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The Story of South Carolina's Ordinance of Secession

by Charles H. Lesser

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History

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"Secession Banner" in George Henry
Preble's *History of the Flag of the United
States . . .*

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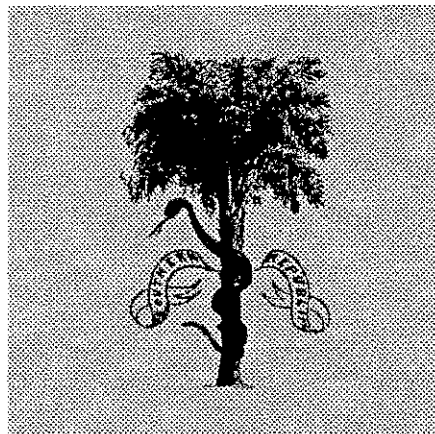


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REFERENCE RELIC OF THE LOST CAUSE

*The Story of South Carolina's
Ordinance of Secession*

by Charles H. Lesser



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The State of South Carolina.

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

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

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Acts and parts of Acts of the General Assembly of this State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved.

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

D. F. Jamison Delegate from Barnwell and
President of the Convention

[illegible]

Attest: Benj. F. Arthur, Secret of the Convention.

★ *The Ordinance of Secession*



David F. Jamison, President of the Secession Convention. This contemporary carte de visite is by the Charleston photographer C. J. Quinby, whose firm was on King Street. Quinby executed a remarkable series of photographs of the delegates while they were in Charleston.

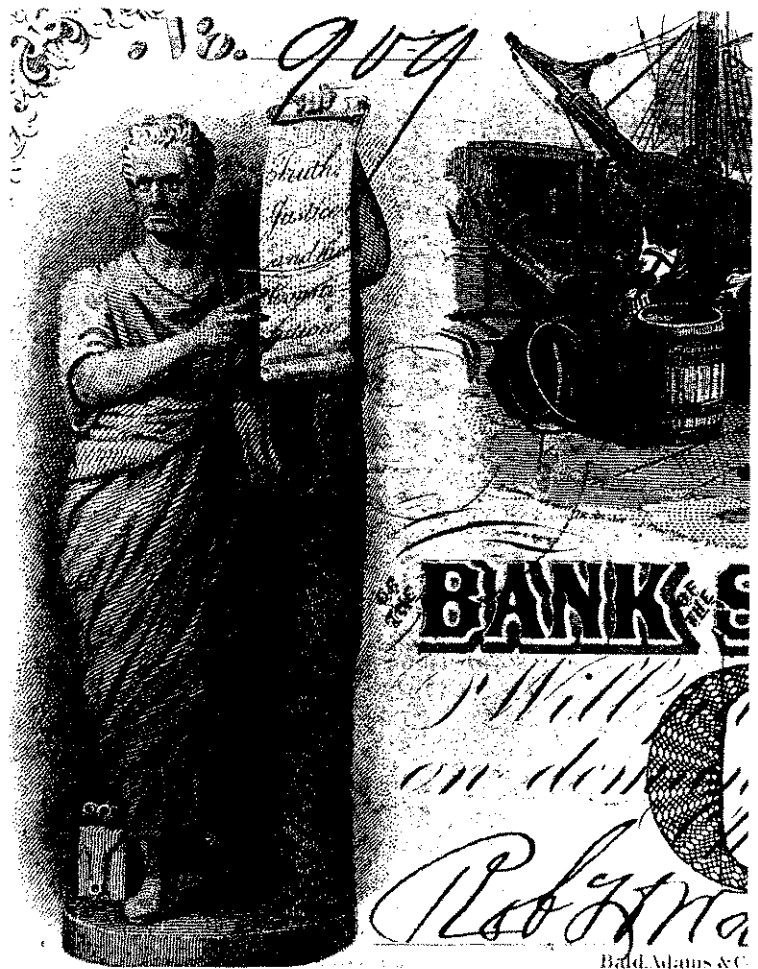
"The Ordinance of Secession has been signed and ratified," intoned David F. Jamison, president of the Convention of the People of South Carolina. In a loud voice he continued, "I proclaim the State of South Carolina an Independent Commonwealth." In Institute Hall in Charleston, South Carolina, on the evening of December 20, 1860, that fateful act was now concluded. Wild cheering broke out. Order was restored, and at 9:15 P.M. the convention adjourned. William Edward Martin, clerk of the South Carolina Senate for more than twenty years, went out into Meeting Street. On this unusually warm and spring-

like evening, he read South Carolina's new Declaration of Independence to the assembled throng. Concluding, he held up the Ordinance of Secession and called for three cheers "for the Separate Commonwealth of South Carolina." More than seventy years earlier in 1788, South Carolinians in a special convention of elected delegates had ratified the United States Constitution. Now the delegates of "the people" in another convention had again expressed their sovereign power. Fully conscious of the historic moment, South Carolina pronounced the union dissolved.¹

Excitement had been building in

Charleston for weeks. Since November, when several large public meetings were held, the streets had been festooned with increasing numbers of banners, transparencies, paintings, and flags. A liberty pole stood at the corner of Hayne and Meeting streets. In the evenings, the Charleston Restaurant near the Charleston Theater illuminated a full length transparency of the leader of the most extreme secessionists, Robert Barnwell Rhett, and the theater, on its facade, featured a thirty-by-twenty-foot painting of the city as it would be after independence. The Pavilion Hotel at Meeting and Hasell streets displayed a banner painted by

Hiram Powers's statue of John C. Calhoun on an 1861 one dollar note of the Bank of the State of South Carolina. Commissioned by the Charleston City Council before Calhoun's death, the statue was sent to Columbia for safekeeping during the Civil War and destroyed there in 1865.



Lawrence L. Cohen depicting Hiram Powers's statue of John C. Calhoun. The statue's tablet bore the words "Truth, Justice, and the Constitution," but Cohen painted the banner with a shattered tablet and gave Calhoun's spirit, looking down from the clouds, the words "Behold its Fate." The Powers statue itself, like much else, would be shattered during the ensuing War Between the States. Artist Cohen, who worked for "Osborn and Durbec,

Photographists," had been busy with similar productions, including one for a liberty pole in the new railroad town of Florence.²

On the afternoon of December 20, the officers of the Lower Guard House stretched a line from their quarters at the corner of Meeting and Broad across the intersection to City Hall. From the line they hung another banner featuring the Powers statue of Calhoun, this one portraying South Carolina as the

cornerstone of an edifice of southern states "BUILT FROM THE RUINS." Later in the day, that banner was moved to Institute Hall and hung above the table where the Ordinance of Secession was to be signed. The artist who painted this banner, Isaac B. Alexander, came to Charleston as a business associate of John N. Gamewell, who had purchased the rights to a new fire alarm system. Charleston, like New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, had

been wired for this modern protection, but Gamewell's Fire Alarm Telegraph did not save Institute Hall from a devastating fire the next year. Alexander's "Secession Banner" survived as a relic of the Lost Cause, but the edifice of southern states it celebrated on this Independence Day would, like Institute Hall, be in ruins in a few years.³

