one on both sides. Governor Taylor had been a member of Congress and United States Senator. He was a gentleman of large fortune and most extensive family connections in the town of Columbia and the District of Richland. The Hamptons and Taylors were the two first families in that section of the State, and both very popular as well as very wealthy, and influential. There was a good deal of family pride enlisted in the contest, and every effort was made on both sides to carry the election. I remember hearing Colonel David Y. McCord say that there was a fine cavalry company in Columbia, at that time, which was likely to exercise a controlling power in the canvass. He and other friends of Colonel Wade Hampton proposed that the old General Wade Hampton, the father, should join this company before election, for political effect. It was suggested to the General and he assented to it. His name was proposed, at a supper given the company, and voted for unanimously with great acclamation. The old General was present, a fine looking and venerable gentleman. This manœuver and his presence secured the vote of the company for his son.

I have heard an amusing anecdote told of General Hampton's spirit and pluck in his extreme old age. There was a great case in court, for several years between him and Governor Taylor about a mill dam. The Governor sued the General for overflowing his lands above the mill, and succeeded finally in the case. This provoked the old General very much, who was very passionate and high-tempered. He fell out with Governor Taylor's lawyers, Colonel W. C. Preston and Mr. Stark.

He vowed that he would hold them responsible personally for the lawsuit. With this determination he called at Colonel Preston's house and told him what he intended to do. The Colonel, who treated the call of the General, then seventy or eighty years old, as a joke, told him he was not the lawyer on record, did not bring the suit, and was only employed as assistant counsel, and etiquette required the General to challenge. Mr. Stark, who was the attorney of record, had brought the suit, and was about his, the General's, own age. This excited the old gentleman very much, and he withdrew by saying: "I beg pardon, Colonel, I discover you are troubled with an infirmity." Judge Butler, who told me this incident, entered Colonel Preston's house just as the General was retiring sorely discomfited.

Colonel Wade Hampton was strongly solicited to run for Governor after his election to the Senate, and could have been elected very easily, but he positively refused. In after years, he was solicited time and again to become a candidate for the Executive chair, but he would never consent to have his name used for that purpose. He preferred making governors to being one himself. For more than twenty years he was the great Warwick of South Carolina, and took an active part in the gubernatorial elections. Seldom did any one succeed to the chief magistracy of the State without his support. When Governor Aiken was elected, Colonel Hampton was very active in the canvass, and after the election was over, he gave the most elegant and magnificent entertainment that I ever witnessed anywhere. He then lived at "Millwood," about four miles from Columbia. The company was invited at eight o'clock in the evening. When we reached the avenue leading from the public road to his house, we saw on both sides of it, huge lighted torches of pine, making the road as bright as if it were mid-day. The supper was most luxurious and very handsomely decorated. The ladies were all young

and beautiful, and dressed with a taste and elegance which I never saw surpassed in Washington, New York or Boston. It was a very large assemblage of ladies and gentlemen.

But Colonel Hampton was distinguished for his frequent and magnificent entertainments, and especially during the sitting of the Legislature. At all times, however, his house was full of company, and he delighted in the companionship of his friends. He possessed a princely fortune, and he spent his income with the munificence and liberality of a prince. He was not only unbounded in his hospitality, but open handed in all public improvements and charitable purposes. On one occasion there was a fair in Columbia for some charitable or benevolent purpose, and a supper was a part of the entertainment. Colonel Hampton and his daughters were behind the tables waiting on the company. General Thompson, addressing the Colonel said: "Well, Hampton, I always knew that you kept a public house, but I never knew you to charge before."

Colonel Hampton, like his father, was fond of fine horses and blooded stock. He resembled the old General in another respect, for he was a great lover of the turf. He made a great many importations of blooded horses, and fine cattle, sheep, &c. No one did more to improve our breed of horses, cattle, sheep, &c., than Colonel Hampton. He was also a dear lover of the chase, and took great delight in hunting deer, whilst summering in the mountains of North Carolina. He purchased a farm in Cashier Valley, Jackson County, N. C., where he and his family spent several summers. There is not a more delicious climate in the world for three months of the year than Cashier Valley. I was there whilst Colonel Hampton and Colonel John S. Preston and their families resided there. Colonel Hampton had killed, just before I reached there, the largest buck I ever heard of, and he was proud of his feat. Colo-

nel Hampton was a high-toned and most honorable gentleman, liberal, generous and devoted to his friends. His manners were cordial, frank and open. When the Rev. Robert H. Reid graduated in the South Carolina College, he made a most favorable impression on the trustees and others, who heard his graduating speech. Colonel Hampton understood that he was going to prepare himself for the ministry, and was in humble circumstances. The Colonel also understood that Judge Whitner was a neighbor and friend of young Reid's. He came to where the Judge and myself were standing, and said in a loud voice: "Whitner, your young friend Reid has too much talent to be spoiled in making a preacher out of him. Let him travel in Europe, and attend some of the universities there two or three years, and then study law. He shall have the funds necessary to defray all expenses."

For many years, Colonel Hampton was one of the trustees of the South Carolina College. We served together on that board for fifteen or twenty years. But the Colonel seldom addressed the board, which was composed of the Governor, Chancellors, Law Judges and twenty members elected by the Legislature. Although Colonel Hampton was no public speaker, he conversed well, and was pleasant and agreeable in conversation. He was emphatically a practical man, and a wise man in all the ordinary affairs of life. There was a difficulty between Colonel Preston Brooks and Mr. English referred to Colonel Hampton and myself to settle. Some one enquired if the parties were not bound to accept our decision, no matter what it might be. "No," said Hampton, "if dishonorable terms are imposed, the parties are not bound to abide by our decision."

The grandfather of Colonel Hampton, and father of General Wade Hampton, of the Revolution, moved with his family from North Carolina or Virginia to the

upper part of Spartanburg district, near the Greenville line, and settled on the Tyger River, about the commencement of the Revolutionary war. The old gentleman, Anthony Hampton, his wife, son Preston and grandson, Harrison, were all massacred by the Indians. Another son, Edward Hamilton, who had married the daughter of Colonel Baylis Earle, living near the upper part of Greenville, was killed by the Tories whilst sitting at his dinner table. Many years since, I wrote an article in my Revolutionary incidents, on "the Hampton family," and mentioned all these facts with some particularity. Colonel Wade Hampton continued the history of the Hampton family, and mentioned several other sons of Anthony Hampton, who survived the Revolution, and lived in the middle part of South Carolina. But none of them accumulated fortunes as the General did.

Colonel Wade Hampton died just before our civil war, leaving a princely estate, which was all lost to his children during the civil strife. His beautiful residence, near Columbia, was wantonly burned by Sherman's army, as was also his son's, in the suburbs of the city. But the old family mansion in the city of Columbia, which had been the residence of old General Wade Hampton for many years, was by some means spared in the conflagration. When Henry Clay visited South Carolina, Colonel Wade Hampton occupied this superb house for the purpose of entertaining the illustrious Kentuckian, who was his friend personally and politically. All who knew Colonel Wade Hampton admired and loved him for sterling integrity, high-toned honor, great liberality and cordial, frank manners, as well as for his courage, patriotism and wisdom.



JAMES EDWARD HENRY.

FOR MANY years Major Henry was a distinguished leading member of the House of Representatives of South Carolina, from the District of Spartanburg. He was one of the most prominent members of the Bar on the Western Circuit, and possessed a most lucrative practice. He was a man of rare talents and genius, self-made and self-educated. As a writer of fiction he gave unmistakable evidence of his talents and ability in "The Tales of the Packolett" and "Myra Cunningham." His great success at the bar showed his legal attainments and devotion to his profession. But he was at the same time fond of polite literature, and sometimes even courted the Muses.

In "The Bench and Bar of South Carolina," by Judge O'Neill, there is a long biographical sketch of Major Henry, written partly by the Chief Justice and in part by the Rev. Mr. Landrum. He was born in Providence, Rhode Island, in the year 1776. His father, who was captain of a merchant vessel, was killed whilst James Edward was a lad. Left an orphan and poor he entered a cotton factory, where he remained several years, and then came to Spartanburg, South Carolina, for the purpose of engaging in the "Weaver Factory." But he was prevailed upon to take charge of a school in the neighborhood of the factory, where he remained for several years, and then commenced the study of law under William Hunt, Esquire. He was admitted to the Bar in 1821 and formed a partnership with Colonel Patillo Farrow. When I first became acquainted with Major Henry he was practicing law at Spartanburg, in partnership with Judge Earle, and I know the Judge had a very high opinion of him as a lawyer and a gentleman.

As a boon companion Major Henry had few equals. He was always in good spirits, full of wit and humor, talked well, and was most cordial in his manners. He was fond of a joke, told an anecdote well, and always most happy at repartee. Whilst a member of the Legislature he and Governor Adams and two or three other members were run by their friends for Speaker of the House. That evening he and Governor Adams and one or two others of the defeated aspirants to the Speaker's Chair were enjoying themselves at the hotel, when some one proposed to the defeated gentlemen to make the speeches which they had, no doubt, prepared in case they were elected. They all declined, when Major Henry said he knew what each one would have said, and would, for the gratification of the company, rehearse their several speeches, together with his own. Thereupon, he commenced with the speech of Governor Adams, who was then General of Cavalry, and had been an old line Whig. In succession he made a speech for each one of the other candidates, and concluded with his own. They were inimitable specimens of his wit and humor, and never did a company of gentlemen enjoy an exhortation with more rapturous glee.

In the argument of a *crim. con.* case at Spartanburg, Major Henry took occasion, most wittily and humorously, to allude to Potiphar's wife. The senior counsel on the other side, who was taking notes of the Major's argument, and not being well versed in Biblical history, enquired of his junior sitting by him: "Where that case of *Potifer's* wife was reported!" The junior counsel, who was fresh from his classics, said "he thought he had read it in the Greek Testament!" The enquiry and answer were overheard by other members of the Bar, and produced a burst of laughter. This gave the Major an opportunity of continuing his humorous remarks, to the great amusement of the court and spectators.

In the latter part of his life Major Henry joined the

Methodist Church, and became sincerely pious. He told me he found it hard to break himself of the bad habit he had contracted of cursing under sudden impulse and excitement. Shortly after he joined the Church he hoisted a window to look out, when the sash fell on his head. He involuntarily exclaimed: "Damn the window." Judge Earle told me that he returned from Columbia in the stage with Major Henry and his partner, Major Deane, some time after they had both attached themselves to the Church. Henry enquired of Deane if he had lost none of his piety in Columbia, and whether he was as zealous in the cause of religion as he was before he left home. Major Deane replied that he had experienced no change whatever in his religious feelings, and begged to know why the question was asked him. Henry said he himself did not feel as much zeal in religion as when he left home; that meeting his old friends in Columbia, and spending three or four weeks with them, had, he must confess, demoralized him very much, and made him neglect his religious duties.

When I first became acquainted with Major Henry he had just been defeated for the Legislature, and in speaking of the canvass, he said he was most unfortunate in meeting two of the most serious charges that were brought against him, and which defeated his election. I enquired how that was. He replied that both of the charges were true, and he could not deny either of them in his public speeches! This somewhat excited my curiosity, and I begged to know what these accusations were. He said they accused him of being a lawyer! which was true, and they charged him with being a Yankee! and that also was the truth!

In the Legislature, every session, Major Henry would submit a string of resolutions, to be referred to the different committees, to enquire and report as to the expediency of legislating on the various matters referred. These resolutions generally embodied a good deal of

popular sentiment expressed during the canvass. Some of the Major's friends said to him that he had introduced his resolutions for Buncombe, and if they should be favorably reported on he would have to vote against them himself. "No," said he, "not all of them—I think I could vote for one-half of them at least."

I had, through life, a very strong and sincere friendship for Major Henry, and deeply regretted that habit of intemperance, which carried him to an untimely grave, and which was contracted in the latter part of his life by his cordiality, sociability and love of friends and company. He once said to me that no one was in danger of being a drunkard if he only drank when he wanted to drink. But men got in the habit of drinking by association and companionship. It struck me that there was a great deal of truth and philosophy in the remark. How often do gentlemen take a drink out of politeness, or through sociability, when they have no desire to do so whatever? In this way an artificial thirst and love for spirits is created, which ends in habitual drunkenness. I once heard a refined and polished gentleman say that the fashionable etiquette of asking another, at the dinner table, to take a glass of wine with him was as absurd as it would be to ask him to take salt with him!

Major Henry was appointed one of Chief Justice O'Neill's aides when he was elected Major-General. He soon resigned his commission, (says his Chief, in the biographical sketch already alluded to), and frankly confessed that he had no military talent at all. I once heard the Major make this acknowledgment in the Legislature. He was addressing the house on some military bill, and apologized by saying that he professed no military genius, pride or ambition in that line. He had never aspired even to be a Governor's aide! This was said immediately after His Excellency, for the time

being, had appointed fifteen or twenty members of the House on his staff.

The death of Major Henry was a sad affliction to his friends and family. It was also a great loss to his adopted District and State. He was indeed, as the Chief Justice said in his Bench and Bar, "the child of genius." He had given reputation to the Spartanburg Bar, and position and influence to the District in the Legislature. He was the great advocate of manufactures in Spartanburg, and injured his fortune seriously by it. His loss by the Bivingsville Factory was very large.

At the meeting of the first court at Spartanburg after the death of Major Henry, I was requested to draft suitable resolutions by a meeting of the Bar, and present them to the court. In doing so, and addressing His Honor Judge Withers, I was affected to tears. In alluding to it at Laurens court the next week, Judge Withers said it was all over now, and Henry had passed out of our minds. I replied to him that, so far as I was concerned, it was a great mistake. Major Henry had been almost constantly in my mind ever since, and that I never could cease to remember and regret him; that the early friends of youth were far more endeared to us than those of later life. Henry was indeed a most lovable man, warm-hearted, generous, disinterested, and public spirited. His courage was as true as steel, and his firmness unconquerable. But he was as bitter an enemy as he was confiding in friendship. In his early struggles through poverty and obscurity there was a family influence which attempted to crush him. He said to me once that the bare thought of the possibility of his blood being mingled with that of this family in future ages rendered him unhappy. But the Rev. Mr. Landrum states, in his sketch of Major Henry, that whilst on his death-bed, he sent for him, and requested him to say in the pulpit that he forgave all his enemies, and died a sincere believer in Jesus Christ, his SAVIOUR.



SAM HOUSTON.

I WAS introduced to General Houston at one of President Polk's levees. His colleague at that time in the Senate was General Rusk, an old acquaintance of mine. We were brought up in the same District, Pickens, though I believe he was born in Newberry. His father was still living in Pickens, long after the General became distinguished. He was a stone mason, and very poor. General Houston was a fine looking man, tall, well proportioned, and he prided himself very much on his personal appearance. He affected great suavity in mode, and always had something ridiculous in his dress. When I saw him in Washington, he wore an extremely large brimmed hat, which attracted great notice, and was doubtless worn for that purpose. The winter preceding, he had worn a huge, flashy Mexican blanket. In one of my letters from Washington, published in the newspapers, I designated him as "the great humbug." When I started the Southern Patriot, a number of plates of distinguished men were procured in New York, and one was placed in each number of the paper. Amongst them, there was one of General Sam Houston. He was, at that time, trying to have himself brought forward as a candidate for the Presidency. He wrote me a long letter, and sent me in advance, two or three years subscription to the Patriot. I continued to send him the paper till the Know Nothing movement sprung up. He had hopes of being the Know Nothing candidate for President, and wrote me a letter discontinuing his paper in consequence of its opposition to the Know Nothing movement.

The life of General Houston was, in many respects, a most remarkable one. He rendered gallant services in the Creek Indian war, and was afterwards the pet of

General Jackson. After serving several years in Congress, he was elected Governor of the State of Tennessee. Whilst Governor, he was married the first time, and soon afterwards separated from his wife, resigned his office as Governor, and went to reside with the Cherokee Indians. He went clad as an Indian chief, and took a wife amongst them. Then he went to Texas, and was the successful commander of their forces in their separation from Mexico. He was elected President of the Republic of Texas, and after the annexation to the United States, he was elected a Senator. Whilst President of Texas, he married a young lady in Alabama, by whom he left a family. He was Governor of the State of Texas when the Southern States seceded from the Federal Union, and he did all he could to stay the revolution and keep Texas in the Union. But after his State seceded, he cast his fortune with her, and determined to share her destiny. He did not long survive, however.

General Houston was a great man on the stump, and he spoke well. His style was declamatory, and he generally carried the crowd with him. The secession feeling in Texas was very strong. And General Houston lost control of the State, in consequence of his Union principles. I think, too, that the State rather deposed him, or, at least, treated with contempt his acts as Governor, and called a convention in spite of his edicts. His name ought to be dear to Texas, and his memory respected by her people. It does not occur to me, now, that there is a more remarkable battle on record, than that of San Jacinto, in which Houston destroyed the Mexican army, with a handful of followers; captured their President, and gained the independence of the Republic. The disparity between the forces of the two armies was very great in point of numbers. There was a large number killed on the part of the Mexicans, whilst the Texans lost scarcely any.



WINFIELD SCOTT.

QUON BEING introduced to General Scott, he enquired in what part of South Carolina I resided, and being told Greenville, he replied that he once spent several months there. I thought unpleasant reminiscences were recalled to his mind. Before the war of 1812, General Scott came to Columbia, South Carolina, and made application for admission to the Bar. His application was rejected on the ground that he had not been two years a citizen of the State. He then came to Greenville with Chancellor Thompson, and spent several months with him. During that time, Scott and Colonel Toney were gambling, and when he left Greenville, he gave his note to the Colonel for a considerable sum of money, which, I have heard, was paid after Scott had become a Brigadier-General in the United States army.

General Scott had a most commanding and striking person, towering above all others, well proportioned, and, in full uniform, looked the god of war. He must have been six feet six inches in height. I am six feet two and a half inches, and found it unpleasant looking up to him, whilst standing and conversing. In 1852, I met him again at President Fillmore's levee, and his height was remarkable in contrast with the dense mass of human beings around him. He was head and shoulders above them all.

It is well known that General Scott was a native of Virginia, and during the recent war, took sides against his native State and section. This brought him into great odium with the Southern people. I have no doubt the decision was a most painful one for General Scott to make between the national flag, which he loved so dearly and had borne so gloriously through life, and his old native commonwealth, which he loved and honored as

an honored son. It is well known that he was greatly troubled in making up his decision, and for a long time it was doubtful which side he would take. But he was under the influence of national counsellors and advisers, and his judgment did not approve the action of Virginia and the other Southern States.

General Scott was a man of great personal vanity and ambition. He once said to General Waddy Thompson, whilst they were standing in the Senate of the United States, that he would never die satisfied till he had made a speech in that chamber as United States Senator. Thompson jestingly replied: "You might never be satisfied afterwards, General." He was a man of great precision and exactness in conversation.





JAMES H. IRBY.

COLONEL IRBY was a native of Laurens District, and the descendant of a gallant Whig of the American Revolution. His whole family fought and suffered in the cause of our independence, and the Colonel was as true a patriot as any of his revolutionary ancestors. For many years he served his native district in both branches of the State Legislature with great ability and distinction. He was once elected Lieutenant Governor of the State, and afterwards came within one vote of being elected Governor by the Legislature. He was a graduate of the South Carolina College, read law, and became one of the most successful lawyers in the upper part of the State. He died, leaving an estate worth four hundred thousand dollars! Without being a learned lawyer, he was an able and successful practitioner. By nature he was a great man, and endowed with uncommon practical good sense. He was a fine looking man, tall, well proportioned, and had a noble head, phrenologically well developed. There was no lawyer at the Bar who saw more quickly the strong points of his case, who comprehended them better, or who was more able to present them to the court and jury, advantageously for his client. He always argued his cases with great force and ability, and generally cited authority to sustain his legal positions. But, perhaps, no lawyer on the circuit read less than Colonel Irby, either of law, or general literature. All of his greatness, he owed to nature. Had he been a hard student and cultivated the great powers of his intellect, he would have been a great man indeed. There was no one who understood and possessed a better or truer knowledge of human nature. He once said to me that "he un-

derstood mankind as well as if he had made them!" Rarely, if ever, was he deceived or imposed upon, in the business transactions of the world. Though a bold, brave, frank and impulsive man, he was nevertheless, in an eminent degree, cautious and politic in all his actions.

I was on terms of great intimacy with Colonel Irby, from our first acquaintance up to his death, which was more than thirty years. I had for him during all that time a very high regard, and a most sincere friendship. I attended a meeting of the Bar at Laurens on the occasion of his death, and expressed fully to the court my high appreciation of the man. On the circuit, and in Columbia, we spent a good deal of our time together, and always most pleasantly. I have treasured up a great many amusing incidents of the Colonel, and in detailing a few of them, I have no purpose of detracting from the high and noble traits of his head and heart. It is said that in describing a man, very often an anecdote will give you a better insight of his character and mind, than an attempted elaborate portraiture.

Shortly after my admission to the Bar, I was attending Laurens court, and took the liberty of going into the Colonel's law office to look up some authorities. I was completely amazed, when I looked at his library, and saw ten or fifteen volumes of old reports and elementary works, instead of that large and extensive collection which I expected to see. I do not think I ever saw as few law books in any other lawyer's office before or since, no matter how young or poor he was. Colonel Irby was at that time a gentleman of large fortune, and a full practice, with troops of clients. But the Colonel had very little use for books, as he read precious little of anything. In the trial of a case of slander at Laurens, Colonel Irby was for the plaintiff. Wistar Simpson handed the Colonel a paper on which was written a quotation from Shakespeare, prefaced with the words: "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, he who steals my purse, steals trash.

but, he who filches from me my good name, robs me of that which not enriches him and makes me poor indeed." Simpson told him it was a quotation from the Bible. Irby asked the Clerk for the Bible, on which he had been swearing witnesses, and holding it up, said: "Gentlemen of the jury, I have something in this good book, which bears on this case," and read the paper which had been handed to him. This produced a hearty laugh, and a member of the Bar said to him: "That's from Shakespeare and not the Bible." "What the devil then are the words 'verily, verily, I say unto thee,' doing in it." said the Colonel! There was a Baptist preacher foreman of the jury, which was trying the case. When Judge O'Neill, who was also a member of the Baptist Church, met Irby in Columbia in the Court of Appeals, he said to him: "I understand, Irby, you have been quoting scripture in a slander case at Laurens." "Yes," said Irby "and there was a Baptist clergyman, foreman of the jury, who searched the Bible through, after he went home, trying to find the quotation."

Colonel Irby and myself were going to Columbia to attend the sitting of the Legislature, and expected to be absent four or five weeks. I said to him after we had started: "Irby, where is your trunk?" He took up a very small carpet bag out of the foot of his buggy and said: "This contains all the wardrobe I ever travel with—a clean shirt and a pocket handkerchief." "But" said I, "have you no stockings?" "No," was his reply, "it is cheaper to buy them than to have them washed." We once went to Charleston together, whilst he was President of the Laurens Railroad Company. He carried with him fifteen or sixteen thousand dollars. We stopped at the Mills House, and in the morning I enquired at the office if the Colonel had come out of his room? Nickerson, the hotel keeper, said: "Have you not heard what happened last night? Your friend, Colonel Irby, on going to bed blew out the gas, and neglected to turn

the screw. And he came very near suffocating himself, and blowing up the hotel. I discovered the gas in the passage this morning and ascertained it came from the Colonel's room. I knocked at the door, but he made no reply. I called my carpenter and told him to tear down the door expecting to find the Colonel dead." But the carpenter aroused him from his stupefied slumber. It was still dark, and Irby thought he was a robber after his money. I immediately went to the Colonel's room, and found him in a sad condition. He had, however, woke up in the night, and raised one of the windows. This saved his life, and perhaps the hotel with all its boarders.

Colonel Irby and General Thompson had been partners in the practice of law, and were about the same age. When Irby was about to marry Thompson's niece, the General said to him he might have her on two conditions—one was that he must call him "uncle" and the next was that he should lend him money whenever he wanted it.

Colonel Irby and Judge Orr were elected members of the Southern Convention as co-operationists, opposed to separate State action, or secession. It was in this canvass that Judge Orr's "little bull story" was told with so much effect as illustrating the folly of South Carolina attempting, by herself, to break up the Union and whip the whole United States. There was a train of cars passing through an old field, where a herd of cattle were grazing. There was a little bull amongst them, which saw the engine coming, puffing and blowing, and thinking it was some huge beast hunting for a fight, the little bull curled his tail up and pitched into the engine! The bull was killed and the cars thrown off the track. One of the passengers, a prudent, serious, sober-sided old fellow, got out of the cars to see the wreck, and, after going around the carcass of the bull, said: "*I admire your pluck, but damn your judgment!*"

During this canvass, the Colonel and Judge Orr were most admirably caricatured by a secessionist. The Judge was drawn mounted on his "little bull," and the Colonel on a huge horse, both going at full speed. Charles J. Elford and myself, who were editing the Southern Patriot, a Union paper, were seen in the picture, looking earnestly at the riders, exclaiming: "We shall catch them in the Union ranks yet before the race is over!" Colonel Irby stops his steed and says to the Judge: "By-God, Orr, we have got lost." The Judge replied: "No danger. This is the way. Come on." The caricature was shown to Judge Orr, who examined it closely, and observed: "I will give fifty dollars to ascertain who drew it!" The linner, who was standing present, good humoredly replied: "Show your money, Colonel, and I will tell you."

Colonel Irby was a very large and most successful planter, as well as a lawyer. He owned a large number of slaves, and told me that there was not one of them as old as himself.

Colonel Irby was good natured, and took kindly all jokes told on him. He was also fond of playing tricks on others. An old, gray headed man once brought him a *sum. pro.* to defend. He said he had no defence, but wished the case put off, so that judgment would not go against him the first court. The case was issued by a lawyer living in another District, who knew nothing of the defendant, and did not expect any defence to the case. When the case was called on the docket, Colonel Irby gave notice that he appeared for the defendant, and pleaded *infancy*. This took the plaintiff's attorney by surprise, and he asked the court to continue the case, so that he might consult with his client. The next court, when the plaintiff's attorney enquired of the Colonel about the infant, he was shown an old man about seventy, with a head as white as cotton!

I saw the Colonel one day in court catch a witness

very handsomely, who was called in to prove the signature of some writing. He said he had seen the party write often, and the signature was genuine. Whilst the examination of the witness was going on, Colonel Irby wrote the name of the party whose signature was in dispute five times on separate pieces of paper. These he folded up very carefully, so that nothing could be seen but the signature, and presented them to the witness, who said they were all genuine and in the handwriting of the party! The testimony of the witness was, of course, worthless, after these mistakes. It very often happens that a witness will prove the signature of a party when he is utterly unable to recognize and identify any other writing of the party to which his name was not attached.

Colonel Irby was a remarkably fine looking gentleman, tall and well proportioned, with as fine a head as I ever saw. If there be any truth in phrenology, he was by nature a great man, and possessed a great mind. Although a graduate of the South Carolina College, and a most successful lawyer, he had never cultivated his talents as he should have done. His organ of language and his appreciation of the graces, were not high. He had been, all his life, the associate of gentlemen, but was frequently at fault in pronouncing the King's English, and in the grammatical construction of his sentences.

The following incident is characteristic of the conciliation and firmness of the man: Colonel Irby was sitting with some lawyers after the adjournment of court playing a game of whist. The Colonel made an offensive remark about the testimony of one of the surveyors in a land case which he had before the court that day. One of the lawyers said to him that the surveyor alluded to was his uncle. Colonel Irby immediately apologized and said that he did not know of the relationship, or he would not have made the remark. This emboldened the lawyer to make further comment on the remark, to

which the Colonel replied again apologetically. But the more he apologized, the more resentful became the lawyer. At length Colonel Irby became excited, and said: "I have done all I could to appease you, and inasmuch as you will not receive my apologies, I now say your uncle is a damned old rascal, and I believe he swore a lie in the case—help yourself." This seemed at once to reconcile the indignant kinsman.





JOB JOHNSTON.

CHANCELLOR JOHNSTON was one of our ablest and most learned Judges. He possessed a very clear and logical mind, which was highly cultivated, and his judicial opinions in the Court of Appeals, as well as his decrees as a Chancellor, were always lucid and able. In social intercourse, he was one of the most agreeable and pleasant gentlemen I ever met. He was affable, natural and simple, and always sociable, witty and humorous. There was no assumption of dignity, or austerity of manner about him, in his intercourse with his friends and associates. But on the Bench, he was often irritable and captious. Throughout the investigation of a case, he seemed always to be hunting up difficulties and taking exceptions. It was very seldom an order or paper was drawn to suit him by the counsel employed in a case. He suggested some alteration or amendment. Trivial mistakes, which other Judges would pass over, were invariably corrected by him, or attention called to them. This made him, often, unpleasant on the Bench, and so different from what he was in private intercourse. In drawing up short petitions and orders, which other Chancellors would hear without being copied, he invariably required a copy, and would postpone the case till a copy was made. He was fond of lecturing a lawyer on his mode of doing business, and making suggestions of improvement. On one occasion, where I had filed several petitions, instead of bills, he said to me it was all wrong, and that I was ruining my practice by it, as the fees and costs were much higher in bills than petitions. I replied, that it was easier to draw a petition than a bill, and as to my fees, I would take care that they were not diminished.

Chancellor Johnston went to Charleston to hold court, shortly after his election to the Bench, and was not aware of the strictness with which Good Friday was observed in that old Episcopal city. He himself was a great and shining light in the Presbyterian Church. On Thursday evening, Mr. Petigru suggested that, as the next day was Good Friday, there would be no court. The Chancellor replied very tartly that he came to Charleston to dispatch the business of the term, and not to participate in their holidays. Mr. Petigru said it had never been customary to hold court in the city on Good Friday. The Chancellor observed he was not bound by the customs of the city in holding court, and should require the officers of the court to be present the next day. Thereupon, Mr. Petigru said, it was not a local custom, confined to the city of Charleston, and that he had never heard of but one Judge (Pontius Pilate) holding court on Good Friday. This nettled the Chancellor, and his order was peremptory, but the next day no one was in attendance on the court, and through necessity the business was adjourned over.

Chancellor Johnston was a native of South Carolina, and I think born in Chester District. He graduated in the South Carolina College, and read medicine before he commenced his law studies. I have heard that he did not relish any allusion to his medical studies, and once knocked a fellow down for calling him "Doctor." He and Chief Justice O'Neall were some years partners in the practice of law, and I have understood that they did not speak to each other for some time during their partnership. I know that they were not very cordial in after life. It was a strong firm, and both lived at Newberry court house. They were both elected to the Bench within a few years of each other, and were afterwards on the Appeal Bench together. I do not think Chancellor Johnston was ever a member of the Legislature. He was elected to the State Convention in 1831,

and was a prominent member of the Nullification party. But he sorely regretted the revolutionary movement in 1860.

I have stated the repugnance the Chancellor had to being called "Doctor." He had equal repugnance to his Christian name "Job," and I saw him erase it once from the Commissioner in Equity's journal of the proceedings in court. The officer in reading the minutes of the preceding day's business, stated that Chancellor Job Johnston was presiding. There were at that time on the Chancery Bench David Johnson and Job Johnston. The Commissioner thought it proper to distinguish the Chancellors by their Christian names. This was unnecessary, as their names were spelt differently, the one being Johnston and the other Johnson. Immediately after the minutes were read, Chancellor Johnston called for the book and ran his pen through the word *Job*.

In riding the circuit Chancellor Johnston would always make the lawyers traveling in company with him drive ahead. He was afraid that some of their horses might run away, and in such a case he thought it safer to be behind. It was some time after railroads were constructed before he would consent to ride over them. He had an apprehension of danger and thought it an unsafe way of traveling. No one ever had a greater horror of bed bugs than the Chancellor. If he saw one or imagined he felt one in his bed there was no more sleep for him that night, unless he took his blanket and slept on the floor. He always sat up till a late hour in the night, very often till one or two o'clock, and then slept late in the morning. At one of the hotels on his Circuit he discovered his mortal enemy in great force when he retired to bed, and promptly determined to withdraw from the would-be field of battle that night. He went into the dining room adjoining his bed chamber, and made his pallet under one end of a long dining table, which extended across the room. His faithful body

servant always had orders not to let him be disturbed in the morning until he woke up. Faithful to his trust he took his seat near his master, and would not let the waiters disturb him whilst they were setting the table for breakfast. Breakfast came in and the boarders seated themselves at one end of the table, whilst the Chancellor slept soundly under the other end, undisturbed.

There was an old hotel at Winnsboro, which had been Lord Cornwallis' headquarters for some time during the Revolutionary war. It became terribly infested with the Chancellor's most horrible nuisance. The next morning, after an effort to sleep in one of the rooms of this hotel, the Chancellor said to mine host: "Do you know, sir, that you have a great fortune in this house?" The hotel keeper expressed his ignorance of the fact, and begged the Chancellor to explain. He said: "You know that your house was headquarters for Lord Cornwallis and his officers during the Revolutionary war?" Mine host replied "that he had heard so." "You are also aware that Congress has passed an act giving a pension to all who fought in that war and especially to all those who drew English blood?" "Yes, he had understood such a law had been passed by Congress." "Well," said the Chancellor, "you have thousands and thousands in this house, who were here, I am satisfied, from last night's experience, during its occupancy by Lord Cornwallis, every one of whom doubtless drew English blood in their nightly battles with the General and his staff, and they are all entitled to a pension under the act of Congress."

Chancellor Johnston told me that his first wife, a Miss Randal, was his own cousin, and for many years she had an apprehension that some of his children might be born deaf, blind or deformed, and that his first enquiry was, at the birth of every child, "is it all right?" This apprehension was not groundless, for the statistics of

the deaf, dumb and blind, show that the greater portion of the unfortunates are the children of parents who were related in blood. Insanity, too, has been the frequent consequence of such marriages, in their offspring. But all of the Chancellor's children were perfect in this respect.

The Judges of South Carolina have verified the saying that some one applied to lawyers: "They live well, work hard and die poor." But Chancellor Johnston had accumulated a very handsome estate before his death. Whether it was wrecked in the late civil war, I am not able to say.

The Chancellor was an uncommonly fine looking gentleman, tall, well proportioned, with a most commanding presence, and a bright, genial face, beaming with life, intelligence and sociability. Intellectually, South Carolina has produced few superior men. But never having engaged in political life, his talents and ability were little known abroad.





“JOHNSTON’S WIFE OF LOUISIANA.”

THE editors of the Charleston News and Courier, have recently reproduced this exquisitely beautiful song, written by the Hon. Warren R. Davis, whilst he was in Congress, nearly half a century since. It is a parody on “Roy’s Wife of Aldavalla,” and was greatly admired when first published. I have not seen this “famous old song” for forty years past—I return my thanks to the editor of the News and Courier for its reproduction.

Whilst editing the Greenville Mountaineer, in 1835, I collected and published shortly after the death of Mr. Davis, a great deal of his poetry. It was furnished me by Winchester Foster, Sheriff of Pendleton District, who was a very intimate friend of the poet. Whilst lying on his sick bed, he dictated to Mr. Foster, or repeated most of his fugitive pieces, who wrote them down, and gave me the manuscript. Not long since I made search amongst my old file of newspapers for this poetry, but could not find it.

Warren R. Davis was a distinguished lawyer, a member of Congress and an accomplished gentleman of learning and talents. He had a great deal of poetry in his composition, and some of his older songs and fugitive pieces were very beautiful and greatly admired. He was a boon companion, and loved by all his friends and acquaintances. He was also a very handsome gentleman, and quite a beau among the ladies in Washington. He there met Mrs. Johnston, the wife of the Hon. Josiah S. Johnston, who was then a Senator in Congress from the State of Louisiana, and wrote the following lines on her which the editors of the News and Courier have appropriately termed “a famous old song.”

A Famous Old Song.

Johnston's wife of Louisiana!
 Johnston's wife of Louisiana!
 The fairest flower that ever bloomed
 In southern sun or gay Savannah.
 The Inca's blood flows in her veins,
 The Inca's soul her bright eyes lighten.
 Child of the Sun, like him she reigns
 To cheer our hopes, and sorrows brighten,
 Johnston's wife of Louisiana!
 Johnston's wife of Louisiana!
 The fairest flower that ever bloomed,
 In Southern sun or gay Savannah.

Johnston's wife of Louisiana!
 Johnston's wife of Louisiana!
 She hath a way to win all hearts
 And bow them to the shrine of Anna.
 Her mind is radiant with the lore
 Of ancient and of modern story.
 And native wit of richer store
 Bedecks her with its rainbow glory.
 Johnston's wife of Louisiana!
 Johnston's wife of Louisiana!
 She hath a way to charm all hearts,
 And bow them to the shrine of Anna!

Johnston's wife of Louisiana!
 Johnston's wife of Louisiana!
 The hapless bard who sings her praise
 Now worships at the shrine of Anna!
 'Twas such a vision, bright but brief,
 In early youth his true heart rended
 Then left it, like a fallen leaf,
 On life's most rugged thorn suspended.
 Johnston's wife of Louisiana!
 Johnston's wife of Louisiana!
 The hapless bard who sings her praise
 Wept tears of blood for such an Anna.

I had the pleasure of meeting Mrs. Johnston, at ex-President Van Buren's, in 1846. She was then Mrs. Gilpin, the wife of Mr. Van Buren's Secretary of the Treasury, and resided in Philadelphia. Her first husband was blown up on board of a steamboat, shortly after the publication of Davis' parody. When I saw her, she must have been thirty-five or forty years old, and her beauty was on the wane. But her features were

classic, and the expression of her countenance was sweet and “charming.” Her person was slender and delicate, about the ordinary height, and graceful. Her complexion was pale and not very fair. Her eyes were ordinarily bright and nothing more. In her manners, I thought she was sedate, and rather grave. Davis’ song of “Johnston’s Wife of Louisiana,” was in my mind the whole time I was in her company, and I was earnestly observing her features and manners. I could not discover any of the “Inca’s blood” in her appearance, or any traces of her royal descent in her countenance. I presume all this had been worn out generations since. Nor have I ever understood on what grounds she claims her descent from the children of the Peruvian Sun or the royal Incas of that nation. It may have existed only in the poet’s imagination. But the loveliest and most fascinating of the female sex, after they reach the mature age of thirty-five or forty, are not true representatives of what they were at eighteen or twenty. I have frequently thought and said it was a great shame that women could not retain their youth and beauty as long as they lived.

The poet, after describing Johnston’s wife of Louisiana, as possessing “a way to charm all hearts, and bow them to her shrine,” says :

“’Twas such a vision, bright but brief
 In early youth his true heart rended.” And
 “The hapless bard who sings her praise,
 Wept tears of blood for such as Anna.”

These lines are beautiful enough to have been founded in truth, and they express feeling enough to warrant this conclusion.

The tradition is that the Hon. Warren R. Davis was deeply enamored, “in early youth,” with one of South Carolina’s most beautiful and fascinating belles, who afterwards became the wife of his intimate friend, Governor McDuffie. She was the lady at whose shrine “the hapless bard wept tears of blood.” I remember hearing

the father of this lady invite Mr. Davis to spend the evening with him, which he promptly declined. The father then urged his invitation, and said, "my family will *all* be happy to see you." But "the true heart rended, and left like a fallen leaf, on life's most rugged thorn suspended," was firm in its refusal to meet again its lady love, when her hand was pledged to another! True it is, that "the heart that once fondly loves, can never forget." I have always admired the noble reply of "old Sarah" Duchess, of Marlborough, when her hand was asked in marriage by one of England's highest Peers. She said: "Marlborough's widow can never be the wife of another man."

Cannot the editors of The News and Courier furnish its readers with some more of Davis' poetry? The Hon. Lyman C. Draper, of Madison, Wisconsin, who is writing the life of General Sumter, has written to me to try and procure for him a copy of an ode by Davis, on the crossing of the Wateree, by Sumter's Brigade. If any one has a complete file of the Greenville Mountaineer in 1835, he will find in it the collection of Davis' poetry which I made. But that collection is far from being complete. I know it did not contain a very pretty piece on "Miss Anna Gourdin," and which I believe never was in print. Mr. Davis wrote it one night after attending a ball in Greenville, and gave it to a young man, to father its authorship, who sometimes wrote doggerel poetry. But the trick was soon discovered, and Miss Gourdin copied the poetry in her album. She afterwards married the Rev. Mr. Young, of Charleston, and I believe, is still living.

The Hon. Warren R. Davis died in Washington city, in 1835, a bachelor! The "true heart rended," never healed or united with another. The "bright vision" of early youth, which had "a way to win all hearts" and "bow them to her shrine," exhausted the treasure of his love.



JAMES KENT.

CHANCELLOR KENT is known to the whole civilized world as a distinguished jurist and commentator on English and American law. His decisions are quoted and his commentaries read wherever the common law is known and practiced. Few men in America or England have left behind them a more enviable reputation as a Judge, Chancellor and judicial writer. He presided in the law court of New York sixteen years, and ten years as Chief Justice. He was then elected Chancellor of that great State, and continued to serve in that high office till he arrived at the age of sixty, when he had to retire from the Bench, under the provision of the State Constitution, limiting the judicial term to that age. He then became Professor of Law in Columbia College, New York, and delivered a series of lectures to numerous classes for several years. These lectures were afterwards published in his "Commentaries on American Law." No law work ever published in the United States had such a run as these commentaries—they passed through ten editions before the death of their author. They became to the American lawyer what Blackstone's Commentaries had been to the English lawyer. Chancellor Kent was born in the State of New York, Putnam County, July 31, 1763. His father was a lawyer, and for a number of years Surrogate or Probate Judge of Rensselaer County. The Chancellor graduated at Yale College, in his eighteenth year, and was admitted to the Bar in 1785, being then twenty-two years old. It is said that he "soon became remarkable among his contemporaries for his legal learning and literary attainments." He was elected a member of the Legislature in 1790 and 1792, and became an active

and leading Federalist. The next year he was a candidate for Congress, in Dutchess County, and defeated. Thereupon, he moved to the City of New York, and in 1796 he was again elected a member of the State Legislature from that city. In early life he was the favorite of such men as Chief Justice Jay and Alexander Hamilton. He died in the eighty-fifth year of his age, and remained in full possession of his health and mental powers up to the period of his death. In 1821 he was a member of the State Convention of New York, and took an active part in the debates on their new Constitution.

In 1836 there was considerable discussion in South Carolina on the subject of our judiciary. I was then a member of the Legislature, and thought it would be a great matter to have the opinion of so distinguished and experienced a Judge as Chancellor Kent on the question of amalgamating the Courts of Equity and Law; and also as to the propriety of a separate Court of Appeals. I was myself in favor of blending the jurisdiction of Law and Equity in one Court, but keeping the practice and proceedings in Law and Equity separate and distinct, though administered by the same Judge. I was also in favor of a separate Court of Appeals, to hear all appeals in Law and Equity, instead of the Circuit Judges meeting to hear appeals at law, and the Chancellors meeting to dispose of appeal in Equity. I therefore wrote to Chancellor Kent, asking him to give me his views on these important questions. In reply to my letter, he kindly wrote me as follows, but with the injunction that I was not to publish his letter at that time; but I can see no impropriety now in giving publicity to the views which he then expressed. They will be read with interest by those who have given any consideration to the establishment of our judiciary system. Mr. Petigru was a member of the Legislature at that time, and bitterly opposed to uniting the two jurisdictions in one court. He was emphatically a conserva-

tive in all things, and had the highest regard for the English system of jurisprudence. I well remember the dissatisfaction he expressed as Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, when my Bill to blend the Courts of Equity and Law came up for consideration before his Committee. He said: "Have we at last come to the humiliation of considering the question of 'amalgamation?'" What would this proud old conservative lawyer say now, if he were alive, to the radical changes which have been made in our laws, our practice and our courts, under the present *regime* in South Carolina?

NEW YORK, Aug. 4, 1836

Dear Sir—I have the pleasure of acknowledging your obliging letter of the 20th ult., and I should have done it sooner, had not my absence from the city for some weeks detained the letter from me until a day or two ago.

I have attended to the questions you state, but I have a very great reluctance to give my opinions, unless confidentially and privately, on great political and constitutional points, and measures which are to undergo public discussion. If such questions came before me in any situation and under any character in which it became a duty to speak, no person would do it with more promptitude and frankness; but I do not like to be intrusive, or appear to set any great value on my own speculations. The two questions you state are very grave and debatable questions. The first question is, whether the Courts of Law and Equity ought, in sound wisdom and true policy, to be blended in the same tribunal, though under the restriction of keeping the suits and proceedings in Law and Equity distinct, as though they were the records of two distinct jurisdictions; or whether they ought to be totally distinct tribunals, as on the English model.

Now, I do not think it would become me to be dog-

matic on this question. Statesmen are much divided in opinion concerning it, and our opinions are very much the creatures of education and practice.

I was educated in a State which followed closely the English model until 1823, and I have tried practically both systems, when kept perfectly separate, being ten years Chancellor without any chancery power in the Supreme Court any more than in the O. B., and being ten years Chancellor without any more connection with or influenced by Courts of Law than the English Chancellor. It was to be expected that I was for that system, and would be adverse to the scheme introduced by the New York Convention, in 1821, of blending the system in a partial degree. My speeches in that convention were against it, and they are to be seen in the debates of New York Convention, published in 1821. That convention left the Chancellor as he now exists with much abridgment of his sole and vast Equity powers, and with a deposit of part of it concurrently in circuit courts, held by common law judges. This mixed jurisdiction prevails to this day; but, whatever be the cause, the administration of justice in this State in Equity is extremely dilatory, and not popular with the profession. Nor is the administration of justice at law so efficient and influential and popular as it was formerly under the *nisi-prius* system, when the Judges of the Supreme Court rode the circuits. There is so great a diversity in the organization of the courts of Law and Equity in the several States, that we cannot resort for authority to the practice in one State, for in the very next State, perhaps, we meet with a contrary authority. There are but very few States in which Equity jurisdiction resides so absolutely in one tribunal as in England, to a great degree; and as it did in New York most entirely and absolutely, the whole time I was Chancellor.

It is certain, that I am for the old system, both as to chancery and as to the *nisi-prius* system at law; and it

is equally certain that the current of the times has set decidedly the other way, and if we were to have another convention in this State, I believe they would abolish the court of chancery as a separate tribunal. The times are revolutionary—alarmingly so. All old principles of law and liberty, and all the notions of the ancient sages in this country and elsewhere are discarded and despised, and ultraism is the spirit of the day in everything. I endeavor to stand *super antiquas vias*, and adhere to the notions of government and constitutional policy, and jurisprudence that swayed the wise men of this country from 1787 to the beginning of the present century. But I stand in comparative solitude, and almost all my contemporaries who entertained the same opinions that I did, and imbibed them from the same fountains, are swept away.

I perceive that I have anticipated your second question also; and now, as to what I would do if I were in your place, I should be influenced by circumstances, and strive for the best practical system. The mixed tribunal of Law and Equity prevails in Scotland, in the English Court of Exchequer, and in the Courts of most of the States; and I should not be tenacious of my own views, if I found that they were not palatable and would not be adopted. Just so with the *nisi-prius* system. I have no doubt that Judges of the Supreme Court riding circuits, and acting singly, gives vigor and dispatch to business, and adds weight to the Court and saves great trouble and delay when they are at the Bar to explain on motions for new trials, and on points reserved. It certainly worked admirably in New York, not only under the Colony administration, but since the Revolution, down to 1823, and Judges of the Supreme Court had much greater influence and respect than the local Circuit Judges now have. However, I am not sure that we could go back to that system, if we had a convention to review our system. The other is more popular

because more diffusive, weak and accessive. It is probably as good as the doctrines and impulses of the times will tolerate, and I should be willing to acquiesce in any plan that will keep us from more radical changes.

I write confidentially for the reason already suggested, and I beg leave to add the assurances of my respect and esteem.

JAMES KENT.

B. F. PERRY.





FRANCIS LIEBER.

I BECAME acquainted with Doctor Francis Lieber whilst I was a member of the South Carolina Legislature, and the Doctor was professor of History and Political Economy in the South Carolina College. I had introduced a bill in the Legislature to establish a penitentiary system in South Carolina, which attracted Doctor Lieber's attention and lead to our acquaintance. He was a great advocate of moral reform, and thought ignorance and want of moral culture made most of the criminals in the world. He believed that a bad man might become a good man, and he thought hanging about as poor a use as any government could make of its citizens. The Doctor invited me to dine with him, and talk over the subject. I got him to write a pamphlet in recommendation of the system. First, I wrote to Governor Noble to write the Doctor, and request his views for publication on the propriety of establishing a penitentiary system.