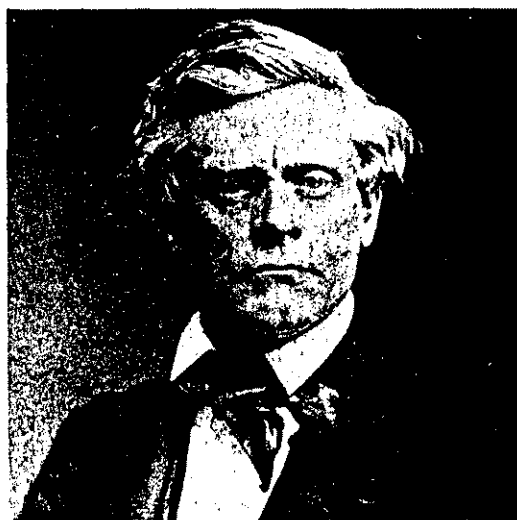
South Carolina had long been in the forefront of the southern rights movement. Until his death in 1850, John C. Calhoun was the movement's political theorist and leading statesman. In 1832, a convention of the people used Calhoun's arguments to declare the federal tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 unconstitutional and to suspend their legal force within the state. Compromise prevented armed conflict, but the threat of sectional strife still loomed. In 1852, the political leadership of South Carolina "in Convention assembled" asserted that "encroachments upon the reserved rights of the sovereign States of this Union, especially in relation to slavery" justified disunion. Though the state did not then secede, the question remaining was less one of "if" than "when." The last popular vote in which secession was to any degree an open question was cast at the general election of October 8, 1860. The men eligible to vote in that canvass elected a strongly pro-secession General Assembly. White South Carolinians, bedeviled by a perception of northern aggression that threatened their way of life, saw the impending election of Abraham Lincoln as the last straw. While conservative "cooperationists"

wanted South Carolina to act in conjunction with other southern states, a larger group demanded immediate and separate state secession. On November 6, this more radical group defeated a last ditch attempt to adjourn the newly elected General Assembly, thereby assuring the formation of a convention as soon as the state received word of Lincoln's election.⁴

That news arrived the next day. Both the state senate and house of representatives immediately began the legislative process that led to the Ordinance of Secession. On November 13, the General Assembly in joint session ratified an act calling for a convention of the people to convene in Columbia on December 17. The election of delegates was set for December 6. James Louis Petigru, South Carolina's most eminent Unionist, would warn that "South Carolina is too small for a republic and too large for an insane asylum," but even in the upcountry

where there had been strong opponents of secession, the few Unionists whose names were offered as candidates met overwhelming defeat.⁵ As Mary Boykin Chesnut put it later in her diary, it seemed that "Mr. Petigru alone in South Carolina has not seceded."⁶

Five former governors, four former United States senators, the chief officers of Furman University and Limestone College, two railroad presidents, and a dozen clerics were among the 169 men elected as delegates to the convention. The majority were college graduates. More than one hundred were planters, and many of these planters had also passed the bar. More than forty had served in the state senate, more than one hundred in the house of representatives. Nearly 90 per cent had been born in the state. Nearly all the delegates owned slaves. Almost half of them owned at least fifty, and twenty-seven had very large holdings of one hundred or more.



John A. Inglis, author of the December 17 resolution that South Carolina immediately secede and chairman of the committee that drafted the Ordinance of Secession.

Robert Barnwell Rhett, the "Father of Secession." Rhett was a member of the committee that drafted the Ordinance of Secession, but according to a later recollection by his son, denied personal authorship of the text.



Former governor John L. Manning owned more than six hundred fifty slaves.⁷

The convention assembled in Columbia's First Baptist Church and, on its first day, unanimously resolved that "the State of South Carolina should forthwith secede from the Federal Union." John A. Inglis introduced the resolution. A forty-seven-year-old Baltimore native who was now a lawyer and judge, Inglis had come to South Carolina as a young man to become principal of the Cheraw Academy. He also proposed the appointment of a committee to draft an ordinance, but before the committee could be named, the convention adjourned to meet in Charleston the next day.⁸

Fear of a smallpox epidemic in

Columbia caused the change in location. Robert A. Thompson, who owned the newspaper the *Keowee Courier* and represented Pickens District in the convention, described the scene in the flickering gaslight at the depot of the South Carolina Railroad at four the next morning. "From 500 to 1,000 persons," he told his readers, "were fleeing from the small pox in a panic." Thompson made his way through the crowd and traveled to Charleston, where he and other members of the convention met briefly in Institute Hall that afternoon. Before the convention adjourned at four minutes past five that day, President Jamison named Robert Barnwell Rhett, James Chesnut, Jr., James L. Orr, Maxcy Gregg, Benjamin F. Dunkin, and W. F. Hutson to

the committee to draft an ordinance and appointed John A. Inglis as chairman. By the next evening, the committee had agreed on the text that they would introduce for South Carolina's Ordinance of Secession.⁹

Unfortunately we have no contemporary account of the committee's work, but earlier the *Charleston Mercury* had printed the essence of what must have been its debate. On November 29, the *Mercury* printed a draft ordinance contributed by a "W. F. H.," who noted that "the speedy secession of the State may be considered a fixed fact" and offered "a sort of diagram on which the problem can be worked." The draft took nearly one hundred lines of tiny newsprint. It began: "Whereas, The Constitution of the United States was adopted in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." But then "W.F.H." deadened the ring of these familiar words by adding, "And whereas it has ceased to effect any one of these objects, it is now the interest and duty of South Carolina to repeal the acts by which she entered into the Union." Titled "An Ordinance to repeal the Ordinance passed in Convention, on the 23d day of May, 1788," this draft voided South Carolina's ratification of the United States Constitution; authorized the governor to negotiate with the federal government for the return of the forts, dockyards, and other national facilities within the state; gave the governor, with the advice and

consent of the state senate, power over foreign affairs; proposed that the southern states adopt the Articles of Confederation of 1778 as a temporary constitution; and empowered the General Assembly to "take all such measures as may be necessary to carry into effect this ordinance, and secure the welfare and safety of the commonwealth of South Carolina."¹⁰

On December 4, the *Mercury* responded to the draft submitted by its "esteemed correspondent." Robert Barnwell Rhett, Jr., son of the secessionist leader, was editor of the paper, and, in what we must presume is his voice, the *Mercury* objected to the "batch of details" which blurred the draft's "force and dignity." Rhett, Jr., urged separation of the act of secession from the troublesome consequent particulars of governing a newly independent state. "If all these details are to be appended to the Ordinance of Secession," he cautioned, "it may be delayed not only days, but weeks, before it passes."¹¹

Inglis's resolution had also asked "individual members desiring to submit for the consideration of the Convention, any draft or scheme of such Ordinance, . . . to hand the same, without delay, to the said Committee." We do not know how many drafts the committee had to consider in the few hours in which it did its work, but besides the draft printed in the *Mercury*, a manuscript document containing two other drafts, both unsigned, survives. The longest of these additional drafts, "An Ordinance to withdraw from the Confederacy heretofore existing under the name of the



James Chesnut, Jr., delegate from Kershaw District and member of the committee that drafted the Ordinance of Secession. This engraving from a photograph by Mathew Brady appeared in the December 22, 1860, issue of Harper's Weekly. Chesnut had submitted his resignation to the United States Senate on November 10.

United States of America," is dated December 11. Its preamble cites tariffs, the obstruction of the recovery of fugitive slaves, "hostile agitation against the Southern institution of Slavery," and the election of Lincoln as its justification and notes the declaration of 1852. Eleven sections follow. They declare "the Confederacy heretofore existing between the State of South Carolina and other states" dissolved, amend the state constitution, direct the governor to send a commissioner to President Buchanan, provide for "foreign" trade, and empower the governor to appoint postmasters.¹²

Inglis's committee, doubtless to satisfy those who wanted no further delay in officially leaving the Union,

chose to present a much shorter and simpler text. The third surviving draft, scrawled on the back of the last page of the seven-page draft of December 11, has been credited as the source of that text. Titled an "Ordinance to withdraw South Carolina from the federal union under the style of the United States of America," this draft has been attributed to Francis H. Wardlaw, and Wardlaw has thus usually been cited as having "written" the Ordinance of Secession. The "Wardlaw draft" proposed to do little more than rescind South Carolina's ratification of the United States Constitution. The committee adopted that strategy, but the actual source for most of the words that became the Ordinance was the

draft by "W.F.H." published in the *Mercury*. "W.F.H." was doubtless W. Ferguson Hutson, a lawyer, legislator, and member of the drafting committee. W. Ferguson Hutson therefore seems to deserve the credit as "author" of the Ordinance of Secession.