The political excitement which sprung up immediately afterwards, drew us closer together. He was an uncompromising Union man. When I established the only Union paper in South Carolina, in 1851, the Doctor wrote a great many most able and valuable articles for it. He is a man of great learning, and has a world-wide reputation. He can work, read and write all day, and all night, too, if necessary. He is a man of strong and vigorous constitution. He has travelled a great deal and written a great deal. His travels have been over the greater portion of the globe, and his writings have embraced almost every branch of human learning. The trustees of the College refused to elect him President, and he resigned his professorship, and moved to New York. This was a great mistake on the part of the

rustees, giving up such a man as Dr. Lieber. I did all I could to secure his election, and knew that it would give reputation to the College. A majority of the trustees thought, however, that he was deficient in administrative talent. Some of them, too, were prejudiced against him on account of his political principles.

On the removal of Dr. Lieber to New York, he was elected to a professorship in Union College. When I was in New York, in 1859, I called to see the old gentleman, and found him happy and contented. He was in a better latitude for his politics. We spent the evening in talking over old times. He had just received an autograph letter from Humboldt, which he framed and hung up in his library. He had a Latin motto in large letters over his door, which expressed the idea that liberty was dearer to him than his country. There is no doubt that Dr. Lieber's philosophical views and moral feelings were all opposed to slavery, whilst he was in South Carolina. But he was no abolitionist, in the ordinary acceptation of the term. He did not wish to disturb the relation which existed between master and slave. He, no doubt, thought with Mr. Webster, as he expressed himself, at Dr. Gibbe's table, that no change could be made which would benefit the slave. He thought and declared that the Negro was an inferior race to the white man, and never could be elevated to his position.

Dr. Lieber has been oftener and more highly complimented and honored in Europe, than any other American citizen, except it be Professor Agassis, of Boston. The Doctor was born in Prussia, and had to leave there on account of his liberal views and participation in some political movement. He was a soldier in the battle of Waterloo, and wounded in the foot. He has written ten or twelve volumes of the American Encyclopedia, two large volumes of political ethics, two volumes on civil government, recollections of Nieber, &c., &c.

During the recent war, Doctor Lieber was a fierce Radical, and said and did a great many things which greatly displeased his Southern friends. He had one son killed in the Confederate army, and another who lost an arm in the Federal army. I do not know his political sentiments since the war. He may be acting with the Radical party, but I feel assured he cannot approve of the tyranny and usurpations of that party. He is a thorough democrat by nature and education, loves liberty and republican principles, as his whole life illustrates. Nor can I believe that he is in favor of Negro supremacy, in the Southern States, or willing to see the intelligent and virtuous men of his own race disfranchised.

Doctor Lieber is a man of plain and simple manners, and a most pleasant and agreeable companion. He is full of learning and information on all subjects, and was regarded in the South Carolina College as a sort of walking library. When information was desired on any subject, many of his friends would apply to him for it instead of going to their books. He is a stout and heavy man, formed for strength and labor. He is not very graceful in his person, though genteel. Nor is he very spruce in his dress. His great massive mind soars above such considerations.





GEORGE G. MEADE.

WHILST acting as Provisional Governor of South Carolina, I received a letter from General Gilmore, military commander of the State, requesting me to meet General Meade in Columbia. He was the military commander of the Atlantic States, and stationed in the city of Philadelphia. We had a long interview, and it was agreed that the military authorities should no longer take cognizance of cases in which white persons alone were concerned. Where negroes were parties, they were still to retain jurisdiction till the Legislature could repeal the law prohibiting colored persons from giving testimony in the courts, in cases in which they were interested parties. After the repeal of this law, the civil courts were to take jurisdiction of all cases.

I remonstrated strongly against the negro troops being scattered over the State, and stated that they were everywhere committing outrages on society. General Meade said he could withdraw all colored troops from the interior of the State, and place them in forts and garrisons on the sea coast, where they could do no mischief. He expressed an earnest desire to get rid of all negro troops entirely, but said it would have to be done gradually, so as not to offend public sentiment at the North. During the whole of our interview, General Meade expressed himself in regard to the South, in terms highly honorable to him as an officer and a patriot. I was very favorably impressed with him, and thought that he was the soul of honor and chivalry. I did not believe it possible for such a man to play the cruel tyrant and oppressor of his race and country, as he afterwards did whilst in command of the military district of Georgia.

He expressed feelings of sympathy, to me, for the

South, which greatly attached me to him, and I thought him the beau ideal of military honor. He spoke of the battle of Gettysburg, and said the war ought to have ended with the retreat of General Lee into Virginia. That all hope of Southern independence was then gone, and the continuance of the war was a cruel sacrifice of human life. I thought to myself, that if the war had then ended, General Meade, and not General Grant, would have been the great hero of the war. How far this may have influenced his judgment, I am not able to say. But surely the Confederate States did a great deal of hard fighting after the battle of Gettysburg, and were successful on many occasions after that.

General Meade was dressed in full uniform, and I thought him as fine a looking an officer as I had ever seen. I met him afterwards, at the depot in Philadelphia, dressed very shabbily in citizen's clothes, with an old straw hat on, and it was hard for me to realize that he was the same person whom I had met twelve months before in Columbia, dressed as a Major General of the United States. He did not appear to be as tall by several inches, and his courtly air and manner were gone.

The sister of General Meade married Captain Huger, who died gloriously defending the Confederate flag below the city of New Orleans. She died, and left two sons, who were with Mr. Alfred Huger, in Columbia. General Meade went to see them, and insisted on taking them with him to educate and bring up. But Mr. Huger, though in great poverty, could not tolerate the idea of giving up the children of his adopted son, to be carried to the North to be brought up and educated. The General spoke kindly of Mr. Huger's feelings of delicacy and protection on the subject after his return from the visit.

The conduct of General Meade in Georgia has taught me to believe that very few military men are fit for civil government, or can appreciate Republican principles.



WILLIAM D. MARTIN.

I FIRST saw Judge Martin whilst he was Clerk of the Senate in Columbia, but never had any acquaintance with him till after his election to Congress. He was a man of fine personal appearance, good address, and possessed great conversational powers. He was an eminent lawyer and had a very high standing in Congress. It is said that he would have been elected Speaker of the House of Representatives if he had continued in Congress. He was the model of a good circuit Judge, and died whilst holding court in Charleston. He went to bed in perfect health, and the next morning when his body servant went into his room, he found him dead. His death was caused by apoplexy. He died during our greatest political excitement, and his opponents manifested the highest regard for his character, and the deepest regret at his death. I was at that time editing a Union paper, and received from Mr. Petigru an obituary notice of him. He spoke of him with the affection of a brother, and the admiration of a warm personal friend, though they were strongly opposed in politics. They had practiced law together many years in the same place, always employed on opposite sides, and never had a word's difference or an unkind feeling. If one of them was not ready in a case, he had only to say so to the other, and the case was continued without affidavits. How very pleasant, honorable and high-toned gentlemen may make their practice, and how disagreeable it may become between pettifoggers.

In court Judge Martin presided with great dignity and courtesy. He dispatched the business with great promptness, and always with satisfaction to the bar. Whilst on the circuit, he was very communicative to the

lawyers and others. He had a great deal to say about the proceedings of Congress and the members of that body. In speaking of the prominence of Governor Hamilton in the House of Representatives, he said it was mainly owing to his great talent as a partisan leader, and the fortunate period at which he entered Congress—the organization of the Jackson party. He said Tazewell, of Virginia, was the greatest talker in the world, and could talk as well on one side of a question as the other. He would talk, too, on any subject, to any one who would listen to him for hours. Tazewell was very honest, but so fond of disputation that it was accidental which side of a question he took in debate. His talents were of the highest order.

“Webster,” said the Judge, “was scarcely treated with civility by the Southern members. I never see him without being reminded of the leaders of the French Revolution. He has the appearance of a Mirabeau. I thought afterwards, when I saw Mr. Webster, that Judge Martin had done him great injustice. His countenance was grave and heavy, but by no means ferocious or disagreeable. His complexion was dark, his eyes very large and deeply sunk in his head. “Van Buren,” said the Judge, “is always courting his enemies and opponents. If any one was to go to him in the Senate, and tell him that a certain member of Congress did not like him, he would have that member by the arm as soon as the Senate adjourned.”

When Judge Martin was elected to the Bench, there were several ballotings, and very close ones between him and Col. Thomas Williams, of York District. The evening the election was made, Judge Martin arrived in Columbia with his family, on his way to Washington. He was then a member of Congress, and continued to serve out that session after his election to the Bench. The next evening I met him at a large party at Governor Miller's, and some one congratulated him on his

arrival in Columbia just in time to receive his judicial honors. He replied that he had arrived just as he was whipped through the polls. Judge Earle had been elected on the first ballot at the same time. There being two vacancies to be filled.

Judge Martin was once conversing with me about Judge Huger, and said he had heard the Judge say when (he) Martin, was a very young man, that no one should enter public life without a fortune. He said at that time he thought this was a great heresy of an old aristocrat, and it made his young ambitious blood a little indignant in its poverty. But that he had long been satisfied with the wisdom of the remark. If his life was to go over again he would act on it.

In speaking of Mr. Petigru, the Judge said that his voice and manner at the Bar, and before a jury, were worth a great deal in the management of his cases. In the trial of a case at Walterborough, the Judge's title depended on an old deed, which was properly executed, but a good deal mutilated. Petigru took the deed, put his finger through one of its holes, turned it around to the jury, and made such sport of it, that the Judge lost the case. I remember once in the Legislature Mr. Petigru kept the whole House in a burst of laughter for several minutes, by simply reading a resolution to incorporate a jockey club. There was nothing peculiar in the language, and had the resolution been read by any one else, it would not at all have attracted the attention of the House.

Judge Martin died in the prime of life. He was twice married. His last wife was a young lady of Maryland, whom he met in Washington. Whilst holding court at Greenville, he manifested great impatience to get through with the business and return home. And said to me, as an apology for his impatience, that it was natural for an old man who had a young wife.



HORATIO SEYMOUR.

THE selection of Horatio Seymour by the Democratic Convention as their standard-bearer in the great contest between civil and constitutional liberty on the one side, and military despotism on the other, shows great wisdom and good judgment. He is a gentleman of the highest and purest character, a profound statesman, and a consistent, devoted Democrat throughout his whole life. He is in the prime of his manly intellect, with great experience as an administrative officer, having twice filled, with signal ability, the Executive chair of the great empire State of this Republic. His mind is highly cultivated and enriched with all the stores of learning and practical wisdom. In debate, he is able and eloquent. His manners are those of a polished gentleman, warm, cordial and sincere. In personal appearance, he is strikingly prepossessing and engaging. His manly form and expressive features, are stamped with the true nobility of nature. In purpose, he is firm and self-reliant. As a gallant leader and standard-bearer of the great Democratic party of these United States, he cannot be surpassed.

Governor Seymour did not seek the nomination, but it sought him, amongst all the distinguished names which were before the convention. After balloting two or three days without success, his name was presented to the convention by the great State of Ohio, against his wishes and remonstrances, and received the unanimous vote of every State on the first ballot. The high honor thus tendered, he could not refuse, but it was reluctantly accepted, for the harmony and success of the Democratic party.

I feel assured that Governor Seymour was sincere in

declining the nomination in the first instance. He was president of the convention, and when North Carolina voted for him, he said, with great earnestness, that he was not a candidate, and would not accept the nomination. Honor, he said, forbid his doing so. When he was nominated by Ohio, after the withdrawal of Pendleton, General McCook stated that honor no longer forbid his acceptance. He protested again against his nomination. General McCook said that he knew that Horatio Seymour did not seek the Presidency, but that the Presidency sought him.

This expression of General McCook may have been a little premature. It will be seen in November next, whether the Presidency seeks Governor Seymour or General Grant, who expressed the same repugnance to his nomination by the Republicans twelve months ago. If the American people desire to continue in power the present Republican party, there is an end of the Republic.

(NOTE.—The above Sketch was written in 1868, just after Mr. Seymour was nominated for the Presidency by the Democratic party in the New York Convention)





WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS.

DOCTOR SIMMS is well known as a poet and novel writer, and had his destiny been cast in the North, his fame would have been greater than it is. He would not then have had those sectional prejudices to contend with as a man of literature. He is a strong Southern man, and has offended the North by his political opinions and love of the South. In return, the literary men of the North have passed him over in silence, in puffing and eulogizing the literature of the United States. Many of his works of fiction are written with great ability, and would do credit to any living novelist. They have achieved for him, in spite of all prejudice, a high reputation as a graphic delineator of character and events. He has done for South Carolina what Sir Walter Scott did for Scotland and Scottish history. The scenes of most of his tales are laid in South Carolina, and he has incorporated in them a great deal of our colonial and Revolutionary history. He has also been a prolific poet, but I do not think his poetry has been appreciated by the American public as his novels have.

Doctor Simms is a native South Carolinian, and loves his State with all the fervor of a true patriot. He commenced his literary career as the editor of a paper in Charleston, shortly after his admission to the Bar. The pleasures of literature stole him from his profession. He gave it up, and devoted himself to fiction and poetry. He met with great success in his earlier efforts, and in the better days of the Republic. His works are well known, and they are voluminous. Besides romances and poetry, Dr. Simms has written the history of South Carolina, and other valuable books. The degree of LL. D. was conferred on him on account of his learning and reputation as a writer.

The Doctor was originally a Union man, and cooperated with the Union party of South Carolina for many years. He ultimately gave in his adhesion to the secession party, and became a terrible disunionist. During the war which ensued, he lost all of his property, and had his dwelling house and valuable and extensive library destroyed by fire.

Doctor Simms has been a member of the South Carolina Legislature, and in that body took a prominent part as a speaker in all the debates. He spoke well, and always commanded the attention of the House. He has also delivered a course of lectures on history, both at the North and in the South, with considerable success. He is a great talker, and I have known few persons who talked better. He is a most genial and boon companion. In appearance, he is fine looking, and possesses fine manners.

I have been on terms of intimacy with the Doctor for many years. He once wrote me about coming to Greenville to deliver his course of lectures on history. I wrote him, in reply, that we had very little literary taste in Greenville, and I did not think that he would meet with that success which his lectures merited. But that if he would bring with him a show of any kind, a circus, or a number of monkeys, I could insure him success. This disgusted the Doctor so much, that he passed through Greenville without stopping.

In a preface to one of his lectures in New York, just before the war, he said to his audience, that he heard the complaint, everywhere, that they were governed by the South. In reply to this accusation, he told them, that when he witnessed their wealth and prosperity, their commerce and manufactures, their schools and colleges, their railroads, towns and villages, and all their works of art and improvements, they ought to thank their God for such government. If he could have foreseen the government of the South, under the rule of the

Radical North, for the last three years, in poverty and starvation, with desolated fields and burnt houses, Negro supremacy and bayonets, military courts for the trial of citizens and cotton thieves and carpet-baggers, how terribly he might have contrasted the two governings and rulings.





EDWIN M. STANTON.

I WAS not favorably impressed by Mr. Stanton, when I first called to see him as the Secretary of War. Governor Orr and five or six other gentlemen from South Carolina accompanied me in my call on Mr. Stanton. President Johnson, after hearing my account of the condition of South Carolina, was so much pleased with it, that he requested me to call on Mr. Seward, and tell him about the willingness of the people of South Carolina to abolish slavery, reform their constitution and return to the Union. I thought I would have the same talk with the Secretary of War, and that he would be equally interested with the Secretary of State, in hearing good news from the Palmetto State. He listened awhile and seemed indifferent to my narrative. He stopped me to enquire what had become of Frank Pickens. I replied that Governor Pickens was still residing on his plantation, near Edgefield village, in South Carolina; and resumed my statements as to the feelings and purposes of the people of my State. He again enquired about some one else, and I saw that he was not interested in my report to the War office, and soon afterwards, we took our departure. Twelve months afterwards, I called on him again, to settle my accounts as Provisional Governor. He seemed more polite, and treated me with more civility. I was impressed, however, with his talents and ability as a man and an officer. He is a stout, good looking gentleman, very calm and dignified in his manners, and has a fine head and face. He managed the War Department with great ability, and Mr. Seward said his administration was almost Divine! Colonel Philips, of Mobile, told me that he and Stanton were law partners in Washington, just

before the war broke out, and that Stanton was then more of a Southern man in his feelings than he was himself. It is a well known fact, that he said to Senator Brown, as he was leaving the Senate Chamber to return to Mississippi after that State had seceded, that he did not see how he could do otherwise. What changes come over politicians! How few are governed by principle, and what a small number have any regard for consistency! It is always the case, too, that a political renegade is fiercer in his warfare against his former friends and associates than an original and consistent opponent. In other words, new converts, in politics, as well as in religion, have to show more zeal and interest to prove the sincerity of their conversion, which is generally doubted by friends and foes.

This has been remarkably the case with Edwin M. Stanton, who was originally a Democrat, and Attorney-General under President Buchanan. He has persecuted and pursued with a fiery zeal those at the South with whom he deeply sympathized whilst he was a Democrat. The War Department was the reward of his political apostasy. He remained in the Cabinet of President Johnson for the purpose of thwarting his policy and subserving the usurpations and despotism of the Radicals. He did what Senator Sherman, a leader of the Radical party, declared no honorable man would do, remain in the Cabinet of a President, after an intimation that his presence and services, as an adviser of his chief, were not acceptable to him. But the most remarkable fact, that has ever occurred in the history of government, was his advising President Johnson, that the act of Congress depriving the President of the right of dismissing a member of the Cabinet was unconstitutional, and then attempting to hold his Cabinet appointment under this act, after his dismissal from office. It shows two qualities which Mr. Stanton must possess in an eminent degree, boldness and utter destitution of

shame. But instead of removing the President, and disgracing the chief magistrate of a great Republic, he removed himself, and has retired, covered with eternal infamy.





ANDREW W. THOMSON.

THIS gentleman was at the time of his death, the oldest practicing lawyer in the State. He seemed to be, when I last saw him, in a ripe old age, with body and mind well preserved, and as full of life and spirit as he ever was. His death was very sudden. I knew Wallace Thomson, as he was generally called, about forty years, and had a great deal of intercourse with him on the circuit, and in Columbia, attending the Court of Appeals, and the sessions of the Legislature. He was a member of the Legislature, with the exception of a few terms, from 1824, up to the period of his death, a few years since. We have passed many pleasant hours together, and had a great many jokes on each other. He was a genial, sociable and warmed-hearted gentleman. He was kind and generous, and hospitable. I had for him throughout our whole acquaintance, a very sincere regard; and nothing ever occurred, at the bar, or in the Legislature, or in our private intercourse, to mar or interrupt for a moment our kind feelings and regard for each other.

Mr. Thomson was born in Maryland, but brought up and educated in South Carolina. I have heard it said, as a remarkable fact, that all of the Marylanders who have figured in South Carolina, were somewhat eccentric or had singular traits of character. In illustration of the truth of this assertion, reference was made to Judge Gantt, Caleb Clark, for many years Solicitor of the middle circuit, Major Smart, a practicing lawyer at Camden, and A. Wallace Thomson. Mr. Thomson was, in some respects, different from ordinary men, and superior to ordinary men. He was the most pertinacious man in clinging to his opinions that I ever met, and some of his

notions were very crude and *outré*. At the Bar he could see and make more points in his case than any other lawyer. The opposite counsel, and the court too, thought frequently the points made, were no points at all. But if His Honor decided against him, he was sure to take an appeal. I once knew him to appeal in a case when the Judge had decided everything in his favor.

Mr. Thomson was a well read lawyer, and a good lawyer. He had a very extensive practice at Union, York, Chester, Spartanburg and Laurens, in his younger days, but as age crept on him, I noticed that his practice fell off. Clients generally think that a young lawyer has more energy and zeal in conducting a case, than an old one, and they are not far from being correct. Shortly after the termination of the war, I attended Union Court, which is out of my circuit, to attend to an important case there, and was surprised to see that my friend Thomson was nearly out of practice in the Equity Court. Younger lawyers had monopolized the business. There is a time for all things, we are told in the Bible, and after being at the Bar for more than half a century, it is time for a lawyer to quit business, and prepare for his appearance at the other Bar, where there is no appeal for him or his clients.

The first time I ever saw Wallace Thomson was the spring after my admission to the Bar, at Spartanburg. He was defending Delila Land for stealing feathers. The court was sitting in the old jail, and Judge James was presiding. The old Court House had been torn down, and the present building was being erected. I reached Spartanburg late Monday morning, in company with my old friend, Benjamin Saxon. We went immediately to the Court House, or jail, where the court was sitting, and as I stepped in, Mr. Thomson was in the midst of his argument. I was greatly amused at his speech, the character of the case, and the appearance of the court and its surroundings. I had read, in Blackstone, of

“Pieponder Courts,” the lowest courts mentioned by the learned commentator, as existing in England, and I was reminded of this humble court. But business was not dispatched so quickly. Blackstone says, if I remember correctly, the court was so called, because it dispatched business as quick as one could shake dust from his feet. Delila was convicted of petty larceny, by a jury of her peers, and Mr. Thomson took an appeal. The law then was the Court of Appeals would hear no criminal case unless the defendant was present in court at the argument of the appeal. Delila had to go to Columbia, and she walked all the way, about a hundred miles. The next fall, Mr. Thomson moved by the hardship of his client, introduced a bill to dispense with the necessity of the defendant being present in the Appeal Court, except in case of *cafiled* felonies.

During our political excitement, Mr. Thomson was, in the beginning, inclined to be a Union man, but the popular current in favor of Nullification and disunion, set in too strong for him to resist it. I have frequently thought that he was like the converted Jews in Spain, mentioned by Borrow, in his interesting book on Spain. He said the inquisition had converted them outwardly, but at heart they were still Jews, and secretly kept up their ancient mode of worship. Mr. Thomson sailed under the Nullification flag, but he long entertained a tender feeling for the Stars and Stripes. In 1851 and 1852, when the whole State was going, as Judge Evans said, for Secession by default, we started the Southern Patriot at Greenville, as a Union paper. Mr. Thomson enquired of me when we met at Spartanburg court that spring, if I had a copy of the Patriot with me? He took it and read it through, and eagerly sought for the subsequent numbers. Judge Dawkins was a subscriber, and in this way Thomson had access to the paper without incurring the odium of being a subscriber and patron of such heresies. That summer I met my friend

Thomson at a regimental muster in Greenville, and he proposed to introduce me to Judge Farmer, and said "he was one of our sort." I replied that I should be very glad to see Farmer, for he was an old acquaintance of mine. That fall, Governor Manning and Thomson were in company with a number of voters in Columbia; who were cursing the Southern Patriot in very strong terms, and some one of the company appealed to Thomson for his opinion, as to the character of the paper. The Governor saw that he was in a tight place, and he excused himself by saying that he did not take the paper, and knew very little about it. When Governor Manning told me this, I repeated what Thomson had said at the regimental muster, and his anxiety at all times to see the Patriot. This was too good a joke for me to keep, and I told it frequently in Thomson's presence.

As a member of the Legislature, Mr. Thomson took a very active part in all the discussions of the house. He was good in making suggestions, and capital in taking exceptions. All his associates in the Legislature—and they were very many during the forty years he served there—had great respect for him. He had his hobbies, and odd notions at which we all laughed heartily. He was often fractious, too, but we all took it in good part, knowing as we did his really good qualities. He manifested the same deportment at the Bar, and on one occasion, he and Colonel Herndon got into a regular fist-cuff in open court. A terrible tumult ensued, and the court was instantly converted into a great mob. Judge Gantt was presiding. He called in the Sheriff to keep order. But there was so much excitement no one heeded the Judge. All were taking sides for Thomson or Herndon, and shouting for one or the other. The Judge picked up a constable's staff, and seemed to be standing on the defensive. This excited the sympathies of a huge bully who was in court, and whilst others were espousing one side or the other of the combatants, he

cried out at the top of his voice that he took sides with the Judge. When order was restored, the court fined both of the gentlemen five hundred dollars each, and scratched their names from the roll of Attorneys. But the case went up to the Court of Appeals, and was adjusted in some way. Thomson and Herndon became good friends afterwards, and I know that when the Colonel died, Thomson felt his death very much.

To the credit of Mr. Thomson, it may be said, that during all the time he was a member of the Legislature, he never was a candidate for office or sought to be a candidate for any office within the gift of the Legislature. He was satisfied with being "the member from Union," whilst his associates were scrambling for honors and office. Mr. Thomson was in possession of a large property before the war, made by his honest industry, and devotion to his profession.





DAVID LEWIS WARDLAW.

JUDGE WARDLAW, an eminent lawyer, legislator and jurist, a high-toned and honorable gentleman, greatly esteemed by all who knew him for the qualities of his head and heart, departed this life a short time since, full of years and full of honors. The distinguished men of South Carolina, they who gave character to the State and made her proudly eminent amongst her peers, in a past and better age, are dropping off one by one, as if their pure spirits could bear no longer the present demoralization and degradation of her people. Long will it be under the present corrupt *regime* and dishonored public sentiment, before we can hope to see their like again in high and honored positions. Sad indeed is the contrast between the times, in which Judge Wardlaw was crowned with the honors of the State, for his purity of character, learning, talents and patriotic service, and the present age in which all these high and noble qualities are barriers to distinction in public life.

My acquaintance with Judge Wardlaw commenced in 1824. He was then a young lawyer with a high reputation at the Bar. He came to Greenville to argue an important case in which Judge Earle had been employed, but felt a delicacy in conducting, as the defendant had been acting under his legal advice in the case for which he was then sued as a trespasser. I was then struck with his modest demeanor, pleasant manners and great sociability. His argument in the case was clear, lucid and able, as all of his speeches at the Bar were in after life. I had occasions, after my admission to the Bar, to feel the force and power of his intellect and learning. When Judge Earle was elected to the Bench, Judge Wardlaw took his place and fell heir to his professional

business in partnership with William Choice, Esq. He attended Greenville Court regularly till he was promoted to a seat on the Bench. We were very often employed on different sides of the same case, and sometimes employed on the same side of the same case. This frequently happened in capital cases. Our association in the Legislature was likewise for many years. For more than twenty-five years I had the pleasure of practicing before him as a Judge. Our acquaintance, thus intimate, wanted but one year at his death, of being a half century.

I had the pleasure of forming the acquaintance of Judge Wardlaw's venerable father, the Spring after my admission to the Bar. He was then Clerk of the Court at Abbeville, and had been for many years. He was elected by the Legislature, and continued in office during pleasure, or good behavior. He was a remarkably fine looking, courtly old gentleman, and reminded me every time I looked at him of the likeness of Jefferson. There was something strikingly similar in their features. He was tall and commanding in his appearance, and a much larger man than any of his sons. He lived to a good old age, and resigned the office of clerk many years before his death.

Judge Wardlaw is said to have been the first child born in the village of Abbeville. But this must be a mistake, as the County was laid out in 1778, and a "court house, jail, pillory and whipping post" ordered to be erected on some suitable place, selected for a county seat. The Judge was not born till 1799, and it would be an extraordinary circumstance for a village to exist ten or twelve years in South Carolina without a birth in it! But he was born, and lived all his life, died in the seventy-fifth year of his age, in the village of Abbeville. How few great men in America have done this? Indeed, there is not one man, great or humble, in ten thousand who has done so. It was said by an English writer,

who traveled in the United States, that the Americans were born moving, lived moving, and died moving! Judge Wardlaw was educated at Dr. Waddell's famous school, at Willington, in Abbeville District, where Calhoun, Crawford, McDuffie, Petigru, Legare, Longstreet and a host of other great men received their classical education. At this school, Judge Wardlaw was distinguished, though a small boy, for his excellence in public speaking. He entered the South Carolina College very young, and graduated with the first honor of his class. What is remarkable, his brother, Chancellor Wardlaw, graduated the next year, in the same college, and received the first honor of his class. This, I will venture to say, has rarely happened in any other family in South Carolina, or the United States.

Judge Wardlaw read law in the office of Governor Noble, and formed a partnership with him after his admission to the Bar. They continued in partnership till it was manifest the interest of both to dissolve it. Instead of having only one side of a case, by practicing separately, they might be employed on both sides. Whilst they were partners in law, one was President of the State Senate, and the other Speaker of the House of Representatives. As a lawyer, Judge Wardlaw had few equals in the State. He was well read in his profession, took great pains in preparing his cases and always argued them with great ability. He spoke well, fluently and logically, and his language was always chaste and correct. He was not a vehement or impassioned speaker, and never indulged in rhetorical displays, either at the Bar or in the Legislature. His mind was essentially logical.

In 1836, I think it was, he was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives. Colonel Davie, Colonel McCord and Judge Wardlaw were all candidates for the Speaker's chair. There were twenty or thirty Union members of the House, at that time, and we had a consultation as

to whom we should cast our votes for Speaker. I urged the claims of Judge Wardlaw, and it was finally determined that we should all unite on him. This elected him. Never was there a presiding officer of that House who discharged the onerous duties of the chair, with more ability, impartiality and dispatch, or more to the satisfaction of its members. He was courteous, dignified and prompt. No one understood parliamentary usages better than he did. Whilst Speaker, he compiled a book of rules for the Government of the House. Judge Wardlaw was, in no sense of the word, a politician, but a statesman, wise and patriotic, governed by principle, and the conviction of his own judgment. When he once took his position, he was immovable. Neither popular clamor, nor party interest could swerve him. I remember, in 1860, when the revolutionary ball was set in motion, Judge Wardlaw saw the ruin and misery which would be the consequence to the State. There was a large and excited public meeting at Abbeville Court House. He attended the meeting and addressed it. The friends of separate secession attempted to put him down, and silence him by angry demonstrations. But boldly and unflinchingly he told them he would speak and portray the evils which they were about to bring on their country. Like a true patriot he did all he could to prevent the issue, but when it was made, his duty and love of country made him sustain it with all his power and influence.

As a Judge he was eminent among his learned associates on the Bench. I thought he was the model of a circuit Judge. He was familiar with all of our statutes and the decisions of our courts. He was also profoundly read in all the law, of the common law, and well acquainted with the decisions of the English courts. On the Bench he was patient, laborious, courteous and dignified. His opinions in the Court of Appeals as reported in our Law Reports, are a monument of his

learning, ability and research. Their language and style are eminently judicial, and if they have any fault, it may be that they are sometimes too prolix. But this was owing to his great anxiety to prevent any misconstruction of his views. I have seen him sit in our court very often from nine o'clock in the morning till ten, eleven and twelve o'clock at night, with only an intermission of one hour for dinner! A singular circumstance once happened whilst he was presiding at Anderson court, showing his sensibility to pain and suffering. A doctor was being examined as to some disease and wound. He minutely described the case, and Judge Wardlaw fainted on the bench, whilst taking notes of the doctor's testimony.

Judge Wardlaw was a fine scholar, and his reading was very extensive. He was fond of polite literature and read novels, poetry and reviews with great zest. Whilst on the circuit and traveling, he had a singular propensity of sending to the hotel keeper to send him a book to read, leaving the selection of the book to the taste of "mine host." He said it was amusing very often to see the selection made for him. I remember once adopting the Judge's suggestion out of curiosity, and the hotel keeper sent me the Bible and Parry's Expedition in the Polar Seas. The Judge was a very pleasant and agreeable gentleman in conversation. He was fond of chatting with the members of the Bar in the evening and talked well. He enjoyed greatly a good joke and laughed over it heartily. In 1867, we were delegates to the Philadelphia Convention and traveled together with a good many other gentlemen. The party enjoyed themselves as much perhaps as ever a party of gentlemen did in traveling by railway. In Philadelphia, the Judge was robbed of his pocket book and five hundred dollars in cash. We were getting on the street cars, and there was a great rush to mount the platform. A man standing in the crowd said to the Judge: "Have you

not been robbed of your pocket book?" The Judge felt for his pocket book, and sure enough it was gone. The man said: "There goes the fellow who I think took it." They went in pursuit of him, but he gave them the dodge. Very likely the man who was so kind in giving information was himself the thief.

In 1866, Judge Wardlaw, Judge Dawkins and the Honorable Alfred Huger, were sent to Washington, by the State Convention, to ask the release of Jefferson Davis. I gave him a letter of introduction to President Johnson. The Judge was very much pleased with the President. He told me that no stranger would have taken Johnson for a politician, that he had the appearance and manners of a student and literary man. Andrew Johnson was all his life a student, and he might be called a self-taught literary man, for he was well informed on most subjects, and had read a great deal.

Judge Wardlaw compiled a very useful book of forms for the officers of court. His friends suggested him for the office of Codifier of the statute laws of South Carolina, but he would not permit his name to be brought forward in competition with his life-long friend James L. Petigru, to whom the office was assigned by the Legislature. Mr. Petigru executed the work with great ability, and, although the work was never adopted by the Legislature, yet it will remain forever a monument of the learning and ability of the author.

Judge Wardlaw married early in life a most beautiful and charming lady, who died many years since; but true to his early love and devotion to the memory of his wife, he never sought to place another in her position.

Well may Abbeville be proud of her sons. Few districts in the State, if any, have produced such an array of talent as Abbeville. She gave birth to Calhoun, Cheves, Petigru, Chancellor Wardlaw, Judge Wardlaw, Governor Noble, Chancellor Bowie, and was the home

of Mr. McDuffie from his boyhood. She likewise could once claim as her citizen, William H. Crawford, the greatest of all Georgia's great statesmen.

When the venerable Chancellor DeSaussure resigned his office on account of his years and infirmities, he presented his silk gown to Judge Wardlaw, who was then Speaker of the House of Representatives, and expressed a wish that he might be his successor on the Chancery Bench. It was greatly to my interest, at that time, to have Judge Wardlaw elected and taken out of my way at the Bar. I was on terms of great intimacy with him, and had the highest regard for his learning and talents. But I voted for Chancellor Dunkin, because I thought Charleston was entitled to have a Chancellor, where most of the chancery business of the State was transacted. When Judge Gantt resigned, Judge Wardlaw was elected to fill his place on the law Bench, without opposition, I think. Whilst Judge Wardlaw was on the Bench, the trustees of the South Carolina College had to elect a President of the College. In casting about for a suitable person, I thought of Judge Wardlaw, and mentioned his name to others, who approved my selection. His pleasant manners, tact in governing, and scholarly attainments, were well suited to make him a popular president of the institution. I wrote him urging his acceptance of the position, but he promptly declined, and Judge Longstreet was elected.





HENRY C. YOUNG.

I HAVE known in the course of my life, now verging on three score and ten, many worthy and excellent men, fair-minded and pure-hearted gentlemen, sincere in every thought, word and action; kind, amiable and honorable, by nature as well as education; but I never knew one who possessed all these estimable and noble qualities in a higher degree than Henry Clinton Young, Esq., of Laurens, S. C. It was my good fortune to have been on terms of great intimacy with him for more than the third of a century, and to have enjoyed his cordial and unbroken friendship during the whole of this period. Never, to my knowledge was there a hard or unkind feeling between us, and I know there never was on my part. We rode the Western Circuit together for thirty years, and generally employed on opposite sides in most of our practice. There were no railroads in those days, and lawyers traveled from court to court, first in their sulkies, and then, as civilization and improvement progressed, in their buggies and carriages. We stopped between court houses, at some cool spring, on the roadside, and took a lunch, at one or two o'clock; rested an hour or two under a shade if the weather was warm, or built a fire if it was cold; cracked our jokes, told our stories, smoked our cigars (pipes were not then in vogue with gentlemen,) and took a glass of wine or a glass of brandy. In the same style we traveled to Columbia, twice every year, to attend the Court of Appeals and the sitting of the Legislature. Mr. Young and myself served together many years in both branches of the Legislature, and sat at the same desk whilst members of the Senate, and always boarded at the same hotel. But notwithstanding this intimacy and close

association for so long a time we differed widely in our political views and sentiments. He was a warm and zealous Nullifier, Secessionist and Disunionist—whilst I was equally as firm and consistent a devotee to the Federal Union

Mr. Young was born in North Carolina, but his father moved to Laurens District whilst he was quite a boy, and settled at the place afterwards known as “Young’s Store,” where he lived to an advanced old age, and died respected and esteemed by all who knew him. He was a planter and merchant and served his District in the State Convention of 1832, whilst his son, Henry, was a member of the Legislature which called the Convention together. In the Legislature preceding this, all the members from Laurens were Union men, except Henry C. Young. He was so popular, and so great a favorite with the people, that they elected him in spite of his politics. The other leading Nullifiers of Laurens, General Thomas F. Jones and Colonel James H. Irby, were beaten by Union men. A higher compliment to Mr. Young’s fairness, integrity and uprightness could not have been paid him, for party spirit ran high at that time, and was bitter throughout the State.

Mr. Young’s early education was defective, and he never graduated, or went to any college. He read law at Laurens Court House, and was admitted to the Bar when he was twenty-two years old. He formed a co-partnership with Colonel Downes, a prominent lawyer of his day, with an extensive practice, and for ten years Mr. Young never attempted to argue a case in court! This always devolved on his senior partner. How many young lawyers are kept in the background for years, by an injudicious partnership with an old member of the Bar? It is always better for a young man to start alone in his profession. He soon acquires self reliance and the habit of speaking if he has no senior partner. In the fall after my admission to the Bar, I went to

Laurens court with Judge Huger, and we stopped at Mr. Harvey Cleveland's. Mr. Young called to see the Judge, after having argued some important criminal case in court that day. The Judge complimented him on his speech, and I remember Mr. Young said it was the first speech he had ever made in court, although he had been practicing law ten years! From that day to the day of his retirement from the Bar, Mr. Young never failed to argue his cases with great ability and learning. He was a very fluent and pleasant speaker, and always spoke with great zeal and animation, tersely and to the points of his case. I have heard him make many able and exhaustive arguments, both on the Circuit and in the Court of Appeals. For many years, it may be said, he stood at the head of our Bar, and perhaps had a more extensive practice than any lawyer on the Western Circuit. He had a partner at every court house on the Circuit, and never failed to attend all the courts. I have no doubt his practice was much more extensive than profitable. Local partners may bring business to an eminent lawyer, but I doubt whether they bring profit. Mr. Young was likewise very negligent in collecting his counsel fees and tax costs. Many a lawyer, with his practice, would have made five times the money he did. His charges were always moderate, much less than those of other lawyers on the circuit, and then he never made any effort to collect his fees, or have settlements with his partners. If his clients and partners saw fit to pay him anything, it was very well—and if they did not, they were in no danger of being dunned by him.

Although Mr. Young, after ten years silence, on coming to the Bar, became a great and most successful advocate in civil and criminal cases, speaking every day, at every court he attended—yet, strange to say, he rarely if ever attempted to speak in the Legislature. I served with him certainly fifteen or twenty years in the Legislature, and cannot now recall to my mind a single speech

that I ever heard him make in either House! This was very remarkable, and no doubt owing, in a great measure, to his modesty and diffidence. He was not only an able lawyer, well read in his profession, but he was a gentleman of considerable general information, and especially in political matters. Yet he had no taste for politics or political ambition. I know that he was strongly solicited to become a candidate for Congress on several occasions, when he could easily have been elected—but he always promptly declined the proffered honor. When William F. DeSaussure was appointed to the United States Senate, by Governor Means, it was said that the Governor, at first, thought of appointing Mr. Young, and hesitated some time between him and Mr. DeSaussure.

In 1831 or '32, Mr. Young was elected to represent Laurens District in the Free Trade Convention which assembled in Philadelphia, and which was composed of the most prominent and distinguished men in the Southern States. He was again appointed to attend the Nashville Convention, which met and protested against the wrongs and injuries inflicted on the Southern States by the Federal Government. He was once or twice elected by the Legislature one of the Electors of President and Vice-President of the United States. For many years he was a member of the Board of Trustees of South Carolina College, and finally declined reelection. He was then appointed one of the visitors of the military schools in South Carolina, and several times attended the meeting of the Board in Charleston and Columbia. When Judge Earle was elected to the Bench, Mr. Young became a candidate for the office of Solicitor, and was beaten by Judge Whitner. He would have made a most admirable prosecuting officer—and I have heard him say that it was the only office he ever desired to fill.

In early life Mr. Young's habits were not temperate.

But he soon married and reformed his habits entirely. I never knew a more temperate man in all things than Mr. Young, during our intimacy for so many years. He took a glass of brandy occasionally, but never became even excited by spirits as long as I knew him. I remember meeting him in Columbia one fall, and he looked emaciated. I asked him to take a drink with me, and he replied that he had not tasted a drop of spirits for several months. I then said to him that was the cause of his emaciation, that spirits were the milk of old age, and advised him to take a drink every day at dinner. The next time I met him, he told me that he had followed my advice, and he looked infinitely better.

Mr. Young married his cousin, a sister of General Young, of Charlotte, N. C., and had but one child, a daughter, who married the Hon. W. D. Simpson, a gallant Colonel in the Confederate army, and a member of the Confederate Congress, who was elected a member of the United States Congress, in 1868, by a majority of three or four thousand votes, over A. S. Wallace, but was not allowed to take his seat. In my recent canvass for Congress, I made an appointment to speak at Laurens Court House, where I saw Colonel Simpson, and enquired if Mr. Young would be present at our meeting. He told me that he was not able to attend. I then said that I must see him before I left the village. He replied that he would go with me that evening, but doubted whether Mr. Young would remember me! His mind, he said, was very much shattered, and his memory gone. I was sadly impressed with this information, for Mr. Young could not have been more than seventy-eight or nine years old. Lord Lynhurst made one of his greatest speeches in the House of Lords when he was ninety-two years old. He spoke two hours without note or memoranda, and referred to facts and dates as if he had been in the prime of life. Lord Brougham commenced writing his autobiography when he was

ninety years old. But there is a great difference in the decay of intellect in different men.

Colonel Simpson and myself rode up in my carriage to see Mr. Young, after I had addressed the people, and we found him at work in his garden, looking well and seemingly in good health. But I discovered that his mind was very much enfeebled. He recognized me, however, and seemed glad that we had met once more in this life. My interview with him was necessarily brief, and my feelings and reflections afterwards were very sad.

I have said Mr. Young was a great favorite with the people of Laurens. He was equally so with all the lawyers and judges. When Judge Richardson was threatened with impeachment by the House of Representatives, he selected Mr. Young as one of his counsel to defend him before the Legislature. This was a distinguished honor, when the Judge had the whole Bar of the State to select from. It was equally a compliment to his learning and ability as a lawyer.

The juries had equal confidence in his integrity and sincerity, learning, ability and honor, and no lawyer at the Bar was more successful in his cases before a jury. His statements were always regarded as truthful, and they knew that there was no purpose on his part to deceive or mislead them. He was, too, a most liberal practitioner towards his opponents at the Bar. He never resorted to trick or stratagem in his practice, or availed himself of any technical advantage which did not meet the justice of the case. No one ever had less of the pettifogger or demagogue in his nature. He was wholly unselfish and without a particle of vanity. His only pride and ambition was to discharge every duty of life as a man, a lawyer and statesman, conscientiously and to the best of his ability. In his manners he was simple, unpretending and unaffected. He did nothing

for vain glory. In his nature he was kind and affectionate. Such is the portraiture my heart draws of an old friend, who has passed off the stage of life, and now quietly waits to be gathered to his fathers.





JOSEPH N. WHITNER.

JUDGE WHITNER was one of the kindest, most amiable and best of men. He was benevolent and charitable to all who were in want. He was sincerely a Christian, and a very pious member of the Presbyterian Church all his life. And yet, with all his amiability and goodness, he possessed a nervous and excitable temper by nature. But his good sense and good feelings rarely permitted his temper to manifest itself on any occasion, public or private. On the Bench, and at the Bar, he was always patient, forbearing and courteous. Never was there a more conscientious man in the discharge of all his duties in every relation of life, whether public or private. This conscientiousness and anxiety to do right and act properly under all circumstances, very often produced a hesitation in his action and decision. It was sometimes discoverable on the Bench. He hesitated and doubted, where a judge with less conscientiousness, would have decided at once, although his convictions were as doubtful as Judge Whitner's.

Judge Whitner was born on George's Creek, in Pickens County, about seven miles from Greenville Court House. His father moved near Pendleton village, where he was brought up and educated till he entered the South Carolina College, of which institution he was a graduate. He read law and was admitted to the Bar, and settled at Old Cambridge. But after a short residence there, he moved to Pendleton Court House, and formed a partnership with Judge Earle, who was then Solicitor of the Western Circuit. Judge Whitner was very soon elected a member of the Legislature from Pendleton District. He assisted mainly in the division of the District into Anderson and Pickens Districts. Since that,

Pickens has been divided again into Oconee and Pickens Districts. Whilst Pendleton still remained one Senatorial District, Judge Whitner was elected to represent it in the State Senate. He was then elected Solicitor of the Western Circuit, and for many years he discharged the onerous duties of this office with great ability and efficiency. Some years before his elevation to the Bench, there was an election of Judge before the Legislature. The contest was very close, and one of the votes intended for Whitner was written "*Whiten.*" If this vote had been counted, he would have had a majority and been elected. But on the second ballot, Judge Withers was elected. The next vacancy that occurred on the Bench, Judge Whitner was elected to fill, and he remained on the Bench till his death, many years afterwards. Whilst Solicitor, he was put in nomination for Congress, very much against his wishes. There was a high political excitement in the State on the subject of the sub-Treasury. General Thompson, who was then representing the District in Congress, differed with Mr. Calhoun on this subject, and an effort was made by Mr. Calhoun and his friends to turn him out. Judge Whitner, at that time, was perhaps the most popular man in the Congressional District. He was, therefore, put in nomination, but his personal popularity availed him nothing in the excitement. His warmest and most devoted friends voted against him. The returns from the different precincts in Anderson District were brought to Pickens Court House, whilst Court was sitting there. Whitner looked over the statement and said to me: "I really thought I could have got more votes than I did, at some of these boxes, for President of the United States." So true it is, that friendship, gratitude and personal respect, are all thrown aside in a political excitement when an election takes place.

Judge Whitner was a great temperance man, and a sort of Lieutenant-General of Chief Justice O'Neill in

the temperance cause. Whilst O'Neill was on the circuit, and Whitner was Solicitor, they invariably had temperance lectures at all the court houses. I have no doubt that if both these gentlemen had taken a glass of brandy every day, in the latter part of their lives, they would have lived much longer. When Judge Whitner was on his death bed, he sent for Doctor Fair, of Columbia, to visit and prescribe for him. The Doctor told him to eat nourishing food, and drink brandy. But the prescription came too late. After Doctor Fair's visit, Judge Munro called to see his brother Whitner, when the latter said to him: "I am now going to do, Judge Munro, what I never have done before, ask you to take a glass of brandy with me."

As to carrying deadly weapons about one's person, Judge Whitner told me the following circumstance in reference to himself. He was a student in Union village, when the deputy sheriff came to arrest him on some very trivial matter. Playfully, he pulled out a pistol and told the deputy he would not be arrested. He did it as a joke, and supposed it would be received as such by a man whom he knew very well and with whom he was on the best of terms. But mistaking the motive, the deputy flew into a passion, jumped from his horse, and said: "I will arrest you at the risk of my life." Judge Whitner said his nature seemed suddenly to change, all reflection thrown away, and if the man had advanced he would have shot, and perhaps killed him.

Judge Whitner married the only daughter of James Harrison, Esq., who still survives him, and by whom he had a large family of children. They were all educated with great care, and have prospered in life. The Judge lived in great elegance and with great hospitality. He kept an open house for friends and visitors, at all times, and on all occasions. Although a strict Presbyterian, he had all of his children taught to play on some musical instrument, and a visitor would see two or three violins

and flutes lying about his house. He encouraged the young people to dance for amusement of a winter's evening, and made his home a happy one for all his family and visitors. I remember hearing a gentleman from Charleston say that he had never seen more elegance or finer entertainments, than he met at Judge Whitner's.

The Judge was a cotton planter for a number of years in Florida, but I understood from him not many years before his death, that he had not found planting in Florida very profitable. To plant profitably, a gentleman must live on his plantation, and supervise everything.

In early life, Judge Whitner took great pride in commanding a troop of cavalry, and was afterwards elected Brigadier General, when I had the honor of being appointed on his staff with the rank of Major, which has stuck to me through life. But my friend Yeadon always denied my rank, and insisted that I was only a Captain, and could be nothing higher on a Brigadier's staff. When the ordinance of Nullification was passed, all the militia commissions were vacated by act of the Legislature, and General Whitner refused to be re-elected. General Waddy Thompson was elected in his place. He was, however, a strong Nullifier and Secessionist, though a sincere Christian, loving peace and good will to all mankind. Shortly after the first battle of Manassas, I traveled to Virginia with Judge Whitner and his most amiable lady, who were on a visit to a son who was wounded in the battle. Mrs. Whitner, who was always an esteemed and valued friend of mine, observed to me, that she never thought our political excitement would come to a deadly civil strife, or she would not have been in favor of Secession. I replied, I had no doubt thousands and hundreds of thousands entertained the same sentiments and feelings. But that I had always anticipated such a result, and was therefore bitterly opposed to the movement.