The convention had moved from Institute Hall to the smaller and quieter St. Andrew's Hall. There in the early afternoon of December 20, Chairman Inglis rose to present the committee's report. It proposed that the "People of the State of South Caro-

lina, in Convention assembled" simply declare:

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

between South Carolina and other States, under the name of "The United States of America," is hereby dissolved.

There was no need for debate. Behind closed doors, a roll call vote was taken, alphabetically by surname, ending with "Mr. President." It began at 1:07 P.M. and ended eight minutes later, at 1:15 when David F. Jamison said "aye." South Carolina had seceded by unanimous vote.¹³

A few minutes later, the Columbia lawyer and former United States sena-

★ Who authored the Ordinance?

The question of the authorship of the Ordinance was a matter of some controversy and interest as late as 1896. By then, all of the members of the committee that drafted the Ordinance had been dead for more than a decade. Chairman Inglis, Robert Barnwell Rhett, and the brothers Francis H. and David L. Wardlaw were variously credited as the author of the epic document. In June of that year in a letter that was subsequently published in the newspapers, Henry McIver determined to set the record straight. McIver had been a signer of the Ordinance and was now chief justice of the state supreme court. He assured Mrs. W. C. McGowan of Abbeville, a daughter of Francis H. Wardlaw, that "There is no doubt" that her father had "prepared the draft of the Ordinance of Secession." McIver reported that before he died, Chairman

Inglis had several times denied that he had written the Ordinance and had assigned the credit to Francis, the younger of the two Wardlaw brothers. The reputed author's son revealed that he was in possession of what he believed was the actual manuscript, and Rhett's son added his recollection of what his father had said about the drafting of the Ordinance more than thirty years before.

The Wardlaw brothers were both South Carolina College graduates, and each had gone on to become a lawyer, legislator, and judge. Francis had been a member of the Nullification Convention. Both brothers were delegates to the Secession Convention, but neither of them was on the committee to draft the Ordinance. Francis Wardlaw had died in 1861, and his son, J. L. Wardlaw of Columbia, now possessed a document with a lengthy draft ordinance dated December 11. On the back of the last page was a shorter draft (the "Wardlaw draft")—a mere half page of

text with the words "This is Father's writing" pencilled in below. Responding to Judge McIver's published letter, Robert Barnwell Rhett, Jr., reported that his father, like Inglis, had denied having written the Ordinance. Rhett, Jr., had "no disposition to take any laurels from the brow of Mrs. McGowan's father." His recollection of what his father had said could be reconciled with Wardlaw's authorship. His father, Rhett, Jr., remembered, had reported that the draft Ordinance had been introduced by James L. Orr, pruned and shaped by the senior Rhett, and retitled by Benjamin F. Dunkin. "It is presumable, in the light of Judge McIver's statement," he continued, "that Col. Orr introduced the draft of Chancellor Wardlaw."

Like the Ordinance that was adopted, the Wardlaw draft proposed simply to repeal the state's ratification of the United States

tor William Ford de Saussure proposed that the official copy of the Ordinance be prepared on parchment under the direction of the state's attorney general, Isaac W. Hayne. Hayne, grandson of Isaac Hayne, the South Carolina "martyr" of the American Revolution, was a member of the convention and an adept and powerful lawyer and politician. He suggested in an amendment that the three circuit court solicitors who were members of the convention join him in supervising the document's preparation. That after-

noon, Hayne and the three solicitors—Simeon Fair, Henry McIver, and Jacob Pinckney Reed—oversaw the "engrossing" of the manuscript.¹⁴

"Engross," from the medieval Latin word *grossa*, meaning large handwriting, is the legal term for the production of the fair official copy of a document. In this matter, as in all others relating to the ratification of the Ordinance, the convention was determined to act in a legally "correct" way. As the convention debated at length over the timing, place, and nature of a ratifica-

tion ceremony, delegate Reed assured the members that the supervisory committee could have the document ready by seven or "before that time, if required." Although all accounts refer to parchment, analysis of fibers from the engrossed Ordinance prove that a linen parchment-like paper sized with starch was actually used.¹⁵ Benjamin Franklin Arthur of Union, who had been appointed clerk of the convention on its opening day, is credited with copying the text. For two years before his appointment as clerk,

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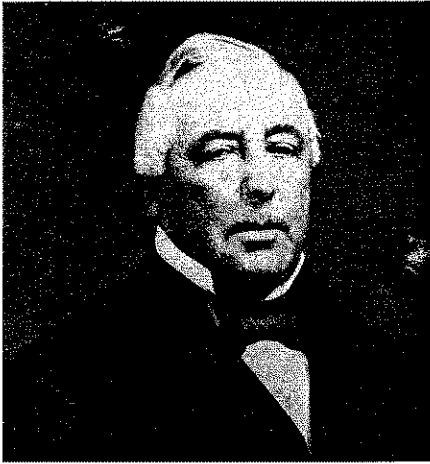
Constitution. It resembles the final official text as well, in having no preamble to justify the action, and making no provision for the government of the new nation. Though short, its phrasing is wordier and markedly different from the text that the committee presented to the convention. Despite these differences, the secretary of the state's Historical Commission promoted Wardlaw's authorship in the early twentieth century, and a photograph of the Wardlaw draft was featured in newspaper coverage of the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Ordinance of Secession.

The attribution of the Wardlaw draft as the source for the Ordinance of Secession illustrates the danger of relying on secondhand sources for topics that assume mythic proportions, for it now appears that Francis H. Wardlaw may not have been the "author" of

the Ordinance of Secession. The actual source of most of the words that became the Ordinance would instead seem to be the draft by "W. F. H." published in the November 29 *Charleston Mercury*. W. Ferguson Hutson of Beaufort is their likely author. "W.F.H." followed his dramatic preamble citing the failure of the United States Constitution with an operative clause. The first half of that clause, with two minor exceptions, matches, word for word, more than seventy words of the text that the committee adopted. The textual evidence is too strong for coincidence, and so, too, is the match between the initials of our author and those of W. Ferguson Hutson. Hutson, a prominent forty-five-year-old lawyer who had served in the legislature, was a member of the drafting committee. Having decided to secede expeditiously in the way Rhett, Jr., had urged, the committee must have turned to a small portion of the draft of the *Mercury's* "esteemed correspondent," their own member W.

Ferguson Hutson, for the bulk of the words that they introduced as the Ordinance of Secession. Hutson, dead since 1881, was not around to object when Francis H. Wardlaw came to be credited with authoring "An Ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled 'The Constitution of the United States of America.'"

The evidence for Wardlaw's authorship may be found in Henry McIver, June 9, 1896, to Mrs. W. C. McGowan, in the *Charleston Sunday News*, June 28, 1896; "The Ordinance of Secession: A Statement from Mr. R. Barnwell Rhett About the Famous Document," *Ibid.*, July 12, 1896; A. S. Salley, Jr., "The Ordinance of Secession," *the State* (Columbia), Dec. 19, 1909; Charles Edward Cauthen, *South Carolina Goes to War, 1860-1865* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1950), 70. ★



Benjamin Faneuil Dunkin, delegate from Prince George, Winyah, and member of the committee to draft the Ordinance. In an account thirty years later, Dunkin was given credit for devising the document's title.