MARTIN VAN BUREN.

I WENT from Governor Wright's to ex-President Van Buren's, near Kinder Hook, in New York. I saw Mr. Van Buren first in church, and immediately recognized him from the likeness I had seen. He was, however, a much larger and stouter man than I had expected to see in the "little weasel," as he had been dubbed by Mr. Calhoun. I dined with him that evening. There were seven or eight persons present at the table, and the dinner was a very sumptuous one, but the only waiter at the table was a tidy young white woman. All the guests were well attended to. At a Southern table there would have been three or four negroes in each other's way, and the table not so well waited on. Mr. Van Buren was then turning his attention to farming, and wished me to stay all night with him, and look over his farm the next day. It consisted of two or three hundred acres, and formerly belonged to one of the Van Rensselaers. He enquired after a great many persons in South Carolina, and seemed to be as familiar with our public men as I was myself. Mrs. Abraham Van Buren was present, formerly Miss Singleton, and a native of South Carolina. There were present also, his former Secretary of the Treasury, and his lady, who had formerly been the wife of Senator Johnston, of Louisiana, and the subject of a poem by Warren R. Davis, entitled: "Johnston's Wife of Louisiana."

I told Mr. Van Buren that I was surprised to find the convention, then sitting at Albany, had proposed to make the Judges elective for a term of years by the people. He replied that he favored the change himself. "When a young man," said he, "I thought as you do, but I am now satisfied that all three departments of the

government should be directly under the control of the people." He mentioned a conversation he once had with Mr. Jefferson on the subject. Jefferson was strongly in favor of having the Judiciary elected by the people for a term of years. Mr. Van Buren was opposed to such a system at that time, and thought it fraught with evil. He had since changed his opinion, and adopted the views of Mr. Jefferson.

I was very much pleased with the ex-President, and thought him a charming gentleman. His manners were cordial and most pleasant. Instead of being reticent as to men and measures, I found him very frank and open in expressing his opinions about any and everything. His son John was also present, who was then Attorney-General of New York. In conversation, I found the father, though so long from the Bar, a better lawyer than the son. John struck me as a great dandy, and very affected and pretending in his manners. His after life entirely developed this character. I met in Kinder Hook, a brother of the ex-President's, who was postmaster of the village and a member of the town council. He was an intelligent, plain looking and respectable man, though very different from his brother. In the whole town of Kinder Hook, during my stay there for two days, I did not see a single carriage except the ex-President's, and one old hack which brought me from the railroad depot.

Very few men have been so much abused and calumniated in South Carolina as Martin Van Buren. Judge Cheves used to say that he possessed, however, as much honesty and disinterestedness as his traducers. I have heard General Thompson say, who was always opposed to him in politics, that no one could know Mr. Van Buren in private life and dislike him. He never gave offence to any one, and was always kind and gentle in his intercourse with the world. Such, I should suppose, was the true character of Martin Van Buren.



SILAS WRIGHT.

I VISITED Albany whilst Silas Wright was Governor of New York, and carried a letter of introduction to him from Joel R. Poinsett. I called to see him at his residence, and was much pleased with him. His manners and conversation were so natural, pleasing and cheerful, that I was quite captivated. He possessed the fairest mind in debate and in conversation that I ever knew, and it was as lucid as it was fair and honest. I have never seen any one else who could express his views and opinions in reference to anything with so much clearness and explicitness. No one who ever heard him speak or converse, was ever left in doubt as to his meaning or purpose. He exhausted every subject that he discussed. He was indeed, a man of the greatest ability. As a statesman, he was honest, unselfish and unambitious. All the high positions which he held in New York were thrust on him. He received the nomination of Vice-President, with James K. Polk for President, which he promptly declined. He was a devoted friend of President Van Buren, and labored for him most disinterestedly through life. In his person he was stout and fine looking, but his face gave unmistakable evidence of his besetting sin.

I had just returned from a tour through Canada, when I met Governor Wright in Albany. In speaking of the British forces in those Provinces, which he had seen there the preceding summer, he remarked that he witnessed a circumstance characteristic of the English government, which made a deep impression on his mind. He carried a letter of introduction to the commanding General, who was an officer of great distinction, and a most venerable looking old gentleman. They were taking a walk one day together, when they met a very young officer to whom the General seemed most unbe-

comingly obsequious in his salutation. Governor Wright was informed that this ensign was a sprig of nobility, and hence the deference paid him by this venerable officer, his commanding General.

In speaking of the tariff, Governor Wright said that if the necessary duties for revenue were not sufficient protection, it showed clearly that the article ought not to be manufactured in the United States. He had the simplicity of true greatness. Whilst United States Senator, living in the upper part of the State, a gentleman visited him, and found him with his coat off, rolling into his cellar, with a wheelbarrow, his crop of cabbages, preparatory to his departure for Washington.

Mr. Poinsett informed me that he once visited the residence of Governor Wright in company with President Van Buren. His house was a small cottage, and afforded only accommodation for the President. Mr. Poinsett went to the hotel in the village. It was said that Wright was a *protege* of Van Buren. He made his acquaintance on the lakes, perceived his extraordinary capacity, and brought him forward in life. Hence the great devotion of Wright to him. I remember seeing a letter from Van Buren to Mr. Poinsett, when Wright was nominated for Governor of New York. He stated that they had "forced him into harness," against Wright's wishes, in order to make sure of the election. Had Governor Wright lived, he would have been, in all probability, President of the United States. His great abilities, honesty and patriotism were universally acknowledged. Mr. Calhoun did not like him, and when his death was announced to him at Old Pendleton, his only remark was: "Burnt out at last." It is amazing that a great man like Silas Wright, with pure and unselfish character, and a mind as clear as crystal, with a judgment almost unerring, should destroy his talents and himself by indulgence in a habit which he knows to be fatal. But alas, it is too often the fate of our greatest and best men.



LETTERS.

[These letters acknowledging the receipt of the Tribute (lately published) are worthy of publication. They are *invaluable* to the *wife*. Words cannot express her appreciation of them.]

UNITED STATES COURTS FOR SOUTH CAROLINA.

GREENVILLE, S. C., *February 4, 1889.*

MRS. B. F. PERRY, *City.*

MY DEAR MADAM: You have given me great pleasure in your gift of The Tribute to Governor Perry, December 3, 1888.

The older I grow the more able I am to appreciate the character and ability of Governor Perry, and to understand how he achieved his high reputation. His firm adherence to principle; his thorough knowledge of the fundamental doctrines which underlie American liberty; the splendid courage which illustrated his whole political and social life; a life passed in the full blaze of a fierce dissension, yet without a stain, make him a marked feature in the history of our State.

Your touching devotion to him preserves for posterity the story of his life and the fruits of his intellect. You are handing down to coming generations a valuable example for their imitation. Too many good men are forgotten except by their cotemporaries. How many can you and I recall whose learning and eloquence and patriotism are mere tradition. Governor Perry has been fortunate, as well in the gifts of intellect and heart which God gave him, as in having your loving and watchful care in the preservation of his record.

With great respect.

Yours most truly,

CHARLES H. SIMONTON.

OFFICE OF COUNTY SCHOOL COMMISSIONER, CHARLESTON COUNTY,
CHARLESTON, S. C., *March 4, 1889.*

MY DEAR MRS. PERRY: I want to thank you for The Tribute to the memory of your great and good husband, you so kindly sent me. I prize it on account of the thoughtful attention from you, as well as for the valuable contents of the volume. I have both the volumes of Sketches written by Governor Perry, and want everything that I can get that came from his pen.

To-day, as I read President Harrison's inaugural, I see clouds on the political sky—clouds that call for men with brains, and men with the courage of their convictions. In short, the times demand just such men as Governor Perry—men, who, after they are sure that they are right, care nothing for consequences. He is taken from us just at a time when his wisdom and experience could do this State great service. The whole State should thank you for preserving his utterances on important questions. A wide circulation of his writings will result in great good.

Words can but feebly express the gratitude I have for the kindness you have shown me.

Very respectfully,

JOHN L. WEBER.

CHESTER, S. C., *March 12, 1889.*

MRS. B. F. PERRY, SANS SOUCI, *Greenville, S. C.*

MY DEAR MADAM: Please accept my thanks for kindness in sending me The Tribute to Benjamin Franklin Perry, ex-Governor of South Carolina, and also your distinguished husband.

You certainly deserve the hearty "Amen" of every friend and admirer of your late illustrious husband. It was not my happy privilege to be personally known to Governor Perry, but was an ardent admirer of his from the time I arrived at manhood, until he ceased to come in and go out among men.

You may have erected a tall shaft to perpetuate the

memory of your Honorable husband and "Our own Perry;" but you can never rear such a lasting monument as he, himself, has left us—his life. In any high sense, there is but one thing which men may call a monument. The skillfully chiselled marble of the church yard can be purchased, as well by money as by merit. The canvas, glowing with the semblance of life, is, how often a monument rather of the genius of the artist than of the forgotten dead, whose features it perpetuates. Triumphant arches and pyramids even, however deeply and strongly they may be founded, change at last to ruinous heaps, or are intrusted in vain with the names of their builders and the records of the deeds which they commemorate. Nevertheless, greatness has its enduring monument. But that monument is erected by *itself*. Laid sometimes, indeed, in the blood and tears of suffering humanity, built up amid the sighs of lacerated bosoms, and crowned with the execrations of long posterity, but sometimes based upon the noblest impulses of a noble heart, erected every part of it to bless and adorn humanity, and completed amid shouts of gratitude, or those more expressive tokens of affection—a nation's tears.

When I speak then of a monument, commemorative of Benjamin Franklin Perry, I mean not the marble which may cover his mouldering remains, nor any imposing columns which have been already erected in some public resort. I mean his own great character; his matchless will; the thoughts which he entertained; the words which he spoke; his large sagacity, and that larger patriotism, which achieved for himself a place, like that of a household idol, in every American heart.

Feeling that I have already trespassed upon valuable time, I would again thank you for *The Tribute*.

I am with great respect,

W. G. AUSTIN.

SOUTHERN BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,

LOUISVILLE, KY., *March 20, 1889.*

MRS. B. F. PERRY.

DEAR MADAM: Permit me to express my thanks for a copy of a Tribute to Governor B. F. Perry. I have read it with much interest and lasting benefit. His life reveals much of the history of our grand old State, to whose service he gave his life. My first impressions of his great character were from my grandfather Ferguson, who was a great admirer of his, as well as a believer in his politics during secession. Often have I been stirred as he would relate to me the thrilling events through which Governor Perry passed. His integrity, wisdom and patriotism have overshadowed other qualities, which in an ordinary man would shine most brilliantly. The "Preface to your Journal" discloses some traits which had escaped my notice. This discloses a tenderness, and purity of sentiment that is truly grand. His language concerning you is chaste and exceedingly beautiful, while the sentiment is refined and exquisite. It is like the leaves out of some great novel or poem. I had no idea of this beautiful trait. Although I wrote a sketch of his life for the Augusta Chronicle, this was passed over. I will keep this passage as a specimen of pure Anglo-Saxon English, strong but beautiful sentiment. I remember with pleasure my conversation with you last summer and hope to see you again next summer.

Most respectfully,

HENRY G. FERGUSON.

REIDVILLE, S. C., *March 21, 1889.*

MRS. B. F. PERRY.

DEAR MADAM: This is the first day that I have had leisure to comply with the request in your favor of the 15th inst. I have been under pressing calls of duty every day since the date of your letter.

The address of your honored husband to which you refer, was delivered on the 20th of June, 1882, before

the Reidville Female College on a Commencement occasion. A large audience was present, and the address was well received.

When I requested Gov. Perry to perform this service for us, he spoke of the infirmities of increasing age, and said he had resolved not to appear again before the public, but for two reasons he would comply with my wishes. First, Mrs. Reid was the daughter of his old friend, Dr. William Anderson, of Orrsville, in Anderson County. Second, his interest in me and my work. He was a Trustee of the South Carolina College, and upon the stage when I graduated, and *then* spoke words of encouragement to me, which a poor college boy, just starting life, knows how to appreciate. He was kind enough to mention me in terms of commendation in a notice which he wrote at the time of our Commencement for the Greenville Mountaineer, which may be found in the files of the paper for the year 1846. *He was a life long friend.*

I have been familiar with his public life from boyhood. The first time I ever heard his name mentioned was during the Nullification controversy. I admired his course in the secession struggle—his stand and efforts to prevent the split in the Democratic party in Charleston, which resulted in the election of Lincoln as President, and his earnest efforts *after* the election, to keep the State from seceding; saying in his speeches and through the press, in substance, that the Constitution of the United States, badly as it had been observed by some of the Northern States of the Union, was the only protection we had for our peculiar form of civilization in the South; that when we threw ourselves from under *its* protection, we were gone to *ruin*, &c., &c.

Governor Perry was truly a great man, but his misfortune was that he was so far ahead of his contemporaries in foresight and sound, practical wisdom that the masses could not understand, or appreciate him. He

was like a tall mountain whose summit caught the rays of the rising sun, while darkness rested upon all the surrounding peaks. Like Aristotle and Socrates, his fame will increase in the ages to come. Even his *bitter opponents* can now see that his political course in the past was *right* and *consistent*; that it would have been better for the State which he loved so dearly and served so faithfully, to have heeded his counsels. South Carolina never produced a statesman with clearer head and more manly virtues.

I am glad to hear that you are going to publish another volume of his works. Permit me to say that I think he is fortunate in having such a biographer and compiler of his works, to perpetuate his fame and usefulness, one so well qualified both intellectually and in a personal knowledge of his character in all the relations of life.

Very respectfully yours,

ROBERT HARDEN REID.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

COLUMBIA, S. C., *March 27, 1889.*

DEAR MADAM: Please accept my thanks for your highly esteemed favor, which I received last week, and should have acknowledged sooner, but for the pressure of other engagements.

I have always regarded your distinguished husband, Benjamin Franklin Perry, as one of the most remarkable men of the State. As a *writer*, I do not think he had a superior, scarcely an equal, in the United States. He was a master of the English language, and might, without extravagance, be called the American Macaulay. His style is almost faultless, clear, simple and concise, reminding the reader, in almost every word, of Addison, or Goldsmith, or Washington Irving, or Hugh Swinton Legare.

I should like to see a biography of Governor Perry, if a man could be found who possessed the requisite qualifications for such a task. The beautiful Tribute which

you have just published, contains a great deal of material which would be very useful in the preparation of such a work. Such a biography would be a powerful stimulus to the young men of South Carolina to imitate his noble life and character, who was, most emphatically,

"One of the few, immortal names,
That were not born to die."

I am, dear madam, very truly yours,

E. L. PATTON.

CHESTER, S. C., April 4, 1889.

MRS. B. F. PERRY, SANS SOUCI, *Greenville, S. C.*

Please accept my most earnest thanks for a copy of Sketches by Governor Perry, of South Carolina.

No library is complete without this book.

That speech delivered in the House of Representatives of South Carolina, December 11, 1850, which he himself characterized as a legacy to his country and children, should be in every household, nay, that book should be in every school-room.

I have not language to express to you my high appreciation of the book. My boys, when they learn to read, shall make that book a daily study, until they breathe the very sentiments of your *peerless* husband.

The picture of the Governor is so exact as to cause one to almost feel that they were in his august presence.

Again allow me to thank you for the book. Money could not purchase it.

Wishing you all the health and happiness that you are capable of enjoying, I remain

Your very humble and obedient servant,

W. G. AUSTIN.

DR. C. KOLLOCK,

CHERAW, S. C., April 8, 1889.

MY DEAR MRS. PERRY: Your very kind letter of the 4th has been received. I was truly glad to hear from

you again. I am always pleased to hear from you, for although I never had the pleasure of meeting you, I feel that I know you well, and my esteem for you is very great, as you are the wife of my old friend Benjamin F. Perry. I was never personally acquainted with a man for whom I had more respect and whose friendship I valued more highly. Your being the wife of Governor Perry gives you a warm place in my affections, if your own personal characteristics did not commend you. I remember well the first time I ever met Governor Perry. It was in the month of December, 1850, during the session of the Legislature. I was then introduced to him by Doctor Thomas E. Powe, who represented Chesterfield County in the Senate. There was something about Governor Perry that seemed to draw him to my heart, and I was with him as much as I could be, and I flattered myself that he took the same fancy to me. Ever since that time, although there was considerable difference in our ages, and we met but seldom, a warm attachment and a very strong friendship existed between us. When he lectured in Cheraw, the people showed their great respect and appreciation for him by the very large audience that turred out to hear him. The hall in which he lectured will seat comfortably about four hundred people; and although it was a very rainy evening, it was full to overflowing, not a seat empty, and many stood through the whole lecture. When he entered the hall on the arm of the President of the Lyceum, Colonel John W. Harrington, who was an old friend of Governor Perry, he was greeted with a long and uproarious applause. It must have made him feel good, and it was nothing more than he deserved at the hands of South Carolinians. The State owes him a debt of gratitude that it can *never* repay. Who that ever lived in the State has done more to advance its interests and elevate the moral and intellectual tone of its people? You have never given the Cheraw Lyceum a copy of the first book of Reminiscences of Public Men, and we will all

be much pleased to have a copy of it in the library of the Lyceum. You can send it to me and I will take pleasure in presenting it.

I would be more than pleased to visit Greenville, but can't see my way clear for the coming Summer. May God ever bless and keep you and yours, is the prayer of your faithful friend.

CORNELIUS KOLLOCK.

JONESVILLE, UNION COUNTY, S. C., April 16, 1889.

MRS. B. F. PERRY, *Greenville, S. C.*

DEAR MADAM: Please accept my thanks for the respect you have shown me by sending a copy of *The Tribute to Benjamin Franklin Perry*, your beloved and honored husband, together with the address delivered before the Merchants, Mechanics and Business Men of Columbia, December 17, 1853.

May his name be held up before the public, and handed down to posterity, for what he truly was: a friend to justice, a friend to the people, a friend to his country, a protector of the weak, and an opposer to the encroachments of the strong. Would to God that we had another to stand up in the Legislative halls of our country like Governor B. F. Perry stood, when he fought against such strong opposition for a change in the system of our State government; a change that sought to take from the Legislature the power to choose the Presidential electors and the Governor, and place it in the hands of the people, where it justly belongs.

We need such men now to carry on the good work begun by Governor B. F. Perry. Such a noble, and able man will always be held in grateful remembrance by those who love an administration that will give to every person, no matter how humble, his own rights, according to the true principles of our government.

Again thanking you for your kindness,

I am very truly and respectfully, your friend,

G. B. FOWLER.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

COLUMBIA, S. C., April 16, 1889.

DEAR MADAM: I have been quite unwell for some two weeks past, ever since I had the honor to receive the volume which you sent me, and which, it is unnecessary to add, I most highly appreciate, not only on account of its intrinsic value, but as a memento of a truly great and good man. I have read, with no ordinary pleasure, the "Biographical Sketches of Eminent American Statesmen," as well as the "Speeches, Addresses and Letters." Among the latter, the address delivered before the literary societies of Erskine College, has a peculiar attraction for me, for I was present on that truly interesting and memorable occasion: and although nearly *forty-five* years have elapsed since the delivery of that address, the scene is indelibly impressed on my memory. Many able and eloquent addresses have been delivered at the same place on similar occasions, but none superior, in eloquence or ability, to that of your distinguished and lamented husband.

I am truly glad that this volume has been published. It will furnish a powerful stimulus to the young men of this State to imitate one who was a model of truth and courage and fidelity; one who may be justly characterized as the Chevalier Bayard of South Carolina. *Sans peur et sans reproche.*

Again expressing my regret that I have not been able to acknowledge more promptly your highly esteemed favor,

I am yours very truly,

E. L. PATTON.





THE HISTORY OF NULLIFICATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

BY GOVERNOR PERRY.

1874.

The Tariff of 1816 was advocated by Mr. Calhoun, and voted for by the greater part of the South Carolina delegation in Congress. The proposition was, however, to repeal the duties which had been imposed during the war. This Mr. Calhoun opposed. But in 1824 the Southern members were generally opposed to the Tariff. It was opposed on the ground of its injustice and inexpediency. Nothing was said about its unconstitutionality except by John Randolph. McDuffie made a long and able speech against it in 1824, in the House of Representatives, but said nothing about its unconstitutionality. Webster, too, was then opposed to the Tariff, and made a very able and powerful speech against it.

In 1824 the anti-Tariff feeling in South Carolina was very strong. There had been some meetings of the people in opposition to the Tariff, previous to that time. In Charleston they had a meeting at which a very strong remonstrance against the Tariff was adopted and sent to Congress. This remonstrance was drawn up by Stephen Elliott, President of the Bank of the State. There was also about the same time, a very strong feeling of opposition to the system of internal improvements by Congress, springing up all over the State. These two measures first destroyed the national feeling of South Carolina. Until 1820 or 1822, South Carolina was one of the strongest Federal States in the Union. Her most talented and leading men were dis-

tinguished for their Federal measures and great devotion to the American Union.

After the passage of the Tariff of 1824, there were numerous meetings held in different parts of the State, protesting against its injustice and inexpediency. Nothing, however, was said about its unconstitutionality. In 1826, William Elliott, of Beaufort, said to McDuffie, in Columbia, then on his way to Washington, that he had great doubts about the constitutionality of the Tariff. McDuffie replied that it was clearly constitutional, but a most iniquitous exercise of constitutional power. This I had from Mr. Elliott himself. In 1825 or 1826, Doctor Cooper, then President of the South Carolina College, made his famous expression, at a public meeting in Columbia, "that it was time to begin to calculate the value of the Federal Union." This expression excited great indignation, and was denounced by many, who soon afterwards adopted the sentiment. The passage of the Tariff in 1828 was pretty generally anticipated, and the people held a great many public meetings throughout the State and petitioned Congress against its passage. It was opposed in Congress by the greater part of the South Carolina delegation, with able speeches. It however passed, and the members from South Carolina had a meeting at which it was proposed to leave their seats and return home. Colonel Drayton opposed this movement, and but for his opposition it would have been carried out. This is the statement of Rothmorrow Mitchell, who was then a member of Congress. The delegation however, determined, on their return home after the adjournment of Congress, to call public meetings of their constituents and stir them up in opposition to the act. This was done all over the State. At Walterboro they requested Governor Taylor to convene the Legislature for the purpose of taking action in opposition to the Tariff. This was in the Spring. A dissolution of the Union was

freely spoken of and discussed. In the Columbia Times and Gazette, several long articles appeared, showing that a dissolution of the Union was to the interest of the Southern States. McDuffie said in a speech in Congress, that a dissolution of the Union would pour a flood of wealth into the Southern States. Judge Earle called my attention to the articles in the Times and Gazette, and spoke of them in terms of unmeasured disapprobation. He said he would discontinue his subscription to the paper if such communications were permitted to appear in it. The Judge at that time was inclined to be a Tariff man and so was his friend Captain Cleveland. He frequently contended with me that the Tariff cheapened articles, and I argued that they had become cheaper in spite of the Tariff. At that time the Judge did not approve the course taken by our members of Congress.

Governor Taylor refused to convene the Legislature, as he had been requested to do by the Colleton meeting. At the celebration of the fourth of July in Columbia, His Excellency made a speech and assigned his reasons for not calling the Legislature together. It was a good Union speech, and very different from one made by Colonel William C. Preston, on the same occasion. The toasts drank at this celebration were divided for and against the Union. A large majority denounced in strong terms the Tariff. I remember noticing the toasts drank throughout the State, on the fourth of July, 1828, and was gratified at the Union feeling they expressed. But there was a sudden change afterwards in this respect.

In 1824, Governor Wilson, in his message to the Legislature, referred to the usurpations of Congress, relative to internal improvements, protection of domestic manufacture and the United States Bank. This part of his message was referred to a special committee of which Judge Prioleau was chairman. He reported

that the Legislature had no right to interfere with the legislation in Congress, &c. This report was called up the next session of the Legislature, by Judge Smith, who submitted a preamble and resolutions, as a substitute for the report. These resolutions inculcated the doctrine that a State Legislature had the right to watch over the proceedings of Congress, and express their approbation or disapprobation of the same and to remonstrate against any action or legislation of Congress. These resolutions gave rise to an extended debate in the Legislature. Chief Justice O'Neill, Judge Butler and other prominent members made speeches and took the ground assumed in the report of Judge Prioleau, that the members of Congress and the members of the Legislature were all representatives of the people and one set of representatives had no right to interfere with the legitimate duties of another set. They were all responsible to the people for their action, whose duty alone it was to watch over their conduct. This was the doctrine announced by McDuffie in his pamphlet, signed "One of the People," published in 1820. But the resolutions of Judge Smith were adopted by the Legislature. His report on them was said to contain the doctrine of "States' rights," as then understood in South Carolina. But how different were "States' rights," as afterwards understood in South Carolina, authorizing Nullification and Secession.

At that time there were two parties in South Carolina. The Calhoun and Smith parties. The first were known as the opponents of States rights, and the other as the advocates of that doctrine. Judge Smith was turned out of the United States Senate by Governor Hayne in 1822. The radicals or States' rights party were then in a minority. In 1826 Judge Smith was again elected to the Senate over Judge Huger. The doctrine of States rights was then in the ascendant, and the Calhoun party were left in a minority. In 1826 or 1827, Ramsay's

report and resolutions were adopted by the Legislature. This document was written by Turnbull and submitted to the Legislature by Dr. Ramsay. It contained very strong States' rights doctrine, and I recollect hearing Judge Whitner say that he went to Hugh S. Legare, in the Legislature to ask him to move a postponement of the further consideration of the report. He did not sufficiently understand the doctrine to vote on it.

In 1822-'23-'24 the Presidential election excited a good deal of feeling in South Carolina. Messrs. Adams, Jackson, Crawford, Clay and Calhoun, were all candidates. In 1821, the Legislature of South Carolina, nominated William Lowndes as a candidate for the Presidency. This great and good man died shortly afterwards, as he was crossing the Atlantic Ocean for his health, and his body was committed to the ocean. He expressed the noble sentiment, "that the Presidency of the United States was an office not to be sought or declined." In 1822, the next year, the Legislature nominated Calhoun. There was an attempt made to nominate General Jackson, by General Glasscock, of Edgefield, but he was fairly hooted down. Henry L. Pinckney made a violent speech against the nomination of Jackson, and all the Calhoun party were then opposed to Jackson. Next to Calhoun himself, it was supposed that John Q. Adams was at that time the choice of this party. In 1823 Calhoun was withdrawn in Pennsylvania, and nominated by the Jackson party of that State for the Vice Presidency. His friends in South Carolina immediately took the hint and went over to "the hero of New Orleans." Jackson was accordingly nominated by the Legislature in 1823.

In 1822, William H. Crawford, of Georgia, had a strong and most respected party in South Carolina. Judge Smith, Governor Taylor, Judge Earle, Governor Williams, Judge Evans, and many others were Crawford men. But there was a majority opposed to him, and

Judge Smith was beaten in consequence of belonging to the Crawford and States' Rights, or Radical party. From the time General Jackson was nominated, the friends of Calhoun were most cordial and hearty in his support. His military services were lauded to the skies. He was the greatest and best of men. The common people were enraptured with his military glory. Any one who opposed him was denounced. All the candidates for office had to become Jackson men, or they were sure of defeat in the election. Many of Calhoun's friends who had been very hostile to Jackson, when Calhoun himself was in the field, were now most clamorous for "old Hickory." I heard General Thompson say that McDuffie wrote him in 1822, that no one thought of running Jackson out of Tennessee, except the wagoners of Pennsylvania. Henry L. Pinckney was then editing the Charleston Mercury, and became a "whole hog" Jackson man.

In 1824 General Jackson was defeated by John Q. Adams. The election devolved on the House of Representatives in Congress, and Clay and his friends went over to Adams. Calhoun and his friends raised a cry of coalition between Adams and Clay. They were denounced as corrupt and disgraced. It became almost an unpardonable offence to defend Adams. Judge Earle continued an Adams man till 1827. He was then neutral. This Jackson mania continued till 1828, when the agitators in South Carolina turned their attention to the Tariff. Although violent in their opposition to the Tariff, they were warmly in favor of General Jackson, who voted for the Tariff of 1824 and was avowedly a Tariff candidate.

In the summer of 1823 there were numerous anti-Tariff meetings held throughout the State, as I have before said. At these meetings McDuffie, Harper, Hayne, Hamilton and other leading men addressed the people in the most exciting terms. The Tariff was rep-

resented as being destructive of the Southern States. It was called a system of robbery and plunder. Resolutions were passed pledging the meetings not to purchase any Northern manufactures or Kentucky horses. All dressed themselves in homespun. The members of Congress returned to Washington dressed in homespun. But their patriotism was short lived. They, who were first to set the example, were, in many instances, the first to break it. President Henry, of the South Carolina College, sent back to a merchant in Columbia a piece of Northern homespun, purchased by Mrs. Henry. McDuffie pulled off his broadcloth coat and gave it to his servant, saying it was fit only for the livery of slaves. I saw Judge Huger refuse to eat Irish potatoes because they were from the North. General Thompson said he would live on snow birds, and walk round the circuit on foot rather than eat Kentucky pork or ride Kentucky horses!

The Legislature met in November, 1828, and the Tariff was discussed two weeks. Parties were just beginning to be formed as to the future action of the State. All were opposed to the Tariff, but they differed very widely as to the mode and measure of redress. Some were moderate and others most violent. Hugh S. Legare was at the head of the first party, and Chancellor Harper of the latter. A great number of resolutions were offered. Almost every member who spoke prefaced it with a set of resolutions. After long debate all these resolutions were referred to a committee, of which Colonel James Gregg, of Columbia, was chairman. Colonel William C. Preston applied to Mr. Calhoun to write a report for the adoption of the Legislature. This document was accordingly prepared by Mr. Calhoun, and sent to the committee who reported it to the House for their adoption. It was the embodiment of Nullification, but disguised with a great deal of metaphysical ingenuity. The Legislature were not prepared at that

time to adopt it. The resolutions accompanying the report were adopted, and the report itself ordered to be printed. This was the only action it received at that time. It nevertheless went forth to the world as the action of the Legislature. Thousands of copies were printed in pamphlet form, and distributed all over the State and United States. It made a pamphlet of fifty or sixty pages, and was written with great ability. In it the Tariff was discussed at great length, and the right of a State asserted to interpose and arrest an unconstitutional law proposed by Congress. It was contended that this interposition of a State must stop the enforcement of the law and compel Congress to call a Convention of all the States to settle the question. If three-fourths of the Convention should determine the act to be constitutional, then the State interposing must yield, otherwise the act must be regarded as null and void! This was the origin of Nullification in South Carolina. From that day the doctrine began to be embraced and was openly avowed by the politicians.

From 1828 to the Fall of 1830, there was a gradual formation of parties in South Carolina, for and against Nullification. In the winter of 1829 and 1830 occurred the famous debate on Foote's resolutions, in which Governor Hayne announced the doctrine of Nullification, and called it "the Carolina Doctrine." This gave great popularity to the doctrine in South Carolina, during the Spring and Summer ensuing. The speech of Mr. Webster in reply to Governor Hayne was a most triumphant refutation of the doctrine and vindication of the Constitution. But it was also an argument in favor of the Tariff, and therefore not popular with the Southern people. Felix Grundy, of Tennessee, took sides with Governor Hayne and urged pretty much the same argument in debate.

In the summer of 1830, the propriety of calling a State Convention in South Carolina was discussed by



the candidates for the Legislature all over the State. On this question parties were formed and elections turned in every District. Nullification was kept in the back ground, and nothing advocated beyond a convention. The action of the State was to depend on the convention. The people were to decide for themselves in convention, what course of action should be adopted to resist the enforcement of the Tariff in South Carolina. This was considered the most prudent and politic course by the advocates of Nullification, as it would unite many in favor of a convention, who were opposed to the doctrine of Nullification. In this way the State was carried for a convention, and ultimately for Nullification. Those who opposed a convention were denounced as Federalists, aristocrats, and Tariff men, who were afraid to trust the people. There were a good many who were strongly opposed to Nullification, and yet went for a convention on the ground that the people ought to decide for themselves so grave and momentous a question. There were others, however, who, although decided in their opposition to the Tariff, did not go for a State convention. They could not see how it was possible for a convention to remedy the evil, unless it was by resorting to Nullification, disunion and civil war. They regarded the convention as Nullification in disguise, and that Nullification was nothing less than the destruction of the National Government. They were unwilling to break up the Union to get rid of the Tariff. This class of persons assumed the name of "Union men," and the others that of "States' Rights and Free Trade."

It was very natural that the Tariff men should fall into the ranks of the Union party, as they were not disposed to break up the government to get rid of a measure which they approved. But strange as it may seem, the fact is that many of the advocates of the protective system became nullifiers, and were soon the most violent of the party! It would also seem natural that

all the Federalists should take sides with the Union party, but many of these old Federalists became furious States' Rightsmen! Robert J. Turnbull was a signal instance. Calhoun, Hamilton and McDuffie were the most thorough Nationalists in 1820, and advocated the system of internal improvements, banks, &c. And they were opposed to the Virginia doctrine of States' rights. On the other hand it might have been supposed that the old States' Rightsmen and Radicals would have been found in the ranks of the "Free Trade and States' Rights" party. But this was not the case. Judge Smith, Governor Williams, General Blair and other prominent Radicals joined the Union ranks. In fact there was in the new organization of parties, a complete amalgamation of all parties and distinctions. Judge Smith and Judge Huger, who had been widely opposed all their lives in politics, found themselves acting together as Union men. Governor Miller, a States' rights man, acting in concert with McDuffie and Hamilton, his life long opponents, and in opposition to his old political leader, Judge Smith.

In most of the Districts, the election for members of the Legislature in 1830, turned on the call of a State convention. In some of the Districts, however, the question of Nullification was made, as it ought to have been. This was done in Abbeville District, and the anti-Nullification ticket prevailed. In Pendleton all the candidates came out in favor of a convention, but some of them afterwards went against Nullification. In Charleston the Nullifiers had tact enough to start an unpledged ticket and succeeded in electing one or two of their candidates. Judge Huger resigned his seat on the Bench, and was elected to the Legislature from Charleston. Mr. Poinsett was also elected at the same time. Mr. Petigru was beaten for the Senate by Richard Cunningham. In Greenville, General Thompson was defeated on the ground that he was in favor of a convention.

The Legislature met in November 1830, and was the ablest Legislature which had met in the State for many years. Each party had put forth its strongest men. Of the Union party, there were Judge Smith, Judge Huger, Governor Manning, Mr. Poinsett, Colonel Williams and others. On the Nullification side there were Colonel W. C. Preston, Alfred Huger, Barnwell Rhett, Colonel F. Huger and others. These two Hugers were then acting with the Nullification party, but both of them afterwards were in sympathy with the Union party. Judge Huger made a speech of great ability on the Tariff, Convention, Nullification, Disunion, &c. Colonel Preston replied in a very eloquent and brilliant speech and the debate was continued for two weeks. There was a small majority of the House in favor of calling a Convention, but not two-thirds, so the measure failed for a season. How the vote stood in the Senate I do not now remember. It was confidently expected by the Union party that they would gain the ascendancy in the State, at the next election. But in this we were greatly mistaken. There is no doubt that a majority of the Legislature and a majority of the people of South Carolina were at that time opposed to nullifying the Tariff laws. The members were afraid to record their votes in favor of nullification. The debate led to a challenge between Judge Huger and Barnwell Rhett, which was however settled amicably and honorably.

During this session of the Legislature, "The Free Trade and States' Rights Association" met in Columbia for the purpose of organizing their party more effectually. They had already formed in each district a club which the Union party called Jabobin. These clubs eventually gave them the power of the State. They were first suggested by Governor Hamilton. Their purpose was to have concert of action throughout the State, raise money, publish campaign documents and distribute them amongst the people. If the Union party

had pursued the same course they would not have been beaten so easily as they were in the next election.

In the Spring of 1831, the Free Trade Association met in Charleston. The most inflammatory speeches were made to stir up the South against the North. It was pretty well ascertained about this time that the nullifiers had a majority in the State, and this carried over all the doubtful, timid and wavering. All who wished office joined the majority. The nullifiers were the agitators, active and indefatigable, whilst the Union party was wholly inactive. In every district there was a meeting of these agitators once a month on saturday, and the doctrine of nullification explained. They declared it a peaceful remedy to get rid of an unconstitutional act of Congress. It was said to be the Virginia doctrine originated by Mr. Jefferson in 1798.

In the Fall of 1831, Mr. Calhoun was elected United States Senator in the place of General Hayne, whom he induced reluctantly to resign, that he might take his place in the United States Senate, and General Hayne was elected Governor of South Carolina. The Union party, about this time, held their first convention in Columbia for the purpose of adopting some mode of resistance to the Tariff. A Southern convention was recommended and delegates appointed to visit each one of the Southern States. It was manifest that the people desired some measure of relief in order to get rid of this onerous taxation. Judge David Johnson was sent to Georgia and addressed the convention then in session at Milledgeville. The object of this mission was however more to check the progress of nullification in that State than anything else. The nullifiers understood this, and sent Chancellor Harper to counteract any impression which Union delegates might make in Georgia. Judge King was sent to Tennessee. He addressed the Legislature in session at Nashville and was favorably received. Judge Huger and Mr. Poinsett

were to go to Virginia and North Carolina. Mr. Cresswell was sent to Alabama.

In the Fall of 1832, our second Union Convention assembled in Columbia during the session of the Legislature. After the Fall elections were over, it was ascertained that two-thirds of both houses of the Legislature would be in favor of calling a State Convention. Governor Hayne immediately convened the Legislature, which called forthwith a Convention of the State. This Convention embraced the leading men of both parties and was a very able assembly. Judge O'Neill, Judge Richardson and Alfred Huger were elected by Spartanburg District, although they did not reside there. Judge Huger was elected by Horry District, and Governor Middleton was sent from Greenville. On the other side, McDuffie, Huger, Hamilton, Harper, Colcock, Barnwell and Rhett were elected members of the Convention.

The proceedings of this Convention I have given elsewhere and will not repeat them at any length. The ordinance of nullification was adopted without debate.

The Union members saw that argument would avail nothing, for every Nullifier was like a drilled soldier ready to obey orders, and vote as the party should direct. The ordinance was drawn by Chancellor Harper and provided for a dissolution of the Union. The Tariff laws were declared null and void, and the Judges and Juries were to be sworn to say so whenever the question came before them. The Legislature was authorized to make all laws for carrying the ordinance into effect. The address to the people of the United States was written by Governor McDuffie. Robert J. Turnbull drew the address to the people of South Carolina. The exposition of the Tariff was from Governor Hayne. The Convention adjourned and the Legislature assembled immediately afterwards. They proceeded to appropriate money for the purchase of arms. An army of twenty thousand volunteers was raised to enforce the *peaceable* remedy.

It was under these circumstances that the second Union Convention assembled. Our object was to preserve the Union and defend ourselves. It was decided not to take the oath of the ordinance. Letters were received from President Jackson, declaring the proceedings of the State Convention treasonable. The protection of the United States was promised. Forces were sent to Castle Pickney and Sullivan's Island. These Forts were put in a proper state of defence. General Scott was sent to take command of the United States forces. The sloop *Natchez* was stationed in the port of Charleston, and the nullifiers were themselves completely checkmated. The Ordinance of Nullification declared that no customs should be collected in South Carolina after the first day of February, 1833. But the nullifiers called a meeting of their party, in Charleston, and suspended the operation of the ordinance. Governor Hamilton had made an importation of sugar for the purpose of testing the validity of nullification. He made his boast that they would all go to the death for his sugar. But his sugar was placed in Castle Pinckney, and remained there, till the duties were paid. No death happened.

Great threats were made, and soon some show of preparation for an attack on Castle Pinckney. Contracts were made for provisions and supplies for the army, on its march to Charleston. In order to get volunteers, the militia was called out and eloquent appeals made to them. But in the Spring a compromise of the Tariff question was made at Washington by Clay and Calhoun. The protection of Domestic Manufacture, was provided for, but a gradual reduction of the duties was to take place. The acceptance of this compromise was very surprising. It was, in fact, an abandonment of principle, on the part of Mr. Calhoun and his party, as the compromise fixed the Tariff on the country for ten years. Coarse woollens were subjected to an increase of duties.

Immediately after this compromise, the State Convention was convened to rescind the Ordinance of Nullification. The Convention proposed to pass an ordinance, requiring an oath of allegiance to the State. Governor Wilson moved that all citizens be required to take it at the polls before they were allowed to vote. The oath was at last abandoned, and the Legislature instructed to pass it in the ordinary way, by an amendment of the Constitution. The Force Bill of Congress, providing for the better collection of the revenue, was nullified. General Blair said this was like "the idiot nullifying the whirlwind."

In the Fall of 1833, the Legislature abolished the whole militia system, for the purpose of getting rid of the Union officers. They passed a test oath requiring all officers of the militia to swear allegiance to the State. This oath was indignantly refused by the Union party, and referred to the courts. The case was argued in Charleston and Columbia, and decided to be unconstitutional. This was a great victory for the Union party, and a sore defeat to the nullifiers. This oath was the subject of discussion throughout the State, in the Summer of 1834. When the Legislature assembled, two-thirds of both Houses passed it, and the Constitution was accordingly amended. The Committee declared that it was not intended to be inconsistent with the oath to the United States, and this explanation was accepted by the Union party. But by many it was regarded as an abandonment of principle. In after years the oath was taken by all without any hesitation or conscientious scruples. True allegiance to the State was not inconsistent with allegiance to the United States. There is, in fact, no difference in a Republic between allegiance and obedience. It might be said that there is no such thing as allegiance in a Republic. The word was of Feudal origin, and has no application to a Republic.



HISTORY OF THE CONVENTIONS

HELD IN COLUMBIA, S. C., IN 1832 AND IN 1833.

WRITTEN BY GOVERNOR PERRY IN 1872.

IN the Fall of 1832, a convention of the State was called for the purpose of nullifying the Tariff acts of Congress. Governor Henry Middleton, Colonel Thomas P. Brockman, Silas R. Whitten and myself were elected members of the convention from the District of Greenville. Judge Earle, Doctor William Butler, William Thruston and Colonel Benjamin Arnold were the candidates of the Nullification party. The Union majority at the election was about four to one in Greenville. Governor Middleton, before his mission to Russia, had been a citizen of this district, and owned a large landed estate, which he sold to George W. Earle, Esq. The Summer preceding the election the Governor had spent in Greenville, and as it was well known that he was a staunch Union man, we determined to put him in nomination for the State Convention.

Sunday evening before the convention met in Columbia, Governor Middleton and myself went from the Congaree Hotel, where we were boarding, to see Judge Huger, at Hunt's Hotel, near the State House, where most of the Union members were staying. The Judge spoke of the propriety of our not taking seats in the convention. He said it was improper for us to do so, and that he wished a meeting of the Union members that night to determine on the proper course to be pursued. After supper we all assembled, about thirty in number, delegates and visitors. Judge Richardson was called to the chair, and Judge Huger made a long speech against the delegates taking their seats in the convention. He said he had been sent by the Union party of Charleston to urge this course. "If we take our seats in the con-

vention," said the Judge, "we shall be the means of keeping the Nullification party together. We shall hear things said there that will call for blood!" He said it would be impossible to sit there and listen to their speeches without resenting what is said. "If they talk as I suppose they will, blood must be shed! It cannot be avoided."

Mr. Wilkins spoke next, and said that, although he had been sent by his constituents to take his seat in the convention, yet, if the Union party thought it better not to do so, he would take the responsibility of following their advice. The proposition of Judge Huger was opposed at some length by Colonel Ervine and Colonel Phillips, of Chesterfield. I expressed my willingness to acquiesce in any course that might be adopted, but that I thought it better to take our seats. Judge Richardson opposed the proposition, and urged strongly the propriety of going into the convention. It was then agreed to postpone the further consideration of the question till the next morning, at 9 o'clock. We met the next day agreeable to our adjournment. Judge Huger was unwell and did not attend our meeting. It was decided that we should take our seats. The next question was, whether an oath would be required of the delegates, and if so, what would be the nature of it? It seems that the Union members had some suspicion that an oath might be required, which would be inconsistent with their allegiance to the Federal Government. In order to ascertain this fact, a committee was appointed, consisting of Judge Richardson, Governor Manning and myself.

Judge David Johnson then addressed the caucus, and informed us that he had just returned from the State of Georgia, where he had been sent as a delegate by the Union party. Chancellor Harper was sent as a delegate by the Nullification party. On their arrival in Milledgeville, Judge Johnson addressed a note to the State Con-

vention, which he found in session, and went before them to explain his views and those of his party in South Carolina. He said two-thirds of the people of Georgia were of the Union party. The nullifiers called themselves "Resistance Men," but would not assume the odious cognomen by which their political brethren in South Carolina were known. They were for a Southern convention. Both parties had organized clubs and associations. He had ascertained that the South Carolina nullifiers would go into a Southern Convention if it was proposed by Georgia.

The State Convention was organized at 12 o'clock, and was indeed a most dignified assembly, containing most of the great men of both parties in South Carolina. They were fine looking gentlemen, and showed the greatest respect for each other throughout the whole sitting of the convention. No oath was required of the members, and could not have been with any sort of propriety. General Hamilton, then Governor of the State, was elected President. His address on taking the chair was a fine and appropriate one. The members were called on to enroll their names, by districts, and the first district called was Greenville. As I had headed the ticket elected from this district, it gave me the honor of having my name at the head of the parchment Roll.

A committee of twenty-one was appointed by the President to take into consideration the Tariff, and report thereon. The convention met on Wednesday to hear the report, the Ordinance of Nullification was also reported, and expressed very frankly the purpose and intention of the convention. I remember Judge Huger said it had cured him of his indisposition. He had read it on his sick bed, and immediately felt well enough to get up and dress! But he said the address on the subject of the Tariff reported at the same time was most ably and dexterously drawn. The Ordinance of Nullification was drawn by Chancellor Harper, and the report

on the Tariff by General Hayne. The address to the people of South Carolina was written by Robert J. Turnbull, Esq., and declared in plain language that no one should dare resist it. The address to the people of the several States was from the pen of Governor McDuffie, and was really drawn with great ability.

The Union members held their caucus every night and made speeches, eliciting the views of each other; and in this way we were enabled to act harmoniously and as a unit in the convention. I submitted one night a resolution, which I proposed to offer in the convention, referring all the action of the convention to the people for ratification or rejection. This was opposed by Judge Huger in a long speech. I replied, and said, if the people of South Carolina were disposed to adopt the proceedings of the convention, however abhorrent they might be to my feelings and judgment, I was disposed to acquiesce in their action. Thirty years after this, when South Carolina seceded from the Federal Union, I put in practice the resolution I then proposed to adopt. Judge O'Neill and Governor Manning both spoke against the resolution. Judge Richardson advocated it, and Governor Middleton was in favor of its adoption, but did not speak. Finding the opposition so strong, I withdrew the resolution.

It was proposed in the Union caucus to send delegates to Virginia and North Carolina, and agreed to. Judge Huger and Mr. Poinsett were appointed. The subject of the "test oath" in the Ordinance of Nullification was most earnestly discussed in caucus. It proposed to swear a Judge to enforce the Ordinance of Nullification before he was allowed to sit on the trial of a case arising under it. Some of the Judges declared they would never take it, and others gave no expression of opinion on the subject. Judge Huger was terrible in his denunciations of the test oath. He said when his rights had to be adjudged by a perjured Judge and jury, it was a mockery

of all judicial trials and justice was at an end. The Ordinance of Nullification was to go into operation in February. The convention then adjourned, hoping and expecting that Congress would make some modification of the Tariff before the day when the ordinance was to go into operation.

Towards the latter part of December, 1832, the Union party of South Carolina met in convention in Columbia during the sitting of the Legislature, and commenced their session in the Presbyterian church. The venerable Colonel Taylor, father of Governor John Taylor, who had distinguished himself as a gallant officer of the Revolutionary war, was elected president of the convention. Most of the distinguished Union men were members of this convention. Resolutions were called for, and I submitted a number adopted at a public meeting in Greenville, as an indication of public sentiment amongst my constituents. They were referred, with others of a similar character, to a caucus at which Judge Richardson presided. Judge O'Neill made a speech and advised moderation. Judge Huger replied with great tact and ability. Judge David Johnson then took the floor, and moved an adjournment. The next morning he spoke for some time, urging prudence and moderation. Judge Huger replied in a noble speech. He spoke of the tyranny and oppression of the dominant party, the disgrace of the test oath and the horrors of disunion. He completely demolished Judge Johnson's argument and appeal in favor of moderation. Whilst speaking, he said: "Can I be called a freeman, when I am to be tried by a perjured Judge and a packed jury?" This expression met with great applause from the whole convention. If there had been any disposition on the part of Judges O'Neill and Johnson to falter or waver in this matter, the speech of Judge Huger settled them. There was no flinching after that speech. I walked with Judge Johnson from the committee room to the church. He said to

me: "We shall all agree," and then read a letter just received from Colonel William Cumming, of Georgia, in which he deprecated any tumultuous rising of the people. "This," said Colonel Cumming, "would only result in murderous broils." He urged on us to wait for the general government to put down nullification by some signal act at once and forever. There were few greater or wiser men than Colonel William Cumming in America at that time, and not one more patriotic, gallant and honorable. Judge Johnson told me not to go to the inauguration of Governor Hayne, who was to be the first one to take the test oath, when he qualified, as it would be countenancing moral perjury.

When the Convention assembled, Colonel Memminger submitted a plan for organizing the Union party throughout the State for self-defence and protection. "Washington Societies" were to be formed in each district, with as many branches in every neighborhood as possible. Each society was to have a president and three vice-presidents. In case of emergency, and in defence of their constitution and legal rights, these societies were to become military companies. Mr. Poinsett was commander-in-chief, with division officers in different sections of the State. Colonel Robert Cunningham was appointed for the upper division of the State. This looked very much as if we were preparing for war.

Mr. Poinsett made a speech and told us that he had what he was going to say from General Jackson himself. Governor Hamilton, General Hayne, McDuffie and Colonel Drayton had taken a very active part in the election of General Jackson, and after the election they were invited to the General's room. He told them it was his intention to have had a South Carolinian in his Cabinet, but on reflection he did not think it advisable to make such an appointment. It would appear as if too many Federal honors were given to South Carolina. He himself, was a native of South Carolina; Mr. Calhoun, the

Vice-President, was a South Carolinian ; Mr. Poinsett, who held the highest mission in Spanish America, was a South Carolinian, and Governor Middleton, who held one of the most important missions in Europe, was a citizen of South Carolina. If, therefore, he should give another South Carolinian a seat in his Cabinet, he would not be doing justice to the other States. He expressed his great obligations to them for their exertions in his election, and regretted that he could not consistently, with his duty to the whole country, reward any of them for their kindness and friendship. Mr. Poinsett said this interview had produced a coldness between the President and all the South Carolina delegation, except Colonel Drayton.

Mr. Petigru made a speech the first night of our meeting, which was a very beautiful one. He said: "Nullification is not the State, nor have I ever believed that my country consisted alone in the swamps of the lower part of the State, or the rocks of the upper part, nor the pines of the middle State; but I have been taught to believe that my country was a wise and rational system of liberty." This expression was nobly commented on by Judge Huger. He said he had remarked a thousand times that he would go with the State; but denied that the State was then acting. The people had been cheated and deceived. He would lay down his life for South Carolina, but not for the tyrants who ruled her. He said he would not sheathe his sword in the bosom of a brother, but his own bosom should become the sheath of a sword before he would submit to tyranny and oppression.

Two letters were read to the Convention from General Jackson, one to Mr. Poinsett and the other to Colonel O'Hanlon. In these letters he said the Governor's Message was rebellious throughout, and if he raised an army, it would be treason. He pledged himself to use all the power of the government to enforce the laws and put

down nullification. I saw and read the letter to Colonel O'Hanlon many years afterwards. It was in Jackson's own handwriting, and was exceedingly well written. It was a long letter, and breathed the same spirit and sentiments which were immediately afterwards so nobly and eloquently expressed in his proclamation. In organizing the Union party, Mr. Poinsett said if guns were needed, the arsenal at Augusta would be opened to us. "Or," said he, "if you want money to sustain yourselves in defending the country, it shall be supplied you."

On my return home, I met Colonel Francis H. Huger at Newberry Court House. He was the liberator of Marquis LaFayette, from the dungeon of Olmuts, and as pure and gallant a gentleman as ever drew the breath of life. He spoke very freely in regard to the action of the State Convention and Legislature, and said that if no one else in South Carolina took the test oath, it would place Governor Hayne in no enviable position. The Colonel said Judge Gantt had told him that morning that he would never take the test oath. Judge O'Neill told me in Columbia, that Judge Earle was as unwilling to take it, as he or Judge Richardson was.

STATE CONVENTION OF 1833.

President Jackson's proclamation was issued soon after my return home from the Union Convention, and before the adjournment of the Legislature. It produced the greatest consternation in the ranks of the nullifiers. They saw then, for the first time, the reality of their danger, and the certainty of the failure of the issue they were precipitating on the country. They had the whole weight of the Federal Government, with its army and navy to oppose, and found little sympathy or hope of help from the other Southern States. Nevertheless, they went on volunteering and organizing their troops, as if they intended to be ready for action when the ordinance

was to go into operation. But before the appointed day, the people of Charleston held a meeting in the circus, and postponed the ordinance and action of the State.

The State Convention was ordered by Governor Hamilton, the President, to meet again on the eleventh day of March, 1833, for the purpose of considering the compromise of the Tariff, made by Clay and Calhoun, and also to receive Benjamin W. Leigh, of Virginia, who had been sent by the Legislature of that State, to South Carolina, as a mediator between her and the general government. The Executive Committee of the Union party issued a circular directing their members not to attend the meeting of the convention. They did not think it proper that we should assist in repealing the ordinance of Nullification. Its operation had already been postponed for the purpose of repealing it when the Convention should assemble. Letters were afterwards received from Judge Huger and Judge O'Neall, countermanding the order of the circular.

The convention met at twelve o'clock, and the President, General Hamilton, made a very pretty address, and resigned the chair for the purpose of its being filled by General Hayne, who had been elected Governor of the State since the adjournment of the Convention. The correspondence of Mr. Leigh, commissioner of Virginia, was then read, and ordered to be printed. Mr. Leigh was invited to take a seat in the Convention. Colonel Warren, a gallant old revolutionary officer, who had lost one leg in battle, and who was a very warm nullifier, moved that Mr. Leigh be styled "Embassador" instead of commissioner, inasmuch as he came from one sovereign State as her representative to another sovereign State, for the purpose of mediating between her and a third power or government. There was a good deal of logic in the gallant old Colonel's motion, had the premises been as true as they were assumed to be by the

doctrine of nullification. But no one had the courtesy to second the motion, and it failed. Mr. Leigh then made his appearance. He was a fine looking gentleman, stout and well built, ordinary stature, and about fifty years old. We were all pleased with his appearance and deportment, whilst he remained in Columbia. Mr. Leigh had the reputation of being one of Virginia's greatest men, and the ablest lawyer in the State.

Mr. Calhoun, who had just returned from Washington, was also invited to take a seat in the convention. He looked a good deal fatigued and care-worn. I heard him say afterwards, that he had to ride in an open wagon in order to reach Columbia in time for the convention. The adjustment of the Tariff, the mediation of Virginia and the passage of the force bill were all referred to the committee of twenty-one. Wednesday the committee reported an ordinance repealing the Ordinance of Nullification, and accepting the adjustment of the Tariff as a triumph of nullification. The report accompanying the ordinance boasted a good deal of the efficacy of nullification. But some of the hottest nullifiers did not regard the compromise as a victory, and accepted it with great reluctance. Governor Miller, then United States Senator, spoke at length on the subject of the Tariff, and gave the history of Clay's bill, with a great many hard thrusts at General Jackson. Barnwell Rhett, then Barnwell Smith, made a most violent speech, and said he had lost all attachment to the Union, and defied any one to lay his hand upon his breast and say he loved the Union! He said the report was untrue, and that he voted for the report on the ordinance on account of the mediation of Virginia, and not on account of Clay's bill. This speech called up the gallant old Warren with his crutches. He said he had fought for the Union, and bled for the Union, and that, although a warm nullifier, he for one, could lay his hand upon his heart, and say he loved the Union. "With the Union," said he, "we are

everything, and without it we are nothing." These remarks had a most happy effect on the convention. Governor Hamilton then rose and said he was mortified at the criticisms of Mr. Smith, and desired to know wherein the report was untrue. Some personal remarks passed between these two gentlemen. Mr. Smith said when he spoke again, it should be in a way that the whole world might hear him. Mr. Robert Barnwell addressed the convention in a most spirit-stirring speech, and was in favor of accepting Clay's compromise. Governor Wilson then addressed the convention in favor of the report, and spoke in high terms of the triumph of nullification. The report and ordinance were then adopted.

Judge Richardson also spoke on the adjustment of the Tariff. The Judge's speech brought out General McDuffie, who treated the Judge's argument with some want of courtesy. He called the exceptions which the Judge made to the report as a "quibble," a "technicality," &c. He said it was with great reluctance he had consented to vote for the Tariff adjustment. The great inducement for his doing so was the repeal of the duties on silks, linens and worsted stuffs. These articles were purchased with our cotton. Some of us thought this a strange reason for him to assign for his vote. The summer before, he had objected to the Tariff, because the duties on silks, &c., which were luxuries, had been reduced, whilst there was no reduction on the necessaries of life, such as iron, salt, and coarse woollens. Silks, linens, and worsted stuffs were not manufactured in the United States, and therefore, all duties on such articles were for revenue and not for protection. The North might be willing to let these articles come free of duty, in order to raise a revenue on articles manufactured in the United States.

Judge Richardson replied to General McDuffie. Before doing so he came to my seat and asked me if I thought

he ought to notice the rudeness McDuffie had shown in replying to his argument. I replied no. The Judge then said: "Now, upon your honor as a *prieux chevalier*, you say this." I told him I did not think it became a gentleman of his age and position to be too sensitive or captious. The Judge and McDuffie had had some sparring at a public discussion the summer preceding. McDuffie alluded to his quitting the Bench to make political speeches, and said "the shoemaker had better stick to his last."

The ordinance nullifying Webster's force bill came up for discussion just before the convention adjourned. It contained an oath which it was proposed every man elected to office in South Carolina should take, swearing that he was a citizen of the free and sovereign State of South Carolina, that he owed allegiance to the State, and abjured all other allegiance incompatible with the same. In the report of the committee the words "free, sovereign and independent State," and also, "primary and paramount allegiance," the words "independent," "primary," and "paramount," were stricken out in the committee of twenty-one, on motion of General Hamilton. The oath had been framed by a sub-committee, of which Turnbull was Chairman. Whilst it was under discussion in the convention, Robert Barnwell moved to strike out the oath altogether. He wished the Legislature to pass the oath in the ordinary way, by amendment of the Constitution. Jude O'Neill made a capital speech in favor of striking out. Chancellor Harper replied, and went into the doctrine of Nullification at great length. In the course of his remarks he said that in no other country in the world, would the assembling of such a body as the Union convention have been permitted. They were actuated by a rebellious spirit, and actually nosing the Legislature in their capital. This severe and harsh language was unexpected from Judge Harper, and gave just offense to his Union friends, sev-

eral of whom were on the Bench with him. Robert J. Turnbull then took the floor, and spoke like a tyrant would have done with the game in his own hands. In the course of his remarks he poured out the vials of his wrath on the Union party. Colonel Phillips, of Chesterfield, afterwards a member of Congress from Mobile, Alabama, replied to him with great and deserved severity. His remarks were personal. General Hamilton went over to Turnbull and sat by him whilst Phillips was speaking, and I have no doubt, urged him not to reply. Phillips was a young man of spirit and talent. As soon as he took his seat Colonel Warren took the floor and moved an adjournment. He said we were getting too hot, and he wanted time for us to cool down. It was Saturday evening, and he said we could go to church Sunday, hear prayers, and come back Monday morning, better prepared for business. The convention took a recess till five o'clock that evening.

When we met in the evening, the mediation of Virginia came up, and whilst the report and resolutions were under discussion, I moved that they be separated, and gave as a reason for my motion, that I could vote for the resolutions with a great deal of pleasure, but the report contained doctrines which I could not sanction with my vote. They were accordingly separated and the resolutions passed unanimously. The convention then adjourned till Monday.

It was generally understood that further efforts would be made to bring about a compromise between the two parties, and our abandonment of the test oath. When the convention met Monday morning, Mr. Burt, of Abbeville, came to me, and said that his party were anxious to hear the Union members express their sentiments, freely and fully on Wilkins' bill, that if they would pledge themselves to resist that odious force bill, it would have great weight with the nullifiers in dropping the test oath. Judge Colcock rose and called on Judge

O'Neill to let them know the views of the Union members. He also expressed the hope that other members of the Union party would favor the convention with their views on the force bill. Judge O'Neill addressed the convention in a few remarks, and I followed in a speech of some length.

I said that when I left home, I told my constituents the Ordinance of Nullification would be repealed, and that we should once more be a united and happy people. I thought there was no one in the convention who wished to keep up any longer our political division and party excitement. I had listened, with great pleasure, to the remarks of General Hamilton, and felt grateful to Mr. Barnwell for the motion he had made. The oath under consideration was well calculated to continue and perpetuate our party divisions. That there was a strong prejudice on the part of the people against all oaths of a political or religious character. That patriotism was not worth having which could only be secured by an oath. Our government was one of opinion, and not force. It is founded in the affections of the people, and not in their fears. The force bill would become a dead letter as soon as the ordinance of nullification was repealed. An attempt to force its provisions would then be tyranny, and this I would always resist, come from what source it may.

1 Governor John Lyde Wilson took the floor when I had concluded, and made a most violent speech against the course pursued by the Union party, and indulged in much coarse abuse. He was then broken down, sottish in his habits, and a bankrupt in character and fortune. Whilst he was speaking the Honorable A. Burt came to where Judge O'Neill and myself were sitting, and requested that we would not reply to him. He said Wilson was not speaking the sentiments or feelings of the dominant party, and they disclaimed his language and the course he was pursuing. Judge O'Neill said he

must reply to some of his remarks, but Mr. Barnwell moved a recess till four o'clock. In the mean time the nullifiers went into caucus as to the propriety of giving up the test oath. The result was, to refer the whole matter to the Legislature to declare what allegiance was, and to prescribe the oath. When the convention re-assembled, the proposition, drawn by Chancellor Johnston, was submitted as a compromise, and rejected by the Union party. It passed, however, by a very large vote, though it did not meet the approval of the most violent of the nullifiers. Late in the night Governor Miller moved to strike out the whole reference to the Legislature, and the vote was 73 for, and 79 against striking out. If all the union members had been present, the motion would have prevailed. Governor Miller said too, it would be much better to protest against the force bill, than to nullify it. That if we protested all the South would be with us, and if we nullified we stood alone. The convention dissolved itself about eight o'clock in the night.

Messrs. Barnwell, Miller and Colecock were the most moderate nullifiers in the convention. Hamilton, also, acted with considerable moderation. In the address delivered by General Hayne, as President of the convention, he stated that the contest had just commenced, and was not over. We must go home, and keep up the spirit by which we had been actuated for years past, and that our services would yet be needed by South Carolina. This advice of Governor Hayne was followed until, thirty years afterwards, the country was plunged into a civil war.

Whilst the ordinance nullifying the force bill was under consideration in committee, General McDuffie very wisely enquired how they proposed to nullify the military provisions of the bill? He thought the army and navy of the United States required something more than an ordinance to nullify them.



SPEECH OF HON. B. F. PERRY

AT THE

Public Meeting in the Court House, Greenville, S. C., on Monday the Third Day of July, 1865.

[This is the speech that occasioned so much excitement at Washington and the North, when it was published and ascertained as the views of the "man" who had been appointed Provisional Governor by President Johnson, and caused a Cabinet meeting.]

MR. CHAIRMAN: This public meeting of the citizens of Greenville is one of deep humiliation and sorrow. A cruel and bloody war has swept over the Southern States. One hundred and fifty thousand of our bravest and most gallant men have fallen on the fields of battle! The land is filled with mourning widows and orphans! There is scarcely a house in which there has not been weeping for some one lost. Three thousand millions of dollars have been spent by the Southern States in carrying on this war! And now we are called upon to give up four millions of slaves, worth two thousand millions of dollars. Moreover, our country has been ravaged and desolated! Our cities, towns and villages are smouldering ruins! Conquering armies occupy the country. The Confederacy has fallen, and we have been deprived of all civil government and political rights! We have neither law nor order. There is no protection for life, liberty or property. Everywhere there is demoralization, rapine and murder! Hunger and starvation are upon us! And now we meet as a disgraced and subjugated people to petition the conquerors to restore our lost rights! Such are the bitter fruits of Secession!

How different, Mr. Chairman, in tone, spirit and character, was that meeting of the citizens of Greenville,

just five years ago, in this same building, which inaugurated this most fatal, bloody and disastrous revolution! Then all was joy, hope, excitement and confidence. Seated in my law office, looking towards this court house, I saw a crowd of persons rushing in, composed of college boys, and their professors, merchants, mechanics, doctors, lawyers and idlers from the hotel, with a sprinkling of farmers and planters. Soon I heard the public speaking commence, and the air was rent with the wild and rapturous applause of the excited audience. The more extravagant the denunciations of the Union, the louder were the shouts of applause! I repeated in my heart the memorable words of Christ: "*Father, forgive them, they know not what they do!*" My mind was then filled with the worst forebodings as to the future. I thought I foresaw all the evils which have since befallen our beloved country. But my political influence was gone, and my voice was powerless to stay the angry and excited feelings of my fellow citizens.

We were at that time, Mr. Chairman, the most prosperous, free and happy people on the face of the earth. The sun had never shone on an empire or nation whose future was more bright and glorious. But the public mind had, unfortunately, been prepared, in the Southern States, for thirty years past, for an effort at disunion. The people had been induced to believe that disunion would be a *quiet* blessing, and that it might come without war and bloodshed! The leading politicians of the South, were anxiously waiting for some plausible pretext for seceding from the American Union. The election of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by a sectional party at the North, was regarded as a favorable opportunity for accomplishing their long cherished purpose. We were told after this event that there was no longer any safety in the Union for slavery or our constitutional rights.

Let us now see, Mr. Chairman, if there was any truth

in this assertion. Mr. Lincoln was elected in direct conformity of the Federal Constitution. He was elected in consequence of the political divisions and dissensions at the South. Had the Southern States been united on *one* candidate, instead of voting for *three*, the result would have been different. Mr. Lincoln only received a little more than one-third of the votes cast in the Presidential election. He therefore went into office with a large majority of the American people opposed to his administration. There was at that time a majority of twenty-seven members in the House of Representatives in Congress in opposition to President Lincoln. There was a majority of six members of the Senate of the United States opposed to him. And Sir, a majority of the Supreme Court of the United States, were opposed to the avowed principles of the Republican party, which elected Mr. Lincoln. Where then was the power of the President to injure the South, or invade the constitutional rights of the Southern States? He was in a minority in both Houses of Congress, and in the Supreme Court, with a large majority of the American people opposed to him. He was powerless. No legislation would be had and no appointment made, without the approval of the Southern States through the Democratic party. The election of President Lincoln was, then, no just grounds for secession.

But it was urged, Mr. Chairman, that the Republican party would soon obtain the ascendancy in both Houses of Congress, then the constitutional rights of the Southern States would be destroyed. There was no reason for this assertion, when we reflect that a majority of the people of the United States were opposed to the principles of the Republican party. Admit, however, for argument, that the President and his party might be in the ascendant and would make aggressions on Southern rights and institutions. Then, sir, we should have had the whole Democracy of the North rallying around their

violated constitution, and standing by the South. And if war had come, it would have been at the North, where the people were divided, and not at the South where the people were all united. It would have been a *civil* as well as a *sectional* war, in the Union, and for the Constitution of the Union. But sir, there was not the slightest probability of such an issue. The Republican party voted almost unanimously in Congress, in 1860, that they had no power to interfere with slavery in the States, and no wish to do so, if they had. When the Southern States seceded from the Union, and withdrew their members from Congress, they took the Federal Government out of the hands of the Democracy and turned it over to the Republican party. They abandoned their friends and allies, the Northern Democracy, who had manfully stood by the South for more than a half century, to the tender mercies of their political opponents and enemies. This was not in accordance with Southern honor and chivalry.

What other cause had the Southern States for their act of secession? For eight years immediately preceding this revolution, during the administrations of President Pierce and Buchanan, there was not an act of the Federal Government of which they complained. They could not complain, for the government was in their own hands. It is true the Northern *State Legislatures* had nullified certain acts of Congress favorable to the South. But was this just cause of rebelling against the *Federal Government*? Should they not have adhered closer to that government, and assisted in enforcing its laws? How strange to think of the Southern States rebelling against a government of which they did not complain.

It is said that the Southern States left the Union to preserve slavery! How fatal the mistake! Every one ought to have known that slavery was stronger in the Union than it possibly could be out of the Union. In-

deed, the Union was its only safety and protection. Whilst in the Union we had the power of recapturing our fugitive slaves. Out of the Union we could have no such power. The whole civilized world was opposed to us on this question, and as a *slave power*, would have looked upon us with scornful jealousy.

But, Mr. Chairman, the madness and folly of the Southern States, in commencing this revolution, is now manifest to all. There was fanaticism at the South as well as at the North. Politicians did all they could in both sections to stir up the worst passions of the human heart, and make the people forget they were fellow citizens of one great republic. We were told that the Northern people would not fight; that there would be no war; and offers were made to drink all the blood that would be shed. History should have taught them that no great government like ours ever was or ever could be broken up without war and all its dire consequences.

How was it, Mr. Chairman, that the Southern States failed in their rebellion? It is true that the contest was a most unequal one. Eight million persons fighting against twenty-two millions! The one having neither government, army, navy or manufactures; and the other having all these, with an influx of foreigners and Southern negroes to increase their strength. The Southern people are an impulsive, enthusiastic people, but they want the energy and perseverance of the North. I said to my friends at the beginning of the war, that my greatest apprehension was, that our soldiers would get tired of the war and quit it. I did not believe it possible to hold in subjection eight millions of people, scattered over such an immense territory as composed the Southern States, if they were disposed to make any and every sacrifice, as the Dutch Republic did in their war of independence. But, sir, one great cause of our failure was, that the HEART of the Southern people never was

in this revolution! There was not a State, except South Carolina, in which there was a majority in favor of secession! Even in South Carolina, there were many districts in which one-half of the voters did not go to the polls.

Mr. Chairman, I will here frankly say, as I have often said during the past four years, that there was not a man in the United States who more deeply regretted the secession of the Southern States than I did at the beginning of the revolution. There is not now in the Southern States any one who feels more bitterly the humiliation and degradation of going back into the Union than I do. Still, I know that I shall be more prosperous and happy in the Union than out of it.

It has been too common, Mr. Chairman, to attribute the failure of this great revolution to the President of the late Confederacy. (*) This, sir, is a mistake. The people were themselves to blame for its failure. They were unwilling to make those sacrifices which were essential to its success. Many who were most prominent in the movement, never did anything for it after the war commenced. Instead of seeking their proper position, in front of the battle, they sought "bomb-proofs" for themselves and their sons. There were others who got into "soft places" and official positions, where they could speculate and make fortunes on government funds. In fact, towards the latter part of the war, it seemed that everyone was trying to keep out of the army, and was willing to pay anything, and make any sacrifice to do so. When General Johnston surrendered his army, he had on his muster roll seventy thousand men, but only fourteen thousand to be carried into battle! General Lee's army was in the same condition. Where were the absentees? At home, on furlough, staying over their furloughs, deserted and straggling. At no time during the

*NOTE.—Jefferson Davis.

last three years of the war, was there more than one-third of the army ready to march into battle! How was it possible for the Southern people to succeed, acting thus?

Congress, too, Mr. Chairman, is greatly to blame for their exemptions. All between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, should have been forced into the army and kept there. It mattered not whether he was a doctor, lawyer, preacher, politician, editor, or school teacher. If an able bodied man, he should have been sent to the army. But strange to say, the two classes of men who were mainly instrumental in plunging their country into this mad revolution, were all exempted by Congress, from fighting. I allude to the politicians and newspaper editors, and sad to say, many of the preachers of the gospel encouraged it. This was not fair. The man who gets up a fight should always take his share of it.

It has been said, and repeated all over the Southern States, that the South has sustained a great loss in the death of President Lincoln. I do not think so. President Johnson is a much abler and firmer man than Lincoln was. He is in every way more acceptable to the South. In the first place, he is a Southern man, and Lincoln was a Northern man. He is a Democrat, and Lincoln was a Whig and Republican. President Johnson was a slaveholder, well acquainted with the institution, and knows what is proper to be done in the great change which is taking place. President Lincoln was wholly unacquainted with slavery and Southern institutions. President Johnson is a man of iron will and nerve, like Andrew Jackson, and will adhere to his principles and political faith. On the other hand, President Lincoln showed himself to be nothing more than clay in the hands of the potter, ready to change his measures and principles at the bidding of his party. President Johnson has filled all the highest and most honorable offices in the State of Tennessee, with great ability, and satis-

faction to the people. There is no stain or blot on his private character. The ablest speech ever delivered in the Senate of the United States, on the issues between the North and South, was made by President Johnson. He voted for Breckenridge in the Presidential canvass of 1860. Judging then from his antecedents, the South should have every hope and confidence in him.

Mr. Chairman, the future to my mind, is not so gloomy as some would have us believe. I have no doubt that in ten years the Southern States will be happy and prosperous again, and we shall find that the loss of slavery will be no loss at all to our real comfort and satisfaction. The planter and farmer will find that his net profits are greater, with hired labor than with slave labor. Every landholder can rent his farm or plantation for one-third of the gross products. This is more than he now makes net, after subsisting his slaves. In truth, very few farmers in this region of country make anything except by the increase of his slaves. These are divided out amongst his children at his death, and they pursue the same course of toiling and struggling through life to raise negroes for their children. And thus the system goes on *ad infinitum* without profits or remuneration. The lands are worn out, and the country remains unimproved. If a planter or farmer is enabled to save anything, after supporting his establishment, it is invested in the purchase of more slaves. Hence increased wealth adds nothing to the enjoyment of life, or to the improvement of the country.

The idleness and vagrancy of the negro in a free state may be a nuisance to society. It must be corrected in the best way we can. No one should turn off his negroes if they are willing to remain with him for their victuals and clothes and work as they have heretofore done. They have had no agency in bringing about the change which has taken place, and we should feel no ill-will towards them on that account.

Mr. Chairman, as much as we all feel the humiliation and degradation of our present situation, and deeply lament the losses which have befallen the Southern States; yet we should be happy to know that this cruel and bloody war is over, and that peace is once more restored to our country. This is a great consolation amidst our wants, distresses and humiliation. The husband will have no longer to leave his wife and children: the father and mother will not be called upon any more to give up their sons as victims to the war. It is to be hoped that, in a very short time, civil government will be restored in South Carolina; that law once more will reign supreme over the State, and that life, liberty and property will be protected everywhere, as they heretofore have been.

The resolutions submitted to this meeting express a hope, on the part of the people of Greenville, that the President will enlarge his amnesty proclamation, and grant a pardon to all those who are liable to prosecution. The secession of the Southern States was far greater and very different from a rebellion proper. It was organized by constitutional sovereign States, acting in their sovereign capacity, and not by unauthorized assemblages of citizens. Treason may be committed against the State of South Carolina, as well as against the United States. After South Carolina left the Union all her citizens were liable as traitors in the State courts who took sides with the United States and fought against her. If they were liable to be punished as traitors in the United States courts for taking sides with the State, then all were traitors and liable to be executed as traitors, whether they fought for or served the one or the other government. This would indeed be a most cruel and lamentable condition. Death was their portion, act as they might. To stand neutral they could not, and to choose between the State and United States was death! Surely a principle so monstrous and absurd

cannot be enforced. There were thousands and hundreds of thousands in the Southern States who deeply regretted the secession of their States, but after the State seceded felt that their first allegiance was due the State.

But, Mr. Chairman, the secession of eleven or twelve sovereign States, composing one-half of the territory of the United States, was something more than a rebellion. It was legitimate war between the two sections, and they acted towards each other throughout the war as recognized belligerents, and were so treated and recognized by foreign nations. Prisoners were exchanged between the two belligerents, and none were treated as traitors during the whole of the four years' war. Hundreds of thousands of prisoners were thus exchanged. The highest generals as well as the humblest privates were treated as captured soldiers by both governments and exchanged. Surely a general officer who has been exchanged while this gigantic war was waging, cannot now be demanded as a traitor, tried and executed as a traitor. There have been few national wars in Europe in which greater armies were carried into service and on the field of battle. To call such a war a rebellion simply is a misapplication of terms. The greatest and best men of the Southern States were most conscientiously leading this war, either in council or on the field of battle. In all history there is not a *more perfect model of a pure and great man* (save Washington) than GENERAL LEE. That he should now be hung as a traitor, would be an act of national infamy, that would shock the whole civilized world, and render the name of the United States odious in history.

Whilst I do not think, Mr. Chairman, that the whole people of the Southern States have behaved well in this war, and done their duty at home and on the field of battle, yet there is a very large proportion of them who have won immortal honors, and whose glory in war, and

wisdom in council will illustrate many a bright page in history. They have been unsuccessful in their revolution, but this should not, and does not, detract from their heroic gallantry on the field of battle, or their statesmanship in the cabinet or halls of legislation. They will be remembered and honored as heroes and patriots, not only at the South, but in the North, too, as soon as passion subsides, and sober reason and calm reflection assume their sway over the public mind.

I cannot, and would not, Mr. Chairman, ask my fellow citizens to forget the past, in this war, so far as the North is concerned. There have been deeds of atrocity committed by the United States armies, which never can be forgotten in the Southern States. But I do entreat them to become loyal citizens and respect the national authorities of the Republic. Abandon at once and forever all notions of Secession, Nullification and Disunion, determined to live, and to teach your children to live, as true American citizens. There will be in the future, if there is not now, as much of pride and grandeur in the name of "American citizen," as there once was in that of "Roman citizen." The Republic is destined to go on increasing in national power and greatness for centuries to come. As soon as the ferment of the revolution subsides, we shall be restored to all our civil rights, and be as free and republican as we ever were. There is no reason why there should be any sectional jealousy or ill-feeling between the North and the South. They are greatly necessary to each other. Their interests are dependent and not rival interests, and now that slavery is abolished, there will be no bone of contention between the two sections.

I thought, Mr. Chairman, that when the Southern States seceded there was an end to Republican institutions, that the great American experiment was a failure, and that we should soon have, both at the North and in the South, strong military governments, which would

be Republican in name only. But, sir, my hope of republican institutions has revived with the restoration of the Union. It is a crying shame to think that mankind, free and enlightened, are not capable of governing themselves! That they must have a master, or ruler, in the shape of a king or monarch to govern them, who may not have as much sense or virtue as the humblest of his subjects! If civil government is once more restored in the South, and the ship of State gets fairly under way again, we may be assured of the perpetuity of Republican principles.

In all the seceding States, except South Carolina and Florida, provisional governors have been appointed with a view to the restoration of civil authority in those States. This has not been done in South Carolina, because the people have not yet given sufficient demonstration of their willingness to return to their allegiance to the United States. As soon as this is done by the people, in their primary assemblies, a provisional governor will be appointed by the President, with power to call a convention of the State for the purpose of reforming the Constitution and abolishing slavery. When this is done and the Constitution approved by Congress, the State will be allowed to resume her position again in the Federal Union. The people will elect their members of the Legislature, and govern themselves as heretofore they have done. The military authorities will be withdrawn, and civil government restored. In North Carolina all loyal citizens are allowed to vote for members of the convention who were legal voters there previous to the revolution. The same course will be pursued in all the States. The right of suffrage afterwards will be regulated by the Legislature of each State.

The resolutions which I have had the honor of submitting for the adoption of this meeting, are similar in purport to those adopted at Charleston, Columbia, Abbeville and other places. They simply express our

willingness to adopt the terms of the President's proclamation and return to our allegiance. We likewise ask for the appointment of a provisional governor and the restoration of the civil authorities. There is nothing in these resolutions to which the most sensitive can object. If a man is in a loathsome dungeon there is no impropriety in asking to be released, no matter how innocent he may have been. Nor is there anything wrong in his promising to behave himself if restored to his liberty. The resolutions likewise provide for sending some one to represent the situation of the country to the President. This has been done in other States, and in other districts of this State. It may have some influence on the action of the Federal Government to have a full and free conference with the President in reference to the condition, wishes and feelings of the State. It is reported that President Johnson receives kindly all suggestions which are made in reference to the reconstruction of the States.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you sir, and this large and most respectable assemblage of the citizens of Greenville for their patience and courtesy in listening to me, and most devoutly pray to God that we may be once more *a free, happy and united people*.





ACCOUNT
OF THE
PROVISIONAL GOVERNORSHIP OF SOUTH CAROLINA IN 1865.

By B. F. PFERRY.

(First Published in 1873.)

AFTER the downfall of the Southern Confederacy, and the surrender of her armies in Virginia and North Carolina, there was no government in South Carolina, and no legal protection of life, liberty, or property. This condition of affairs was truly alarming, and every good citizen in the State was anxious to see the establishment of a Provisional Government. In June, 1865, it was announced in the newspapers that Governor Aiken had been sent for to Washington and it was surmised that President Johnson desired to consult with him in regard to the organization of civil government in South Carolina. It was supposed and anxiously wished that he might be appointed Provisional Governor of the State. But in a short time it was understood that Governor Aiken had been carried to Washington under arrest, but was immediately released on his parole. The cause of his arrest has never been known to the public. He returned to Charleston, and it was said he might still receive the appointment of Provisional Governor.

About this time the Honorable W. W. Boyce was announced as having arrived in Washington and being closeted with the President, in regard to the condition of affairs in South Carolina. The newspapers then stated that he was to receive the appointment of Provisional Governor. Everywhere all over the State it

was a source of congratulation that a gentleman of Mr. Boyce's abilities and character should receive the appointment. Public meetings were held in Newberry, Anderson and other places urging his appointment. In the mean time Mr. Boyce returned home. Judge Orr went to see him and ascertained that the President had said nothing to him about appointing him Provisional Governor of the State. Mr. Boyce told Judge Orr, that when he reached Danville on his way to Washington, he took the amnesty oath before a Provost Marshal, and got a certificate of the same. He met no one on the cars who recognized him, and when he arrived in the Federal City, he went immediately to an old widow lady's with whom he had boarded whilst in Congress. He told her he did not wish it known that he was in Washington. He then addressed a note to the President informing him of his arrival, and wishing to have an interview with him in regard to affairs in South Carolina. President Johnson wrote in reply that he would be happy to see him the next day, at ten o'clock. The soldier who brought the note alarmed the landlady very much. He enquired if Mr. Boyce was there. She went secretly to Boyce's room and told him to make his escape, for there was a soldier below who had come there to arrest him! He replied that it was too late to think of escaping and to send the soldier up. He came and presented the President's note. The next morning Mr. Boyce went to the White House, and had a long and very agreeable interview with President Johnson. He called two or three times before he returned to South Carolina.

The people of Charleston, feeling more sensibly than any other portion of the State, the urgent necessity of a restoration of civil government, called a public meeting for the purpose of petitioning the President for the appointment of a Provisional Governor. But Redpath, a low Yankee officer, got a number of Negroes to attend

the meeting and broke it up. The citizens then thought it advisable to send five or six gentlemen to Washington, without the formality of a public meeting, who would seek an audience with the President. Judge Frost, Mr. Gaer, Colonel Yates and others were prevailed upon to execute this mission. These gentlemen were sent by the friends of Governor Aiken, as Judge Frost afterwards told me, for the purpose of procuring the appointment for him. On their arrival in Washington they sought and obtained an audience with President Johnson. In the course of their conversation they urged on the President the imperative necessity of appointing a Provisional Governor for South Carolina. I have this statement from Judge Frost and Mr. Gaer. The names of Governor Aiken, Mr. Boyce, Colonel McAlilley, Governor Manning and myself were mentioned. Some one of the Committee undertook to speak of the character and claims of Governor Aiken. The President stopped him and said: "You need not tell me anything about Governor Aiken. I know him as well as you do." When my name was mentioned, he asked if I was "Ben Perry?" He said he knew me very well. Judge Frost understood him to say that he knew me in Greenville and inferred from something said that the President and I had been schoolmates. This was altogether a misapprehension of the Judge. President Johnson then inquired of them if I "was not too much of a people's man for them?" Judge Frost replied "not at all," and that I would be very acceptable to the State generally. Mr. Gaer said the objection to me would be that I had accepted the office of District Judge from Jefferson Davis, just before the collapse of the Confederate Government. The President replied: "That is no objection at all to his appointment."

The Committee called once or twice before the appointment was made. Mr. Gaer told me that as soon as my name was mentioned, he saw at once the President's

preference. My commission as Provisional Governor of South Carolina met me at Ninety-Six, on my way to Washington as one of a Committee appointed by the people of Greenville to urge on the President the restoration of civil government in South Carolina. I had never thought of receiving the appointment and did not desire it, as I supposed the Governor would have to enforce rules and regulations which might be odious to the people. But in this supposition I was altogether mistaken. Every official act I had to perform was that of protection, kindness and mercy. In no instance did it become my duty to oppress, injure or wound the feelings of any one. On the contrary, I was recognized by the President as a shield between the arbitrary acts of the military and the suffering people. I had unlimited discretion in pardoning whom I pleased; that was every one who applied for a pardon. In every conflict with the military authorities, I was sustained by the President and his cabinet.

When I arrived in Washington, I addressed a note to the President informing him that I had received my commission and sought an audience with him to receive my instructions, and learn my duties as Provisional Governor. No reply was received that day or the next! Governor Dennison, Postmaster General, suggested to me that my note had not been received by the President, and very kindly went to see him and inquired about it. Soon afterwards I received a note from President Johnson, appointing an hour that evening for me to call on him. I went in company with Judge Orr and several other gentlemen from South Carolina. We were received most graciously by the President. I endeavored to impress on his mind that South Carolina had determined to accept the condition in which she was placed by the war, was ready to comply with the terms of his Proclamation, would abolish slavery, and be once more a loyal State. The President was so much gratified at

my representation of affairs in South Carolina, that he requested me to call on Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, and repeat my conversation to him.

After a most cordial and gratifying interview of an hour or two the gentlemen who accompanied me withdrew and left the President and myself alone. I then said to him: "Mr. President, I should like to know how you came to appoint me Provisional Governor?" He had told my son Frank, then in the Naval Academy at Annapolis, in 1859, that he knew me very well. He said the same thing to Governor Swain, of North Carolina, who in early life was a schoolmate of mine. I thought it probable that he had seen me and knew me whilst he was journeyman tailor at Laurens, S. C., in 1827 and '28. But I had no remembrance of ever having seen him, except once whilst he was a member of Congress in 1846. He was then pointed out to me by the Hon. R. F. Simpson, my representative in Congress, but I did not make his acquaintance. The President replied by saying that we lived only one hundred and twenty miles apart and that of course he knew all about me.

In speaking of the convention which would have to assemble in South Carolina, he advised me to make the white population alone the basis of representation. In this Judge Orr concurred with him. I replied that the two great elements of all government, good or bad, were population and property, and that both ought to be represented in every form of a Republican Government. The basis of representation in the House of Representatives of South Carolina was property and population in an equal ratio; and I should adopt it in calling a convention. He suggested that I should ignore the Parishes entirely in the election of Delegates, and direct each Judicial District to elect a certain number of Delegates. I said I had no doubt the State Convention would abolish this anomalous, arbitrary feature in our government, but that I did not think it prudent for me

to do so. I had, all my life, been opposed to this Parish system of electing members of the Legislature, on the ground that there was no justice or political equality in a small Parish, with twenty or thirty voters, having the same voice and representation in legislation with a large District which polled five or six thousand votes, and had ten times the property of the Parish. It was the rotten Borough system of England, which had, at length, been abolished in that Kingdom. When the Parish system was adopted in South Carolina, and the rotten Borough system in England, it may have been a fair representation of the two countries. But the condition of both had since changed. Wealth and population had increased most astonishingly in one section of the country, and diminished in another. The lower country of South Carolina had declined since the adoption of the Parish system, and the upper part of the State had prospered and quadrupled her population and wealth. I said if I left the Parish system for the convention to abolish it would give very little dissatisfaction, but if I ignored it in calling a convention, it would produce a very unpleasant excitement.

The President was in favor of giving the election of Governor to the people, and also the election of Electors of President and Vice-President. In these reforms I concurred with him most heartily, and had the pleasure of seeing them adopted by the convention.

I inquired of him, if our new State Constitution when adopted, would have to be submitted to Congress for their approval? He replied that it would not, and expressed a wish that I would use all diligence in having the State reconstructed, and members of Congress elected to take their seats as soon as that body assembled.

I then returned to the hotel and immediately wrote my Proclamation, and forwarded it to South Carolina for publication in all the newspapers of the State. In it

I restored to office all civil officers, who were in office at the suspension of civil government in South Carolina. They were simply required to take the oath of allegiance presented by the President in his Proclamation. This saved me a great deal of trouble and annoyance in selecting and appointing to office, from the thousands of applications that would have been made. I had confidence in the integrity and honor of the old officers, and knew they had been elected by the people. I did not wish to enquire whether an officer had been a secessionist or Union man, nor had I any disposition to make my patronage a source of reward to personal friends. Many of those restored to offices had been my *bitterest* political enemies.

The next interview I had with the President, we were alone and sat from seven in the evening till ten o'clock at night, conversing about the future of our unhappy and distracted country, and how it was best to conduct affairs in South Carolina. As I was about taking my departure, he walked with me to the door, and requested that I would write him occasionally, and let him know how I was getting on in reconstructing the State. I then told him I had already issued my Proclamation, and it was on its way to Columbia, S. C. He seemed surprised, and replied that I had been very expeditious. He inquired what I had said in my Proclamation. I informed him that I had restored to office all the civil officers of the State, except those who were under arrest. I said I thought that I could rely on their loyalty, that they had been elected by the people, were familiar with their official duties; and would give more satisfaction than new appointments. I told him it was impossible to fill the various offices with Union men in South Carolina. The people had all taken sides with the State, when she seceded, and that there was no Union party in South Carolina after the civil war commenced. This was strictly true, but afterwards, there

were a great many political scoundrels who pretended for the sake of office, that they had always been true to their allegiance to the United States.

I stated to him that there was then equal unanimity in returning to the Union—and that all were once more Union men. They would have rejoiced, of course, if the Confederacy had been successful, and they perilled life—property—honor in the issue. But the fate of battle had decided against them, and they acquiesced in the decree of Almighty God. He replied that Governor Sharkey, of Mississippi, had adopted the same course in all of his appointments. I said the course I had pursued was original with myself, and I had explained it to the Hon. Robert W. Barnwell and other friends, before Governor Sharkey had issued his Proclamation, and before I left home, immediately after hearing of my appointment. The President made no objection to my restoring the old officers, or to anything else contained in my Proclamation. General Gilmore, who was then in command in South Carolina, said to me afterwards, that he was greatly surprised at many things in my Proclamation, and did not believe they were sanctioned by the President. He wrote the War Department to know the truth of the matter, but never got any reply, till a telegram came ordering him “not to interfere with Governor Perry’s measure of reconstruction.”

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNORSHIP OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

No. 2.

In all of my interviews with President Johnson, I was much pleased, and he impressed me very strongly with his patriotism, firmness, ability and magnanimity. I was particularly struck with his kindness and generosity towards the South. This I did not expect from representations that had been made to me. He is a fine looking gentleman, simple, and yet dignified in his manners.

His success in life is most remarkable, and is proof conclusive of his great talents. He was born, as Governor Swain wrote me, in 1808. His parents were very poor, and he had no education. He told Judge Wardlaw, when visited by the Judge in 1865, that he was bound an apprentice to the tailor's trade when he was ten years old. This he mentioned, unaffectedly, whilst conversing with the Judge about the objection to binding out the colored children in South Carolina. He said he did not suppose they were any better than he was when a boy, and he himself was bound an apprentice to a tailor, when he was only ten years old. This was not said boastingly, or with any shame or regret at his humble origin, but to illustrate what they were then conversing about.

In the latter part of 1825, President Johnson came to Laurens Court House, South Carolina, as a journeyman tailor, and worked there at his trade for two years. He is well remembered, and with great respect by the older citizens of that village. They all unite in saying that he was very steady at his work, moral, and well behaved. Mine host of the Laurens Hotel, Mr. Simmons, informed me that they boarded at the same house, and slept together for several months. He could then read, and always had a book before him. Whilst at Laurens, he fell in love with a young lady and addressed her, as he told Judge Orr, many years ago, whilst they were in Congress together. The mother was indignant at the idea of her daughter marrying a journeyman tailor, and he almost a stranger to the community. This mortified the future President of the United States so much that he left the place the next day and returned to North Carolina. Whilst editing the Southern Patriot, many years since, I wrote an article in reference to this love affair. President Johnson was then United States Senator, and had been Governor of Tennessee. I stated how unfortunate the

mother's judgment was, and very often young ladies had a better perception of character than their mothers.

It is said his wife taught him to write and keep accounts after their marriage. I have heard that whilst President Johnson and the Hon. Mr. Henry, "the Eagle Orator of Tennessee," were canvassing the State for Governor, Mr. Henry paid a brilliant compliment to the ladies who were present at a public meeting. In his reply, Johnson stated that he concurred in every word, so eloquently uttered by his opponent, in reference to the ladies. There was no one on this green globe who had more cause to admire and love the other sex than himself. That whilst a poor orphan and friendless boy, he had been taken by one of the other sex and taught to read and write, and she was his wife. This happy reply was electrical on the audience.

After my first visit to President Johnson was over, I went with my friends to pay our respects to the Hon. Hugh McCullough. We were all very much pleased with his cordial, frank manners, and fine, manly and noble appearance. He was a stout, tall gentleman, with a large head, good face and honest expression of countenance. He was a gentleman of great ability and practical mind. He was a wise man, and one whose judgment and honor may be implicitly relied upon by his friends and country. He said to me that he had a list of appointments for me to make in his Department for South Carolina. He informed me that it had been decided by the heads of Departments, to make no appointment in South Carolina, except on the nomination of the Provisional Governor. This was for the purpose of giving him position and influence in the State. He gave me a bundle of applications for appointments, and I was greatly amused in reading them, to find that they all professed to have been during the war, strong Union men, and unwavering in their loyalty to the United States! I had

never before heard of them as Union men. In almost every instance I rejected the application, and gave the appointment to others who were not applying. I restored to office all those who had previously filled the position, when I knew they had been faithful to their trust without regard to politics. I told the Secretary that these gentlemen had given countenance to the Rebellion, as it was termed, and could not take the test oath, and that I doubted whether any man or woman in South Carolina could take the oath without committing perjury. They had all countenanced the Rebellion or given comfort to the soldiers. He replied it was absolutely necessary to omit a portion of the oath in order to fill the appointments. This he said would be done, and I have no doubt would have been done if left to him. But the oath was afterwards rigidly required, and almost all of my appointments to Federal offices were failures on that account.

We went next to call on the Attorney General, the Hon. James Speed, of Kentucky. He was sitting at his table writing with his coat off. He received us kindly, and after the usual compliments had passed, he alluded to a speech of mine at Greenville before a public meeting assembled for the purpose of asking a restoration of civil government in South Carolina. This speech had been published in the New York Tribune. He said he regretted to see such a speech made by me, the Provisional Governor of the State, as it showed that South Carolina was not disposed to be loyal again! I replied that he had certainly not read the speech attentively, or he could not have come to any such conclusion. He then frankly admitted that he had not. He had read the comments of the editor, with the heading, which presented the meaning and spirit of the text. I requested him to do me the justice to read the speech attentively, which he promised to do. He said I spoke of the atrocities of the Federal soldiers. This I admitted

was true and justified the correctness of the charge. He was a great admirer of President Lincoln, and I had made an invidious comparison between him and President Johnson. I had said the South lost nothing by his death, and would receive greater kindness from Johnson, who was a Southern man, a slave holder and all his life an opponent of the abolitionists! These were truths which I admitted and justified. He then told me he had always been an ultra abolitionist, which did not elevate him in my estimation as a Kentuckian. The Attorney General was a young man, and not at all distinguished as a lawyer. It is said that his appointment was owing to an uncle of his having done a kindness to President Lincoln in early life out of gratitude to this uncle; and on request of his uncle, the appointment was made. There was nothing in his appearance that would indicate that he was a man of more than ordinary capacity, nor was there anything in his conversation which was calculated to produce a different conclusion.