Arthur had been private secretary to former Governor William H. Gist. Although he was not a delegate, that evening Arthur would add his signature to those of the 169 elected members to "Attest" the document.¹⁶

South Carolina had discontinued the use of pendant great seals to authenticate documents in favor of a small seal in the early decades of the nineteenth century. In 1832, however, the state's officials had specially brought out the silver matrices of the great seal to validate the Nullification Ordinance. Now, for the last time, the same legitimizing rite was performed for the Ordinance of Secession. In this business, James A. Duffus had his brush with history. Duffus had been clerk to city council and now held a similar position in the Charleston office of the

secretary of state. A man of modest means who would lose his house on Wall Street for debt during Reconstruction, he received the sum of 43 cents for "Sealing the Ordinance of Secession."¹⁷ Duffus clamped the silver matrices dating from the American Revolution over specially prepared wafers attached to ribbons or cords threaded through the top of the manuscript to create the wax seal. Thus, the attorney general and solicitors could report that they had "caused the great seal of the State to be attached thereto."¹⁸

The delegates eventually agreed that the signing would take place in Institute Hall that evening. The hall, which was contracted to William Duverna for operas and concerts, housed the an-

nual fairs of the South Carolina Institute, founded in 1849 to encourage industrial development. Winner of seven medals at the Crystal Palace in London in 1851, the South Carolina Institute had built its hall a few years later, in part with state and city funds. Institute Hall's interior decoration was postponed until 1859, but Vivio Garibaldi, an artist and musician who was a nephew of the Italian hero Giuseppe Garibaldi, had recently elaborately embellished the interior under Duverna's direction. Garibaldi had filled the back of the stage with depictions of the state's emblematic palmetto tree, classical figures, rice, cotton, and symbols of commerce and manufactures.¹⁹

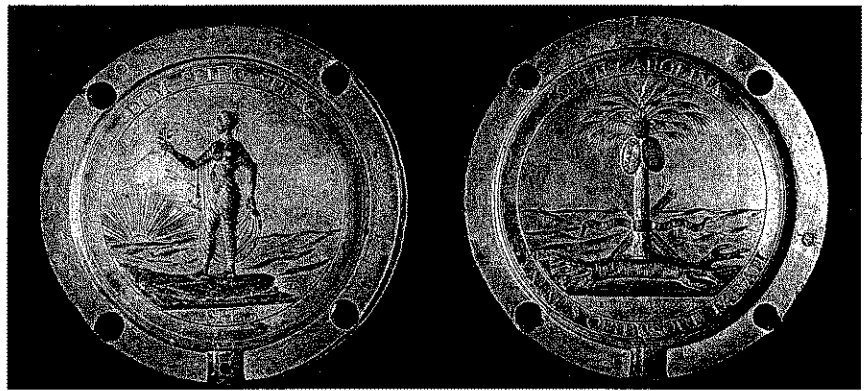
Amidst these signs of progress and culture, the state's leadership as-



Isaac W. Hayne, chairman of the committee in charge of preparing the "engrossed" or official copy of the Ordinance of Secession. A delegate to the convention from the parishes of St. Philip and St. Michael, Hayne was also attorney general. In January 1861, Governor Pickens sent Hayne as a special envoy to President Buchanan to seek the peaceful transfer of Fort Sumter.

sembled. At 6:45 P.M. the delegates marched in procession from St. Andrew's Hall to meet the state's legislators, who had also adjourned to Charleston and by invitation awaited the members of the convention at the foot of Institute Hall's stairs. The hall, with a capacity of nearly three thousand, was filled to overflowing. To thunderous applause, first the convention, then the state senate, and finally the house of representatives entered, the legislative officers wearing their robes of office. On the stage, chairs waited for the president and clerk of the convention, the president and clerk of the senate, the speaker and clerk of the house of representatives, Governor Francis Wilkinson Pickens "and suite," and the venerable Lutheran pastor Dr. John Bachman.

The stooped and white-haired Dr. Bachman, a noted naturalist who had collaborated with Audubon, raised his hands, and all present rose to their feet in prayer. Bachman asked for "wisdom from on high" for the convention, which had been forced by "fanaticism, injustice, and oppression" to sever the state's ties, and followed an appeal to "enable us to protect and bless the humble race that has been entrusted to our care" with entreaties for peace, victory if war came, and "prosperity to our Southern land." The crowd then listened to President Jamison read the Ordinance, responded with an enthusiasm that shook the building, and watched as the signing, which took two hours, began. By prior agreement, the order was alphabetical by election district, called out by the clerk of the house of representatives,



The matrices of the great seal of South Carolina. Designed by William Henry Drayton and Arthur Middleton in 1776 and executed by the Charleston silversmith George Smithson, the matrices were used for the last time to seal the Ordinance of Secession.

John T. Sloan. Thomas Chiles Perrin of Abbeville Court House led off. The ladies in the galleries cheered and waved handkerchiefs with an excitement that was especially pronounced for the delegation from St. Philip's and St. Michael's, for former governor Gist, and, above all, for Robert Barnwell Rhett. A later account noted that Rhett knelt in prayer before signing.²⁰ On his election, President Jamison had declared that signing the Ordinance would be "the greatest honor of my life." The next evening, Lieutenant Governor William Wallace Harlee, a delegate to the convention from Marion District, echoed these sentiments when he asserted in a speech that signing the Ordinance had made December 20 the "proudest day of my life."²¹

An anonymous writer had suggested that after adoption of the Ordinance, the convention, legislature, and "every male citizen who is not incapacitated" should march in "glorious procession" to the tomb of Calhoun for a reading

of the document. Evergreens did appear at "the consecrated spot" in St. Philip's churchyard, but the citizens celebrated elsewhere. A few minutes after the convention had cast its vote that afternoon, the East Bay Artillery fired a cannon whose cartridge contained powder "preserved since the stirring times of Nullification by one of our patriotic townswomen." Artillery continued to reverberate elsewhere in the city, in the state, and throughout the South for the next several days. Pensacola, Mobile, Montgomery, New Orleans, Savannah, Augusta, and Columbus, Georgia, all reported one hundred gun salutes. Two unfortunate men in Camden had their hands blown off by an exploding cannon, a portent of what was to come.²²

In Charleston on Secession Day, bands played, crowds cheered, bells rang, bonfires burned, and rockets exploded until past midnight. The steam presses of Evans and Cogswell printed thousands of copies of an extra

Institute Hall, where the Ordinance of Secession was signed, in the middle of an 1861 view from a published card stereograph. Circular Congregational Church is to its left. Both buildings, located on Meeting Street, burned in the great fire of December 1861. This card stereograph of "Secession Hall" was still sold in Charleston as late as the 1880s.



of the *Charleston Mercury* with the headline "The Union is Dissolved." Militia companies, extensively drilled in the last month, now formally paraded through the streets. In the afternoon, the First Regiment of Rifles passed in review "first in quick time, then in double-quick time" in front of the headquarters of Governor Pickens at the Mills House. One of the companies in the regiment, the Washington Light Infantry, had recently abandoned their elaborate blue uniforms with three dozen brass ball buttons for a more serviceable grey with but one row of buttons, each bearing the image of the palmetto. Other young men wore blue cockades and plaited palmetto leaves on their lapels to show they were ready to be called to arms. In the next four

years, over 60 percent of the southern white males who were between 13 and 43 years of age on this Secession Day would wear the grey uniforms of the Confederacy. About 18 percent of that age group would give their lives for the Lost Cause.²³

The capital city of Columbia, spared from a major smallpox epidemic, celebrated the next day. At 2:00 P.M., at the request of city council, businesses closed, and the city's bells rang continuously for an hour. At seven that evening as Columbians specially illuminated their homes and businesses, Charleston was preparing for another ceremony. Military units and the German Fire Company, replete with flags, banners, and bands, marched to the Mills House. After the bands played

the "Marseillaise" and debuted Professor Thomas J. Caulfield's "Grand Secession March," Governor Pickens addressed the great crowd gathered below in the street from the hotel balcony. "I hope and trust," he said, "I am in possession of information which induces me to believe that, perhaps, there may be no appeal to force on the part of the Federal Authority." A spirit of bravado filled the air. Reminding his audience of the state's heroic victories in the Revolution and the Mexican War, Pickens proclaimed that if war came, South Carolina stood ready "to march forward to honor and independence" with "not a feather quivering in her plume." After prolonged cheers for Pickens, and a response "in behalf of the citizens and military" by