When we called on Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, I mentioned what had passed between the Attorney General and myself. Mr. Seward remarked that he had read the speech carefully, and he thought, considering the standpoint from which it was delivered, that it was a very good speech and unobjectionable. He said I spoke to South Carolina, and for South Carolinians, and not to the Northern people. The sentiments were calculated to reconcile the South to the loss of President Lincoln and the election of Johnson to the Presidency. He being a Southern man and a slaveholder was more likely to have kindness and sympathy for the South. He asked me if I had ever been Governor before. I told him I had not. He said when he was Governor of New York he made speeches which were very severely criticised in Charleston. But he always remarked: "What the devil have the people of South Carolina to do with my

speeches—I made them to please the people of New York and not the people of South Carolina.” He was very pleasant and told several amusing stories, which I have already mentioned in my reminiscences of him. Mr. Seward at the time of my first interview with him, was looking very badly. The wounds inflicted by the attempted assassin were still visible on his face. He had just lost his wife. I spoke of his transacting some business for me the next day. He said no, I must go to church to-morrow, for I have not been to church since the death of my wife. I asked him if he went to church on Saturday. He replied he thought the next day was Sunday. Beyond all question Mr. Seward was a man of great ability and a profound statesman. Governor Hammond once wrote me, whilst a member of the United States Senate, that Seward was the only statesman north of the Potomac. Seward was tall and slender, with a thin face and very large nose. Judge Earle used to say he never saw a great man with a small nose. I saw Mr. Seward seven or eight months after this, when he was looking remarkably well. He was very cordial and familiar in his manners, and witty and humorous in his conversation. He expressed himself very much gratified at my account of the State of feeling in South Carolina. Whilst Provisional Governor, I had considerable correspondence with Mr. Seward, and always found him courteous and civil, except on one occasion. I requested that the colored troops should be removed from South Carolina. He replied that he supposed the people were sensitive in seeing their former slaves performing the duties of soldiers, but the regulations of the United States army recognized no distinction of color. I replied that we did not object to the colored troops on account of their color, but on account of their atrocious conduct, making everything insecure and unsafe where they were stationed. I then mentioned the horrible deeds they had done, both in the upper and lower country.

I had previously called on Governor Dennison, Postmaster General, and was very much pleased with him as a gentleman, and was under great obligations to him for his kindness and attention. I have already mentioned his civility in seeing the President for me. He said, as soon as I told him that I addressed a note to the President and received no reply, "I have access to the President at all hours, as one of his cabinet, and will immediately get into my carriage and drive to the White House, and let him know that you are here. In the appointment of postmasters throughout the State I had great difficulty. Almost all of my nominations were returned by the Postmaster General on the ground that they refused to take the whole of the test oath. I was requested to make other nominations, and replied that there was no use in doing so, as none could conscientiously swear that they had neither aided or countenanced the rebellion, or given comfort or sympathy to the Confederate soldiers. All had been in the army, or had sons or dear relatives and friends in Confederate service, whom they had contributed to support or entertain.

When I called on Mr. Stanton, with my friends from South Carolina, I thought he received us coldly, and seemed very indifferent to all I had to say about South Carolina. I saw Mr. Stanton several times afterwards, whilst he continued in the War office, and he appeared to be more pleasant and agreeable. He was certainly a man of great ability, as was shown by his administration of the War office. In appearance he was stout and good looking, with a fine head phrenologically. At the commencement of our struggle, his sympathies, it is said, were in favor of the South. Colonel Phillips, of Mobile, was at that time his law partner, in the city of Washington. The Colonel told me that Stanton was then more of a Southern man in his feelings, than he was himself. What a change

came over him afterwards, for he became a bitter enemy of the South. Like all renegades he was more ultra in his persecutions than any other member of the President's cabinet. It was by his orders that Jefferson Davis was placed in irons. Mrs. Senator Clay of Alabama, told me that whilst making efforts to have her husband released from prison, she went to Stanton and commenced a statement, showing the innocence of Senator Clay, as to the charges preferred against him. Stanton stopped her rudely and said: "I am not your husband's Judge, madam!" She replied quickly and said: "And I hope, sir, you are not his persecutor."

The speech of mine, on the third of July, 1865, which the Attorney General considered so offensive to the Federal authorities, became the subject of a cabinet meeting, as I was informed. When I visited the President afterwards, he said it would be well for me to write an article explaining the object of the public meeting, which I addressed on that occasion, and publish it with resolutions adopted by the meeting. He knew, he said, it was a union meeting, asking the restoration of civil Government in South Carolina. But a different impression had gone abroad. This I did the next day. That night whilst sitting in my room at Willard's Hotel, two gentlemen called with a note from the President, requesting me to explain to them some expressions in the speech! They were connected with the Washington Chronicle newspaper. I talked over the matter with them, and they left apparently satisfied. I have frequently wondered at the public excitement produced throughout the Northern States by that little speech. It was everywhere published in the newspapers with severe comments. It was the first expression of public sentiment they had seen from South Carolina, since the cessation of hostilities. In South Carolina this speech was well received and complimented, when in fact I apprehended it would displease many. I did not spare the

madness and folly of secession and disunion for the purpose of protecting slavery, when it had resulted in the abolition of slavery as I predicted it would. But I boldly proclaimed, that after secession it became the duty of everyone to go with his State. There was one expression in the speech which seemed to set at defiance the authority of the United States to prosecute Confederate officers and soldiers for treason, after having exchanged prisoners of war with them, for three or four years. There was a very malignant feeling at the North when the war closed, towards the South, and a general wish amongst those who had kept out of the army to see "the rebels" prosecuted, tried and punished for treason! But they were soon informed that the opinion of the world would stamp such a course with national infamy. They then meanly attempted to gratify their revenge by establishing over us the present "carpet-bag, scalawag negro government." And they have succeeded to their hearts' content. It would have been a thousand times better for us to have let their prosecutions for treason have gone on and taken the consequences.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNORSHIP OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

No. 3.

Whilst in Washington and before I had seen the President, I had a great many applications for office. Some of the applicants designated the position which they sought, and others, more modest, were willing to receive any office within my gift, that would pay well. There were several who applied for their friends or relatives. Amongst the latter were two ladies who paid me formal calls. One, a young lady from Ohio, wished to have her father appointed District Judge. She said her father was a native of South Carolina, and had left the State thirty years ago on account of his opposition to

slavery. This she thought would be a strong recommendation to a Governor holding office under the United States Government. He had also been a Union man in South Carolina, and associated with me in our Union Conventions. I told her that I could not think of appointing a Judge who resided out of the State, if I could get a competent lawyer in South Carolina to accept the office, and I should not make the appointment till my return home. The other was a New England lady, who wished a friend of her's appointed postmaster in Charleston. She was very urgent, and spoke in high terms of his qualifications, and paid me a long visit. I informed her that I should certainly tender this appointment to the Hon. Alfred Huger, who had for many years filled this office with great fidelity and satisfaction to the Government. She thought it was very wrong to appoint "rebels" to office in South Carolina. I told her that I was a "rebel" myself after the State seceded from the Union, and after secession all joined the rebels. This surprised her very much, and no doubt she thought my appointment a very unwise one on the part of President Johnson. There was a Yankee General in the Federal army, who had been stationed in Charleston, and who wish to be restored to a command in that city. I had heard a favorable report of him and told him I would mention the subject to the President. This I did, and the President said, if the people desired the change, he supposed there would be no difficulty in having it made. I understood afterwards that the Secretary of War interposed objections and prevented the change being made. This high functionary was bitterly opposed to South Carolina and not at all disposed to gratify our wishes in anything.

I received, whilst in Washington, a letter from General Kershaw, who was then a prisoner in Fort Lafayette, requesting me to use my influence with the President to have him and his fellow prisoners released. The same

night. I received a similar letter from Colonel Simonton, who was confined in Fort Delaware with ten or twelve other Confederate officers. I went immediately to the President and laid before him these letters. He drew forth an order which he had just prepared, for the release of all the Confederate officers who would take the oath of allegiance to the United States. I telegraphed this gratifying intelligence to these gentlemen, and afterwards expressed to them my regret that I could not properly claim the honor of having procured their release from prison. I might have done so, and they would never have been any wiser. When they received my telegram, the Georgia officers confined with them, were under the impression that the order of release only extended to the South Carolina prisoners! They regretted that their Governor had not taken the same interest in their release that I had in that of the South Carolina prisoners. When I afterwards met General Kershaw and Colonel Simonton, they expressed themselves under great obligations to me for my prompt attention to their letters and telegraphing to them the most gratifying intelligence that they were to be released, and would have the happiness of returning once more to their homes and families. Not long after this General Kershaw was a member of the State Senate, and he proved his gratitude for the interest I had taken in his release by nominating me for the United States Senate.

On my return home, I stopped at Colonel J. B. Campbell's, in Columbia, to meet General Gilmore, by appointment, who was then in command of the military in South Carolina. He had expressed a wish to see me and arrange as to the civil and military jurisdiction of the State. Colonel Campbell had kindly proposed our meeting at his house on my return from Washington. But a telegraphic dispatch was received from the General stating that it was impossible for him to meet me at the appointed time.

Whilst at Colonel Campbell's waiting for the arrival of General Gilmore, a great many gentlemen of Columbia called to see me and hear the news from Washington. Amongst them were General Hampton, General Preston, Alfred Huger, Dr. LaBorde and Professor LeConte. I gave them an account of all my interviews with President Johnson, and assured them that his policy towards the Southern States would be kind, conciliatory and magnanimous. Dr. LaBorde afterwards told me, when the President had acted as I said he would, that they had listened to me attentively, and knew that I thought as I had spoken, but they did not believe a word of it. They had been taught to believe that Andrew Johnson was a cold, vindictive and revengeful tyrant, who would delight in oppressing and hanging secessionists, and confiscating their estates. He told me that he had heard a distinguished gentleman remark on the accession of Johnson to the Presidency, that he was as blood-thirsty as Robespierre and as vindictive as Marat! This opinion prevailed pretty generally in South Carolina. Everywhere the people were expressing their deep regret at the loss of Lincoln! In Charleston and other places, the citizens held public meetings and bemoaned the death of President Lincoln as a great public calamity to the South. I thought it was in bad taste, and hypocritical to lament the death of one who had for four dreadful years waged against them a cruel, bloody war! I did not hesitate to say that Johnson was, in all respects, a better, wiser and greater man than Lincoln. I said we ought to look upon his death as the act of God! We had more to expect from Johnson, as a Southern man, a slaveholder and a Democrat. He was a man of firmness and self-will, and would not be influenced by his cabinet as Lincoln had been. I knew that his whole life had been spent in opposition to the Radical-abolition-whig party. The greatest speech ever made in the United States Senate

on the issues between the North and South, was made by Andrew Johnson, just before the civil war commenced. I thought it was impossible for him to abandon his life-long political principles at once, and become the enemy and scourge of his native land, and the home of himself, kindred, friends and early associates. There is an instinct in the human heart which makes it cling to our native soil and early associates. I never did believe in the sincerity of a Yankee who professed to hate the place of his birth, and scorn his people and kindred, when it was his interest to do so in South Carolina. I concur and applaud an expression of President Johnson, just before the revolution or civil war commenced. General B. F. Butler was addressing a crowd in Washington, and some one asked Johnson what he thought of the General's speech? He replied with a fiendish scowl: "Damn a Yankee who professes to be more of a Southern man than I am myself!"

When I returned home, I had to address my fellow citizens and tell them all I had seen and heard and expected in the future. My Proclamation had been published and gave great satisfaction. The politicians and newspaper editors hailed with joy my appointment as Provisional Governor. One would have supposed, from these public expressions, and the private letters I received, that I had always been a most popular man in South Carolina. It was said that of all the public men in the State, none were more competent than myself to administer the affairs of the State. I thought of what the historian has recorded of Charles the Second of Great Britain. On his restoration to the throne, he was greeted with such manifestations of love and affection by the people, that he declared it seemed to him as if it was his own fault that he had not returned many years before. I was ready to wonder why I had not been elected Governor twenty years sooner. But I remembered that I had been, for years, the most unpopu-

lar man *politically*, in South Carolina, and it was almost fatal to an aspirant for office to have my support! Now, the public acted as if the truth had *just* burst on their minds, that my course had always been open, frank, consistent and wisely patriotic. These expressions of confidence and appreciation of my character were truly *gratifying* to me, *knowing* I deserved them, so conscious was I that in my *whole* course through life, love of the *best* interests of South Carolina had actuated *all* my *conduct*.

In passing through Charlotte, North Carolina, after my appointment as Provisional Governor, a crowd of gentlemen called to pay their respects to me. I remarked to my friend, Colonel Elford, after they had all gone, how much importance a public office gave to a man in this Republican Government. I stated that I had passed through Charlotte many times before, when I was just as good and worthy a man as I was then, and no one had ever called to see me. It is a sad commentary on human nature that a pure, patriotic and virtuous citizen, will pass unnoticed, whilst a high corrupt official will have most obsequious honors paid him. No matter how infamous a man's character may be, if he wears the robes of office, he will always find sycophants enough to flatter and follow him. There is something in position, power, wealth and authority which makes poor human nature respectful and deferential. Without these attributes, the same person would perhaps be treated with contempt. I once heard Judge Evans say he was passing through Spartanburg and met a countryman, of whom he asked the way. After some conversation the man said to him: "I suppose you are a lawyer?" The Judge replied: "I have been a lawyer, but I am now a Judge." Immediately the countryman pulled off his hat and bowing most obsequiously, said: "I beg pardon, Judge."

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNORSHIP OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

No. 4.

The condition of the country, on my return from Washington, was truly distressing. The greater part of the personal property of the State had been destroyed and stolen, or lost in the abolition of slavery. The banks were all broken, and there was no money in the country. Our provision crop had been consumed by the Confederate tax in kind and the ravages of the Federal troops. We were all pretty much at the point of starvation. When I thought of going to Washington, the important question was how I was to get funds to pay my expenses. At length I understood that my friend, Colonel McCullough, had four or five hundred dollars in gold, which had escaped the Yankee plunder, and which he had laid up before the war. I sent a message to him that he must lend me this money, and if he did not, I would not pardon him as Provisional Governor. He knew his treason was of long continuance, and prominent in the army and Legislature. The Colonel sent me his gold most cheerfully. Mr. Charles Lowndes, President of the Charleston Bank, which had been robbed of thirty thousand dollars in specie by the Yankee army, in passing through Greenville, came to me after I had got Colonel McCullough's gold, and said there was still money in his bank, which I could get, under the circumstances, although the bank was discounting no paper at that time.

This utter destitution of the country seemed to make every one ravenous for public office. The people of South Carolina were impressed with the idea that the Provisional Governor, if not the source of all honor, as Blackstone says the crown of Great Britain is, had the bestowal of all offices. The applications were indeed numerous, some for particular offices, but far the greater number were general, and the applicants were willing to receive any office which would assist them in

their support. But the applications for pardon were more numerous than even those for office. The theory of the English law is that a pardon makes the recipient a new man, and wipes out all his political sins and errors. It is something like the spiritual consequences of belief and repentance. All were anxious to be made "new men" again. These applications were very troublesome. I had to read them and see that they were in proper form, approve or reject them, and mail them to the President. I had also to give the petitioner a certificate that his application had been received and forwarded.

I determined to refuse no applicant for pardon, where the applicant took the oath of allegiance and expressed himself loyal to the United States. I did not believe any one was to blame in taking sides with his State, after she had seceded from the Union. He could not remain neutral. The Federal Government had withdrawn all protection. If he went against the State he was guilty of treason. The United States was powerless to protect him. I never believed in the right of Secession; but I did believe in the right of revolution, and I always regarded the movement of the Southern States in that light. I will say further, that although I regarded the movement as folly and madness without cause, yet the Southern States had a right to govern themselves in their own way. Whenever eight millions of people see proper to separate themselves from their government and form an independent Republic or Nation, they ought to be allowed to do so.

This is the principle on which our forefathers acted in separating from the mother country. This principle is proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, and has been sanctioned and assented to ever since by the American people.

I have said there was no just cause for our secession. We did not complain that there had been any legisla-

tion on the part of Congress for the last ten years against the South or our peculiar institution. It is true the Northern State governments had been very offensive in their legislation. They had nullified the acts of Congress, and refused to carry out the provisions of the fugitive slave law. But the disobedience of these States to the General Government was no justification on our part for rebelling against that General Government. At the time, too, of our secession, we had a majority of twenty-four members in the United States House of Representatives, and in the Senate we had a majority of six. There was also a majority of the Supreme Court of the United States in favor of the South. The election of Lincoln, President, by a sectional vote, though he did not receive anything like a majority of the popular votes, was owing entirely to the divisions in the Democratic party. Had the Democratic party united on one candidate, they could very easily have been triumphant in the Presidential election. But really Lincoln was powerless when elected with majorities in both Houses of Congress against him, and also a majority of the Supreme Court. He could not even form an objectionable Cabinet.

If there had been just cause for our rebellion, such as there was in 1776, and enumerated in our Declaration of Independence, the Northern people would have been divided as the British Parliament and English people were in the American Revolution. The Southern people likewise would have been more united, determined and persevering in their contest and conflict of arms. The result might and would have been different. For history proves how impossible it is to conquer and keep in subjection eight or ten millions of people, brave, intelligent, and determined to maintain their independence and freedom at all hazards. Out of South Carolina the people were not united in any one single State for the secession movement. A large majority of those who

went for secession had been taught to believe that the North would not attempt to coerce the South by a civil war! As soon as the great masses of Southern people found themselves involved in a bloody war likely to be waged for years, they began to reflect and see that they had been deceived and taken a fatally false step. This produced lukewarmness on the part of our soldiers, which resulted in desertion and efforts to keep out of the Confederate army. When our armies surrendered, two-thirds of the Confederate soldiers were at home! Most of them had determined to remain there if they could. In truth and in fact, it was not their war, and their hearts were never in it, cordially, disinterestedly and determinedly. It had been brought on by the politicians, newspaper editors, adventurers and clergy. Passion, and not wisdom, incited the movement and made it contagious. If we had waited till Congress, by some flagrant, unconstitutional invasion of our rights, had divided the Northern people and united the Southern people more heartily and determinedly, we would have been successful.

I have already stated that on my return from Washington, applications for office and pardon were numerous. One mail brought me no less than one hundred and fifty letters! They were most for offices and pardons. Some were for redress of grievances. The people seemed to think that the Provisional Governor was invested with all power, not only to bestow office and grant pardons, but to redress grievances, and protect the morals of the country. An old lady in Laurens wrote me a most indignant letter, complaining of the Yankee officers stationed there. She stated that their conduct was most disgraceful and outrageous! They had been seen attending negro balls, sitting in the laps of the negro women and publicly hugging and kissing them! She called upon me as the Executive officer of the State, and the conservator of public morals, to put

a stop to such indecent proceedings! Thinking I might doubt the truth of her statement (whilst the shadow of a doubt never crossed my mind in regard to them), she referred me to several gentlemen of the highest respectability for the truth of what she stated.

In ordinary times, it is a very bad indication to see so many persons seeking public office. It shows that the applicants are desirous of living without laboring for a support. It is unfortunate. As a general rule, the man who seeks office is destined to poverty and humiliation. It would be far better for him to plough the earth or devote himself to some mechanical pursuit. His life would be far happier and more independent.

The impecuniosity of the times then existing was some excuse for this ambition for office.

Having restored all the civil officers by my Proclamation, this great source of patronage and annoyance was cut off, and relieved me very much. But all the postmasters, mail agents, revenue officers, collectors of the customs, and Federal officers, had to be nominated by me. In Columbia, on my return home, I met General Conner, as gallant an officer as the Confederacy produced, and one who had suffered as much and made as many sacrifices as any other. He was a lawyer of eminence at the Charleston Bar, and I tendered him the appointment of District Judge or District Attorney. He magnanimously declined both of them, on the ground that either of them might place him in an unpleasant situation in regard to his friends who might be indicted for treason, or might have proceedings taken out against them to confiscate their estates. I then offered choice of these appointments to Samuel Lord, Esq., a young member of the Bar, for whose learning, talents and honor I had formed a very high opinion. Whilst Colonel Martin and myself were commissioners under the Confederate Government, we had two cases to decide involving fifty or sixty thousand dollars. Mr. Lord

was counsel in both of them. He candidly told me that there was no merit in the first case and he should not argue it. When the second case came up for a hearing, we were all pressed for time, and he generously proposed to submit the case without argument. The other side objected, and proceeded to argue the case. When Mr. Lord replied, his argument was so clear and lucid, so able and convincing, that the opposite party whispered to his lawyer: "I wish now I had consented to submit the case without argument." Mr. Lord accepted the office of District Attorney, but declined that of Judge.

I proposed to Judge Dawkins to appoint him District Judge, before his elevation to the Bench. He took time to consider the proposition, and declined. Then an application was made in favor of Chief Justice Moses, signed by the members of the Convention. I endorsed it very cordially, but no appointment was made by the President till Colonel Moses was elected a State Judge. The friends of Judge Bryan then presented me a recommendation, signed by the members of the Legislature in his favor, which I endorsed and transmitted to the President. He received the appointment and accepted the same.

Finding so much difficulty in filling the office of District Judge, I wrote to Judge Petit, of Indiana, who had been United States Senator, and who had married a young lady from Greenville and wished to move to South Carolina, offering him the appointment. My letter miscarried and was never received by the Judge. His wife wrote me afterwards that if he had received my letter, he would have accepted the Judgeship and moved to South Carolina. He was a gentleman of great ability and altogether a Southerner in his feelings.

It was a great while before the Federal Court was re-organized in South Carolina. I understood the President was unwilling to organize this court, on account of the trouble he thought its proceedings would give

him. He did not know but that Congress might insist on prosecutions for treason and confiscation. He may have thought, too, it was time enough to establish civil courts in South Carolina, after the Federal troops had been withdrawn and their courtmartial abolished.

In reading over the applications for pardon, I was greatly amused to see how many of the applicants stated that they were originally opposed to secession. Reading these applications one evening to a lady, she remarked it was very strange that South Carolina had ever seceded, for it seemed a majority were opposed to it. I have no doubt that a majority of the people of South Carolina were, at heart, opposed to secession, but they were afraid or ashamed to say so. All who sought public office or popularity had to pretend to be in favor of secession. All the Northern men in the State had to make the same pretense, for their own peace and security. A great many old men favored secession against their better judgment, because their sons were so violent in their advocacy of it. There was a large class who advocated it to show their spirit and courage—like a scared boy at night, whistling as he passes a grave yard, to show that he is not afraid. When the members of the secession convention were elected, there was scarcely a district in the State where a majority of the voters turned out to vote. This was indeed an ominous sign, and so regarded at the time.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNORSHIP OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

No. 5.

In order to facilitate the qualification of the people to vote at the election for members of the State Convention, I ordered the Magistrates, after taking the oath of allegiance themselves, to administer it to all others. Before this, the Provost Marshals alone had administered the oath, and thought they alone had a right to

do so. In many portions of the State there were no Provost Marshals, and I saw that this would deprive a large portion of the people from voting at all. But the military authorities took in high dudgeon this assumption of authority on my part, and thought it was depriving them of their exclusive, legitimate power. My order was countermanded in express terms by the military commanders. I immediately wrote the President and Secretary of State. They both telegraphed back that my order was wise and judicious, and that the military authorities must not interfere with my policy of reconstruction.

About this time, I received a note from General Gilmore, requesting me to meet General Meade and himself in Columbia, to settle a seeming difference between the civil and military authorities. The Provost Marshals were holding their courts all over the State and taking jurisdiction of all manner of cases which came up. Their decisions were flagrantly in conflict with all law, justice and honesty. Against this corrupt, arbitrary and illegal assumption of power after the restoration of civil government, I protested most earnestly to General Gilmore, the military commander of South Carolina. In settling this question, General Gilmore had consulted General Meade, who was in command of the military division, including all the United States. I met them as requested, and we had a most pleasant and harmonious interview. I have never met a more perfect and accomplished gentleman than General Meade seemed to be. I showed him and General Gilmore the President's dispatch, and also the communication from Mr. Seward, Secretary of State. They informed me that they had just received similar from the authorities in Washington, directing them "not to interfere with Governor Perry's reconstruction policy."

Then we went into consultation. General Meade inquired of me what I wanted? I replied that I wished

he civil law restored in South Carolina, our courts opened, and the Provost Marshal's courts abolished. I said these military courts were not competent to decide legal questions, and in many portions of the State they had acted very corruptly. He inquired if I thought we could do justice in our law courts to the negroes, who were, by law, excluded from giving testimony? I answered that I did not, and until this law was altered by our Legislature, I was willing for his Provost Courts to retain jurisdiction of all cases in which the freedmen or colored people were concerned. General Gilmore then requested me to draw up a paper to this effect, as an agreement between us, and he would issue a military order enforcing it as soon as he returned to his headquarters at Hilton Head. In the meantime I was to issue my Proclamation, announcing the arrangement. The courts were to be opened forthwith, and all civil officers permitted to discharge all their official duties. The people throughout the State were gratified at this arrangement, as it relieved them in a great measure of the arbitrary and corrupt proceedings of the Provost Courts.

General Gilmore said to me very proudly, that on reading my Proclamation he thought I had transcended the power which the President had invested me with, and so telegraphed to Washington, as I have already stated. He said he could not suppose I was authorized to reappoint all the old civil officers who had been in rebellion, nor did he think I was authorized to order magistrates to administer the oath of allegiance, which duty had been exercised by, and properly belonged to, the Provost Marshals. I felt then a proud consolation in knowing that the President had sustained me in these matters, and in everything else that I had done since my appointment.

General Gilmore had not the accomplishments of General Meade, or his prepossessing personal appearance,

but he impressed me most forcibly as a man of talents and ability. In the course of our conversation, I urged the propriety of withdrawing the colored troops from the State. Their conduct had been very atrocious in many places, and they were a great terror to the community wherever they were stationed. General Meade said he was opposed to having colored troops in the army, and was trying to get rid of them. But they had to exercise great caution and prudence in order not to offend public opinion at the North. General Gilmore assured me that all the colored troops under his command should be put in forts on the sea coast, where they could do no mischief. He said he intended to put them to work, but would have to place white troops with them to save the appearance of making a distinction on account of color.

Whilst we were in conversation, I received a communication from Pocatigo, giving me a minute account of a most horrible outrage committed by Negro soldiers on some ladies and gentlemen. I read the communication to General Gilmore. He asked me for it, and said he would have the offenders brought to justice. I saw afterwards in the newspapers, that two or three of them had been tried and executed. I likewise received a telegram from President Johnson, stating that my communication had been read and was satisfactory, and requested me to hasten the reconstruction of the State.

Just before leaving home, I received from the President a long telegram, to which I replied at some length. This was the communication referred to in his last telegram, as being satisfactory. He had stated in the telegram received just before starting: "That it was reported in high circles the Provisional Governors were ignoring the old Union men and giving a preference in all their appointments to rebel soldiers." The President likewise stated that this report was damaging the administration, and giving just cause of complaint. In

my reply, I stated: "That so far as the report concerned the Provisional Governor of South Carolina, there was not a word of truth in it, and that there were no Union men in South Carolina to be ignored." I also stated that there were "some office seekers who pretended to have been Union men, but whose latent Unionism was never heard of till brought to light by hope of office." I said I had "rejected all such applications and preferred giving appointments to honest, competent soldiers, who had been maimed in the war." I also took occasion to say that "my experience through life satisfied me that a man who had no moral integrity had no political principles, and that such a man would identify himself with any party for office or gain, regardless of principle or country.

I told General Meade the purport of my reply to the President. He remarked: "I hope, sir, the reverse of your proposition is not true: that a man without political principles has no moral integrity. I have no political principles, and never voted but twice in my life, once for Bell and Everett, and in the last Presidential election for Lincoln and Johnson."

In speaking of the war and its termination, General Meade said Lee ought to have surrendered after the battle of Gettysburg. He contended that the contest was a hopeless one after that battle, and the Confederate army began so to regard it. Desertions commenced. Whilst surrounding Richmond, he said whole companies came over to his army and stated that they had entered the contest zealously and had fought as long as there was any hope of success. I have said General Meade is a fine looking and accomplished gentleman. He was the beau ideal of a hero, dressed in full uniform. His sentiments were all liberal and patriotic. There was no fanaticism about him. I was delighted with his manners, conversation and appearance. I met him two or three times afterwards in Philadelphia. He

was shabbily dressed, with an old straw hat, linen coat and pants, long beard, &c. I could hardly realize that he was the same person I had met in full military feather, two or three years before, in Columbia. When I afterwards heard of his arbitrary and infamous conduct in Georgia, I thought there must be two General Meades, the one a fine looking and accomplished gentleman, high-toned, liberal, and the personification of honor, and the other a shabby looking fellow, playing the petty despot in Georgia.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNORSHIP OF SOUTH CAROLINA.
No 6.

Soon after my interview with Generals Meade and Gilmore, mentioned in the last number of these Reminiscences, the State Convention assembled, under my Proclamation, to reform the Constitution of South Carolina. It was composed of the ablest, wisest and most distinguished men of South Carolina. I telegraphed the President, that no political assemblage in South Carolina had ever surpassed it in virtue, intelligence and patriotism. All the Judges, Chancellors, ex-Governors, United States Senators, and members of Congress, with few exceptions, were members of the Convention. They met with a laudable spirit to accept the situation to which the fate of the war had reduced them, and make the most of it, which could be devised by wisdom and patriotism. Their sole object was to redeem and regenerate the State, restore her prosperity and increase the future happiness of the whole. Whilst they were unwilling to extend to the colored people, just emancipated from slavery and in profound ignorance of all political duties and obligations, the right of suffrage, they were determined to protect them in the enjoyment of their freedom, and in the security of their lives, persons and

property. They felt towards them no animosity or ill-will as a race, and could not; for the colored people, throughout the war, with few exceptions, had behaved well, and were quiet, industrious and loyal to their owners. I thought as a matter of policy and justice, that the intelligent property holders amongst the freedmen should be allowed to vote, and so stated in the original draft of my first message to the convention. But my friends advised me to leave out this recommendation, as it would only produce a division in the convention, and there was no probability of its being adopted. I did so, and have ever since regretted it, for if a qualified suffrage had been extended to the colored people, we might have avoided the second reconstruction and the Constitutional Amendment imposed by Congress. This would have relieved us from our present degraded and ruinous condition and excluded from our midst the vile carpet-bagger and mean scalawag, who have prejudiced and weaned from us the colored people.

The President had promised me, whilst in Washington, that he would pardon such persons as I desired to be members of the convention, and who would be willing to carry out our views of reform. This was generally known, and was an inducement for the prominent secessionists to become candidates for the convention. When I applied to him for pardon for Judge Orr, General McGowan and others, I told him their services would be important to me in the convention. He said: "I cannot pardon them now, but go home and I will send you their pardons as soon as the convention meets."

When the convention met, I submitted to them my message, in which I urged the abolition of slavery, the destruction of the Parish system, equal representation throughout the State in proportion to taxation and population on the Federal basis, the election of Governor and Presidential electors by the people, with some

minor recommendations and reforms in our State Constitution. This message was well received by the convention, and almost every recommendation adopted, and became parts of our State Constitution. This was very gratifying to me, as I had all my life urged these measures of reform on the State, and now had the pleasure of seeing them, at last, all adopted, with great unanimity. The first thirty years of my political life, had been a series of failures and disappointments. When the State seceded, I wrote to a friend that my course and advice had scarcely ever been followed by the people of South Carolina, and this destruction of the Federal Union was the crowning act of all my political misfortunes and failures. I had most zealously and honestly tried to serve my State, and not a single success or honor had rewarded my services. How little did I then suppose it possible to live to see all my measures of reform adopted, and myself honored, within one short twelve months, with the offices of District Attorney, Judge, Governor and United States Senator.

Whilst the convention was in session, President Johnson requested me to keep him posted as to their action and proceedings. This I did, by sending a telegram every day. I requested him to pardon twenty members of the convention a day or two after they assembled. He promptly sent me pardons for all of them, except Governor Pickens. I then telegraphed him it was necessary for the Judges and Chancellors to be pardoned before they started on their circuits. This he promptly did. When the election took place for the members of the Legislature, under the new Constitution, General Butler, General Hagood, Governor Bonham, General Elliott and others, who were elected members, requested me to telegraph for their pardons. The President promptly sent me pardons for all of them, except General Hagood. When it was supposed that General Hampton had been elected Governor over Judge Orr,

the nominee of the convention, I wrote the President explaining the result, and asked him to send me a pardon for General Hampton. He telegraphed me instantly that the pardon had been made out and would be forwarded in time. But when the legal count took place in the Legislature, Judge Orr was elected by four or five hundred votes. General Hampton immediately requested me to write to the President and inform him that as his pardon had been issued under a wrong impression, he should decline to receive it. This was certainly punctiliously honorable on the part of General Hampton.

When the convention adjourned, I sent the President a copy of their proceedings, and also a copy of the new Constitution. He wrote me in reply that he was gratified with all that had been done. The convention was harmonious in almost all of its proceedings. There was some opposition to the formal abolition of slavery. Judge Aldrich and two or three other members voted against it. Judge Orr stated to the convention, on my authority, that the President would not remove the Federal forces from the State, and Congress would not receive the State back into the Union till this was done. There were some of the members who thought it unnecessary, as slavery had been already abolished by the military authorities. Governor Gist was a candidate for the convention when he came to Greenville to see me about getting his pardon. He told me he would not vote for the abolition of slavery. I advised him then not to go to the convention, and he did withdraw from the canvass. I did not wish for it to appear that there was any opposition to this measure in South Carolina.

Between the adjournment of the convention and the election of Governor, there was a very short interval, and it was thought that there should be some concentration of public opinion. I had *positively refused* to *permit my name* to be used in the canvass. The meas-

ure of my ambition for gubernatorial honors was full to overflowing. The members of the convention therefore signed a paper requesting Judge Orr to consent to become a candidate for Governor. The Judge accepted the nomination. There was no time to canvass the State, or explain the necessity of a nomination. The people took offence at this caucus movement, and some one nominated General Hampton in the Columbia newspapers, without his consent or any consultation with him. General Hampton was very popular, and if he had desired the nomination, the members of the convention would have given it to him with great unanimity. But he did not desire it, and declared that he was not and would not be a candidate. Notwithstanding all this, his nomination was taken up all over the State, and he was voted for everywhere, except in his own district of Richland. He went to the polls in Columbia, and requested his friends, as a personal favor, not to vote for him. After the election, it was generally supposed that Hampton was elected. He was very much annoyed, and came to consult me as to the proper course for him to pursue. I told him that he would have to serve if elected, no matter what the private sacrifice might be to him, or how repugnant to his feelings it might be to accept the office. It would not do, in the present condition of the State, for him to refuse a position voluntarily assigned him by the people. The vital importance of having the State reconstructed, as speedily as possible, was an appeal to his honor and patriotism which he could not resist. Most reluctantly he consented to follow my advice.

Judge Orr was likewise very much chagrined to think that he had been beaten by one who was not a candidate, and did not desire the office. When the official count was declared, and it was made known to Judge Orr that he was elected Governor of the State, he spoke of not accepting the office. He said he had reluctantly

consented to be a candidate, under the impression that it was the general wish of the people. He had already filled higher honors than that of the Governorship of South Carolina. He had been Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, and a Senator of the Confederate States. Mr. Burt, who happened to be at his house when he received the information of his election, told him plainly that he must not and could not refuse to accept the Governorship of the State, no matter by how small a majority he was elected. He good humoredly said to him: "You know that in accepting the nomination, you expressed a distrust of your qualifications, and in this it seems a large portion of the people of South Carolina have concurred with you, but still you promised to serve if elected, and you have been elected. Therefore, there is no backing out on your part."

The Legislature assembled in extra session in order to provide for the election of members of Congress. I had to continue Governor till the Governor elect was inaugurated, which could not be done till the regular session. I sent a message to the Legislature, making a great many recommendations in our laws. Most of the alterations proposed were adopted by the Legislature. Provision was made for the election of members of Congress, and the Legislature determined to go into the election of United States Senators. The candidates for the long and short terms were Governor Manning, Governor Pickens, Governor Bonham, Colonel Campbell, W. H. Trescott and myself. It was pretty well understood that I was to be elected for the long term, and no one opposed me. The others were all candidates for the short term. The friends of Colonel Campbell proposed to one of my friends that they would all vote for me, if my friends would vote for the Colonel. General Easley, to whom this proposition was made, said he could not think of communicating it to me or my friends,

that I had kept aloof from all electioneering, either for myself or others, and intended to remain neutral in regard to the various candidates.

Colonel Campbell, with whom I was very intimate, came to me one evening and inquired who had my election in charge? I replied, "no one!" He asked if Judge Dawkins, who was then a member of the Legislature, had not the matter in charge? I informed him that I had never spoken one word to Judge Dawkins on the subject, and really did not know whether he would vote for me or not. The Colonel, good humoredly, replied that since Orr had popularized the Constitution, it was no longer a reproach, as it formerly was, for a candidate to electioneer for Governor, Judge or United States Senator! I said, you must think the Legislature demoralized as well as the Constitution popularized!

When the election came on, twenty of Colonel Campbell's friends from Charleston voted for Governor Manning, in opposition to me. They thought by doing this they would prejudice my friends against Manning when he started in opposition to Campbell for the short term. It did have that effect, and twenty or thirty of my personal friends voted for Chancellor Dunkin on the first ballot for the short term. But as soon as the vote was taken, they saw that the very members who had voted for Manning against me, voted for Campbell against Manning, when they were both in the field. This showed that they were not original friends of Governor Manning. Had Governor Pickens been acceptable to the United States, I should have preferred him as a colleague, on account of his experience in Congress and talents as a statesman. But it would not have done to have elected him to the United States Senate at that time. The result was, I was elected for the long term, and Governor Manning for the short term, but as is well known, the United States Senate denied us our seats.

Mrs. Pickens, who is a most charming and lovely lady, came down to Columbia just before the election, and it was supposed she came to electioneer for her husband. But she told me that the Governor did not desire the position and was not a candidate. She said she had come to Columbia to get me to write the President for a pardon for Governor Pickens. I did write a very urgent appeal, which Mrs. Pickens carried to the telegraph office herself, and had sent to the President. But no reply came, and this increased her anxiety, and the Governor wrote me several letters on the subject. He thought the President's silence was in violation of the promise he made me to pardon such persons as I wished to have elected members of the State Convention.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNORSHIP OF SOUTH CAROLINA.
No. 7.

Judge Magrath was elected Governor of South Carolina towards the close of the war. Immediately after the surrender of Generals Lee and Johnson, he was arrested by the military authorities, and sent a prisoner to Fort Pulaski, where he was detained for some time. After his release, which I urged on the President with great earnestness, he came to Columbia and called to see me. I thought he was very much improved by his imprisonment. He informed me that he was kindly treated, and all the Yankee officers and soldiers were courteous and respectful towards him. Even the Negro troops were all civil to the prisoners. He said they were looking out at the arrival of every steamer, for Governor Pickens, and wondering why he, too, had not been arrested. He certainly played a most conspicuous part in the Secession of the State, and ordered the firing on the *Star of the West*, which was the commencement of hostilities between the North and the South. It was a little surprising that such men as Governor Ma-

grath and Mr. George Trenholm should be arrested and Governor Pickens permitted to go at large.

At the extra session of the Legislature, I received a telegram from President Johnson, urging, in very strong terms, the adoption of the Federal Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery. In reply, I wrote him that South Carolina had already, in good faith, abolished slavery, and never thought of attempting to restore it. I stated, likewise, that the only objection we had to the Federal Amendment was the second section, which might be construed to give Congress the power of legislating for the freedmen in the Southern States, after they had been set free. Mr. Seward replied to my letter, and insisted that this second section did *not enlarge*, but *restrained* the power under the first section. The President likewise telegraphed me, beseeching that South Carolina would not then "lose all she had done and so well done," by sticking at the adoption of the proposed Amendment of the Federal Constitution. I then sent a message to the Legislature, urging its adoption, and stated the construction of the Secretary of State, as to the object of the second section. I took the ground that it was obvious Congress would require the adoption of this Amendment by all the Southern States before they could get back into the Union. In conclusion, I stated that the destiny of the State was in the hands of the Legislature, and I felt assured that their action would be governed by wisdom and patriotism. The Amendment was adopted by a large majority of both Houses. I was anxious that South Carolina, being the first State to leave the Union, should be the first to return. Had I foreseen the degradation, infamy and ruin, which has followed our return to the Union, never would I have advised such a step, whilst in the possession of my senses. I concur with Jefferson Davis in saying that if the Southern people could have foreseen the future, there would have been no surrender.

In going down to Columbia to attend the regular session of the Legislature, I met Governor Orr at Belton, and addressed him as Governor. He requested me not to address him in that style again. He said the votes had not then been officially counted, and he thought the election very doubtful. We reached Columbia Sunday evening, and the election was declared on Monday. Governor Orr received five or six hundred votes more than General Hampton. We had rooms opposite each other in Nickerson Hotel. He came to my room after the election was declared and requested me to telegraph the President as to his being inaugurated. I said no, not one word will I say to him about the inauguration till it is over. Then I will inform him the deed is done. If I were to consult him about it beforehand, he might make it the subject of a Cabinet consultation, and they would probably advise a postponement of the Inauguration till the Provisional Governor was relieved.

The day appointed for the inauguration of the Governor-elect was Wednesday. That morning, both Governor Orr and myself received telegrams from Colonel Trescott, the agent of South Carolina at Washington, on the subject of forfeited lands, advising the postponement of the inauguration till his return to Columbia. I said to Governor Orr, instead of Trescott's telegram being a reason for postponing, it would cause me to hasten it if I could. I was afraid he might have some order or request from the President on the subject. The inauguration took place as appointed. I delivered a farewell address to the Legislature, which was well received, and elicited their applause. I told them, that as Provisional Governor, it had been my duty to lead them, as the chosen people of old, through the military rule and oppression within sight of the promised land, where they would enjoy once more self-government and civil liberty. But that it was reserved for my distin-

guished friend, their own chosen Governor, the first ever elected by the people of South Carolina, to guide them over the river, and see that they were secured in the enjoyment of life, liberty and property.

Governor Orr then delivered his Inaugural Address, which was well considered, wise, patriotic and appropriate. He had read it to me the day previous, and requested that I would criticise both its matter and style. After the inauguration was over, I telegraphed the President, and requested that I might be permitted to transfer the Chief Magistracy of the State to Governor Orr. In reply, I received a communication from Mr. Seward, stating that the President would soon relieve me, or words to that effect. He had previously, more than once, directed me expressly to continue to discharge the duties of Provisional Governor, till positively relieved by him. I had said in my farewell address to the Legislature, that I should thereafter make all my communications to them through their Constitutional Governor. This I had occasion to do, in regard to the wishes of the President, in reference to the repudiation of our war debt. Several communications had passed between the President, Mr. Seward and myself, on this subject. I informed them that the State Convention had been dissolved, and could not re-assemble, that the Legislature had no power to repudiate the war debt, that it was a very small one, and was owned in part by widows and orphans, and that it would be an act of great injustice to them, for it to be repudiated. I also said, that in South Carolina, they were all Secessionists, and the tax-payers had no right to complain of this debt, which was created by themselves. The people of South Carolina then had a horror of repudiation, for all their public debt was honest and meritorious. But now they are very much inclined to repudiation, as they believe that the *present public debt* is fraudulent and was created by rogues and swindlers.

I remained in Columbia till near the close of the session of the Legislature, without being released as Provisional Governor. The day after I returned home, the President's dispatch was received, authorizing me to transfer the funds and papers in my possession belonging to the State of South Carolina to Governor Orr, the Constitutional Governor of the State. This was very easily done, as I had not received a dollar or collected a dollar as Provisional Governor during the whole of my administration. The President directed me, immediately after my appointment, to levy a tax on the people, and have it collected, to defray the expenses of the convention. This I declined to do, on account of the poverty and utter destitution of the country and the inability of the people to pay any tax or assessment. I stated to the convention in my message on their assembling together, that they would have to provide ways and means of defraying their expenses. They made arrangements through the State Bank for this purpose. I was authorized likewise by the President, to sell any of the public property of the State, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the Provisional Governorship. This I would not do. For six months no money was received or paid out by the State. When was there ever a more economical administration of a State Government! The Mississippi Governor, Sharkey, levied a tax on cotton to defray the expenses of his Provisional Governorship of that State. In every other State there was money raised in some way, to maintain the State Government. In South Carolina alone, there were no taxes levied, and no money received into the public treasury.

During the latter part of my administration, I ordered the formation of volunteer companies of militia in every district, for the purpose of preserving order and keeping the peace of the State. These companies were to be an auxiliary force to the Federal troops and

receive their orders from the commanders at the different ports. This proclamation gave great satisfaction, and in almost every district companies were organized. This had a most salutary influence in deterring the vicious, keeping the negroes quiet and relieving the apprehensions of the people.

The only serious annoyance which I had during my term of office, was the continued reports of grievances all over the State, which I could not relieve or redress. Every mail brought me some complaint against the Federal troops, the Negroes, Treasury agents, &c., &c. Where the colored troops were stationed, these complaints were indeed horrible. But I was powerless. I could only bring these grievances to the notice of the commanding General, and ask him to enquire into them. The Treasury agents were a cursed set of rogues and scoundrels.

Their lawless depredations were most villainous. They took horses, cotton, mules, saddles and wagons, wherever it suited their convenience, without any regard to the title of the property thus taken. They received bribes whenever they were offered, and levied black-mail wherever they went. I went to the head of the Treasury and reported several of these scoundrels. Mr. McCullough sent for a stenographer and took down all that I said. He assured me they should be brought to justice. I also spoke to the President in reference to the same matter. He told me that these cotton agents were the greatest scoundrels he had ever had anything to do with, and regretted that the Government had ever undertaken to seize cotton.

I will mention one instance of the roguery of these cotton agents. Major Fry, an officer of the army, seized a quantity of cotton in Pendleton, and hired an agent to haul and ship it. This agent was to receive

twenty or thirty bales for his services, with the understanding that he was to give Fry one-half of the proceeds of his cotton when sold.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNORSHIP OF SOUTH CAROLINA.
No. 8.

Just before I was relieved as Provisional Governor, I addressed a long communication to the Secretary of State, informing him that our State Government was then fully organized, and requesting that the Federal troops might be removed from the State, except in Charleston, Beaufort and Georgetown. I reminded him of a former communication to me, in which he promised to withdraw all the troops from South Carolina as soon as the State Government was fully organized. I urged, too, the re-establishment of the Federal Courts in South Carolina, so that the treasury agents might be dispensed with. I gave him a full detail of their rascality and roguery.

I also continued my remonstrance on the employment of Negro troops by the Federal Government in South Carolina, and I gave him a detail of their atrocious conduct. At Newberry Court House they took a young gentleman from Texas out of the ladies' car, and shot him for resisting the intrusion of the Negro soldiers on the ladies! At Anderson they protected and carried off a Negro who had wantonly murdered his young master! At Greenville, the Negro troops had knocked down the citizens in the streets, without the slightest provocation! At Pocotaligo, they had gone to a gentleman's house, and after tying him, had violated the ladies. I never received any reply to this communication. But the Negro troops were removed from the upper country, though not from the lower country for a great while. The father of the young Texan, murdered at Newberry, wrote me a letter, requesting that

the officers and murderers of his son should be brought to justice. I sent his letter to the military commander in Charleston, but do not know that any notice was taken of it!

Whilst Provisional Governor, I think I received, examined and forwarded between two and three thousand applications for pardon in six months! There may have been more; I kept no record of them. They were mostly from persons who were worth more than twenty thousand dollars. I did not reject a single application. Two or three applications were sent back by me, because they did not express any loyalty to the Government, and I thought the omission intentional. The conduct of the Radical party since, has been so infamous, that I should not now blame an applicant for omitting all professions of loyalty to the Federal Government whilst in their hands. My heart has been more weaned from the General Government since the second reconstruction of South Carolina than it was during the whole war! My only hope is that some unforeseen event may occur to produce a change in our rulers.

I stayed at Nickerson's Hotel during the sitting of the Convention, the Extra Session of the Legislature and the regular Session, and had a suite of rooms opening into each other. During the convention I was the guest of mine host, and he would not receive any compensation for his accommodations. My sitting room was filled with company from nine o'clock in the morning, till ten at night. Gentlemen, ladies and children, came to report grievances, to consult, to talk, to get pardons. I did not have time to go to the convention or Legislature but once or twice. Besides receiving all this company, I had innumerable letters to read and answer, applications for pardons to examine and forward to Washington, &c., &c. My sympathies were deeply excited by the grievances of the unfortunate poor refugees. They had been persons of wealth, had lived in luxury all

their lives, and had never before known what want was. There they were without fortune, money, or the means of living! Many of them had nothing to eat except bread and water, and were thankful if they could get bread! Truly their fate was a sad one, and appealed strongly to the sympathies of the community. But there were very few of their neighbors or friends who could assist them. Sherman's army and the Confederate troops had consumed the entire provisions of the country, and what had not been consumed was wantonly destroyed by the Yankees.

Mr. Petigru once said to me before the war commenced: "These Parish gentlemen are the biggest fools in the world for wishing disunion. They will suffer more than any others by a civil war. Their homes and property will be at the mercy of the Yankees. Their slaves will leave them, and they will have to flee the country." How prophetic were these words!

Mr. Townsend, one of these refugees, came to me with a long petition, signed by fifty or a hundred land proprietors on the Islands, asking the restoration of their lands. I remembered he was one of the most violent of disunionists just before the war, and had written a pamphlet headed: "The South must be governed by Southern men." How little did he then think of having the Yankees governing the South, at first with their bayonets, and then with carpet-baggers and Negroes and scalawags! His slaves put in possession of his princely estate and he a refugee from home and his rich possessions! And yet, all this ruin and humiliation originated in his own folly and madness! I wrote a most earnest appeal to the President, in favor of these petitioners. But nothing that I could do for him and the other petitioners, seemed to have any effect on him. He was one of twenty who voted against me for the United States Senate, after all my exertions in his favor. I got the convention to authorize me to


appoint an agent, whose duty it should be to go to Washington and represent these refugees in trying to recover their lands. I appointed W. H. Trescott, Esq., who was most favorably known in Washington, and had once been acting Secretary of State. He procured an order for the restoration of these confiscated lands, but General Saxton and his sub-agents thwarted in some way the purport and design of this order, and I believe the Negroes are still in possession of these lands.

The emancipation of the slaves rendered it necessary to have legislation in regard to their condition and status in society. The convention authorized me to appoint two lawyers to prepare a code on this subject and submit the same to the Legislature at its first regular session. I selected Judge Wardlaw and the Honorable Armistead Burt for this purpose. They prepared an elaborate code of laws which was adopted by the Legislature. But this code gave great offense to the Federal authorities, and a reconstruction of the State followed.

Whilst Provisional Governor, I addressed a communication to the Secretary of State to know if the Legislature of South Carolina would be permitted to assume her proportion of the direct tax levied by the Federal Government? And whether indulgence would be given the State in paying the same? I urged the desolation and ruin of the State by the civil war as a reason for this indulgence. I said it was utterly impossible for the people to pay this tax at that time. The Secretary replied that this indulgence could not be given without an act of Congress authorizing it. In my message to the Legislature, I recommended that this debt should be assumed by the State, as she was authorized to do, under the Federal Constitution. But the Legislature did not act on my recommendation. I saw afterwards a statement showing that one-half this direct tax had been paid by the sale of refugees' lands in the lower country.



The conversion of the South Carolina College into a University was a measure which had long been advocated in the Legislature, and before the Board of Trustees. Colonel William C. Preston, the former President of the College, was strongly in favor of the change, and wrote me several letters on the subject from the Virginia University. I urged this matter on the Legislature in my first message to that body. The reasons I assigned for the change were too strong under the then existing circumstances to be resisted. After this change had been made I was very anxious to have the Honorable R. W. Barnwell elected to fill one of the chairs in the University. He was then living at Greenville and in great want. He had been President of the College, and was one of the purest and best men I ever saw. He had distinguished himself in the Senate of the United States and in the Confederate Senate. He had consulted me about opening a school. He said his fortune was gone and he had to do something for a living. I then suggested to him the Presidency of the College, which was then vacant, and he expressed himself delighted with the idea. When the Board of Trustees were going into the election for Professors of the various chairs, I nominated Mr. Barnwell for the chair of History, &c. To my utter surprise, I found there was strong objection to him. Most of the members had pledged their support to Colonel Haskell, a most promising and highly intellectual young member of the Legislature from Abbeville. He was one of my aides as Provisional Governor, and I had the highest regard for him as a gentleman and scholar. But I thought Mr. Barnwell would give more reputation to the University, and was better known throughout the State. Mr. Barnwell was elected and has been in the University ever since, performing all his duties as a professor, a scholar, a Christian and a gentleman.



FAREWELL SPEECH OF GOVERNOR PERRY

TO THE

LEGISLATURE OF SOUTH CAROLINA AS PROVISIONAL GOVERNOR.

DECEMBER, 1865.

UPON entering the hall of the House of Representatives, accompanied by the Governor-elect, where the inangural ceremonies took place, Provisional-Governor B. F. Perry said :

Senators and Members of the House of Representatives:

I have come here to-day to bid you farewell, as Provisional Governor of South Carolina, and to congratulate you on the restoration of the State, once more to self-government and independence, as a member of the Federal Union. Like the leader of God's chosen people of old, I have had the honor of conducting you through the wilderness, within sight of the promised land, but am not permitted to enter it. That great boon has been reserved for my distinguished friend, who is now about to be inaugurated as the first Chief Magistrate of the State ever elected by the sovereign people. If not within "three days," he will within a very short time be able to pass you over the confusion and military rule, under which you have so long lived, to that happy state in which you will be able to govern yourselves, and enjoy all the rights and privileges of a free and enlightened people. Under his wise and able administration, I hope to see the good old State revive, prosper, and be once more happy.

I am sure, gentlemen, that I may say with perfect pro-

priety, as the representative of the Federal Government in South Carolina, that the State has done enough to entitle her to be received back as a member of the Federal Union, with all of her Constitutional rights fully restored. She was foremost in assuming the post of danger in the recent revolution, and in her appeal to arms in defense of what she honestly believed to be her reserved rights as a State. Gallantly and nobly her sons fought through the war, pouring out their blood and sacrificing their lives on almost every battlefield throughout the Southern States. When conquered by overwhelming numbers, seeing their towns and villages nothing but smouldering ruins, their beloved State a widespread desolation, their wives, and sisters, and little children, and aged parents at the point of starvation, like brave men they accepted the decrees of God, and submitted themselves to the dire fortunes of war. Sad and silent, with manly fortitude and firmness, they awaited the terms of the conqueror. When those terms were made known, they were first, with a generous pride and high chivalry, to assume the humiliation which their State had been foremost in bringing on our common country.

As soon as the President's Proclamation was issued, the people of South Carolina went cheerfully forward and took the amnesty oath. They promptly assembled in Convention, under the order of the Provisional Governor, and reformed their State Constitution, as was desired by the President. They abolished slavery, and freely gave up their two hundred millions invested in slaves. When advised to adopt the Congressional amendment to the Constitution of the United States abolishing slavery, South Carolina was the first Southern State which ratified the same, and set an example for her sister States to follow. She has been first, also, in preparing a wise and humane code of laws for the protection of the freedmen in all their rights of personal

property, and allowing them to give testimony in her Courts of Justice. She has now elected her Representatives in both Houses of Congress, and commissioned them to take their seats in that body. She has organized a perfect State Government, with Legislative, Executive and Judiciary Departments, all republican in their character, and the members of each swearing to support the Constitution of the United States. Her ordinances of Secession have been repealed, and she now pledges herself to stand by the Union in good faith, and with all sincerity.

Having done all this, you and your State have done your duty, gracefully and faithfully, as becomes a gallant and generous people, who are never afraid to assume any position where honor and patriotism prompt. I know the President desires to relieve you of military rule, and see your representatives once more seated in the councils of the nation. I cannot believe that Congress will exclude them by a test oath, which does not apply to members of Congress, for they are not officers of the Federal Government, as was early decided in the history of our Government. Nor has Congress any power to impose on its members any other oath than that prescribed in the Constitution. To admit a contrary doctrine, would enable the majority in Congress to exclude the minority, because they were Democrats, or States' Rights men, or professed any other principles repugnant to the creed of the majority. The Constitutional oath was wisely ordained, and excludes all other oaths. The powers of Congress are delegated and specific, and they have no others. The reason for the passage of this test oath has passed away, and if not repealed, no one in South Carolina can fill a Federal office till a new generation has sprung up, for all now living—men, women and children—did, in some way countenance the war.

It is known to you, gentlemen, that I was opposed to

the secession of South Carolina. No man in America regretted more deeply than I did this fatal movement, for I thought I foresaw all the evil consequences which have resulted from it. But, when the issue was made my feelings of sympathy were all with my native State. And yet, I conscientiously believed that even the success of the Southern States would be disastrous. The jealousies and errors of the Grecian States were constantly in my mind. Disintegration *once* commenced in a confederation of republics no one could foresee where it would end, except in petty tyrannies, or a consolidated military despotism.

Henceforth, no one will repudiate the farewell advice of Washington, as to the importance and perpetuity of the Federal Union. It has shown a power and strength, moral and physical, which defy dissolution, till some extraordinary change has taken place in the condition of the people. The tendency of civilization is to enlarge governments, and not to disintegrate them. All causes of discontent or dissatisfaction between the North and the South, have been removed by the abolition of slavery. The different sections of this great Republic are mutually dependent on each other, and the one cannot live well without the others. The Southern States plant cotton, and the Northern States manufacture it. The great West grows grain, and raises live stock for the supply of both sections. We all speak the same language, and have the same common origin. Our opinions and feelings in regard to the republican principles of government are identical. There is, too, a similarity in our pursuits and habits, manners, customs, and religion and education.

History teaches us that the present asperity of feeling which may exist in the breasts of many, in consequence of the wrongs and injuries of the war, will soon wear out. Brave and honorable men are always ready and willing to become reconciled. History teaches us, too,

that the ravages of war are much more easily repaired than one is apt to suppose. An industrious and enterprising people will soon restore a country desolated by war. Such a people may soon convert a wilderness into productive and highly improved farms. No one need despair of the State. In a few years, with peace and industry, everything will change and wear a prosperous and happy aspect.

You have, gentlemen, in your legislative capacity, arduous and responsible duties to perform, requiring great prudence and forethought. Your finances and banking system, now prostrate, have to be restored; your laws have to be amended to suit the changed condition of the State; your militia system, now more important than ever, requires your earliest consideration; your Judiciary must be restored, and in some respects it would be proper to make improvements in the system. But I am trespassing on the prerogatives of the Constitutional Governor. Henceforth, all of my communications, as the representative of the Federal Government, must be made through him and to him. I hope most devoutly that I may have none to make, except one, which authorizes me to say that the President of the United States recognizes South Carolina, once more, as a member of the Federal Union, fully restored to all of her Constitutional rights.

In conclusion, gentlemen, let me return you my most grateful thanks for the very flattering manner in which you have conferred on me the high and distinguished trust of representing the State of South Carolina in the Senate of the United States. And let me assure you that all my energies and humble talents will be devoted to the promotion of the best interests of the State, her welfare and honor.

I bid you an affectionate adieu.



HISTORY

OF THE

PHILADELPHIA NATIONAL UNION CONVENTION IN 1866.

WRITTEN BY EX-GOVERNOR B. F. PERRY IN 1872.

I STARTED about the first of August, 1866, to attend the Philadelphia National Union Convention. At Belton I met Governor Orr and General Harrison. We were joined by Judge Wardlaw and General McGowan at Cokesbury. In Columbia we were detained all one day, and I went to see my friends, the Honorable Robert Barnwell and Mrs. John LeConte. Mr. Barnwell gave me a great deal of prudent advice relative to the course to be pursued by the Southern delegates in the Convention. He thought we ought to be entirely passive and simply acquiesce in what was done. We ought not to speak unless it was to represent the condition of the South and the feelings of the Southern people. Prominence should be given to the Republicans in everything, and the Democrats keep in the background.

At Chester we were gratified with meeting Judge Dawkins and his lady, and also his brother, Judge Dawkins, of Florida, and Colonel Farrow, of Spartanburg. We had a bountiful supply of provisions and something to drink. Our journey to Richmond was very pleasant. There the omnibus carried us, against understanding and earnest protestations, to the Exchange Hotel, instead of the Spotswood. In order to show our independence, and that we were not to be carried where the omnibus driver saw proper to land us, we all determined to walk on to the Spotswood Hotel.

where we were handsomely entertained till we took the night train for Washington. We arrived there about daylight, and stopped at Willard's. After going to headquarters of the Johnson Club to enroll our names as members of the Philadelphia Convention, we went to call on the President. His ante or reception room was full, and we had to wait several hours before getting an audience. In the meantime, we made the acquaintance of a great many delegates from the Northwest, who were waiting, like ourselves, to see President Johnson. When we were ushered into the presence of His Excellency, he made us a short speech; told us he was very hopeful of the convention, and that it was the most important convention which had assembled since the adoption of the Federal Constitution. The President was looking remarkably well, and seemed in good spirits. I thought he had improved in every respect since I last saw him—his appearance giving the lie to all the slanders about his drinking. He is indeed a very wonderful man.

In the evening we took the train for Philadelphia, and had a very unpleasant ride in old cars filled to suffocation with delegates. All the way I heard the inquiry made whether Vallandigham would be permitted to take his seat in the convention? This surprised me very much. I thought all would be willing to receive anyone who could give strength or bring influence to the convention. I said, if Vallandigham was to be excluded on account of his Southern sympathies during the war, all the delegates from the Southern States ought likewise to be excluded. There was certainly more propriety in rejecting a rebel, than a mere sympathizer with rebels. We arrived in the city about midnight and took lodgings at the Continental Hotel. I had telegraphed from Columbia to reserve rooms for us. Thinking from the high sounding titles affixed to our names, that we were all gentlemen of fortunes, the hotel keeper had re-

served a magnificent private parlor adjacent to our sleeping apartments for us to receive our company in, and for which he charged us a round sum when our bills were footed up. A great many delegates and friends did, however, pay us the honor of calling to see us the next day, which was Sunday.

In the evening, Governor Orr was deputed by some of his Western friends to call on Mr. Vallandigham and urge on him the propriety of his not taking his seat in the convention. The Governor requested me to accompany him, which I did; but at the same time, expressing myself decidedly hostile to the object of his mission. I thought it a great outrage for such a proposition to be made by a Southern man. We found Mr. Vallandigham in the midst of a large circle of friends, who had called at his room to see him. After chatting awhile, he requested us to walk into another room, where Governor Orr briefly stated the object of his visit. He told Mr. Vallandigham that his withdrawal, for the sake of harmony, would redound to his popularity, and be appreciated by himself and foes. In reply, Vallandigham spoke for about an hour most admirably, eloquently and feelingly. He said the opposition to his taking his seat, came from men who had grievously injured him, and never could forgive him, although he had never harmed one of them. It was easier for an injured man to forgive an injury, than for the one inflicting the injury to forget it. He said his voluntary withdrawal from the convention would be a confession of infamy on his part—that it would be an acknowledgement that his antecedents had been such as to render him unworthy of a seat with honorable and patriotic men. Moreover, he had been appointed by his constituents to represent them, and it would be an unworthy abandonment of his trust. If he was excluded for sympathizing with the South, how could Southern delegates be allowed to take their seats? He spoke of

his exile and persecution during the war, and the course he had pursued. He said for two years his family were prisoners in thier own house. His little son was threatened with assassination if he appeared in the streets. His wife never left her house except by a back street, to see her niece. He told us that he would have been elected Governor of Ohio whilst he was in exile, but for the invasion of Pennsylvania and Ohio by the Confederate armies. President Davis had sent two gentlemen to see him, and one was a South Carolinian. He disclosed his plans to these gentlemen, and urged President Davis to make terms with the Federal Government whilst he had the power of doing so. That it was impossible ever to establish Southern independence. That the Democratic party North never would consent to disunion. That in all his intercourse with them, he had only seen six men who were willing to have peace on terms of separation. He said notwithstanding this determination, they exulted in every Southern victory, under the belief that the Federals would quit fighting if beaten back and make peace, and that peace would restore the Union.

Mr. Vallandigham said, with great correctness and emphasis, that if Johnson did not carry the Northern election that Fall, the whole country stood in danger of being defeated by a terrible civil war. He explained how it would be brought about. If the Radicals were successful in the elections that Fall, they would impeach President Johnson, and attempt to revolutionize the Government. If they still kept the Southern States out of the Union, and excluded their votes in the next Presidential election, we should have two Presidents, two Congresses and civil war. He was very confident of carrying Ohio that Fall, but spoke contemptuously of the strength to be gained from the Republican ranks by any proposed coalition with that party. He said the accession from that party would not be enough to fill the offices of the State.

In the course of his very interesting remarks, he said if President Johnson had broke with the Radicals when Congress assembled, he would have carried one-half of the body with him. If he had broke with them when he vetoed the Civil Rights Bill, he could have carried one-third of the party, but now he would carry none with him. When he heard of Lincoln's death, he thought and said that Johnson would be the salvation of the country. Lincoln was a cunning, unprincipled joker, promising everything to everybody, and utterly regardless of his promises. Johnson was a man of firmness and principle—a Democrat and a Southern man. This was a great improvement on Lincoln.

Mr. Vallandigham was utterly opposed to breaking up the Democratic party, and expected yet to see them governing the country. He said he received more votes for Governor of Ohio than any candidate ever did before, and yet he was beaten one hundred and twenty thousand votes. The whole army, from Massachusetts, Connecticut and other States, was allowed to vote against him. Some of the soldiers boasted that they voted five times at the election.

I saw that he was determined to take his seat in the convention, and I said to him, let your determination be known at once. The opposition will grow till your decision is known. I was anxious that he should take his seat, and thought it impolitic and cruel to exclude him. Governor Orr was in favor of excluding him, as he thought it would break up the convention if he went into it. When the Governor found that the South Carolina delegation would not vote to exclude him, he proposed that we should not vote at all. This I vehemently opposed. Judge Dawkins and several other South Carolina delegates favored this proposition. I said it was unmanly, impolitic and ungrateful in the South, to pursue such a course towards a man who had made such sacrifices, and suffered so much for the South and in the

cause of constitutional liberty. I became excited, and with great earnestness, declared that sooner than see Vallandigham treated so unjustly, the convention might break up and go to perdition. There was a person in the room at the time who seemed greatly shocked at my expression. The next morning he said to a friend of mine, that he had traveled with me three or four days, and thought, from my sedate appearance, that I was a member of the church, and that my denunciation fell on his ears like a clap of thunder in clear sunshine.

I was very much impressed with Vallandigham's ability, firmness and patriotism. He was a great man and talked like a man of genius. He looked better than he did when I first saw him in the Charleston Convention in 1860. Governor Orr said he was ambitious, selfish and egotistic. These are very apt to be the qualities of a politician, and even of a great statesman. Mr. Calhoun had his full share of them. Cicero was the prince of egotists, and so was Demosthenes. In 1859 or 1860, before I had ever seen Vallandigham, I was so much pleased with one of his speeches in Congress, that I wrote to our member of Congress, Colonel Ashmore, to present my grateful thanks to him for his noble effort in favor of the South and constitutional liberty, and that it was the speech of a gentleman, a patriot and a statesman. Mr. Vallandigham was so much pleased with the compliment, that he begged the letter of Colonel Ashmore to send his wife. Poor Vallandigham! how deeply I mourned his untimely and sad death!

Monday morning, Governor Manning, Judge Moses, Colonel Thomas Y. Simmons, Colonel Campbell, Mr. Shingler, and other delegates from South Carolina, arrived. From my memoranda, it seems the convention did not meet till Tuesday. Our parlor was filled with visitors all day, and till a late hour at night. Tuesday morning the Massachusetts delegation called in a body

to pay their respects to the South Carolina delegation. They were very cordial and kind, and really seemed to feel as if they were greeting old friends. They were all Democrats, who had been persecuted for their sympathy with the South, and they had a right to expect a cordial welcome from us. We gave it most gratefully and cheerfully. They proposed that we should go up to the convention together. When we got there Mr. Spofford, a Massachusetts delegate, and a most charming gentleman, suggested that we two delegations should go into the convention arm-in-arm. It was so announced from the stand by Governor Randall. The convention rose and cheered us most vociferously, and made us march round the room, so that all could see the harmonious and affectionate spectacle. Immediately this was telegraphed to President Johnson, and it affected him to tears of joy! The effect was most happy on the convention and throughout the country.

On taking the chair, General Dix, of New York, made a most admirable address to the convention. How little did we then expect to see him, after delivering such a patriotic speech, go over to the Republican party, within a few years, and become their renegade candidate for Governor of New York. How true it is, that most politicians are mere gamblers, playing for success, without any regard to the interest of their country, and with as little principle as the veriest black-leg. Senator Doolittle was appointed President of the convention, and made a most happy, appropriate and patriotic address. The wigwam in which we were assembled was a huge building, gotten up for the occasion, and could accommodate ten thousand persons. It was constructed of rough plank and badly covered. The rain began to fall pretty heavy, and the ladies found their situation anything but pleasant.

In the evening, Governor Orr, General McGowan and myself were invited by Governor Bigler to dine with

Major James. Mr. Clymer, the Democratic candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania, and others were present. The Major insisted that I should come and stay with him, and bring a friend with me. He said he had two rooms ready for us. But I declined his hospitality, as I was unwilling to leave the very pleasant company at the hotel. That night I was invited to make a speech in the room of the National Union Club. There were fifteen hundred persons present, and never before had I addressed so enthusiastic an audience. I was followed by Mr. Perrin, of New York, in one of the most humorous speeches I ever listened to. Mr. Cleveland, of Hartford, then addressed the meeting, and we adjourned.

Wednesday the South Carolina delegation went to return the visit of the Massachusetts delegates. We were met most cordially, and treated to champagne in great abundance. Major General Custer said to General McGowan: "We were looking at each other in Virginia three or four years at a distance, and I am now happy to take a nearer view of you." In going to the wigwam, Judge Wardlaw was robbed of his pocket book, containing five hundred dollars, and Colonel Campbell of his diamond breast-pin of great value.

I was appointed on the Committee of Address and Resolutions, which assembled that evening at the Continental hotel, sixty or seventy in number, and appointed a sub-committee to consider the matters referred to them and report. I was on this sub-committee, and had a long sitting. Mr. Raymond, of New York, had prepared an address, which was read, and about one-third the historical part was stricken out. In every instance where a Southern delegate proposed an alteration, it was agreed to.

Thursday the convention met and received the address and resolutions. They were adopted amid great cheering. The whole convention rose to their feet, and the galleries did the same. The ladies waved their white

handkerchiefs, and clapped their little hands, with lovely faces wreathed in smiles. The picture, or photograph, of the convention at this period would have been beautiful indeed. The ladies and gentlemen sitting or standing close together in the galleries, presented a beautiful appearance, and looked like mosaic work, with different colors of dresses, bonnets, faces, &c., &c.

Friday evening the South Carolina delegation were invited by the Mayor of the city to dine with him and a few friends. Mr. McMikell and seven gentlemen subscribed one thousand dollars to furnish the dinner. It was altogether the most magnificent dinner I had ever sat down to. It was said that the mayor, McMikell and his seven friends were worth eight millions of dollars. They were all black Republicans of the deepest dye. Their hospitality surprised every one. General McCook, of Ohio, said to me, he could excuse our going into the Convention arm in arm with the Massachusetts delegation, for they were Democrats, but our dining with the black Republican Mayor of Philadelphia and his friends, was too bad! It was understood that no politics were to be talked, but we all made political speeches, and they were received most cordially. The Mayor said to Colonel Campbell and myself, that he begged us to understand that in opposing President Johnson, who had deserted them and the Republican party North, they were not opposing the South. He wished the South restored to the Union. This was said on taking leave of him.

Saturday we were invited to dine with Joshua Francis Fisher, Esq., ten or twelve miles in the country, who married the youngest daughter of my old friend, Governor Henry Middleton, of South Carolina. Mr. Fisher was the grand-nephew of Sir Philip Francis, the supposed writer of Junius Letters. In starting to Mr. Fisher's, I had the pleasure of meeting General Meade at the railroad depot. He was shabbily dressed, and I

did not at first recognize him. When I met him in Columbia, he was in full uniform, and looked the hero and high-bred gentleman. I never before was so forcibly struck with the effect of dress. General Meade rode with us till we stopped to go to Mr. Fisher's. The South Carolinians whom I introduced to him were very much pleased with him.


Mr. Fisher lived like an English nobleman, in a magnificent house, with all the improvement, culture and refinement which taste and wealth could suggest. His residence is filled with the most beautiful statuary and paintings, with rare books and curiosities, etruscan relics, &c., &c. I stayed with him till Monday morning, and went to church with him and Mrs. Fisher on Sunday to hear the brother of President Buchanan preach. He was the pastor of the Episcopal church, and gave us a very fine sermon. After service I was presented to him by Mr. Fisher, and had the pleasure of a short conversation with him. The country is in the highest state of improvement around Philadelphia. The farms are gardens, and cultivated as gardens.

Monday morning I returned to the city, and found Judge Wardlaw and General McGowan, with an invitation for me to take up my abode at Mrs. Flemming's, where they were kindly and most elegantly entertained by their old friend, who was formerly a citizen of South Carolina, and a lady of great fortune. I cannot close these reminiscences without mentioning a lady whose acquaintance it was my good fortune to make, Mrs. Reed, the wife of Colonel Reed, a delegate from Georgia, and the daughter of Judge Nesbit, of Georgia, and the cousin of my old friend, Henry Young, Esq., of Laurens, S. C. She was a most beautiful, accomplished and charming lady, and added greatly to the interest of our Southern party at the Continental Hotel. It is sad to think how many pleasant and agreeable acquaintances we make in traveling, whom it is not our good fortune

ever to meet again in life! Perhaps never hear of again!

This Philadelphia Convention which promised so much, ended in nothing. The Republicans who met us, and acted with us, soon returned to their old party, and forgot their new allies. Mr. Raymond, who drew the very able and patriotic address adopted by the convention, became as much of a Republican partisan as he was before he went to the great National Union Convention of Philadelphia.





WHO FREED THE SLAVES.

A TRENCHANT LETTER OF EX-GOVERNOR PERRY.

RE-PUBLISHED IN 1888.

[From the Charleston News and Courier.]

THE following letter of ex-Governor Perry, written in 1876, is republished, by request, as having special value at this time as an exposure of the rank selfishness and hypocrisy of the Republican party in their treatment of the colored people :

GREENVILLE, S. C., Sept. 15, 1876.

To His Excellency, Governor Chamberlain—Sir : With all due deference to the high office which you at this time fill in South Carolina, I shall reply to some of your statements in your campaign speeches, as reported in the newspapers.

The colored people have been told over and again by their unprincipled leaders that if they voted for the Democratic party they would be thrown back into slavery again, and all their political rights taken from them. I do not charge you, sir, with having uttered so flagrant a falsehood, but you did say, at Lancaster, Marlboro and other places, that the Republican party set the Negroes free, and they ought to, in gratitude for their freedom, stand by and support that party. Now, sir, this assertion, in point of fact, is not true, and as a lawyer you knew it was not true.

The State Convention of South Carolina, representing all the slave-holders of the State, did almost unanimously, in 1865, abolish slavery, and declare in their Constitution that it should never exist again in the State. The Legislature of South Carolina soon afterwards adopted the amendment to the Federal Constitu-

tion, declaring that slavery should never again exist in the United States. In this way, and in no other, was slavery abolished in South Carolina.

You know very well, sir, as a constitutional lawyer, that neither the President by a proclamation, nor Congress, by legislation, had any right or authority, under the Federal Constitution, to abolish slavery in the States. No one would have dared assume such a proposition before the Supreme Court of the United States. Hence it was urged by the authorities at Washington, knowing that President Lincoln's proclamation emancipating the slaves was mere *brutem fulmen*, that the States themselves in conventions should abolish slavery and accept the amendments to the Federal Constitution declaring that it should never exist again in the United States.

Now let us analyze this great interest and tender regard which you say the Republican party have had and will have for the colored people. We will find it exists solely, and ever has, in the advancement of their own interest and their noted jealousy of the Southern people. The African slave-trade was introduced by them, solely for gain, and thousands of them made fortunes by it. Vessels were fitted out in all their ports, and sent to Africa to kidnap the poor Negro and sell him as a slave to the Southern planters. Was there any kindness in this to the colored people?

They owned slaves themselves and kept them till the population of the Northern States became so dense that slave labor was no longer profitable. Then they sent a many of their slaves South as they could and sold them. Ultimately their own interest prompted them to abolish slavery in their several States. Was there any tender regard for the colored race in all this conduct?

They said that by the cultivation of rice and cotton in the Southern States with slave labor these States surpassed them in prosperity and wealth, and had

control of the Federal Government. This excited their jealousy and hatred, and under the pretence of philanthropy and humanity they commenced their abolition movement for the purpose of consolidating the non-slave-holding States, and wresting the Federal Government from their hands. Was this kindness to the Negro, or selfish ambition and hatred on the part of the Republicans? The Northern Democrats had no sympathy in this movement, and denounced it as fiercely as we did at the South.

The colored people have been told a thousand times, and perhaps by you, that the civil war was carried on for their emancipation, that all the fraternal blood shed in this contest, and all the lives that were sacrificed, and all the thousand millions of dollars expended, were to set them free; when history informs us that after the war had continued for a length of time, Congress declared almost unanimously that this bloody war was only to restore the Union as it was before the war, with slavery as a necessary consequence. Did this show any regard for the poor slave? Were his interests or his rights at all considered? They did nothing for them. All they wanted, all they were fighting for, was the restoration of the Union.

When the slaves of Maryland fled from their masters and went into General B. F. Butler's camp for protection, he sent them back to their owners. How much regard was there in this for the freedom of the slave? It was thought at that time that any interference with slavery would defeat the restoration of the Union, for which alone they were fighting. They cared nothing for emancipation. It was not then in their war programme.

Again, when a number of colored troops tendered their services to the Government President Lincoln refused to receive them. He told them that they belonged to a different race, and could not, with propriety

be incorporated into the army. This was showing great respect for the colored people. The hope had not then been given up of restoring the Union as it was before the war, with slavery in full blast.

In the course of time, as the civil war progressed, the Republican party saw that there was no hope of bringing the Southern States back into the Union except by conquest and subjugation. Then for the first time their kindness and consideration for the Negro began to show itself. President Lincoln issued a proclamation, declaring the slaves free in all the States that did not lay down their arms and come back into the Union. This proclamation showed that they cared nothing for the slave or his interest, but only as a power to preserve the Union, for which alone the war was commenced. They were willing for him to continue a slave if this would end the war! Giving up all hope of restoring the Union by consent of the Southern States, they began to think how best they could conquer and destroy the South. Then the idea came into their mind of enlisting the Negro in their army, and by that means increase their forces, and greatly weaken the defence of the Southern States. Was there any love for the colored people in making them soldiers? Putting them as they did in the front of battle? They thought only of their own interest and their own success through the slaughter of the colored troops!

When the war was over and the conquest of the Southern States was accomplished, they did not think of giving the right of suffrage to the colored people. Governor Morton expressed the views of the Republican party when he declared himself opposed to this extension of the right of suffrage. President Johnson, when he gave me my instructions as Provisional Governor of South Carolina, directed me to confine the right of suffrage to white persons who had taken the oath of allegiance. He did not include a single colored man in

South Carolina. And so it was in all the Southern States. I, myself, thought that colored men who could read and write and paid a tax on five hundred dollars' worth of property should be allowed to vote. The Republican authorities at Washington thought differently at that time. But a sudden change came over them when they found that all the Southern States had gone Democratic, and elected Democratic Governors, members of Congress and Senators. They then determined to enfranchise the Negroes and disfranchise the white people in order to give all the Southern States to the Republican party. Was there any regard for the colored people in all this? Was it not their own interest and their own party purposes which prompted them to bestow this boon on the Negro? They required five years' residence before a foreigner was allowed to vote. This was to enable him to become acquainted with our laws, our constitution and form of government. He had likewise to produce in court a certificate of good moral character. How different was their conduct all at once towards the colored people when they adopted the idea of controlling the Southern States by means of the freedman. Without any preparation, or education, or certificate of moral character, the whole of the freedmen were declared citizens, with the right of suffrage.

This is the pretended sympathy of the Republican party for the Negro. It is false in every particular. They never had any sympathy for him except where their interest prompted them to have.

They were in the first place actuated by a base and sordid interest in sending their vessels to Africa and selling him as a slave.

They were actuated by their own interest, when after finding that his labor was no longer profitable, they set him free.

They consulted their own interest, and not the interest of the Negro, when they took him into their armies

and declared that the Southern States should not be restored to the Union till he was set free.

They were actuated by the same motive when they gave him the right of suffrage, and they are now actuated by the same principles and the same feelings when they tell the colored people to vote for the carpet-baggers and scalawags who represent the Republican party in the Southern States.

Your excellency knows full well the corruption of your Republican party in South Carolina. You, yourself, have denounced it and tried to repress it. The Legislature have elected men so infamous to seats on the Bench that you have refused to commission them. Time and again you have vetoed their fraudulent bills and tried to stop their rognery and plunder. Why, then, do you ask the ignorant and credulous Negro to sustain these rogues and plunderers whom you have thus boldly denounced? Why, such men as Moses, Whipper, Bowen and Neagle, Leslie and Whittemore and their satellites, are the Republican party in South Carolina. The great masses of the colored people are too ignorant to understand the political principles of any party, and they have been led astray and turned against their Democratic friends, with whom they were born and raised, by just such speeches as you made to them at Lancaster, Marlboro and other places.

I am sure, sir, you have too much regard for your reputation to tell the colored people, as your Republican understrappers do all over the State, that if the Democratic party get into power in South Carolina, they will be thrown back into slavery or deprived of all their political rights and privileges. You know, sir, that the Democratic party has the control of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Texas, Arkansas, and in all those States the colored people are better off, more secure in all their rights, more prosper-

ous and more of freemen than they are in South Carolina under Republican or Radical rule.

It has been said that all mankind are governed by love or fear. You seem disposed to be governed by the former principle and your understrappers by the latter.

I am, sir, most respectfully yours, &c.,

B. F. PERRY.





ADDRESS OF EX-GOVERNOR B. F. PERRY

TO THE

LITERARY SOCIETIES OF FURMAN UNIVERSITY.

DELIVERED JUNE 24, 1878.

*Young Gentlemen of the Literary
Societies of Furman University:*

I APPEAR before you to-day, in obedience to your request, for the purpose of addressing you on the anniversary of your societies. Recently, I have declined all such honors from societies and colleges abroad; but I did not feel myself justified in refusing to address the literary societies of Furman University. This flourishing institution of learning is in the city of my home; my sons have been educated within its classic walls; and, having largely assisted in its endowment, I can but feel an interest and pride in its success and prosperity.

The Furman University has been established in Greenville for many years past, and has, at all times, had a large number of pupils, and a corps of learned professors, which would do credit and honor to any college or university in the republic of letters. The hundreds of young men whom it has graduated are now scattered all over the State, and most of the Southern States, an honor to their *Alma Mater*, and honored by the communities in which they live.

The recent death of one of your ablest, most learned, accomplished, and beloved professors, has been a serious loss to the University, and the literature of the

State. His death has saddened the hearts of all who knew him. Dr. Reynolds was no ordinary man. He was a Christian gentleman of fervent piety and high honor—respected and beloved by all his associates. His scholarship and literary attainments are well known to the Southern States. For nearly the third of a century he filled, with distinguished ability, a professor's chair in the South Carolina College. When that noble seat of learning, and time-honored institution, became disgraced and polluted by the presence of ignorant and corrupt carpet-baggers, scalawags and Negroes, filling the seats once occupied by Maxey, Cooper, Lieber, Preston, Barnwell, Henry, Thornwell, and other princes of literature and science, he retired from its dishonored groves as he would have done from a moral pestilence, and accepted position in the Furman University. The patriotism of Dr. Reynolds was true and as pure as his religion. Nothing could induce him to even make the acquaintance of those who had disgraced and dishonored their State. Struck down, suddenly, in the maturity of his intellect, in the fulness of his learning, and amidst his great usefulness, we have all shed tears over his memory.

When it was proposed, last winter, to reorganize the South Carolina University, I was a trustee of that institution, and received ten or fifteen applications for professorships in it. None of the applicants were, in my estimation, superior in learning and reputation to the professors of the Furman University. This induced me to say to the board of trustees that it was not advisable to open the State University at the present time. I thought the Charleston College and the various denominational colleges throughout the State would supply every demand for education in South Carolina, under the present impoverished condition of the people. At some future time, when the finances of the State were in a better condition, the Legislature might reorganize the University with propriety and success.

I would not have any one to infer from this that I am unfriendly to the most general and highest attainable education. I know full well that education is civilization, and that "knowledge is power." Culture and learning contribute largely to the virtue, patriotism and happiness of mankind. The prosperity of every people in the world depends in a great measure, on their education and knowledge, their learning and science.

The love of learning, unfortunately, is not universal with all men. There are many, very many, in the most civilized communities of every people who seem to care nothing for education and intellectual improvement. But the love of power and influence which learning gives is inherent in human nature. All mankind are ambitious of power from the highest to the lowest. It pervades all ranks and circles of life, and its exercise affords to all, whether good or bad, ignorant or wise, the highest gratification. The great statesman is ambitious of power to control and shape the destinies of his country. The eloquent orator, whether in the Senate, at the bar, in the pulpit, or before a popular assembly, is proud of his influence to move and sway the thoughts, feelings and action of his audience. The benevolent philanthropist delights in his ability to improve and elevate the condition of his fellow men. The conquering general glories in his power of defeating and crushing an opposing army. And the humblest mechanic who treads the earth feels as joyfully the success of his plodding genius as did the inventor of the steam locomotive, the electric wire, the telephone or phonograph. That love of power, whether great or small, is like Dr. Johnson's definition of pride. This great moralist said a little school miss was just as proud of a new calico dress as a great orator was of an eloquent speech which had brought down the applause of an admiring Senate.

It is said, too, that this love of power which learning

gratifies, is not confined to one sex alone; but that women are as ambitious of power as men. Two of the earliest and most eminent of British poets, have told in sweet and harmonious verse, the beautiful story of a young knight "in days of old, when Arthur filled the throne," who was condemned to die for an offense against the female sex. His application for mercy was referred to the queen in her council of ladies. They adjudged that his life should be spared on one condition. This was, that he would tell them within twelve months "*what women most loved.*" The young knight set out to enquire with heavy heart, says the poet, "asked all he met, knocked at every door," enquired of men, but made his chief request to learn from women themselves what they most desired. Each one answered according to her own mind. One was for wealth, another for honor and titles. Some preferred beauty, some dress, flattery and pleasure. The widow's wish, says the poet, "was oftentimes to wed again." The young knight was painfully perplexed. At length, the day before his appointed execution, he met on the wayside, an old crone, who told him that she would solve his problem if he would promise to marry her. He looked at the ugly hag and thought of his death. It was a sad alternative, and after some hesitation, he accepted the terms proposed. She told him that *sovereignty* was what all women loved most; power to do as they pleased, have their own way and their own will, whether wife, widow or maid. When the Queen and her female Parliament received this answer, the poet says: "There was not one as widow, maid or wife," "but said the knight had well deserved his life." The old crone turned out to be a young and beautiful princess.

In all ages and in all countries, every nationality, savage or civilized, has had some system of education for their children. Herodotus, the father of historians, tells us that the ancient Persians taught their boys till

fifteen years old "to ride, to draw the bow and tell the truth." They ought to have added to their system of education to learn *to work and study*, as well as to ride, draw the bow and tell the truth. In Sparta, education as well for girls as boys, was mostly physical and to conceal their faults and crimes. This was to make them athletic mothers, and brave heroes capable of enduring every hardship at home and in camp. In Athens, at her highest state of civilization, philosophy seems to have been the chief study in her schools. The sciences were not much known and greatly neglected. They had no dead languages to learn as we have in our schools.

In regard to our dead languages, Thomas S. Grimké, of Charleston, a finished classical scholar, an able lawyer and a very pure man, wrote several articles in the *Old Southern Review* against devoting so much time to the study of Latin and Greek in our academies and colleges. He contended that seven or eight years spent in mastering the dead languages was a waste of time in a boy's life. He thought those years might be more profitably occupied in studying the sciences, modern languages and the practical duties of life. The great John Locke, in his system of education, expresses the same opinion. And the learned and accomplished Thomas Keightly, author of *Grecian and Roman mythology*, says: "The classics have seen their best days, and will never regain the exclusive dominion which they once possessed."

It is certainly true that most boys soon forget their Latin and Greek, unless the study of these languages is kept up after they leave college. Like young ladies, who spend years in learning music, which is a very irksome study, for most of them seldom pay any attention to it after they become mothers of families. Unless a girl has an ear for music, it is a waste of time and money in attempting to learn it. How much better

would it be for her to spend the same length of time in the study of domestic duties?

There is no doubt that the Latin and Greek languages are full of beauties; and the study of them will greatly improve one's taste and composition. But this should be when the mind is matured and capable of appreciating these beauties. In the early history of English education there was not much for a boy to learn, except the dead languages. The study of history, philosophy, and all the sciences, was very much neglected. Moreover the best works were, at that time, in Latin and Greek. This is not so much the case now, and we have good translations of all the classics. These translations did not then exist. A man may now be thoroughly acquainted with Aristotle, Thucydides, Cicero, Sallust, Pliny, Demosthenes, and all the other classics, without knowing a word of Latin or Greek. He can read and enjoy the sublimity of the *Illiad*, the wit and humor of Aristophanes, the grandeur of *Æschylus*, the loves of *Ovid*, the beauties of *Anacreon* or *Virgil*, in our own native English tongue.

A writer of the thirteenth century, in speaking of French education, says that girls were only taught "to pray, to love, to sew, and to knit." One would suppose that the two first of these studies required no teaching, except that of nature, and especially the second. It would be well if the two latter were still taught in our modern schools, with other domestic and household duties. They would certainly render a young lady much more competent to discharge the duties of a wife and mother, than a smattering of French, and playing on the piano.

Life is too short to study all the sciences, learn all the languages, dead and living, and read all the books which are published in modern times. We must make a selection of studies and books. Hence the advantage of a University system over the curriculum of a college.

A student in college has to go through a regular course, no matter how uninteresting the studies may be to him, or ill-suited to his genius, or how useless in after life. But in the University you select those studies which are most interesting, and for which you have a talent, and which will be of most service to you in your future profession or calling. The study of chemistry, for instance, is all important to the student of medicine, but no service to the lawyer or minister in his profession.

I was greatly impressed with this belief while a member of the Board of Trustees of the South Carolina College, at the same time a member of the Legislature; and I labored diligently for years, to convert that institution into a University. The Honorable W. C. Preston, who had been President of the College, united with me most cordially in trying to accomplish this important and desirable change I urged on the Legislature, whilst Provisional Governor of the State, and it was finally accomplished, under the administration of Governor Orr, who was a graduate of the Virginia University, and appreciated that system of education.

But no young man should suppose, for a moment, that his education is complete when he graduates in a college or university. He has only laid the foundation of an education on which he is to build the superstructure in after life. How silly would it be for a student of law, or medicine, or divinity, to suppose his professional studies completed when he receives his license to practice his profession! It would be equally stupid for the graduate of a college or University to think his classical and scientific studies were ended when he receives his diploma. If he does not continue to cultivate them he will soon cease to derive any practical advantages from them.

It is very gratifying to think how greatly increased and improved are the facilities of education all over the civilized world at the present time, compared with what

they were in former days. Schools, academies, colleges and universities are now established all over the land. Education is general, and every one at least may learn to read and write. In Prussia there is a penalty for its neglect. In Massachusetts no one is allowed to vote who cannot read and write. In all the United States free schools are established in every neighborhood, and colleges and universities in each State. There were in 1858, twenty years ago, one hundred and thirty colleges and universities of established reputation in the United States. It is now said that this number has been increased to three hundred and sixty-five.

In the early history of South Carolina the means of acquiring even the rudiments of an English education were very limited. During our colonial history, the sons of wealthy parents were sent to England to be educated, and the sons of the poor were not educated at all. The upper portion of South Carolina was settled by a hardy, industrious and enterprising population from Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania. These pioneers of civilization came here, in the language of Tallyrand, to "make war against the forests and wild animals." Their object was to cut down the trees and cultivate the soil. Education and learning were hardly thought of, and their importance not at all appreciated. There were scarcely any schools out of Charleston, and no academies or colleges. The sons of these early settlers had to work hard from the beginning to the end of the year, and had no time to go to school. Their highest education, when they had any at all, was to read, write and cipher.

Owing to this want of education in the upper country, the history of South Carolina, during the Revolutionary war, was simply the history of Charleston and a few of the adjoining Parishes. Scarcely anything is recorded of the gallantry and suffering of the people in the upper country. After the war was over, the destitution of the

State, in the way of schools and colleges, was deeply felt, and there was a very general disposition, on the part of the people, to remedy it. In 1785, two years after the ratification of peace, the Legislature passed an act incorporating three colleges—one in Charleston, one at Winnsboro, and one at Old Cambridge. The Charleston College succeeded and prospered, and is still in existence, with a high reputation for learning and usefulness. The college at Winnsboro became a respectable academy, and is still flourishing as such. The college at Cambridge proved an abortion, and never went into operation.

In 1795 the Beaufort College was established and became a respectable grammar school, with a good library. About the beginning of the present century the South Carolina College was incorporated and endowed by the State. The purpose of erecting a college at the capital of the State and in the centre of the State was a most laudable and patriotic one. It was intended, not only for classical and scientific learning, but to destroy sectional prejudices and bring all the sons of Carolina, seeking a high education, together and make them acquainted with each other. Previous to the Revolutionary war there had been little or no intercourse between the two sections of the State, which were settled by distinct and different immigrations.

At the same time the South Carolina College was established under the patronage and endowment of the Legislature, free schools were opened all over the State at public expense. This, too, was a most wise, just and patriotic act. Whilst the college supported by the State was principally for the benefit of the wealthier class, who were able to send their sons to college, the free schools were intended for the education of the poorer classes. This system of education worked admirably until the commencement of our civil war. For many years the South

Carolina College stood pre-eminent as a seat of learning and education in the Southern States. Young gentlemen were sent to it from Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi. Its alumni were scattered over most of these States, filling many of their highest and most important offices.

The South Carolina College was under the influence of no particular religious denomination. The professors' chairs were filled alike by Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians and Episcopalians. Sometimes the professors belonged to no religious sect whatever. In the course of time, as the different denominations became wealthy and numerous, they very naturally felt a pride in having institutions of learning of their own. This feeling, too, was no doubt increased by an irreligious sentiment which sprung up in the college under the presidency of Dr. Cooper. He was a man of great learning—kind-hearted, and amiable—but an open and avowed infidel in religion. Hence, arose in the course of time, the various denominational colleges in the State. The Methodists established the Wofford College at Spartanburg, the Seceders their Erskine College at Due West, the Baptists their Furman University at Greenville, the Lutherans their Newberry College, and the Presbyterians their Adger College at Walhalla.

These sectarian colleges necessarily drew a large number of students who would otherwise have gone to the State institution. It is proper here to say that none of the denominational colleges are sectarian in their teachings.

When South Carolina shall have recovered from the spoilation and roguery of the thieves and scoundrels who have governed and oppressed her for the last decade in her history, under the protection of Federal bayonets, it is to be hoped that the State University will be reorganized on the highest standard of education and literature; and that all the professors' chairs will be

filled with gentlemen of the highest reputation for ability, learning and science. These sectarian colleges may then be auxiliary to the State University. After graduating in them the students who are able and desirous of a more extended education will have an opportunity of continuing their studies in the South Carolina University.

Now, young gentlemen, as you are about entering on the great theatre of busy life, and I am passing off the stage of existence, I hope you will not take amiss a few words of counsel and advice from an old man who feels an interest in your prosperity, happiness and success in life. I am a plain, practical man, and have no powers of rhetoric or eloquence to please and amuse you with to-day. But I have some wholesome words to say, which, if you will treasure up in your memories, may be of some service to you.

And first, I would impress on your minds that if you expect to succeed in your various pursuits, you must be industrious, moral, studious and honorable. Honor includes religion, patriotism and all the Christian virtues. It is not enough for you to be honorable in all your conduct, but you should discountenance all dishonor in others, by refusing their intimacy and association. He who keeps vicious company is, as we lawyers say, accessory to vice, after the fact. The Spanish proverb, "tell me who your associates are and I will tell you who you are," should be truer than it is at the present day. Men guilty of the most dishonorable conduct are too often tolerated in good society. If such men were put in Coventry by their companions, and refused all association, they might be checked in their dishonorable courses. But whilst a man may lie, cheat, defraud and dishonor his State, and demoralize society, and yet be countenanced by the virtuous and good, there is no inducement for his reformation. The old Spanish proverb becomes a palpable falsehood.

I have said that you must be studious if you expect to succeed in your profession. "There is no royal road to learning," said Aristotle to his pupil, Alexander the Great. Genius, however brilliant, will not supersede the labor and drudgery of studying. You must be industrious as well as studious. Labor was always honorable, and now it is a necessity with the Southern people. By the sweat of our brows we are to live, says the Scripture. If idleness is not the root of all evil, it certainly ruins thousands. There is great truth in the saying that "idleness is the devil's workshop."