General John Schnierle, George Christy's Minstrels, who were performing in the city, sang "a number of exquisite airs."²⁴

The charade of this blackface minstrel troupe on the hotel balcony was as close as the independence ceremonies got to the slaves who comprised the majority of the state's population. The convention, however, in formulating a separate justification for its simple statement of repeal, would make it clear that it adopted the Ordinance of Secession to defend slavery. Shortly before the committee to draft the ordinance made its report on the 20th, President Jamison, who doubtless was privy to the committee's work, had appointed another "Committee to draft a summary statement of the causes which justify the secession of South Carolina." Christopher G. Memmin-

ger, a conservative former Unionist from Charleston who later served as secretary of the treasury of the Confederacy, chaired the committee. Memminger's committee reported the next day, but it was the 24th before the convention adopted the "Declaration of the Immediate Causes which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union."²⁵

A short document, the "Declaration of Immediate Causes" claimed that the northern states had "deliberately broken" the federal compact by repudiating their responsibility under the fourth article of the United States Constitution to return runaway slaves. South Carolina was thus "released from her obligation." This constitutional argument did not please everyone. In the debate in the convention, Maxcy Gregg, in particular, argued that the

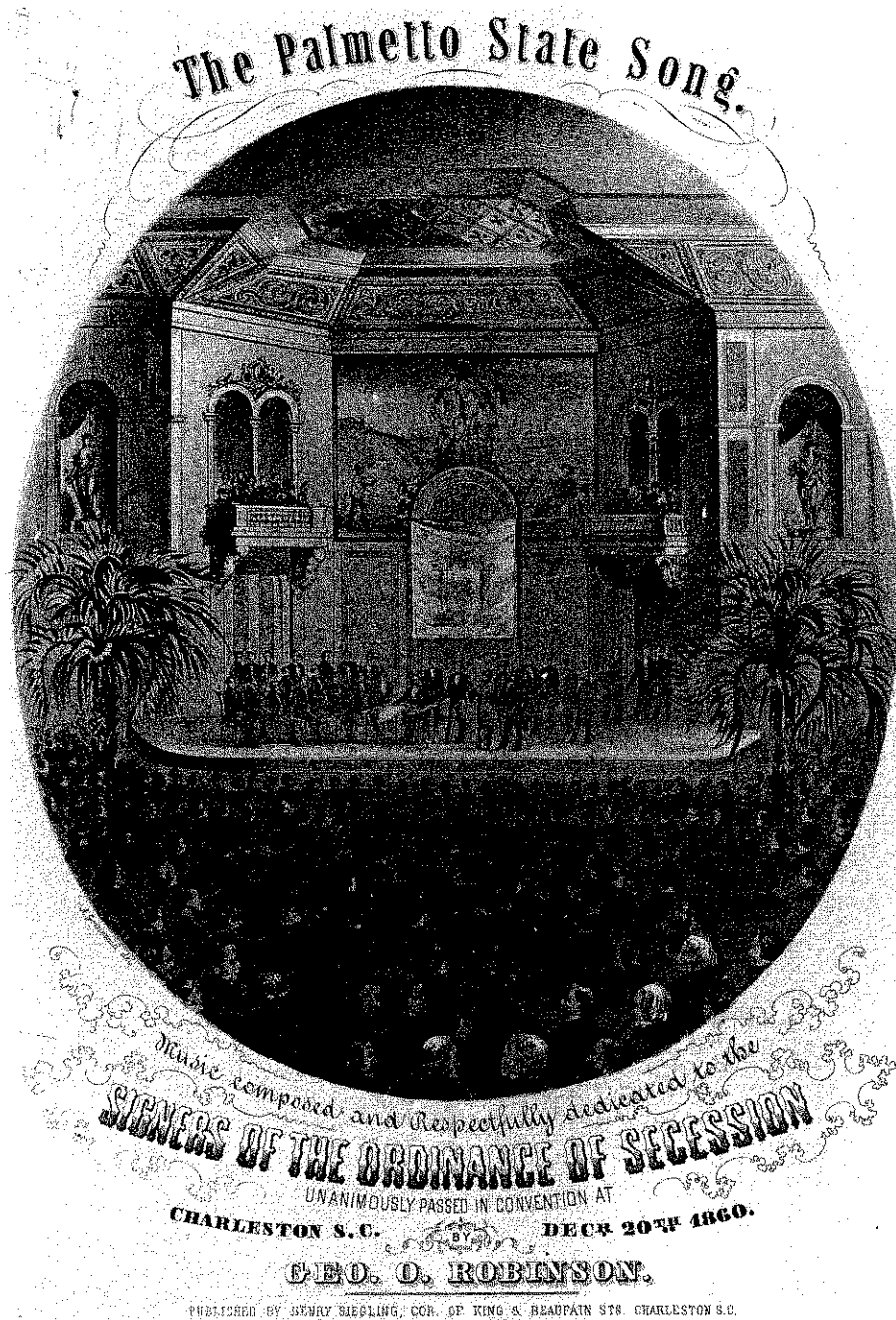
committee's proposed statement was insufficient for "a new Declaration of Independence." The document should, he said, also emphasize the tariff and federal expenditures for internal improvements. Although Gregg's unhappiness with the document's exclusive emphasis on slavery would be echoed later, the convention overrode his objections and voted by a margin of more than four to one to issue the declaration. Thus they agreed, in the words of delegate Lawrence M. Keitt, to "rest disunion upon the question of slavery."²⁶

There is little direct evidence for what the state's black majority thought as the nation moved toward the bloody confrontation that would bring them freedom. Years later, a former slave owner recalled that during the secession excitement, black children in the



James Simons II (1813-1879), Speaker of the House of Representatives, and William Dennison Porter (1810-1883), president of the Senate. Both men were on the stage when the Ordinance of Secession was signed and both wore their robes of office as they do in these contemporary carte de visite photographs by C. J. Quinby.

A. Grinevald's picture of the signing of the Ordinance of Secession from the cover of a piece of sheet music dedicated to the signers of the document. The "Secession Banner" is shown at the back of the stage. The composer of the music, George D. Robinson, is listed as a "Music Teacher" in the 1860 Charleston city directory. Grinevald, listed as an "artist," also painted a "View of the Harbor," but he is otherwise unknown.