Without perseverance you never can succeed, even with industry and studious habits. Never despair, and never change your plans, because you have not done as well as you expected. One of the most eminent lawyers and judges in South Carolina, and one who ultimately had the largest practice ever enjoyed by a member of the South Carolina Bar, was ten years in his profession without doing much.

The manners of a young gentleman have much to do with his succeeding in life. I do not allude to polished and courtly manners, but to warm and cordial manners. They are mesmeric, and have won many a heart and opened the road to friendship and popularity. I would have you polite, at all times, to all persons. You can be civil and polite to a mean man without becoming his associate or companion. I once heard a distinguished Judge say, on the Bench, that "politeness was the cheapest commodity anyone could use to gain the good will of his fellow men."

Firmness is a great virtue, and you should cultivate it, early in life. It often prevents a man from being swerved from duty and honor. Indeed, without firmness there is no security in your moral rectitude. Thousands have been led astray for the want of it. I have known many good men, in political life, go against

their convictions and principles, because they had not the firmness to resist popular clamor.

St. Paul says: "If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men." Be not too hasty to resent an insult, or redress an injury. Most young men have this failing, and it is a very grievous one. Remember that a man can only disgrace himself. You may be reviled and slandered; but time, and your own good conduct, will set you right in public opinion.

There is one vice of youth which I would most solemnly warn and adjure you against if you expect happiness in this world or the life to come. It is one unfortunately to which the genial, generous and highly gifted seem most subjected. Its path is strewn with skeletons, the blasted hopes of genius and virtue, stained with blood and polluted with crime, misery and wretchedness. I allude to intemperance. Young men require no stimulant except what youth and virtuous ambition give. Spirits may be, as it has been said to be, the "milk of old age." But it is the bane, the deadly poison of youth and early manhood. Taste not, touch not the seductive draught in youth, and you will never contract the habit of intoxication in old age.

My advice to you is, to stick to your country and never leave the Old Palmetto State. Remain where you were born and brought up. Cherish the homes of your ancestors. There is an instinct of human nature which makes us all love the land of our birth, and the scenes of our childhood. No matter how far we may wander, or how long we may be absent, the heart always yearns for its native home. The man who is constantly moving loses his local attachment, and in some measure, his love of country.

In regard to the most important event in your lives, I will tell what others have said. Dr. Franklin's advice to a young man, was, to marry his neighbor's daughter. I once told this to a young lady, and she shrewdly re-

marked that it would be well first to know who your neighbor was. I suggested it was of more importance to know what sort of person his daughter was. Franklin was a very wise, practical man, and his object in giving this advice, was to impress on your minds the importance of knowing well whom you were going to marry.

Franklin likewise advocated early marriages, as they were more likely to give you an opportunity of living to see your children educated and settled in life. But there is another consideration to be looked to in early marriages. You must first be well satisfied of your ability to support your wife. The want of this prudence and forethought has entailed untold misery on many a loving couple. If I were addressing the young ladies, I would advise them never to marry a young man till his character was formed, and his reputation established. She would then know what sort of a husband she was likely to have.

Governor Hayne, one of South Carolina's most eminent sons, and called by one of his cotemporaries "the Prince of common sense," once said to me, that "the two first requisites in the choice of a wife, were *good health and good temper.*" I would add two others equally essential. *good sense and a good family.* If she should happen to be beautiful and rich, I would advise you to make no objections on that score, provided she had good health, good temper, good sense, and was of a good family.

By a good family, I do not mean a distinguished family, but moral, industrious and honorable family. It is a little remarkable that so much attention is paid to the blood and pedigree of horses, and none to that of the human family. A good father and mother are as apt to have a good son or daughter, as a blooded racer is to produce his kind.

A young Grecian once asked Solon, the great philoso-

pher of antiquity and law-giver of Athens, "whether it was better to live single or get married." The old sage replied, "do which you may and you will repent it before you die." But it must be borne in mind that Solon was never married, or he would not probably have given this advice. He had a right to speak for the old bachelors, but not for the married men. Marriage is the natural state of man and woman and contributes more to their happiness than anything else. Celibacy is an unnatural state of isolation from the nearest and dearest connections of life. Socrates, another ancient philosopher of equal or greater distinction than Solon, was so much pleased with wedded life, though married to a terrible virago, that he took a second wife under a temporary law of Athens. And it is said that on some occasion these wives, two sovereigns in one domain, came to blows. The old philosopher laughed heartily at their pugilism, which turned their anger from each other to their husband, and thereupon they both fell on him and gave the old fellow a sound beating.

I cannot conclude my address to-day, young gentlemen, without congratulating you on the restoration of South Carolina to self-government. In the language of an Irish orator, she now "stands redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled," after the most infamous oppression ever inflicted on a proud, high-minded, brave and honorable people. And what adds to the deep damnation of this infamy is that some of her own native born sons assisted in the unnatural dishonoring of their mother. God may forgive them, but their country never can, whilst moral treason is abhorred and dishonor spurned by a virtuous and patriotic people.

It is well for you, gentlemen, that you will enter public life after this black, unnatural horror has passed over your beloved State, and the political horizon is bright and clear. I thank the Almighty in the honest sincerity of my heart, that I have lived to see it over,


and that when I die, I shall have the consolation of knowing that my native State is once more under the government of her honored and honorable sons.

Two years ago there seemed to be a weird charm in the name of Hampton, which exorcised the political devils in power of all their cunning and courage. It made them arrant cowards, all; and they could see in every Democratic meeting which took place, from the seaside to the mountains, the spectre of Hampton's Old Legion preparing for death's charge on their rascality and roguery. At the commencement of the campaign I did not suppose there was a ghost of a chance for our success. But there was an over-ruling Providence which decreed our victory, and to our Almighty God, and not to man, be the praise of our deliverance.

Young gentlemen of the literary societies of Furman University, I tender you my thanks for this day's honor, and bid you an affectionate farewell.

B. F. PERRY.





LETTERS

Worthy of preservation, that generations to come may know how *justly* appreciated Governor Perry was, after all the *persecution* and *trials* he had endured for *conscience* and *principle*. South Carolinians have *nobly* made amends for their former distrust of *him* whose *whole* life was devoted to the *best interests* of South Carolina, and his *last days* were made happy by the *consciousness* of this *appreciation*.

CHARLESTON, S. C., *February 7, 1889.*

DEAR MRS. PERRY: I appreciate most highly your very considerate attention in sending to Mrs. Courtenay and myself a printed copy of *The Tribute* to my late esteemed friend, Governor Perry.

I need not assure you, how grateful I am for this evidence of your friendly interest. I knew your husband previous to the war and saw more of him subsequent to its close.

The value of his life to the State, was, that he had a balanced mind, resting on sincerity of character. In all public matters he was ever ready to announce his opinion, and give his reasons, eloquently and forcibly in their defense.

Our State would have been better off in all these past years of two generations, if our public men had been as independent in thought and free in opinion as he whom you so properly and so worthily commemorate.

I shall preserve this volume and often refer to it, to recall memories of the past, and to be reminded of his merit and worth. With the assurance of my undiminished respect for him "gone before," and the wish that all good things may be yours in the sunset of your long life,

I am, very truly,

WILLIAM A. COURTENAY.

Carolina Savings Bank.

CHARLESTON, S. C., *February 14, 1889.*

MY DEAR MRS. PERRY: On my return to the city, I find to my address the very interesting Tribute to your venerated husband, ex-Governor Benjamin F. Perry. Being an ardent admirer of Governor Perry, I have read all that has been said of him with more than ordinary interest. Your noble husband preferred being right to being President of the United States. If our people after the war, had accepted the situation as he did, it would have better for us all.

With best wishes and many thanks for your thoughtful remembrance, I remain,

Yours very truly,

GEORGE W. WILLIAMS.

CHESTER, S. C., *March 1, 1889.*

MRS. B. F. PERRY.

DEAR MADAM: On yesterday I received by your favor through the mail, a copy of the book entitled: Tribute to Benjamin Franklin Perry, &c.

The several parts, taken separately, are some only of the many springs of genuine reverence prevailing everywhere in the State, for the memory of your husband, who, in every position in his long and varied experience uniformly exhibited the character of a man of honest and independent thought, of true devotion to his State, and of courage in announcing and enforcing his views that was unwavering and sublime.

The Tribute binds these springs and rills into a stream—a full volume of appreciation. In giving this collection to your friends you do honor to yourself, both as a true and loyal wife, and as having reached in your sphere the same heights occupied by your distinguished husband. Happy are you to have had such a husband. Thrice happy are you to be able to appreciate his worth and to have so many garlands to strew upon his grave.

The presentation of this volume by you does me infinite honor. The gift (as I interpret it), expresses your belief in my capacity to appreciate the exalted worth of him whose memory you revere, and the history of whose life now is the property of the State.

Many months since I received also a copy of the *In Memoriam*, &c., from you, and thoughtlessly omitted to acknowledge its reception till I was ashamed to do so. I have never ceased to reproach myself for the neglect, and now make such amends as I may by asking your pardon for the neglect, and thanking you very kindly for both volumes.

With profoundest respect, I remain,

Yours truly,

GILES J. PATTERSON.

WHITE HORSE, S. C., *March 17, 1889.*

MY DEAR MADAM: Mrs. Ewbank joins me in thanking you for your kind thoughtfulness in sending *The Tribute* to your late distinguished husband.

In the light of the present it is simply impossible to withhold profound appreciation of a statesman whose forecast shone so conspicuously at a time when the large majority of politicians was committed to views so irreconcilably antagonistic to his. Surely here is a notable instance of the inestimable value of intelligent conviction combined with and dominated by unflinching moral courage.

Mrs. Ewbank and family desire to unite with me in very kind regards.

Yours my dear Madam,

Respectfully, truly,

HENRY EWBANKS.

CHERAW, S. C., *March 23, 1889.*

MY DEAR MRS. PERRY: Your letter of the 15th was received by me only day before yesterday. I was ab-

sent from home when it came, and as is generally the case, I found an accumulation of work on hand, which kept me on the go day and night for the first forty-eight hours after my return home. Hence, my delay in responding to your letter. Mrs. McNair did her duty and delivered safely the package you entrusted to her. You have my thanks for what you sent me. At the next meeting of the Lyceum, which will be in the course of a week or ten days, you will receive a note of thanks for the donation.

I do wish, my dear Mrs. Perry, that you could look into the library room of the Cheraw Lyceum and see the conspicuous place occupied by the very handsome and life-like picture of Governor Perry, which you kindly presented to the Lyceum. As you enter the door the picture is the first object that greets your eyes. Everyone admires it, and none admire the picture more than they do the original. I know not how often I have heard the remark made: "You could not have the picture of anyone in your hall more worthy of being honored than Governor B. F. Perry." He was truly one of nature's noblemen, and will be remembered when thousands once thought great are forgotten.

It would afford me genuine pleasure to meet you, and if I should visit Greenville, I will surely do myself the pleasure of calling on you, and hope the time may come when we may see you in Cheraw. You would find many here who would delight to do you honor, not only for your own sake, but as the wife of that noblest of men, Benjamin F. Perry.

Now my good friend, may God ever bless and protect you and yours, is the prayer of

Your faithful friend,

CORNELIUS KOLLOCK.

COLUMBIA, S. C., *March 23, 1889.*

MRS. B. F. PERRY, *Greenville, S. C.*

MY DEAR MADAM: I have the honor of receiving this

day from your hands a copy of *Tribute to ex-Governor Perry*, your lamented husband.

Please accept my sincere thanks for this remembrance of the grandest figure in Southern politics; of the Seer, who, like Calhoun, foretold the *Illiad* of woes into which his beloved section was rushing, but *greater* than the *greatest* of them *all*, he threw his majestic form and transcendent talents into the breach, and did his utmost to save by preventing. That his stentorian voice, which *was* heard above the whirlwind of controversy did not stem the current of events disastrous to the South, and particularly to South Carolina, we can now only say "*more's the pity*," and admire the depth of moral courage, which must have been necessary to make it *possible* for him to withstand the whelming tide of public clamor.

Majestic, grand, without a superior and few equals, his memory will stand like a monolith, to succeeding generations, of robust integrity, and that high quality of prescience, which places him with the prophets of old.

With much respect, I am, dear Madam,

Sincerely yours,

R. S. DESPORTES.

GEORGETOWN, S. C., *April 18, 1889.*

MRS. B. F. PERRY, *Greenville, S. C.*

DEAR MADAM: Please accept my thanks for *The Tribute to Benjamin Franklin Perry*, ex-Governor of South Carolina, which you have kindly sent to me.

I first met Governor Perry in the year 1850, and from that time until about 1869, I frequently met him in Columbia. Differing with him frequently in his political views, there was no man in the councils of our State for whom I entertained a higher personal regard. The candor with which he always expressed his opinions, the indomitable firmness with which he always adhered to his convictions, and the bold and straightforward way

in which he always maintained his views in the face of large majorities against him, marked him as a statesman above reproach, and a citizen to be admired by all. The memory of such a man, distinguished alike for private and public virtue, should be kept green for the benefit of those who come after him.

Again thanking you for your kind attention, I beg to subscribe myself,

Yours with esteem,

R. DOZIER.

SONDLEYS, S. C., April 23, 1889.

MRS. B. F. PERRY, *Sans Souci, S. C.*

DEAR MADAM: Permit me to acknowledge with sincere thanks a copy of *The Tribute* to your lamented and illustrious husband. I have read its pages with pleasure, and have caught a glimpse of the character of one of South Carolina's noblest sons, who has done honor to his State. It must, indeed, have been a source of joy to him in his declining years, while reflecting on the eventful period when he became a *martyr* in the cause of truth and conscience, to be able to see his own prophesy vindicated. *Solitary* and *alone*, battling for convictions born of *deep* solicitude for the welfare of his State, Governor Perry presents a picture in her history that must command the admiration of posterity.

Many of us of the younger generation were personally unacquainted with him. But those who love all that is good and great, especially when endeared by the ties of State citizenship, learn of his patriotic labors with pride and affection. But even more than the power of his intellect, we can admire that *greatness of soul*, which disregarded *all political honors* and *emoluments*, and found happiness in the discharge of *conscious duty*.

Accept, dear Madam, my high appreciation of your labor, and my best wishes for your happiness.

Most respectfully,

JOSEPH L. KEITH.

ANNISTON, ALA., *April, 29, 1889.*

MY DEAR MADAM: Allow me to thank you for the three valuable and interesting volumes just received at your hands. The memorial volume to your lamented husband is a monument to your devotion, fidelity and love, greater far than can ever be erected in polished marble or shining brass. There is no greater proof of your exalted nobility of character than is thus afforded by your simple and modest Tribute to the precious memory of your illustrious husband. After reading your *book*, and observing the numerous and manifold evidences of your devotion, we cannot help concluding that

"No braver dames had Sparta,
No nobler matrons, Rome!"

Thanking you again for your kindness, and assuring you of my keen appreciation of the Reminiscences and Sketches of Governor Perry, I am, dear Madam, with profound respect,

Your humble and obedient servant,

JEFFERSON C. DAVIS.

Cabinet of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., *May 2, 1889.*

MRS. B. F. PERRY.

DEAR COUSIN AND MADAM: These volumes will be an enduring monument of your noble qualities of mind and heart, as well as those of your lamented husband. Be assured your gift will be appreciated by the members of this society. The introduction to the Sketches, by Senator Hampton, is admirably expressed. I am proud to have these works in our library. Your husband was rightly named *Benjamin Franklin*. He made the name honored and respected in his generation. It is a pleasure and an inspiration to read his writings. With sen-

timents of respect and honor to yourself, and kind regards to your daughter, Mrs. Beattie, I remain,

Truly yours,

AMOS PERRY,
Librarian.

LAURENS, S. C., May 2, 1889.

MRS. B. F. PERRY, *Greenville, S. C.*

DEAR MADAM: Permit me to thank you for The Tribute to Governor Perry, which you were kind enough to send me a few days ago. Surely the love amounting almost to adoration, which this and other *papers* given to the world by you in memoriam of your deceased husband have evinced, could only be inspired by the noblest of his race, and will be a monument to the purity and nobility of that truly great man more enduring than marble or brass.

I was not in accord politically with Governor Perry in *ante bellum* days, but the bold, manly independence of the man and his utter disregard of the fact as to whether his opinions were in accord with the majority or whether he stood alone, challenged my admiration, and as I now look back upon the many utterances of Governor Perry in those days, in the forum, on the stump, and through the public press, they seem little less than *prophetic*.

I shall carefully preserve The Tribute, and shall point my sons to Governor Perry as the "noblest Roman of them all."

Your obedient servant,

N. S. HARRIS.

COLUMBIA, S. C., *May 6, 1889.*

MRS. B. F. PERRY *Sans Souci, S. C.*

DEAR MADAM: I beg to hand you the enclosed letters, which you of all persons know best how to prize, for they speak of him to whom you were all things while he lived, to whose memory you have consecrated your remaining years, he being "dead yet alive."

Yours truly,

ANDREW CRAWFORD.

State of South Carolina, Executive Department. }
Office of State Superintendent of Education. }

COLUMBIA, S. C. *May 6, 1889.*

HON. ANDREW CRAWFORD.

DEAR SIR: Do say to Mrs. Perry for me how much I value the "In Memoriam." It is a fitting tribute in the most proper way to a man cast physically, mentally and morally in a great mould. Long years ago a young and beautiful maiden gave her love and her life to Governor Perry. He died, but she living has illustrated and adorned the purest and highest devotion. His name and virtues have been widely commemorated and with his fame is inextricably interwoven the devotion of his amiable and accomplished biographer.

Very truly yours,

JAMES H. RICE.

State Library.

COLUMBIA, S. C., *April 29, 1889.*

JUDGE ANDREW CRAWFORD, *Columbia, S. C.*

DEAR SIR: Permit me personally and in my official capacity, as State Librarian, to tender to Mrs. Governor B. F. Perry, through you, my grateful acknowledgements for the In Memoriam volume of her illustrious husband. It shall find a conspicuous place upon the shelves of the institution over which I have the honor to preside.

So rich in distinguished men South Carolina well may proudly claim Benjamin Franklin Perry as one of her

grandest and noblest sons. One whose lofty virtues, whose high moral courage the present and future youth of the State will do well to emulate.

Very truly and respectfully yours,

H. CLAY RICHARDSON,

State Librarian.





ADDRESS OF HON. B. F. PERRY,

BEFORE THE

PHILOPHRENIAN SOCIETY OF WALHALLA FEMALE COLLEGE,

OCCONEE COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA.

DELIVERED JUNE 24, 1879.

*Young Ladies of the Philophrenian
Society of Walhalla Female College:*

IT was with great reluctance, in consequence of my age and infirmities, that I consented to address you on this interesting occasion—the anniversary of your society and the commencement of your college. In my acceptance of the honor you conferred on me, I stated that it was hard for an old gentleman to refuse the request of young ladies, and especially the request of the young ladies of his own native county. Oconee is “my own, my native land,” and her people, her mountains, her rivers, her magnificent scenery and her charming climate are all endeared to me, as my birth place, with a thousand reminiscences of home, my childhood, and the graves of my parents and kindred.

I congratulate you, young ladies, and the country on the endowment and organization of this your *Alma Mater* in the delightful town of Walhalla (which in Northern mythology signifies an “*earthly Paradise*”) and is surpassed by no town, village or city in the State for its beautiful location, health, climate and grand scenery. This prosperous college, with its corps of able and learned professors, cheapness of board and tuition, is destined to attract young ladies from abroad and shed its elevating and benign influence over the whole community, in all time to come.

The Newberry College, for the education of young

men, was located here for several years and afterwards succeeded for the same purpose by the Adger College. But no provision, during all this time, was made for the education of young ladies in the higher branches of learning and science. I have always thought the education of the female sex was as important as that of the other sex. Mothers have the training and bringing up of their sons in childhood and from her they first learn principles of virtue, religion, honor, good manners and a love of learning. Education improves and elevates the mother's character, adds to her pleasures, refinement and happiness, and makes her more competent to bring up her sons and daughters and inspire their young minds with correct principles. John Randolph, of Roanoke, one of America's most brilliant sons, though eccentric, said in after life that he would have been a confirmed infidel, but for the remembrance of his mother's taking his little hands in hers and making him repeat the Lord's Prayer every night, before going to bed. Such was the permanent influence of an educated and refined Christian lady, over the tender heart of her little son, destined to make such a figure in the world as he did.

Thirty years ago, I rode all through the counties of Oconee, Pickens, Anderson, Abbeville and Greenville, taking the testimony of very aged witnesses in a great law-suit then pending in the city of Mobile, involving several hundred thousand dollars and the legitimacy of a highly respectable family of young ladies. The witnesses, who appeared before me, were mostly born before or during the revolutionary war. I was greatly surprised, and not a little shocked, to find that almost all of the old ladies examined, were unable to write their names, and had to make their marks to their depositions! They were in good circumstances and mothers of prominent men in their counties.

But great progress and improvement have been made

in this respect, as well as in everything else, during the present century, and especially within the last forty or fifty years, in the upper part of South Carolina. The girls have all been taught no matter how poor they were, to read and write and cipher, through the bounty of the State. Most of those in good circumstances have latterly been sent to high female schools and colleges. This education of the female sex is the highest test of the civilization and refinement of a community.

Amongst uncivilized and savage people, the women are mere drudges and beasts of burden! They have all the hard labor to perform, whilst their brutal masters go "on the war path," hunting wild game or lying in their huts smoking their pipes or feasting on the game brought home and cooked by the women! In demi-civilized nations, such as Persia and Turkey, the female sex are brought up in utter ignorance, the mere toys and playthings of the men, taught only to dress and adorn their persons to please their lords, and live an idle, unthinking life. In Mohammedan countries, it is doubted whether they have immortal souls, and the Koran, their Bible, makes no provision for them in Paradise. Their places are supplied in another world by "black-eyed houris," who are supposed to fill the Mohammedan heaven!

Christianity and modern civilization alone have given woman her proper *status* in society. It is true, that in Grecian and Roman history, we read of many noble women, and some of them highly educated. But as a general rule wives were the veriest slaves of their husbands. In early times husbands had the power of life and death over them, as well as their children! The most illustrious Grecians and Romans were in the habit of divorcing their wives, and the mothers of their children, without alleging any cause except that they were tired of them, and wished another wife! Cicero did this, and his divorced wife boasted that she had been mar-

ried to three of the most illustrious Romans, who were all three living. The lending of a wife to a friend, for a few years, was no uncommon circumstance with the Romans! The Grecians did worse and winked at a community of wives! Plato, the great philosopher and moralist, advocated in his ideal Republic, that wives should be in common with all citizens! Cato, the younger, great grandson of Cato the Censor, lent his wife to his friend Hortentius, without consulting her, for the purpose of raising children to him, and strengthening the bonds of friendship between these two illustrious Romans!

Can anything show a more utter degraded state of woman than these infamous historical facts! It must be borne in mind, too, that the Grecians and Romans, at these periods were the most enlightened nations of the earth. The one surpassed in eloquence, sculpture, painting and all the æsthetic arts and literature every people which had or has since existed on the face of the earth. The other were the conquerors of the world, distinguished for their patriotism and Roman virtues, enacting and compiling codes of laws, which, after the lapse of two thousand years, still govern the greater part of Europe, and have even improved the laws of England and America. How much, oh, how much, is woman indebted to Christianity and modern civilization!

The wives of the Grecians and Romans were rarely considered and treated as companions, with whom to counsel and advise. There were some exceptions. Aspasia, after being the mistress of Pericles, became his wife, and was his mentor and counselor on all great occasions. She wrote some of his most eloquent orations. Socrates, Xenophon, Alcibiades and many other illustrious Grecians, sought her counsel and advice and delighted in her conversation.

Education enlarges the human mind, enlightens the

understanding, elevates our feelings and brings new sources of pleasure and happiness. It makes us better, more virtuous, more honorable, more patriotic and more religious, loving God and all his creation with more affection and more sincerity. The highly cultivated mind has innumerable sources of pleasure and enjoyment, which are unknown to the ignorant and uncultivated. For instance, the study of astronomy opens to the mind interesting, grand and sublime pleasures for thought and reflection. The ancients believed that this earth stood in the middle of the world and the sun and stars revolved around it! The untutored mind still believes this theory. But science teaches us that the earth turns over every twenty-four hours and runs round the sun once every year; that the sun is several hundred thousand times larger than the earth; that every fixed star is a sun, like ours, and some of them much larger, illuminating other worlds like this, and in all probability inhabited by God's living creatures!

By mathematical calculation we are taught the exact distance of the sun, moon, planets and fixed stars from the earth. We learn from science the nature and substance of all these planets, suns and stars; the cause of the convulsions of the earth and atmosphere, the tornadoes, earthquakes, forked lightning and "the thunders of heaven's artillery." Is there any one, above the degree of an idiot, who would not feel a pleasure in knowing and investigating these wonders of the great universe!

The study of history, too, unfolds to us the condition and action of past ages for six thousand years, and the innumerable nations and peoples who have inhabited the earth, the great men who have lived on it, the progress of the human mind, the wonderful inventions and discoveries which genius has made. We see in history how ignorant and bad the world has been, how enlightened some of the nations of the earth became, and how

powerful they were, and how they relapsed again into ignorance and barbarism.

I pity, from the bottom of my heart, the man or woman who feels no interest in learning and has no taste for reading or study. Such persons are apt to seek vicious pleasures and amusements. The man goes to the grog-shop or gambling table to kill time and drive away dull care. The woman goes to shows, balls, the theatre, or gads about and gossips of her neighbors.

Education is, properly speaking, three-fold—*intellectual, moral* and *physical*—all equally necessary to make a fine woman. The culture of the intellect alone will not suffice. No matter how much learning a woman may have, if she is wanting in the cultivation of her heart and moral principle, she can never gain the esteem and affection of modern society. And the culture of the brain and heart, without physical culture, very often makes life a burden of ill health and misery. The body should be strengthened and developed as well as the mind and heart. Exercise (walking, riding on horseback and work in the open air) is the only way this can be done and health secured. In fashionable and refined society this is greatly neglected by American ladies, and dearly do they pay for it. Parents and teachers should especially attend to this three-fold education, each equally important in the future destiny of their daughters and pupils.

English ladies are more prudent in this respect. Coleman, the great agriculturist, who went to England as commissioner from Massachusetts, tells in his report on the agriculture of England, of a high born Duchess, who said to him: "Mr. Coleman, I will take charge of you to-day, and show you the stock and farm." He says she walked with him that morning seven or eight miles. Had this Duchess been an ordinary American lady she would have ordered her carriage and horses to make such an excursion.

Moral culture includes religion as well as morals, and

girls are easily trained to follow in its precepts. The female sex are more inclined to be religious than the male sex. They are more confiding, more tender, purer and more loving. A man may be skeptical in his religious views, but a woman rarely is. She has more faith and hope and love in her composition. Her wisdom is the instinct of the heart, whilst man's is from reason and reflection.

As much as I prize female education, and admire high intellectual endowments, with great culture and learning in a woman, I am nevertheless unwilling to see them pass out of their proper sphere and invade the domain of man, by becoming legislators, military commanders, lawyers, judges, doctors and ministers of the gospel. It has been my fortune to see some of these intellectual phenomena. At St. Louis I heard a female lawyer, Miss Phœbe Cousins, address the National Democratic Convention, composed of seven or eight hundred of the most distinguished men in America. She was good looking, young, and spoke well, but I could but think she had unsexed herself and would have done more credit to her talents and learning had she become the wife of some gentleman and the mother of a family of children. Several years since I met at the President's, in Washington, the celebrated Doctor Mary Walker, who was a surgeon in the Union Army, and at one time captured by the Confederates. So far as dress was concerned, she had completely unsexed herself. She wore a nice blue frock coat, buttoned close around the waist with a vest, pantaloons, boots and a jaunty cap on her head. She was very handsome, and I supposed, of course, that she was a young gentleman. I thought to myself, what "a heart breaker" you will be amongst the ladies. Her appearance and manners were so striking, that I enquired "who that gentleman was?"

In my judgment, the Almighty created everything for a purpose. He created man for one purpose and woman

for another, and gave them different properties and qualities, suitable to the purposes for which he created them. He gave the man strength and courage, and to the woman he gave grace, modesty, timidity and physical weakness. The man was to provide for and defend the woman. She on her part was to depend on him and confide in him. He was to till the earth and support his wife and household, carry on business and commerce, go to war, make useful inventions in all the mechanic arts and sciences. She was to nurse the children, superintend her household affairs, make home pleasant and agreeable and enjoy herself in ease and quiet. The power and control of the one lay in his strength, courage, form, endurance and intellectual ability. The power and influence of the other consisted in her modesty, grace, beauty and loveliness. Even her physical weakness is a potent agent in influencing man. He was formed with muscles and sinews for the rough and tumble of life. She shrinks from the rude touch of the world.

Milton, the prince of English poets, beautifully describes the secret of woman's influence over man in Adam's description of Eve to the Angel in the garden of Eden. He says:

"Yet when I approach
Her loveliness, so absolute she seems,
And in herself complet³, so well to know
Her own, that what she wills to do or say,
Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best.
All higher knowledge in her presence falls
Degraded. * * *
Authority and reason on her wait."

The modern advocates of "woman's rights," as they are absurdly termed, are endeavoring to pervert the laws of nature and change the purposes of God in his creation of man and woman. The modesty and timidity of woman forbids her going into battle and living in the tented fields. If she desired to do so, her very weak-

ness and fragile form would prevent her. The rearing of her children and household duties would render such a thing impossible. Nor is she more competent to engage directly in the government of her country. It is true she might engage most successfully in an electioneering canvass, as the beautiful and accomplished Duchess of Devonshire did in the cause of Charles James Fox. But how would a female legislator look seated in the Senate Chamber of the United States with a baby in her arms! or in a jury box nursing an infant to keep it quiet whilst the learned judge was charging the jury!

Women's influence is best exercised on all occasions, public and private, by those loving charms and tender, winning ways, which nature has given her so bountifully. In this way many a wife governs her husband and through him the politics of the country. The great Themistocles said that he governed Athens and his wife governed him. A great many husbands who govern and rule in modern times might say the same thing. A new England pedagogue once boasted that old Samuel Adams ruled Massachusetts, his wife ruled him, her little son ruled her, and he ruled the little son: "therefore," said he, "I govern Massachusetts."

I admit that there are many women superior intellectually to men. But as a general rule this is not the case, and it was not intended to be so by the Almighty, when he created man and woman. Morally, I do believe they are superior to man, and greatly so. Physically, they are unquestionably inferior. And yet it does sometimes happen that a woman is stronger than man. But there are exceptions, intellectually and physically, to the general rule. Madame de Stael was greatly superior to most of the great men who figured in the French Revolution. She once asked Bonaparte who he thought was the greatest woman in France. She wished and expected him to say that she herself was the greatest woman in France. But Napoleon, who could conquer

kingdoms and empires and divide them out amongst his brothers and sisters, and kindred, as a Carolina planter formerly did his slaves and lands between his children, had none of the feelings and instincts of a gentleman or the courtesy of a high-born chevalier, and he replied: "She, madame, who has borne the most sons to France!"

It is a most lamentable fact that literary women have not been happy or fortunate in their domestic lives. Madame De Stael was not, though twice married. Madame Lewes, better known as "George Eliot," the greatest of living novelists and writers of fiction, became the mistress of a married man! George Sand, a female writer of distinguished ability in France, did worse. Lady Bulwer separated from her husband! Mrs. Jameson, an able and pious writer, did the same. Fanny Fern was divorced and married again. Miss Kemble, Miss Florence Marryat, ladies of high literary attainments, and many, very many others, equally distinguished in the paths of literature, were unhappy in their marriages and separated from their husbands. Judge Butler was once asked by a *bas bleu* how he would like to marry a literary lady. He replied as readily as did Napoleon to Madame de Stael—"I would as soon think of marrying a dictionary," was his answer.

I do not say these things, young ladies, to discourage you in your studies. Far be it from me to do so. But I do insist on your following the advice of the wise and good Fenelon, the purest and most eloquent of all the Roman Catholic Bishops in France. In his beautiful essay on "The Education of Girls," he says: "Let your education be such as tends to prepare you for the duties of life, and the condition and place where you are to pass your life. If a girl is to live in the country, her mind should be formed for the pleasures of the country."

In all probability marriage will be the destiny of all

of you. It is the natural state of man and woman and was so intended by the Almighty in his creation of the world. A friend of mine, who was addressing an accomplished young lady whom he afterwards married, told me that his brother's wife asked him during his courtship how he was getting on. He replied that he did not think the young lady wished to get married at all. His sister-in-law said "she may not wish to marry you, but I never yet saw a young girl who did not wish to marry, provided a suitable offer was made." This was the opinion of a very sensible married lady who had seen and known a good deal of the world.

But my advice to you, young ladies, is, not to get married before you are twenty-one years old, and never marry a young man till his character is well formed and established. You are not capable before you are twenty-one years old of taking charge of a family and managing prudently and satisfactorily your household. The cares and responsibilities of a married life are very great, too great for a miss in her teens to assume. Before a young man's character is well formed and established in life you can never tell what he will be. He may be a very steady, promising fellow at twenty-two or three and turn out a drunkard—an idle loafer or spendthrift. Be not in a hurry to marry any one. Love at first sight is a dangerous thing and you may repent it all your life.

Hasty weddings, where the parties are not well acquainted with each other, are very apt to produce disappointments, which lead to quarrels and separation. A great many divorces are caused in this way—incompatibility of temper and manners and enjoyments. In Prussia there were three thousand divorces granted in one year, and perhaps as many in the United States. In the New England States it has been ascertained that there is one divorce in every thirteen marriages, besides many other separations of man and wife who are not

divorced. It is said, in Chicago, that an acquaintance of a married lady never knows by what name to address her after being absent from the city five or six months. In that time she may have been divorced and married again! To the honor of the Roman Catholic Church and Catholic countries, divorces are not allowed. In South Carolina for three hundred years, and until the State fell under infamous Radical rule, no divorce was ever granted. And to the honor of our last Legislature the act allowing divorces was repealed.

There is a class of young gentlemen I would caution the ladies against. They are *exquisites*, dandies, who think themselves handsome and are deeply in love with their own beauty, so much so, that they have not room in their hearts to love any one else. A humorous gentleman once said to me, pointing to a beau of this description: "That fellow ought to be extremely happy, for he is desperately in love with himself and has no rival!"

It is said, on philosophical principles, that opposites are apt to love each other, and observation would rather tend to establish this philosophical principle. How often do we see a grave and silent gentleman select as his wife a gay, lively and frolicsome lady? Have you never seen a talented and intellectual woman mated with a dull and stupid husband? Tall and slender young men are very apt to fall in love with short, fat, bouncing girls. I have often seen a very beautiful lady married to a very homely gentleman; an old man, with a young wife; a fragile, amiable and delicate woman, with a rough, passionate and large man. A stranger might suppose that such couples were mis-matched, but their lives will prove that they lived happily and lovingly together.

Great men intellectually, great statesmen, orators and authors have generally married women not at all remarkable for their talents or intellectual endowments.

and hence their sons are seldom distinguished. It is a remarkable fact that all great men have had great mothers. They may not have been educated or learned women, but they were great by nature. Lord Bacon and Napoleon Bonaparte, two of the highest intellectual men the world ever produced, had mothers remarkable for their intellectual endowments. George Washington and Dr. Franklin, the most eminent of all America's distinguished sons, had mothers highly gifted by nature. I might go on and enumerate hundreds of other instances. But I do not remember a single instance of a great man being born of an ordinary and weak woman intellectually.

My observation and reading have strongly impressed my mind with the belief that sons inherit more of the intellectual qualities of the mother than of the father; and that daughters inherit from their father in a great measure his intellectual qualities and personal resemblance.

You must not think, my young friends, that when you leave this seminary of learning, after having accomplished your studies in philosophy, belles-lettres, rhetoric and all the sciences, your education is completed. The most important duties of life, those duties which are to fit you for being placed at the head of a family, you have yet to learn. They will be taught you by your mothers at home. I know the household duties are humble and homely, when compared to music, painting and drawing; but a knowledge of them is more useful and more important to a good wife and good mother than all these accomplishments. Learn to keep house, prepare the meals for the family and to make your own dresses. You must learn economy and avoid all extravagance.

Fenelon says: "With regard to dress we must endeavor to inspire girls with moderation. True wisdom consists in our never displaying in our dress or our

equipage anything remarkable; let there be nothing in their dress like affectation. We must endeavor to inspire them with compassion for the poor and show them the sin of those who only live for themselves and refuse to give to those who suffer." He also says you must always and at all times appear neat in your dress, not only before marriage, but after marriage. That neatness and beauty of appearance, which may have won your husband's heart, may be essential in retaining his love in after life. President Jefferson advised, as you grow older, you should be more circumspect as to your dress, in order to conceal the effects of age and the ravages of time on beauty and loveliness. Lord Chesterfield, who undertook to instruct the world on politeness and good manners, says that carelessness and indifference about one's dress shows a want of respect for society, friends and associates.

The experience of every one is, that women are more compassionate, more kind and more charitable than men. The great American traveler, Ledyard, who passed over the world on foot, pays a most eloquent and glowing compliment to woman in his book of travels for her kindness, benevolence and charity. In all of his wanderings amongst savage and civilized people he had never been treated unkindly by woman, when asking charity or assistance; but had been frequently rudely repulsed by men.

Let me impress on your minds, young ladies, that industry and employment are absolutely necessary to your happiness and contentment in life. Idleness is always productive of mischief and discontent. You must have something to do and something to look forward to, something to hope for from what you are doing. Your leisure time in the discharge of your domestic and social duties should be spent in reading and acquiring useful information and knowledge from good books. Do not waste your time over silly, fashionable

novels and ephemeral trash which now floods the world. Let your reading be history, biography, travels, standard poetry and religious books. Novel reading unfits your mind for graver studies and fills your thoughts with romantic notions which never can be realized. Life is too short to read everything, and therefore make a judicious selection.

If you *will* read novels, however, let me entreat you to read standard novels, such as Sir Walter Scott's, Dickens', Bulwer's, Cooper's and Simm's. The last named writer of fiction and poetry has done for South Carolina what Sir Walter Scott did for Scotland—illustrated the history, scenery, manners and customs of Carolina in her provincial days, and hence his novels are dear to all Carolinians. I would commend to your reading, instead of novels, Miss Strickland's lives of the Queens of England and Scotland, Plutarch's lives of the eminent Grecians and Romans, and Parton's works are all deeply interesting. The family library composed of histories, biographies, travels and science, arts and literature, the sermons of Blair, Hall, Tillotson and Massalon, Shakespeare and the Bible. Such reading will store your minds with good, useful, moral and religious learning, instead of fiction, love stories and nonsense. It will prepare you for the active duties of this life and fit you for the world to come.

It is said in the Scriptures that we are all sinful by nature, and the grand object of life should be to restrain and suppress our evil propensities and passions. The sooner we commence this habit the more likely we are to be successful. Always try like a good Christian and noble minded woman to curb your tempers, your anger, your envy, your hatred and jealousy.

Governor Hayne, one of South Carolina's most eminent sons, and distinguished through life for his wisdom and practical good sense, once said to me that the two first requisites in a wife were good health and good tem-

per. What happiness can a husband reasonably expect when his wife is always in bad health and incapable of enjoying life or the society of her friends and family? You should therefore most carefully attend to your health and invigorating your constitution. This you should do, as I have already advised, by taking exercise in the open air. Nine-tenths of the young ladies in delicate health have brought it on by neglect in this respect. They grow up like hot house plants, never taking healthful exercise and indulging in all the dissipations of fashionable life.

In regard to bad temper, we may be born with it, and therefore not so much to blame for possessing it. But we are inexcusable for not endeavoring to control it whilst young. By indulging ill temper on all occasions we make ourselves miserable and all about us unhappy. It is said that Washington was a man of high temper and very passionate in his feelings, but he learned to control himself and always appeared calm, serene and dignified. Socrates, the great philosopher of antiquity, said he was a bad man by nature, but he controlled his evil passions and propensities and became an exemplar of morality and virtue.

In a great measure our happiness in this life depends on ourselves. There are some persons who would not be satisfied under any circumstances, and there are others who will be happy and contented no matter what their lot may be in this life. We should not repine for things which we cannot have or envy those who have them. If disappointments and misfortunes overtake us, we should bear them philosophically and not fret and worry over them. A true philosophical mind, always calm and serene, is worth more than a fortune, or all the honors and distinctions we could possibly attain, so far as our happiness is concerned in this world.

Now, young ladies, in concluding my prosy address, let me entreat you to cultivate your amiability and



ADDRESS.

your affectionate dispositions, be dutiful to your parents, kind to your friends and associates, civil and courteous to all persons, obedient and respectful to your teachers and professors. Never give offense to any one and be not hasty to resent any slight or offense shown you.

There is great magnanimity in passing over in silence, or not noticing any want of courtesy which may be shown you. Beware of tale bearers under the guise of friendship. They are mischievous associates or friends.

Practice economy and industry. Be neat always and at all times in your dress, but never extravagant. Take abundant exercise in the open air and invigorate your constitutions. Health is the greatest blessing of life. Never seek admiration or aspire to be belles and fritter away your hearts on a multitude of beaux. I have the same opinion of a fashionable belle that I expressed for an *exquisite*. She is always seeking admiration and so much in love with herself that she has no heart for any one else. A friend of mine, now living in this county, once said to me that a fashionable belle in society always reminded him of an old man's description of his horse in a pasture. He said the horse was "hard to catch and not worth much when he was caught." Just so with a gay, fashionable belle. She is hard to catch and not worth much, as a wife, when she is caught.

I now bid you farewell, young ladies, thanking you for the honor you have done me in asking me to address you on this occasion. I have done so plainly and truthfully, without attempting any figures of rhetoric or flowers of eloquence, for they are foreign to my nature; earnestly hoping that you may remember some of the advice given you, and that your lives may be prosperous and happy, that you may safely return to your homes and parents, and in due time have steady, industrious, honorable and loving husbands—ADIEU.



JOINING THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

[Written by Governor B. F. Perry, July 8, 1880, on occasion of a public meeting in South Carolina, when a proposition was made that *Democrats* should break up the Solid South and join the Republican party.]

ALL the Democratic fools are not dead yet, and some of the Democratic knaves are also still living. Every now and then, since the Presidential election, we hear suggestions from these politicians that the great Democratic party should be broken up and new parties organized. They seem to forget, or pretend not to know, that the principles of the Democratic party are inherent in the nature of our Republican government and essential to its existence. Honesty and an economical administration of the Republic is one cardinal principle of Democracy. The appointment of competent and faithful public servants in all the departments of government is another. The *people* are the source of all power and honor in a Republic as the Sovereign is in a despotism. A rigid construction and adherence to the Constitution of the several States of the United States must be sacredly observed in order to maintain our complex form of government. No invasion of the limited powers of the General Government or the reserved rights of the States should be tolerated. Everyone should be protected in his life, liberty, property and religion.

On these fundamental principles the Democratic party administered the Federal Government for more than fifty years, and the United States prospered, flourished and increased more than any nation ever did before in the history of the world. In an evil hour, the government fell into the hands of the old Federal party, under the

false name of Republican. This party, repudiating all compromise and in violation of the sacred principles of American Independence, involved the country in a cruel, bloody civil war, at the sacrifice of five hundred thousand heroic men and billions of property! They then established, in violation of the Constitution, which they had sworn to protect and defend, the most odious and revolting tyranny that ever disgraced a civilized people. The Caucasian race in one-half of the Union was disfranchised and placed under the government of their enfranchised African slaves! The most unprincipled adventurers from the North were sent South to assist the ignorant semi-savage negroes in the government of their former masters! An army of soldiers was scattered all over this down-trodden and oppressed country, to keep in subjection a refined and proud-spirited people, and to rob and plunder their possessions!

In the course of eight or ten long, dreadful years, this frightful black government, through the mercies of God, fell by its own corruption and ignorance. Democratic principles were once more in the ascendant in both Houses of Congress and with a majority of the people of the United States Tilden, the Democratic candidate for President, was elected by a majority of three hundred thousand votes. But the Republican party, by the grossest frauds and perjuries, succeeded in repudiating the voice of the American people and established Hayes in the Presidency! Four years afterwards the Democratic party presented as their candidate for President, General Hancock, of Pennsylvania, a gallant soldier, a wise statesman, and a noble gentleman and patriot, *sans puer, et sans reproche*. He was beaten by the Republican candidate, whose character was smirched all over by his own party in former years with bribery, corruption and perjury!

But in this contest the Democrats were defeated by only three thousand votes in more than nine millions of

votes which were polled at the election! Their candidate actually received several hundred thousand more white votes than the Republican candidate. If the election had depended on the white citizens of the United States, Hancock would have been elected by more than half a million of votes: but for the thirty thousand negro votes in New York, that great State would have given him a handsome majority, notwithstanding all the money spent there in purchasing votes and all the exertions of wealthy manufacturers in bull-dozing their poor operatives.

It is a great mistake to say the North was solid for the Republican party. In a million of votes cast in New York, Garfield received only a majority of fifteen or twenty thousand including the colored vote of thirty thousand. In Indiana, there was only a majority of five or six thousand, in seven or eight hundred thousand. In Connecticut and Maine a still smaller majority. New Jersey gave a Democratic majority and so did Delaware. California did the same. The Democrats polled several hundred thousand votes in Ohio, Illinois and many other Northern States. Why, then, is it said the North is solid against Democracy and the South? There is no truth in it. If ever there was a party entitled to the gratitude of their allies, the northern Democracy are entitled to the unbounded gratitude of every Southern Democrat. They have stood steadfast to their principles, at the sacrifice of their personal interest and ambition. They have foregone all political honors and office for their principles and love of an honest and pure government. Their patriotism shines brighter and is more disinterested than that of Southern Democrats. *We were fighting in self defence as well as for principle whilst they were fighting for principle alone; their personal rights, security and civil liberty were in no danger. Under these circumstances, I say boldly, that the treason of Benedict Arnold was not more*

infamous than would be our desertion of the Northern Democracy. It would not only be infamous, but suicidal.

In all earnestness, I would ask these Democratic fools and knaves what benefit the Southern Democracy would gain by abandoning their party, their *principles*, their friends, and the friends of an honest, economical administration of the Federal Government, and go over to the Republican party—a party from whom they have never received anything but insult and injury—a party which put them under a negro government at home and protected that government with Federal bayonets in robbing, plundering and dishonoring them—a party which has stolen from them the Presidency and administered the Federal government for the last twenty years, fraudulently and corruptly—a party whose sole aim seems to be to convert the American Republic into a splendid Empire with a President for life!! The only advantage that I can see would be that some of these foolish and corrupt advocates of so monstrous and unnatural a proposition might be rewarded with Federal office for their treason and dishonor!

Let the great and patriotic Democratic party of the United States stand *fast* by their *principles* and they will achieve success *four* years hence, under their illustrious standard-bearer, General Winfield Scott Hancock. He was beaten only three thousand votes, as I have already said, in a vote of upward of nine millions. Four years more of Republican rule will bring the American people to their senses.

NOTE.—They did achieve success under *Grover Cleveland*.





ADDRESS

DELIVERED

Before the Female College, Reidville, Spartanburg County, S. C., June 20, 1882.

BY GOVERNOR B. F. PERRY.

[The *last* speech made by Governor Perry on any important occasion when he was in his seventy-seventh year.]

REIDVILLE, S. C., *May* 10, 1889.

MRS. B. F. PERRY.

DEAR MADAM: I sincerely thank you for the volume of Biographical Sketches of Eminent Statesmen, with Speeches, Addresses and Letters of your honored husband, presented to me at your beautiful home, Sans Souci, and also for the volume donated to the library of our Female College. I have read it with great interest and profit. I value it not only for its intrinsic worth, containing so much valuable information, clearly and elegantly expressed in good style, but as the production of a friend whom I have always admired as a model citizen, lawyer and statesman, having the courage to follow his convictions of right, truth and duty, maintaining a high, *spotless* character, above the reproach *even* of his *enemies*. Permit me to say that you are doing a good thing for the young men of the State in publishing Governor Perry's works. The story of his life is as interesting as a novel, and forms a large part of the political history of the State during the period of his active life. Through your devoted and loving labors, "he being dead," will continue to speak to coming ages, thoughts that will never lose their interest and freshness. I can truthfully say of Governor Perry what Dr. Thornwell said of John C. Calhoun: "If God Almighty ever made a man, and set his seal upon him, that he *had* made a man—that man was Benjamin Franklin Perry."