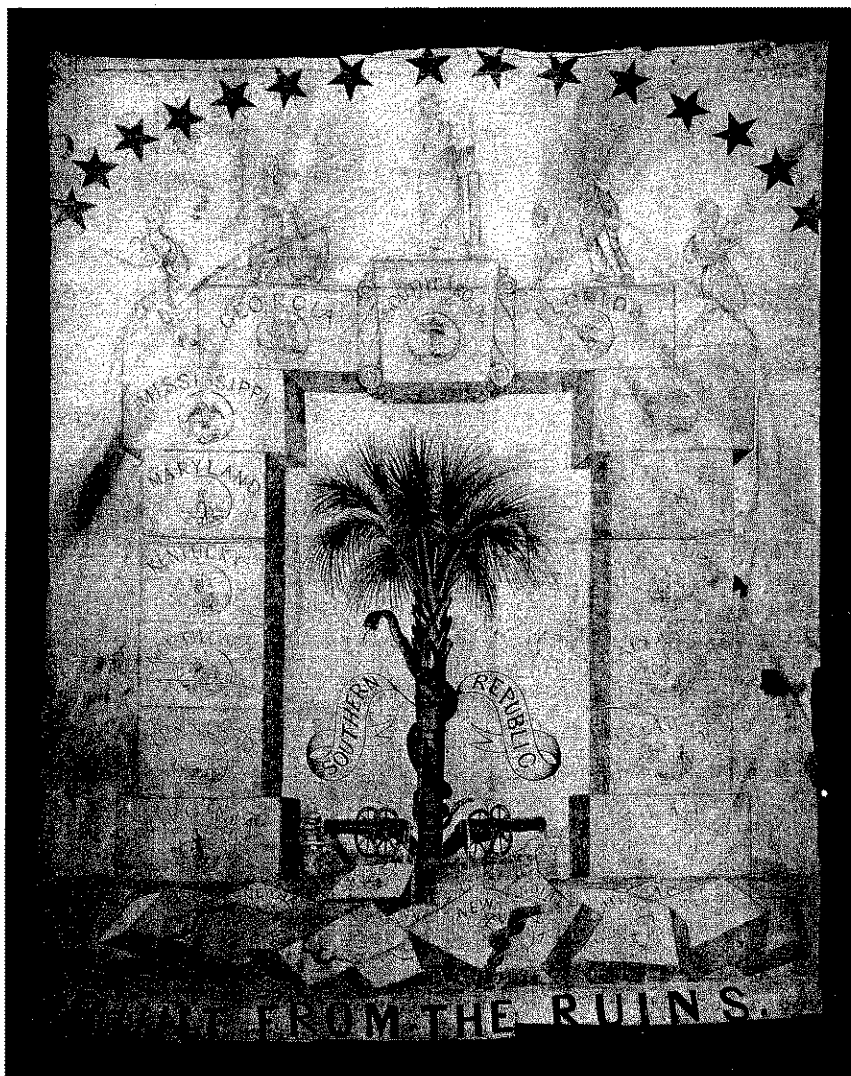
Top left: Governor F. W. Pickens. The legislature elected Pickens to that office a few days before the state seceded from the Union. Pickens had recently been President Buchanan's ambassador to Russia, but he was the head of a newly declared independent state at the time of this 1861 carte de visite photograph.

Top right: Isaac H. Means, Secretary of State at the time the Ordinance of Secession was signed. The document was given over to his custody on the night of December 20, 1860. Means was thus the first in an unbroken succession of state officials who have had custody of the historic document.

streets of Charleston chanted happily, "Wid a blue cockade, an a rusty gun, We'l mek dem Yankees run like fun." In the next four years, slaves frequently accompanied their masters to war as body servants, but whether those slaves shared the views suggested by the

remembered words of the black children is open to question. The memories of Mariah Heywood recorded in the slave narratives collected in the 1930s suggest they did not. In 1860, Mariah was owned by Benjamin Faneuil Dunkin, one of the few northern-born

members of the Secession Convention. As a member of the committee to draft the Ordinance, Dunkin is said to have given that document its title. He would soon give Mariah as a wedding present to his daughter. Mariah recalled that "Great many time" prayer meetings



The "Secession Banner" painted by Isaac B. Alexander. The banner hung above the table when the Ordinance of Secession was signed and is now on loan to the Charleston Museum from the South Carolina Historical Society.

asking God to end slavery closed when "the chicken crow for day."²⁷

The Ordinance, adopted in defense of slavery, heralded the war that answered Mariah Heywood's prayers. President Jamison turned over the sealed and signed manuscript to the secretary of state. On the back of the document appears the receipt:

*Secretary States office
Charleston S. C 20th Dec^r 1860*

I do hereby certify that this Ordinance was this day received by me from the hands of David F. Jamison President of the Convention in the presence of said body and was by me filed in this office by his order. Witness my hand the day and date above written

*Isaac H. Means
Secretary of State*

On the 28th, the convention resolved to allow Artemas T. Darby, winner of a contested election in St. Matthew's, to add his signature to the document and thus join the 170 other signers in the lore of the state. Shortly thereafter, the Ordinance was moved to the seat of government in Columbia. Though the document, as we shall see, was nearly captured in 1865, it has remained in state custody ever since.²⁸

Four days after the delegates signed the Ordinance in Institute Hall, Henry Isaac Caughman, a twice-wounded veteran of the state's heroic Palmetto Regiment in the Mexican War, rose to present another resolution to the convention. Caughman proposed, "That _____ copies of the Ordinance of Secession and the signatures thereto, be photographed for the use of the members of the Convention." His

resolution was referred to the committee on printing, chaired by Paul Quattlebaum. The press of business of the newly independent nation, however, prevented the convention from acting on the committee's report before it adjourned on January 5, 1861. At the end of March, the convention reassembled to consider the constitution of the Confederate States of America. On the 28th, the delegates agreed by a vote of 99 to 63 to purchase two hundred lithographic copies of the Ordinance of Secession for two hundred dollars. Messrs. Evans and Cogswell, printers to the convention, had anticipated this official action and had already produced the facsimiles, which the committee found bore "a very notable similarity" to the original. Distributed to each of the signers and a few others under the direction of the convention's president, the Evans and Cogswell lithograph was larger than the original, and at the bottom in very small letters, it bore the imprint "LITH. OF EVANS & COGSWELL, CHARLESTON, S. C." The printers, who ran off a few extra lithographs for themselves, did not need these words to tell them that they were handling a copy. Other persons over the years have ignored the imprint and instead seen only the faithful image, which even reproduced the signers' ink blots.²⁹

The first of the Evans and Cogswell lithographs to be taken as a trophy of war was captured within the year. Naval forces under Samuel Francis Dupont reduced Forts Walker and Beauregard in Port Royal Harbor on November 7, 1861. This successful invasion, it was reported, caused "a perfect rout" in

the area. The inhabitants "left everything, arms, equipment of all kinds," and "all the letters and papers, both public and private . . . in their flight." Only two white inhabitants could be found in Beaufort on the 9th. One of the lithographs was among the papers captured in the forts and at Beaufort. Before the end of the month, this "valuable addition to the list of trophies now in possession of the [federal] government" had been framed and was hanging in Washington in the offices of the Navy Department. The Navy Department knew that their document was a copy, but other Evans and Cogswell lithographs have been treasured by their captors and their descendants as the actual Ordinance.³⁰

The state was not invaded again until near the war's end in 1865. As General William Tecumseh Sherman's troops approached Columbia in February of that year, Isaac H. Means's successor as secretary of state, William R. Hunt, worked valiantly to save the state's records. His wife Mary has been credited with saving the Ordinance. Hunt moved the records of his office, including the original manuscript of the state's premier act of "treason," safely out of the city before the Union troops arrived. When the burning of Columbia lit the skies on February 17, ninety boxes of records were out of harm's way in a boxcar. The records were first taken up the Charlotte and South Carolina Railroad as far as Charlotte and subsequently hidden in Chester. Hunt and his wife had a difficult time in the ensuing weeks moving about the upstate with some of the essential records as Governor

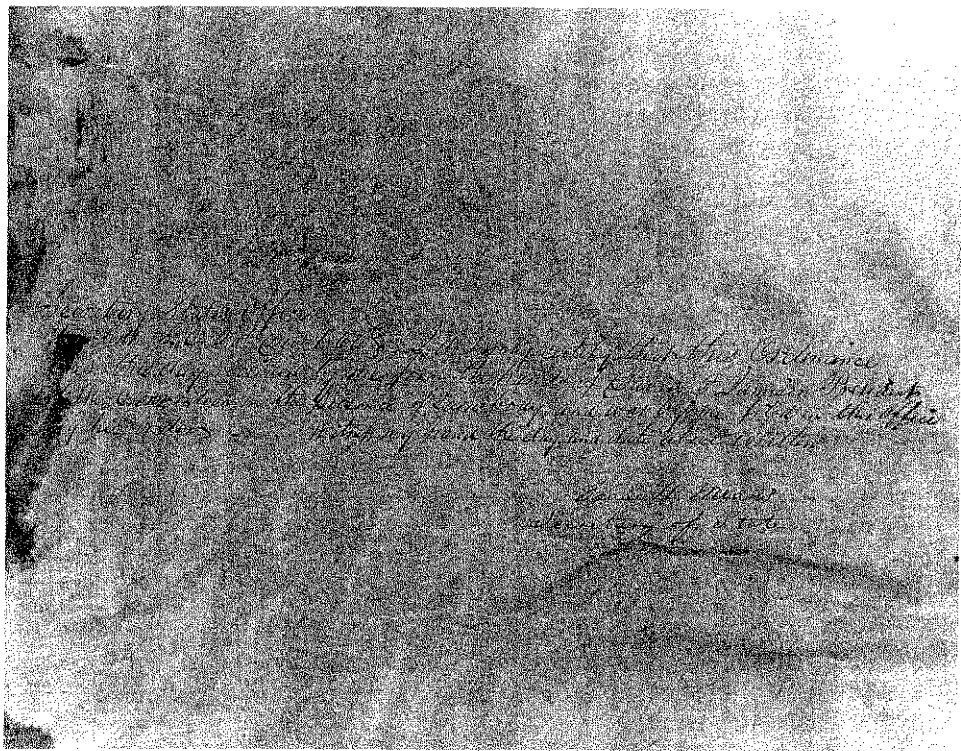
Andrew Gordon Magrath attempted to reorganize state government. Secretary Hunt's sister recalled, after the turn of the century, that Mary Hunt hid the Ordinance on her person in Spartanburg in April 1865, when Colonel George Stoneman's raiders reached that town.³¹

The original was safe, but when Northern forces entered South Carolina's capital, Daniel McWorkman, an Iowa soldier then serving in Alabama's only Union regiment, found one of the Evans and Cogswell lithographs on a wall of the State House. A century later, this copy seems to have fooled residents of McWorkman's home state. In 1966, Governor Robert E. McNair of South Carolina received a letter from the mayor of Keokuk, Iowa, who offered to return "the Articles of Secession from the Union by your State in the year 1860." In 1990, the Keokuk Public Library returned McWorkman's booty to the Palmetto State.³²

Former governor John L. Manning made sure his copy of the most famous document to bear his signature escaped a similar fate. In April 1865, General Edward E. Potter led Union troops on a raid from Georgetown to Camden. As the Yankees approached Milford, Manning's imposing mansion in Sumter District, Manning apparently stuffed his lithograph behind an immense Empire bookcase. It would remain there until it was discovered nearly a hundred years later during restoration work.³³

Shortly after Sherman's forces reached Columbia, the 102nd United States Colored Troops approached

The receipt on the back of the Ordinance of Secession. The engrossed manuscript has stayed in state custody since the night it was signed, but Union soldiers captured several of the lithographic facsimiles made for the signers with the mistaken belief that they had found the original document.



Charleston. A Michigan regiment, the 102nd was largely made up of free black farmers, laborers, and barbers born in the Midwest, Canada, and elsewhere. Marching from the south, the regiment crossed the Ashley River on February 27 and set up camp on the Charleston Neck. George A. Southworth, a white first lieutenant in his early twenties from Leoni, Michigan, took command of Company G on the 28th. Almost immediately thereafter, Southworth's company and three others went out on a two day "scout." While out, the scouting party made a great find in what they thought was the house of the secretary of state. At Soldier's Retreat, the plantation of Dr. David W. Lamb on the Ashley River

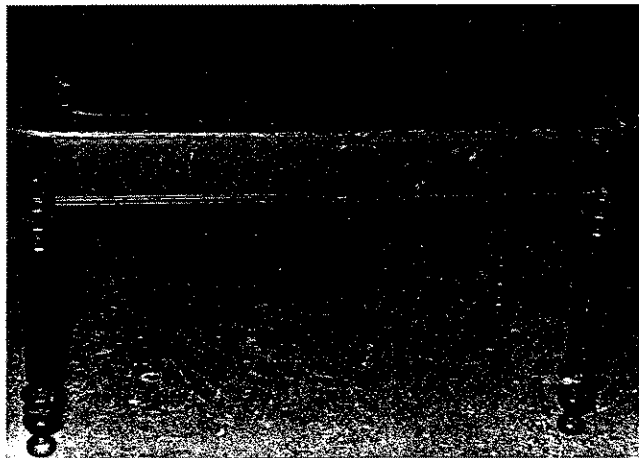
opposite Drayton Hall, they discovered what they called the "Scroll of Treason." In a chain of events with more than a little irony, the Evans and Cogswell lithograph of the Ordinance of Secession they captured was subsequently reproduced in Michigan.³⁴

Soldier's Retreat had once briefly belonged to Pierce Butler, a South Carolina signer of the Constitution. A small plantation with about thirty slaves, it seems to have chiefly produced grain, butter, and livestock.³⁵ We do not know if the slaves were still there when the black Union troops approached or why the Charleston physician who then owned the place had a lithograph and additional papers that could be mistaken for "other

records of the State Department." The thoughts of the black troops about the document that brought them to the cradle of the Confederacy are not recorded, but Lieutenant Southworth clearly saw the importance and possibilities of the find. At the bottom of the lithograph, he recorded the bare facts of their "scout," added his name, and entered the date—March 3, 1865. On June 21, he applied for a thirty day leave "for the purpose of transacting important private business at my home in Leoni, Michigan." Before the year was out, he had copyrighted a new lithograph of the captured document, complete with inscription, in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Michigan.³⁶

The Michigan edition of the Ordinance, which reproduces Southworth's handwritten note about capture "in the house of Dr. Lamb," is, like the Evans and Cogswell lithograph it was taken from, periodically mistaken for the original. The importance attached to timeworn and damaged copies of these two contemporary facsimiles speaks powerfully of the place the Civil War holds in the nation's memory. A 1906 publication claimed that the Ordinance had "recently come to light, and is owned by Mrs. John Robinson of Belvidere, New Jersey." The president of the South Carolina Daughters of the Confederacy was, as might be expected, troubled by this discovery, but the official responsible for the state's records reassured her that the Ordinance "has never been out of the custody of State officials since the night it was signed."³⁷ That reassurance still must be repeated from time to time. As late as 1948, the economist and historian Broadus Mitchell was concerned that a document that gave "every appearance of being the original" was on display in the Rufus Putnam house in Massachusetts.³⁸ Letters embodying similar concerns from less knowledgeable correspondents pepper the files of South Carolina's archival agency.

Five other facsimile editions of the Ordinance of Secession have been printed in the twentieth century. Three of them, like the 1865 Michigan Scroll of Treason edition, have been derived from the lithographs that Evans and Cogswell produced for the members of the convention. These facsimiles reproduce the ink blots that remained

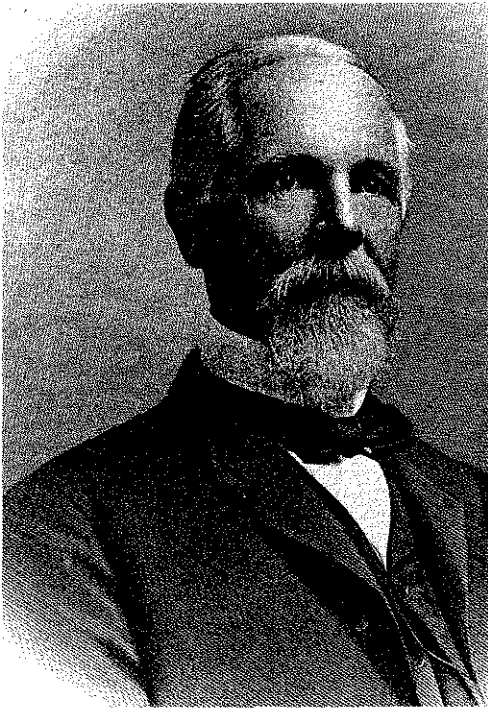


The "Secession Table" in the Union County Historical Museum. There is evidence to support local lore that this is the table on which the Ordinance of Secession was signed. Relics of the event have long had a special significance in South Carolina.