Very respectfully yours,

R. H. REID.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

AT THE commencement of the South Carolina College, thirty-five or six years since, I was seated on the platform of the chapel with Colonel Wade Hampton,

Governor Allston, Judge Whitner, and other trustees of the college listening to the addresses of the graduates, when one of them, a tall, slender youth mounted the rostrum to deliver his valedictory. The first words he uttered with a trembling voice, were characterized with so much earnestness and sincerity of tone, that our attention was attracted to him, and we listened with thrilling interest to his eloquent and appropriate address, and predicted for him a brilliant career at the bar and in politics. But we were informed that his wishes and ambition were for a higher and holier vocation. He cared not for popular honors and distinction, but chose rather to exert his talents, eloquence and learning in the ministry, where he thought his ability and usefulness would be productive of greater good to his fellowmen. Time passed on, and I understood that this young graduate had entered the ministry and built up a most flourishing high school for female education at this place, which was named in honor of him, and where young ladies from Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia and North Carolina, came to be instructed in the higher branches of learning and science, as well as religion and virtue. I have been invited by this gentleman, the Rev. R. H. Reid, at the request of the Board of Trustees of the Reidville Academy, to address you on the present occasion. In doing so, I am afraid, ladies and gentleman, that you will be disappointed in the subject of my discourse. Instead of an elaborate essay on female education, showing the importance in relation to society and Christian civilization, of imbuing the minds of our daughters, as well as our sons, with all the learning in the higher branches of education, I shall give you "THE PAST, THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF SOUTH CAROLINA."

In my acceptance of the invitation to deliver an address at the present commencement of the Reidville

Academy, I intimated as much to the principal of the school, and he acquiesced in it.

The subject is a grand one and I have found it too grand and extensive for an address of this character. To do it justice would require volumes instead of a few pages, and the pen of a Prescott or Bancroft. I can only glance at some of its prominent features. We all love the old Palmetto State, as we love our mother, and venerate her high and proud character. We delight to recall her glorious historic events, as a *colony* and as a *State*. And we feel a pride in naming her brilliant and devoted sons, in the war of the Revolution, in the war of 1812, in the Mexican war, and in the war of our *Lost Confederacy*. We have equal pride, too, in recalling the wisdom, ability, eloquence, and patriotism of her statesmen in our national assemblies and in our State Legislatures, the learning and purity of her judges and public officers, as well as the genius displayed by her sons and daughters in the field of literature.

After mature consideration and serious reflection, I entertain the most sanguine hopes, my friends, that the future of our beloved State will be as bright and prosperous as her last decade has been wretched and infamous. That black, lowering cloud which hovered over her horizon for eight long, terrible years, has been dispersed, and once more a bright, genial sun illumines her political firmament. We have suffered socially, financially and politically as no civilized people ever did in this Christian age. Our State Government was the most infamous, oppressive and corrupt known in the annals of history. Under the despotic and cruel rule of our national government, in utter disregard of all Republican principles and constitutional rights, we were disfranchised, deprived of self-government, and our former slaves, ignorant and semi-savage, were placed over us, led on by the most unprincipled adventurers, black and white, from the North, assisted by a few of the meanest

and most unprincipled of our native citizens. All our just rights, social and political, were utterly ignored, our property confiscated by extravagant and enormous taxation, public money was stolen and squandered for the vilest and most infamous purposes, and the credit and character of the State dishonored and lost!

In every town, city and village in South Carolina, Federal soldiers, infantry, cavalry and artillery, were stationed and quartered to uphold this black government of rogues and scoundrels, and keep in subjection a high-minded, patriotic, liberty-loving people! Peaceable, inoffensive citizens were daily arrested, dragged from their homes, and incarcerated in filthy, crowded prisons, at the instance of some false, stupid, vindictive Negro! All the offices of the State, and of the United States in South Carolina were given to the most corrupt and ignorant men, black and white, renegades and ruffian blackguards, who had come here or risen up amongst us, like vultures and harpys, to prey on a dead carcass! The colored people were taught by their leaders that incendiarism was a righteous and patriotic virtue! Every night the lurid flames told of the destruction of gin houses, stores and mansions! Ladies were afraid to walk the streets in Charleston for fear of being grossly insulted by the sable loafers and loungers at the street corners! Gentlemen were in constant apprehension, every night, of robbery and assassination!

It is therefore not surprising, that under these direful circumstances, the energies of our people were crushed and paralyzed, that all public improvements were abandoned, education neglected and private interests sacrificed. No one thought of making any effort to develop the resources of the State or to improve her condition under this *regime* of rogues and scoundrels, protected by federal bayonets. Life was no longer a blessing, and the people at length, determined to rise up in the majesty of their strength, and throw off this horrible

government, be the consequences what they might. Their noble, patriotic effort, through the mercy of God, was crowned with success. A free enlightened Republican government was once more established in South Carolina, with a wise and prudent Governor, General Hampton, distinguished through life for his honor and heroism, and with a patriotic Legislature, and competent, virtuous public officers, all over the State. South Carolina now stands "redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled."

The history of this State up to the close of the war of Secession was a proud and glorious one. There was no blot or stain on her escutcheon from her earliest settlement. Her Governors had always been high minded and honorable men, her judges pure and unsullied, her legislators patriotic and incorruptible, her public officers ever faithful and diligent in the discharge of their official duties, and her citizens enlightened, brave and patriotic, distinguished for their love of liberty and Constitutional Republican principles. No charge of bribery or corruption was ever made against any of her legislators or public officers in the whole history of the commonwealth. There was a moral and patriotic tone which pervaded the whole State and formed the character of her citizens from the earliest settlement of the country. No community in ancient or modern times, were ever governed by a higher sense of honor, virtue and patriotism. Their generous nature, love of hospitality and virtuous ease and pleasure, have prevented them from being as thrifty as some of their Northern brethren. The love of money has never been their ruling passion, or the god of their idolatry.

Two hundred years ago the first settlement in South Carolina was made by the proud cavaliers of England, to whom the province was granted. They were a noble race of men and they stamped their character on the settlement. In the course of a few years they were

joined by the Huguenots of France, a worthy and religious people who had fled from the persecutions of the mother country and sought freedom of conscience in the American wilderness. Some years after these settlements in the lower country, upper Carolina was settled by a hardy, industrious race of enterprising yeomanry from Virginia and Maryland. Such were the germs from which the citizens of Carolina have sprung, pure, proud, and religious, loving liberty and independence.

Throughout her whole history South Carolina has ever been distinguished for the talents, virtue and patriotism of her public men. Although a proud colony of Great Britain, and although her prominent sons had been educated in England, yet she was one of the foremost States in her resistance to British tyranny and oppression. Her Pinckneys, Rutledges, Gadsdens, Middletons, Hegers, Sumters, Marions and Pickens were conspicuous as statesmen, patriots and heroes in the American Revolution. In the second war of Independence with Great Britain in 1812, she presented a galaxy of genius, talents and ability which would have done honor to ancient Greece or Rome. Lowndes, Cheves and Calhoun were the master spirits of that war, and controlled the Congress of the United States in carrying on the war. More recently South Carolina has produced Hayne, Harper, Drayton, Preston, McDuffie, Legare, Petigru, Hamilton, and many other illustrious men who were the peers of any in the Senate of the United States or the House of Representatives for eloquence, learning and ability. Such names should inspire the rising generation in this State to emulate their fame and renown as statesmen and patriots.

Pre-eminent as South Carolina has been in her statesmen, patriots and orators, she has not been deficient in her literature, education and literary men. Her college in Columbia was for many years the resort of all the young men of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida and

Virginia, who sought a finished, scientific and classical education. In every department of literature, history, biography, poetry, science and fiction she has produced authors of great merit and distinction. Hewitt, Ramsay, Simms, Drayton, Moultrie, Carrol, Rivers, Gibbs, Logan and Davidson were historians whom any State or nation may boast of having produced. In poetry the names of Washington Alston, Gilmore Simms, Paul Hayne, Henry Timrod, Colonel Grayson, Richard Furman, Laura Gwyn, Mrs. Blake and many others are well known in the literary world. In the field of biography we may refer with pride to Judge Johnson's life of General Greene, or Johnson's Reminiscences, or Simms' biographies, Life of Marion by Weems, Judge O'Neall's Bench and Bar, his Annals of Newberry, or Laborde's History of the South Carolina College, and many other biographies of merit and high reputation. In fiction Gilmore Simms stands pre-eminent, and ranks with Cooper. He has illustrated South Carolina as Sir Walter Scott did his native land. There are many other writers of fiction in South Carolina of no ordinary merit. Mrs. Gilman, Mrs. Glover, Mrs. Aldrich, are well known. "The Novelettes" of Professor Nott, and "Thirty-Four Years Since," an American story of Southern life, by his niece, Mrs. Means, with very many other tales and stories, do credit to South Carolina. "The Works of John C. Calhoun," in six volumes, are equal in merit to Aristotle's Politics and Ethics. The writings of Hugh S. Legare, in two volumes, are unsurpassed for classical lore, style and interest. The Southern Review, published in Charleston, was for many years equal to any work of the kind in Europe or America.

But there is one great omission in the literature of South Carolina, and I regret to mention it. No one has come forward to write the lives of South Carolina's eminent men. In Massachusetts, as soon as one of her prominent citizens is dead, some literary friend steps

forward to write his life. In South Carolina there is scarcely a life of any of her eminent sons written at all.

One great drawback on the prosperity of South Carolina, heretofore, has been the spirit of emigration, on the part of her sons, to the Southwest. This restless disposition and unpatriotic love of change has robbed her of a large portion of her wealth, energy and talent.

She has given to the Southwestern States many of their most prominent men, and her wealth has given prosperity and growth to the States of Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Tennessee and Texas. This drain on her population and wealth, which continued for more than a half century, has now ceased in a great measure, and she will soon realize its advantages, in the improvement of her lands, and the development of her resources. Let us reflect and consider what a State South Carolina would now be, if she could reclaim all the wealth and population, all the energy and industry, and all the talent and learning, and virtue and patriotism, which she has so lavishly poured into the Southwestern States. This spirit of emigration not only impoverishes the State, but it has a tendency to impair and weaken the patriotism of the emigrant. The citizen who is constantly moving from State to State, loses all local attachments, and can never feel that deep seated love of country which glows in the bosom of one who lives where he was born and raised and where his ancestors for generations have lived and died and lie buried.

There has been another great impediment besides emigration to the improvement and prosperity of South Carolina. It was her institution of slavery, so long cherished and considered the source of all her wealth. The farmer and planter, the merchant and capitalist, were always anxious to invest their surplus capital in the purchase of more slaves, and never thought of improving with it their lands, erecting ma-

chinery and building manufactories. They only thought of buying more slaves to make more cotton or corn and then selling their crops to invest again in more slaves till their lands were entirely worn out. Then they gathered up their slaves, deserted their exhausted lands and dilapidated houses, and moved off to a new country to pursue there the same ruinous policy. Now, this source of investment has been destroyed forever, and most happily for the improvement of the State. When a farmer, or planter, or capitalist has a surplus of money, he now has to invest it in the improvement of his lands and houses, or in machine shops, or factories of some kind, or in the education of his sons and daughters.

These two impediments being now removed and an honest government being once more restored, South Carolina has resources and advantages which should make her future a bright, prosperous and glorious one. Her climate is unsurpassed, neither severely cold in Winter, nor extremely hot in Summer. There is no State in the Union more healthy the year round. The health of the upper portion of the State is equal to that of any country in the world. The lands of South Carolina are rich and productive, and those that have been exhausted may be easily reclaimed by good management. There are thousands of acres of swamp lands on our great rivers which will one day be drained, embanked and brought into cultivation. They are as rich as any lands in the world, and their cultivation would produce grain enough to bread the whole population of the State. This is destined to be, at some future day, one great source of the prosperity of the State.

South Carolina is unrivalled in the variety of the products of her soil. She produces in the greatest abundance all the cereals, wheat, rye, corn, oats, barley and rice. With the application of phosphates, cotton grows as well under the mountains of Carolina as it does in

the Southwestern States. Tobacco was once a profitable crop in South Carolina and might be again. So was indigo. The growth of sorghum within a few years past in this State shows that we might manufacture our own molasses and sugar and be independent of Louisiana and the West India islands in this respect. It has been proven by experiments recently made, that the tea plant will grow successfully in South Carolina, and in the course of time it may become one of the great staple commodities of the Southern States. The culture of the grape has been successful where ever tried in South Carolina, and in a few years will be a most remunerative crop. Apples, peaches, plums, cherries and all the ordinary fruits grown in the United States, do well in this State, and might be made profitable crops. All the vegetables used on the table, are grown here in the greatest abundance. Clover and all the grasses do well in the upper part of this State, and it is most unfortunate for our people that they have not been more extensively grown.

The discovery of phosphates in South Carolina is more valuable than the discovery of a dozen gold mines. It has revolutionized the agriculture of the State, and will double and triple its products. Already the old exhausted broom sedge fields planted in cotton and fertilized with the phosphates have been more profitable than the richest loam grounds cultivated in corn. It not only fertilizes the soil, but it matures the bolls two or three weeks sooner than they would otherwise ripen, and thereby escapes the early frosts. Gold and iron ores have likewise been discovered in various sections of the State, and successfully operated. Kaolin, out of which porcelain or Chinaware is manufactured, has been found in many parts of the State, and may in the future, be a source of great profit.

The people of South Carolina have heretofore been very neglectful in raising horses, cattle, sheep and hogs.

which they might do most successfully, instead of depending on the great West for their animals. This has been a great drain on their wealth and a serious impediment to their prosperity. It is to be hoped that the stock law lately enacted by our Legislature, will produce a change in this respect, and make us independent of Kentucky and Tennessee. The Piedmont region of South Carolina is well adapted to the raising of sheep, which would be a source of incalculable wealth. In England the culture of turnips and the raising of sheep is one great source of her prosperity and national wealth.

But the greatest source of the future wealth and prosperity of South Carolina, is in utilizing her water power and manufacturing cotton and wool. We have every conceivable advantage over the Northern States and Great Britain in manufacturing cotton. The raw material is grown here, our climate is better adapted to manufacturing purposes, water power, which is expensive at the North, and scarcely to be obtained in England, will cost little or nothing here; labor is cheaper than it is in the Northern States, and all we want is capital and skill. They are destined to come here at no distant day from England, as well as from the Northern States. Foreign capitalists will find it to their interest to make this change, and all mankind in pursuit of money are of course governed by their interest. There are already a good many cotton factories in the State, and they are all doing well. The Piedmont factory in Greenville, with a capital of four hundred thousand dollars, realized during the past year, thirty per cent. on the capital. They have been shipping their goods to China and South America as well as to New York and Boston. I was told by the president that the net profit on a yard of cloth sold for eight cents was four cents.

There is another source of prosperity and greatness in the future of our old commonwealth, which the peo-

ple are beginning to value more than they ever did before. I allude to our schools and colleges. No people can be great, or prosperous, or wealthy without education, and no people can sustain a republican form of government without virtue and intelligence, which flow from education. In former times, there were a few in South Carolina, highly educated, who gave character to the State abroad, whilst the great mass of our population had very few advantages in this respect. A better spirit now pervades the country. The Legislature has provided ample means for the education of all in the primary branches, and the citizens are erecting colleges and schools all over the State, to teach the higher branches of learning. It is said Prussia owed her conquest of France, a few years since, to the universal education of all her citizens. It was education that made Athens the mistress of the Grecian confederacy. It is education that has given New England such a controlling influence over the public sentiment of America. Her literature, her books, her newspapers and magazines, notwithstanding all our Southern prejudices, are at this time imperceptibly influencing and controlling our opinions and actions.

There is every reason to believe that the future of South Carolina will be prosperous and happy. The Federal Union will never again be assailed, and the love of constitutional liberty and republican principles, North and South, East and West, will never tolerate a centralized despotism. Her population is increasing most wonderfully, her schools and colleges are multiplying and flourishing, her agriculture improving, her manufactories rapidly multiplying, and her citizens are becoming more energetic, enterprising and industrious. The resources of the State are being developed, railroads are being built all over her territory, towns and villages are springing up in every direction, her citizens are no longer leaving their homes and moving to new coun-

tries, crime is diminishing, and the moral tone of the community rapidly improving. Well may we be proud of the past and hopeful of the future.

But there is one thing which I would most earnestly impress on the young men of Carolina, as necessary to their own success and happiness in life as it is to the future prosperity of the State. Slavery is abolished, and labor is made necessary and honorable to all, rich and poor. Man was made by his Creator to work in this his probationary state. Six days shalt thou labor and the seventh keep holy, is the command of God. Instead of crowding the learned professions and becoming idlers and paupers with poverty stricken families, they should turn their attention to agriculture, the mechanic arts, manufacturing, engineering, mining, and developing the resources of the State. Heretofore, it has been too much the habit of South Carolinians to try and live without work, and this has been one great cause of their want of progress, improvement and prosperity. It is a lamentable truth, that South Carolinians, with all their natural advantages of climate, soil, water power and mineral wealth, have not kept pace, in the past, with their brethren of the cold and sterile New England States. There everyone has been active, energetic, industrious and enterprising. No loafers and idlers are to be seen standing on the street corners of their towns and villages, or sitting lazily in their piazzas and porticos

Our Legislature has recently enacted some wise laws against duelling, carrying concealed weapons, retailing spirituous liquors and other immoralities, which are calculated to have a most salutary influence on public sentiment. It is said that nine-tenths of the crimes in our courts have originated in these pernicious habits. Senator Merriman said, the other day in a public speech, that the State of North Carolina paid during the past year five millions of dollars in the purchase of

whisky! In a small up country village of this State, it has been ascertained that one barkeeper alone sold thirty thousand dollars worth of spirits within the past year. But a change has now come over the spirit of that village, and retailing is entirely prohibited there at the present time. It is most devoutly hoped that this good example will be followed all over the State.

In my mind the future wealth, prosperity and happiness of South Carolina is inevitable. She must soon, from her advantages in climate, water power, cheapness in labor, living, building material and the growth of the raw material, become a manufacturing State. This will more than double the value of her cotton crop, already worth twenty millions of dollars, and give employment to hundreds of thousands of operatives. Charleston harbor will soon be opened to the largest vessels, and railroads will be constructed to carry her importations to every portion of the great West. The immense swamp lands of the middle and low country will be drained, and the rivers embanked, which will double the production of all the cereals. The agriculture of the State will be varied and enlarged, and more attention paid to the growing of all the grapes. The old broom sedge fields and exhausted lands will be reclaimed and enriched by phosphates and other manures. Vinyards will be planted all over the State and wine will become an article of exportation. Sugar and molasses will be produced from the cultivation and manufacture of sorghum sufficient to supply home consumption. The tea plant will likewise be extensively cultivated in the course of a few years. It grows well in our climate, as has been proved by various experiments. It is stated, that the importation of jute, from which cotton bagging is made, costs the United States more than four millions of dollars. This plant will grow well in all the Southern States, and might be made a profitable crop. The mountains and the old fields will become

sheep folds, and wool will be produced in the greatest abundance for manufacturing purposes. The cultivation of the grape and the increased production of corn on the reclaimed swamp lands will necessarily lead to more attention in raising horses, mules cattle and hogs. Instead of moving to other States, our citizens will be content to live and die where they were born and brought up, and they will learn to nurse that natural love which everyone has for the land of his birth. Thousands of immigrants will come here from the Northern States and from all parts of the world, to enjoy the advantages which South Carolina will offer them. The facility with which wealth may be accumulated will inspire habits of industry and enterprise. Young men of education will no longer think that they must pursue one of the learned professions and become gentlemanly loafers and paupers, instead of prosperous farmers, mechanics, manufacturers, miners and engineers. And our young women too, will conform to this change after their education is completed, and pay more attention to their domestic and household duties, and less to fashions, dress, parties, balls, theatres and all the dissipated frivolities of fashionable life. They will learn that it is not beneath the dignity of a well bred and well educated lady to cook her husband's dinner and mend his clothes, as well as make her own, and take care of the children. No matter how highly a young lady may be educated, it should not place her above her domestic duties, but render her more capable of performing them.

God in his creation of the two sexes intended them for different purposes. To man he gave strength, courage and endurance, and woman he endowed with diffidence, modesty and physical weakness. They are both made intellectually equals to their respective spheres and duties in life. Man is to till the fields, go to war and defend his country. The woman is to stay at home,

nurse her children and cast her softening influence over society. Her mind should be highly cultivated, for she has the early training and education of her children. But her education should be appropriate to her mind, her position and duties in life. I am a utilitarian, and believe that every parent should study the genius, talents and inclination of their children and educate them accordingly. Woman, in the present civilized and Christian age, has been elevated to her proper sphere and educated accordingly. But she should not step beyond it and think of entering the learned professions, as some of our Northern ladies are doing.

Dr. Franklin, whilst in London, was drawing off a cask of wine, which had been sent him as a present, and discovered a fly in it, which he placed in the sunshine, and the fly came to life again. This induced the old philosopher, patriot and philanthropist to reflect how pleasant it would be to revisit the earth after the lapse of a century or two, and see all the changes and improvements which had taken place. He expressed a wish that he could be put up in a puncheon of wine and kept for a century, and then revived and permitted to visit the United States again, and see all the changes and improvements which had been made. How the old man would be astonished and bewildered if he could now revisit his beloved country, and see all the changes and improvements made, which he had never dreamed of in all his philosophy. He would see the steam engine, the spinning jenny, the cotton gin, the railroad, the electric telegraph, the steam printing press, the sewing machine, &c. He would find his weekly mail, from Boston to Philadelphia, which he prided himself as Postmaster General in establishing, carried three times a day, over the same route in a few hours, instead of a week. He would learn, that instead of three months, which it took him to cross the Atlantic Ocean, the trip could now be made in seven or eight days. To get an

answer to a message sent to England required six months, and now it will take only a few minutes. Instead of a population of three millions and thirteen States, he would now find thirty-eight States, with a population of more than fifty millions, comprising the Republic of the United States. He would learn that the earth was encircled with telegraph wires; that the Ocean, and all the rivers of the world were navigated by steamboats, and that the telephone enabled persons in Philadelphia to converse with those in New York and Baltimore.

How delightful it would be, my friends, if we could realize Franklin's wish, and have the pleasure of revisiting the Palmetto State, after the lapse of a century, and find her population increased from nine hundred thousand to three or four millions; the State dotted over with flourishing towns and cities; prosperous manufactories of cotton, wool and iron in every section of the country; the swamp lands drained and teeming with luxuriant crops; colleges and schools established everywhere, and all the citizens of Carolina educated, intelligent, prosperous and happy.

But in this respect we are inferior to Franklin's fly, and neither philosophy nor science can give us this boon. May we not, however, hope that in another and better world, our kindred and friends and their descendants, as they come into that other and better world, will be able to tell us of this progress and improvement of our country! I hope so.

And now my young friends, a word of parting advice to you and I have done. When you leave this seat of learning, you must not consider your education as completed, no matter how advanced or perfect you may have been in your studies. You have here only laid the foundation of an education on which you must hereafter build the superstructure by reading and study. Select good books only, and avoid the sentimental

trash with which the press is now teeming. Life is too short, and time is too precious to think of reading the promiscuous publications of the day. Read books that will cultivate the heart as well as the head; books that will teach you to be *true* and *just*, *kind* and *amiable*, and *religious*. In this way you will secure your own happiness and the good opinion and esteem of your associates. Study to control the temper and waywardness of youth, and restrain your anger and resentments. Life is full of trials and misfortunes, and philosophy as well as Christianity, teaches us to bear with them as best we can. Early learn to practice under the care of your parents, all the Christian duties, and you will then have a benevolent heart in unison with a cultivated mind. Health, too, is necessary to your happiness in life, and you should give special care to its culture and preservation. With a good heart, a wise head and a sound body, you may boldly meet all the difficulties of this world and prepare yourselves for a better one in Heaven.





THE NEW YORK CONVENTION.

WRITTEN BY GOV. PERRY IN 1875.

QUON MY way to the New York Convention, in July, 1868, I stopped two or three days in Washington, for the purpose of seeing President Johnson and the gentlemen there. I saw Colonel Cooper, and sent word to the President that I wished to see him before I left the city. The Colonel informed me that the President said he would be glad to see me at any time I might call. Governor Bonham, Governor Aiken and Colonel Jones, of Kentucky, went with me one morning to the White House and we had a very pleasant interview with the President, but I had no opportunity of talking with him on the subject of the Democratic nomination for President and Vice-President. President Johnson was a good deal interested at that time, with the bill before Congress making appropriation for the purchase of Alaska. He thought, after the treaty had been ratified by the Senate, it became under the Constitution the supreme law of the land, and it was imperative on the House to make the appropriation. I called to see Chief Justice Chase and General Hancock, and in my notice of these gentlemen, have already given the substance of their conversation with me.

Before reaching New York I became satisfied that Judge Pendleton was the first choice of the Democracy West and South, but there was a strong apprehension that he might not be the most available candidate, in consequence of his war record. In my own mind I was satisfied that Senator Hendricks would make a better run than Pendleton, and was therefore in favor of his nomination. I would have preferred President Johnson.

but the Northern Democracy had fallen out with him on account of his continuing radicals in his cabinet and his refusal to appoint Democrats to office. I thought the bold, manly stand taken by President Johnson in favor of the South, and in defence of the Constitution and republican principles, entitled him to the nomination. There was a strong feeling in New York for the nomination of Judge Chase, but I did not think it possible for two-thirds of the Convention to concentrate on him. Mr. Seymour was not spoken of as likely to be put in nomination. It was said, too, that he would not accept the nomination.

I stopped in New York with Madame Filette, where the South Carolina delegation had engaged lodgings. General Hampton, Colonel Campbell, Judge Aldrich, General Gary, Mr. Farmer and Colonel Mullins were all there. The next day, however, I went to my friend, John Livingston's, with the young ladies who were with me and there remained during the Convention. It was a most pleasant change from a crowded house to a private mansion, where we had perfect privacy and luxurious hospitality. The Convention assembled on the 4th of July, and every State and territory was fully represented. Horatio Seymour was made president of the Convention, and one vice-president appointed from each State. A committee of thirty-seven was nominated by the different delegations to report a platform of principles for the Democratic party of the United States. After one or two days consultation, the committee agreed on a platform, which was unanimously adopted by the Convention. The balloting then commenced for a candidate for the Presidency. Most of the Southern States voted several times for Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, as a compliment to him for the patriotic stand he had taken in defence of their rights and sovereignty. George H. Pendleton run ahead for several ballotings, and was finally withdrawn. New

York voted for Church, and Pennsylvania, for Packer. Senator Hendricks, of Indiana, began to secure a strong vote—Chief Justice Chase also was spoken of pretty generally, and it began to be suspected that the vote would be, at last, between these two distinguished statesmen, when Ohio presented the name of Horatio Seymour. It was received with deafening cheers by the members. Mr. Seymour rose and said he was not a candidate for the nomination, and could not, in honor, accept it. This only seemed to increase the desire to nominate him, and it was done unanimously on this ballot.

The friends of Senator Hendricks brought his name forward too soon, and in opposition to Judge Pendleton, which greatly displeased the friends of the latter gentleman. If the friends of Hendricks had only waited till Pendleton was withdrawn, the nominee of their favorite would have been certain. The contest would have been between him and Chief Justice Chase. The latter had been too recently the leader of the radicals to have received the nomination. I said to General Hampton it would be going into the enemies' camp for a General to command our forces in battle.

There was a splendid supper given the delegates at the Manhattan Club room during the sitting of the Convention, and also a handsome dinner at Delmonico's after the adjournment of the Convention. At this dinner there were a great many patriotic speeches made by Charles O'Conner, Generals Preston, Hampton, Forrest, Gordon, Buckner and others. For several nights there were mass meetings at the Metropolitan Club House, which were addressed by General Hampton, Governor Vance, myself and others.


The Soldiers' Convention, composed of two thousand Federal officers, was sitting at the same time in New York and our platform was heartily endorsed by them. There was the greatest cordiality existing between

Southern and Northern officers when they met and talked over their battles. General Hampton was quite a lion in the Convention and was spoken of by the Ohio delegates as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency.

Frank P. Blair was put in nomination by General Hampton for Vice-President and unanimously elected on the first ballot. He had written a very strong letter just before the Convention assembled, which gave him great power with the Southern delegates. The Radicals have since endeavored to make capital out of this letter which they denounce as revolutionary.

On my return to South Carolina. I stopped at Mount Vernon and spent a day and night. It was something to have slept in the mansion of Washington. Miss Pamela Cunningham, the regent of Mount Vernon Association, had kindly invited us to stay with her. This was my first visit to the residence of the Father of his Country, and I enjoyed it greatly, in wandering over the house and grounds, and reflecting on the life and character of Washington. But the late war, and the present condition of the country, obtruded into my reflections and made everything sad.





NEWBERRY, S. C., *May 10, 1889.*

MRS. B. F. PERRY.

DEAR MADAM: It was very kind of you to send me a copy of the beautiful, appropriate Tribute to Benjamin Franklin Perry, ex-Governor of South Carolina, your noble departed husband. I assure you no one can appreciate it more than I do, not only because of the compliment your remembrance of me pays me, but because it affords me an opportunity to read and familiarize myself anew with the noble character and acts of one of the purest, most disinterested, independent, fearless statesmen of South Carolina. I have known Governor Perry for many years. Soon after I came to the Bar, in 1839, I began to attend the Courts at Laurens, and often met him there, and his uniform politeness and attention to me, a diffident young lawyer, awakened in me the warmest attachment, which grew stronger and stronger the more I saw of him, and learned of his true-hearted friendship, high-toned, independent, bold character. My attendance at the Laurens courts were among the most pleasant parts of my professional life, for, as I said before, I was quite a young lawyer and met with the kindest attention, not only from Governor Perry, but from such men as D. L. Wardlaw, of Abbeville, Wallace Thompson, of Union. Major Henry, Major Dean and Colonel Simpson Bobo, of Spartanburg. They all seemed disposed to do all they could to encourage me in the path of duty, which I had selected for life.

I was also pleased to see and read the sketch of your son William, and the congratulatory letters to him upon his election to Congress in 1884 and 1888. I have but a very slight personal acquaintance with him, and really only know him by the faithfulness in which I hear he has discharged *all* the public trusts which he

has been required to perform. My feelings were very much interested in his favor during the last canvass. If he is half as *clever*, both in the English and the American sense of the word, as his sister, my friend Mrs. Beattie, you cannot help being proud of him.

Asking forgiveness for the delay in acknowledging the receipt of The Tribute to your noble husband, I remain with great respect,

Your humble servant,

LAMBERT J. JONES.

College of William and Mary.

WILLIAMSBURG, VA., *May 7, 1889.*

MRS. B. F. PERRY.

MY DEAR MADAM: Yesterday's mail brought your most welcome gift of the two books, Sketches by Governor Perry of South Carolina, and the memorial volume of the same distinguished man, and I beg of you to accept the heartiest thanks of the College of William and Mary for this valuable addition to its library.

I have often thought it a deplorable fact that while the Trumbulls, Quinceys, Adamases, and others of lesser note in the Northern States, especially those of New England, have had their services to the country commemorated on paper, bronze and marble, our Southern statesmen, of which Governor Perry is a conspicuous example, who can lay still greater claims to be remembered by the country, have been seemingly neglected, and the youth of our country brought up to think that there were no heroes south of Mason and Dixon's line, save a paltry half dozen or so; and all this is apart from the intrinsic value of a record of the life and thoughts of a Benjamin Franklin Perry.

Again thanking you for your kindness,

I am, with much respect, yours,

HUGH S. BIRD,
Librarian.

University of North Carolina,
President's Office.

CHAPEL HILL, N. C., *May 11, 1889.*

MRS. B. F. PERRY.

DEAR MADAM: I acknowledge as gifts to the library of the university the memorial volume of your husband, Governor Perry, and his Sketches. They are greatly appreciated. We have been taught for *years* to entertain an exalted opinion of Governor Perry's ability and character. Besides, the books are most interesting and instructive.

With the sincerest wishes for your health and happiness and with thanks for your donation,

Very truly,

KEMP P. BATTLE.

Kentucky University.

LEXINGTON, *May 11, 1889.*

DEAR MADAM: It is with unusual pleasure I acknowledge to you the receipt of the two volumes you have been so kind to send to the library of our university—a Sketch of ex-Governor Perry, your admirable husband, and his valuable Sketches of Eminent American Statesmen.

Such a history as that of ex-Governor Perry should be studied by the young men and women of our country, and even by the older.

I shall take pleasure in making myself, by means of these volumes, better acquainted with this noble patriot's life, and the placing of these books into our library and calling the attention of our young men to the historical treasures they contain.

Accept, dear Madam, my thanks for this valuable gift, and my distinguished respect for yourself.

CHAS. LOUIS LOOS,
President of Kentucky University.

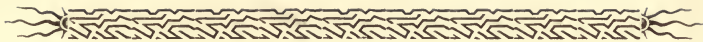
[Extract from a letter received from J. R. Shannon, the printer of this book, and who deserves credit for the neat and appropriate manner in which he has accomplished the work, and has our gratitude for the interest he has taken in it.]

GREENVILLE, S. C., *May 3, 1889.*

* * * * * “You must not think it presumption in me in saying this in regard to Governor Perry: The account of the Provisional Governorship of the State as told by himself, gives new evidence of the greatness and magninity of Governor Perry’s character. Also his Speech on July 3d, 1865, in the the Court House, at Greenville, is another instance of his wonderful political foresight and sagacity. In those days ordinary men were completely dumbfounded at the course things had taken, while, as is shown by his speech to his countrymen, Governor Perry could see beyond the *present* to the *future* when prosperity and happiness would again return to his beloved State, as it did in 1876, under General Hampton’s administration.

He was truly a wonderful man, and it is a sad commentary on the people of South Carolina that they did not have perception to see him in his true light. He would have proved a deliverer for the people and averted the great calamities that befell them, had they reposed in him their trust and confidence.”





ACCOUNT

OF THE

State Convention in Columbia, S. C., April 26, 1852.

BY GOVERNOR PERRY.

(Extracts from the Southern Patriot of which he was editor. The account in the Patriot is too long to copy.)

COLUMBIA, *April 26, 1852.*

The Convention met to-day amidst a severe storm of wind and rain, which the Union men said was an indication that the elements were enraged and weeping at the object of assembling the sovereign power of the State.

* * * * * One hundred and forty-three members appeared at the Clerk's desk and entered their names. The Greenville delegation were all at their post, and through the kindness of their friend, Mr. Frean, had good seats selected for them, whilst many of the members found it difficult to procure seats. It was suggested by a friend, that our seats should not have been in so conspicuous a part of the hall, as we were in such a miserable lean minority. We replied that we preferred being in front, and were like General Scott, having more apprehensions of a fire in the rear than one in front.

* * * * * It was an interesting sight to see such men as Judge Cheves, Judge Huger, Judge Butler, Judge Evans, Judge Wardlaw, Chancellor Wardlaw, Chancellor Dunkin, Judge King, Judge Frost, Governor Richardson, Colonel Law and many others of the high dignitaries of the land coming forward to enroll their names and represent the people of South Carolina in their highest sovereign capacity. Chancellor Dargan refused to attend and sent his resignation.

What the Convention will do no human being knows. The Secessionists had a meeting Saturday night and came to no conclusion. They meet again to-night. It is likely the Co-operationists will have a caucus this evening. Some of the Secessionists are still for seceding, and some othes are for withdrawing our members of Congress. The Co-operationists are for adjourning without doing anything. But something will be done. The greatest interest is manifested to know what it will be. Colonel Orr, our member of Congress, is here. Messrs. Woodward and Colcock are expected. Rhett and Butler are both here.

COLUMBIA, *April 27, 1852.*

This morning the Convention met at 12 o'clock. Judge Cheves then moved that a committee be appointed to consider of the act of the Legislature calling the Convention. On motion of Governor Seabrook, the number of the committee was twenty-one. (Governor Means was President of the Convention.) The Convention took a recess of one hour, in order to give the President ample time to form the committee. When the members re-assembled, Governor Means announced the names of the following gentlemen as composing the Committee: Judge Cheves, Governor Richardson, Governor Seabrook, Judge Butler, Judge Huger, Ex-Senator Barnwell, Judge Evans, Judge Whitner, Judge Wardlaw, Judge Frost, Chancellor Wardlaw, Chancellor Dunkin, General Buchanan, B. F. Perry, Colonel Maxey Gregg, Colonel Bellinger, Colonel Pickens, Colonel Hayne, General Harlee, General Arthur and Colonel McAlilley. There are twelve Co-operationists, eight Secessionists, and one Union man on the committee. But this time next year there will be a majority of them Union men.

A good joke was told me this morning by Governor Richardson. Last night both parties had a caucus.

The Secessionists had theirs at Hunt's Hotel, and the Co-operationists at the State House. An old member of the Convention who had never before been to Columbia in a representative capacity, and who is a great Secessionist, burning with separate State action, entered the room at Hunt's Hotel, in which all the wisdom, dignity and valor of the Secession party had assembled in caucus. The good old fire-eater was a stranger to his own friends, and he saw a man in the chair who he took to be the senior editor of the Southern Patriot. He supposed, of course, he had gone to the wrong caucus, and immediately quit the room. Thence he went to the Co-operation caucus in the House of Representatives, boldly pushed open the door, looked about, and "seeing nothing of Perry," he took his seat. Colonel Aldrich came up to him and said: "I presume, sir, you are mistaken; this is the Co-operation caucus, and I know you to be a Secessionist. Your caucus is held over at Hunt's Hotel." "No, Sir," replied the old man most emphatically; "I have just been there, and Perry was presiding—I see nothing of him here." "Nevertheless," said the Colonel, "what I tell you is true." "Very well," remarked the old man, "I shall risk it anyhow rather than go back to where Perry is presiding."

I mentioned this joke at dinner, to Judge Huger, who told me that it reminded him of a remark which was made about himself on the Eastern Circuit, the first time he rode that circuit. He mentioned to the clerk, as the court was about to adjourn, that he was very much gratified with the behavior of the people. He had been informed that they were very riotous during court, and very devils in their deportment at night. The clerk replied: "I will tell you the cause of their good behavior, if you will take a joke." Being assured by the Judge that he would, if there was any wit in it—"Well, then," said the clerk, "they have been told that *you* were the

very devil, and would have them all in jail if they misbehaved."

The committee of twenty-one meet to-morrow at 9 o'clock. There is a proposition to compromise the Federal matters between the two parties, and committees were appointed for this purpose at their two caucusses.

In the committee there existed great harmony and good feeling, and no disposition to do anything more than assert the right of secession and give an excuse for not exercising it at present. Judge Huger made a long and able speech before the committee in which he said, the present Federal government as formed by the Constitution, was the most perfect system of government in the world, or ever had been, and we ought to try and preserve it.

Not agreeing with the report of the committee, I have drawn up a preamble and resolution which I shall submit to the Convention as the report of the minority of *one*. I read it to the committee and it did not seem to meet any very serious objections from any member of the Committee. I assert the right of every people to defend their lives, property and liberty, and say this is a right paramount to all constitutions and compacts. Judge Butler observed that he did not differ from me much in deducing his right for a State to secede. Judge Wardlaw admitted that the right of secession was one which the people ought to understand that they might have to fight for when asserted. Mr. Barnwell remarked to me that *he* did not derive the right from the Constitution, but that it was an inalienable right, and not parted with when the Federal compact was proved.

There was a question before the committee as to the right of the Convention to alter the State Constitution; and strange to say, Chancellor Wardlaw, Judge Evans, Judge Whitner and a majority of the committee voted that the sovereign power of South Carolina had no

right to alter or change their Constitution. As R. W. Barnwell remarked to me afterwards, it was a strange contradiction to say that the Convention could throw off the United States and the Federal Constitution adopted by South Carolina, and yet not be able to alter or change the State Constitution.

Since I commenced this letter the committee of twenty-one reported to the Convention an ordinance declaring the right of a State to secede from the Union. The report was read to the Convention and made the special order of the day for to-morrow. You will see in the Columbia papers the report of the committee, and also the report made by myself to the Convention. Colonel Gregg also made a report for himself, in which he lashes the Co-operationists pretty handsomely and says that they have paralyzed the action of the State. The Colonel thinks too, that submission is now inevitable and must prove fatal. There was also an amendment offered by Dr. Bellinger to give the Legislature the right to secede by a vote of two-thirds. There will probably be some discussion in the morning.

COLUMBIA, *April 30, 1852.*

The Convention met this morning (Friday) at 10 o'clock, and after prayer, proceeded to business. Dr. Bellinger offered an amendment to the report, giving the Legislature the right to secede by a vote of two-thirds, and made a speech of considerable length in defence of his amendment. The doctor is a warm Secessionist and speaks well. Judge Cheves followed in a short speech and moved to lay the amendment on the table, for the purpose of cutting off debate, which was carried by a large vote. I thought that discussion should be allowed, and that after the flourish of trumpets in calling the Convention together, the members should not be gagged, and especially the Secessionists.

The report of myself as one of the committee of twenty-one, came next before the Convention, and most courteously, I was offered the opportunity of making a speech in defence of my report, which I declined. My purpose had been accomplished in offering the report, which defined my position. I knew it could not be adopted, although many members of the Convention declared to me that they preferred it to the report of the committee. Mr. R. Barnwell Rhett, our Senator, and the leader of the fire-eaters, said to me that I had put to the blush both Secessionists and Co-operationists, in the firm and manly position taken in my resolutions. He told me likewise that a distinguished leader of the Co-operation party had admitted the same thing. The fact is that the report of the committee verified the old fable of a mountain being in labor and bringing forth a mouse. The State of South Carolina has been most angrily agitated for the last three or four years; the Legislature thought the country on the broad road to ruin, and called a Convention of the sovereign people of the State to dissolve the Union and break up the American Republic. After twelve months delay the time is fixed for the meeting of the Convention, and the Convention is composed of all the most learned and venerable men the Disunionists can muster. Great is the expectation as to the result of the deliberations of this great assembly. Persons from all parts of the country assemble to witness the deliberations of the Convention, and after three days consultation and deliberation, out comes a report of about ten lines, declaring that we have cause for disunion, and the right to dissolve the Union. But that we will not dissolve the Union. No reason, no justification given for this apparent downright, dastardly submission!

I said to the Convention that it would have been better for both parties to publish to the world their defence

and history of the matter. A motion was made by my friend, Gen. Harlee, and with my consent, to lay my report on the table. Next in order was the amendment of Mr. Edmund Rhett, prohibiting citizens from Massachusetts and Vermont coming to South Carolina to reside. The amendment was urged in a speech of some length by Mr. Rhett, and laid on the table by a motion made by Judge Cheves. Dr. Toomer then moved an amendment to secede forthwith, and that the Governor be invested with dictatorial powers till a Southern Confederacy is formed. This is no joke, nor was it intended as a joke by the mover. Mr. Adams then moved as a substitute for the report, that in consequence of the people having decided against secession in October last, this Convention now adjourn. The motion was lost. Col. Memminger then introduced a long essay in defence of co-operation, which he read, and desired might be printed, and laid on the table. Col. Cunningham objected to its reception in a speech of some warmth. Col. Pickens moved not to print, and made a few remarks. Judge Butler said as an act of courtesy, he hoped Col. Cunningham would withdraw his motion. The paper was laid on the table and not ordered to be printed. The report of the committee was then adopted by a vote of one hundred and thirty-five to twenty. The Convention then took a recess till 5 o'clock.

At 5 o'clock the Convention assembled and did a good deal of little business. On motion Judge Evans took the chair, and Judge Butler presented a resolution of thanks to the President of the Convention. Governor Means having resumed the chair, Judge Evans made a very pretty speech, and read the resolution. The Governor replied in a very appropriate speech and said it did not become him to speak of the wisdom of their proceedings, but that he would say they would all part as friends. The ordinance being ratified, the Convention,

on motion of Judge Cheves, adjourned *sine die*, and was dissolved. "This ends the chapter of submission," said General Jones, of Edgefield, to me, as we were about leaving our seats. This is indeed "*submission*" without having a good reason assigned for the act.

Sunday after the adjournment of the Convention was a dull day. When I saw Messrs. Brockman, Duncan and Center leave Maybin's Hotel for Greenville, my heart felt sad at the thought of being compelled to remain another week in Columbia for the purpose of attending the Court of Appeals. The town, however, was enlivened by a military parade. A fine company of militia was on a visit to Columbia. There were three or four other companies mustering. Never have I seen such precision and exactness in marching and in the performance of all their evolutions. From the third story of Maybin's Hotel, my little son said each company looked like some huge animal with a hundred legs on each side, which he moved at once. In the night there was a torch light procession and a grand do. At first I thought it was the Secessionists, in a mock celebration of the triumph of *submission*. As a finality to the proceedings of the Convention.

Sunday I went to church with my friend Col. Dawkins, and we heard a most able, eloquent and impressive sermon from Dr. Thornwell, the President of the College. It was on the truth of the Bible. Really it is a treat to hear such a divine, and when I looked around me, I saw so few persons except the students of the College, I felt a deep regret that this sermon should not have been heard by thousands.

You have probably heard that the Hon. R. B. Rhett has resigned his seat in the Senate of the United States. I think this is the brightest feather in his cap, and evinces the true spirit of the Chevalier and Patriot. He has honestly and sedulously tried to break up the Union,

and the people and Convention have decided against him. Now he says to them, you have no further need for my services. Select some one who will carry out your submission and union doctrines and think it no sin to serve and be fed, by a power which he denounces as a vulgar tyranny, and the oppression of his own State and political mother! Though I differ totally from the truth of Mr. Rhett's premises, yet I admire his noble and patriotic, disinterested and spirited conclusion. Who will be his successor no one knows. Messrs. Pickens, Richardson, Seabrook, Barnwell, Young, De Saussure and others have been spoken of as most likely to receive the temporary appointment. The appointment will not be made for ten or fifteen days. His Excellency Governor Means is waiting to see and consult his friends about the matter.

It is admitted on all sides that the political principles of the Southern Patriot are now triumphant. The Union is safe, the compromise acquiesced in, and peace restored to our State. Col. Wm. C. Preston said the other day to a friend of ours, that the course of the Patriot had been "*like the steady tramp of a Roman Legion.*"



ARKANSAS INDUSTRIAL UNIVERSITY,
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, ENGLISH AND
MODERN LANGUAGES.

FAYETTEVILLE, ARK., *June 15, 1889.*

MRS. B. F. PERRY, *Greenville, S. C.*

Please accept the acknowledgements of faculty and students of the University for the valuable gift to the library of the volume of your husband's "Biographical Sketches of Eminent American Statesmen."

As *Southern* men we are especially interested in all historical matter tending to free the South from misrepresentation, and we welcome this volume as well calculated to aid in the sacred work. Again we assure you of our high appreciation of your courtesy and kindness. Very respectfully and sincerely,

HOWARD EDWARDS,
Librarian, A. I. U.



A HUMBLE TRIBUTE.

REFLECTIONS AT THE GRAVE OF EX-GOVERNOR B. F. PERRY,

BY A FRIEND, ROBERT MCKAY.

GREENVILLE, S. C., JUNE, 1889.

REST in the silent grave, noble, cherished friend,
Thy honor, name and fame thy country will defend :
All that is mortal here may perish and decay,
But thy blest memory will never fade away.

“The world is better that he lived”—oh, how true !
Generations unborn thy precepts will review :
In naming her statesmen, all standing side by side,
The old Palmetto State will lisp thy name with pride.

Though affection may cease her visits to thy tomb ;
And this endearing spot become a scene of gloom ;
These monuments of love may crumble to the ground,
Still thy cherished name in story will be found.

While the fame of statesmen in history shall stand,
Postèrity hold dear the noble and the grand ;
When South Carolina surveys her roll of fame,
She will repeat with pride and emphasize thy name.

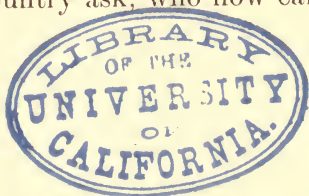
His noble heart was large as was his manly form ;
His friendship was sincere, affection pure and warm ;
He did not seek to gain the multitude's applause,
When duty called him to advocate a cause.

Ready to give aid to all those who were in need ;
And to all in trouble he was a friend indeed :
He was ever candid, a stranger to deceit :
Oh ! it was a pleasure so kind a soul to greet !

Yes, I have seen him weep ! tears would instinctive start,
When pity's trembling tones vibrated through his heart :
His love and affection was lasting and sincere ;
And the sweet joys of Home filled his heart with cheer.

Oh ! I remember well, and cherish it with joy,
When I was an orphan, an humble printer boy ;
Often in his office, where duty bade me go,
I recall his kindness near sixty years ago.

He loved his country, her honor and her name ;
His time and his talents were given to her fame :
Faithful to his duties, when wanted, always there :
Well may the country ask, who now can fill his chair ?



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