on the Evans and Cogswell lithographs but quickly faded on the original engrossed document. The Charleston firm "Ravenel Agency, Inc., Publishers of Rare Documents" printed the first of these three editions on "parchment paper" in the summer of 1960 in anticipation of the Ordinance's centennial. The Ravenel version is somewhat smaller than the original document. The firm was certain, according to their advertising brochure, that the "descendants of these dedicated Southern patriots . . . and people everywhere who admire men of strong convictions" would want to acquire a copy. The second appeared ten years later when the R. L. Bryan Company in Columbia printed a version larger than the original on tan paper. The third was published by a Lexington, South Carolina, firm in 1988. Although some of the telltale ink blots have been eliminated on the 1988 edition, enough remain to show that the image derived from the Evans and Cogswell lithograph, not from the original.³⁹ The two other

editions are based on the document itself. One, the origin of which is unknown, may have been issued for the fiftieth anniversary of the Ordinance in 1910. The other, a grey photographic reproduction, was issued by the South Carolina Department of Archives and History in 1988. Both are smaller than the original.⁴⁰

Profit as well as piety were motives behind most of the seven facsimile editions of the Ordinance of Secession. Reverence for the Lost Cause alone led to the preservation of a remarkable number of other artifacts associated with the evening of December 20, 1860. The convention itself on January 5, 1861, provided, "That the table, chair, and appurtenances used in Secession Hall . . . for the signature of the Ordinance of Secession, be deposited, with a memorandum of the same, after the final adjournment of the Convention, in the Legislative Library in the State House in Columbia." By 1865 the convention's secretary, Benjamin Franklin Arthur, was



*James Ezra Tindal (1839-1906). As Secretary of State, Tindal had custody of the Ordinance of Secession from 1890 to 1894 and had the badly faded document reinked. An experimental farmer and advocate of agricultural education who had studied at the University of Bonn before the war, Tindal was an unsuccessful candidate for governor in 1894. This engraving is from J. C. Hemphill's 1908 publication *Men of Mark in South Carolina*.*

an assistant auditor in Columbia. Arthur helped with the removal of the state's records for safekeeping and may well have had the opportunity to rescue the table on which the document had been signed. A table said to be that relic now resides in the Union County Historical Museum in Arthur's hometown of Union, South Carolina.⁴¹ A side chair on which President Jamison is said to have been seated that evening was presented to the Charleston Museum in 1950. Bits of velvet supposedly from a desk on which the Ordinance was written and pieces of palmetto from the decorations that were in Institute Hall for the signing are in the museums established by the Daughters of the Confederacy in both Columbia and Charleston.⁴² Pens used

to sign the Ordinance have had a special place among these relics ever since the Evans and Cogswell firm presented a massive gold pen with an ebony holder to President Jamison for the occasion.⁴³ Isaac B. Alexander's "Secession Banner," which for nearly a century had reposed in Yankee hands in the New England Historic Genealogical Society, is now on loan to the Charleston Museum from the South Carolina Historical Society.⁴⁴

By 1901, the original Ordinance, faded, traced over, and minus its seal, hung framed in the secretary of state's office in Columbia. That year, a newspaper reporter noted that "the emanensis"⁴⁵ who had reinked the faded Ordinance had "performed his work badly" and that the document was "in

a frame even cheaper than that which holds the precious Ordinance of Nullification adopted in 1832."⁴⁶ The text and signatures on the engrossed manuscript had been traced over between 1890 and 1894 when James E. Tindal was secretary of state. Oral reports that have been handed down tell us that a German scribe was hired to do the work, but no records of the transaction or of the seal's removal have been found.⁴⁷ A pencil grid that is present over the signatures may have been added to aid the work of our fabled German scribe.

The acerbic reporter's 1901 account of the Ordinance was prompted by a great reunion of South Carolina Confederate veterans held in Columbia in May of that year. Twelve signers of the

Ordinance were still living, and some of them were among the veterans for whom the children scattered flowers as they marched in the city. At the opening of the convention, the remarks of the beloved hero General Wade Hampton III met thunderous applause. "Our cause was lost," he said, "but a just cause never dies." Two signers, Henry McIver, chief justice of the state supreme court, and Col. Joseph Daniel Pope, dean of the school of law at the South Carolina College, were prominently visible during ceremonies the next evening at the home that had been built by subscription for General Hampton.⁴⁸

Seven months later on December 1, 1901, the South Carolina Interstate and West Indian Exposition opened in Charleston. Another of that city's attempts to revive its economy, the exposition brought international attention and a presidential visit before closing in bankruptcy at the end of May. "Of course the most valuable of the relics on display," wrote the *News and Courier*, "is the original ORDINANCE OF SECESSION."⁴⁹

Brought to Charleston with a special guard and the permission of a legislative resolution, the Ordinance was part of an unprecedented exhibit of records and artifacts organized by Chief Clerk Jesse T. Gantt of the office of the secretary of state. In addition to the Ordinance, the state's historical exhibit included Chief Justice Nicholas Trott's manuscript "Laws of the Province of South Carolina" of 1719, the silver "vase" that the ladies of South Carolina had presented Andrew Jackson after the battle of New Or-

leans, a selection of Revolutionary War records, "the interesting old Indian Records of the State," and that other premier document of the Lost Cause, the Nullification Ordinance. Gantt's choices from the state's treasures were supplemented with items from the collection of the new "Confederate Relic Room" in the State House organized by the Wade Hampton Chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy. General Hampton himself, at age 83, in what would be his last public appearance, came down to Charleston to the exposition for South Carolina College's centennial celebration on December 19.⁵⁰

The novelist Owen Wister, a great-great-grandson of the South Carolina signer of the Constitution Pierce Butler, stood in front of the Ordinance at the exposition and pondered its meaning for the nation's history. "After the Declaration of Independence, what writing can you find," he queried, "what document, comparable in significance to the original Ordinance of Secession, 'done' at Charleston on the twentieth day of December, 1860?" Wister spent that winter in Charleston finishing his novel *The Virginian* and would subsequently use the city as the setting for another, *Lady Baltimore*. Like the Ordinance on which he gazed, Wister had been born in 1860, and he made much of that document in a report on the exposition for the *Century* magazine. "Between its four corners," Wister rhapsodized, "flows our life-blood. Between its four corners lies the vital center of our history." A northerner by birth, the novelist also reported that as he stood there he "thanked God for

the surrender of Appomattox."⁵¹

In April, Wister's close friend from Porcellan Club days at Harvard, Theodore Roosevelt, came to the city for his official visit to the exposition. The president had been scheduled to make his appearance on February 12, Lincoln's birthday, but as the account in the official *Charleston Yearbook* noted, the visit was delayed until April 9, which happened to be the anniversary of Lee's surrender to Grant at Appomattox. The president, noting the "fine generosity and manliness" of the original invitation for Lincoln's birthday, stressed healed wounds in his address in the exposition auditorium. Memories of "the greatest war of modern times" were "now priceless heritages of honor. . . . All of us, North and South, can glory alike in the valor of the men who wore the grey." Roosevelt popularized an understanding of the war that ignored profound ideological differences to honor commitment and sacrifice irrespective of cause. The Ordinance now shared that aura, but the defeat for which Wister was grateful had not solved the racial issues that had been at the core of the conflict. In an era of legalized and hardened segregation, there was a separate "Negro Building" at the exposition.⁵²

In 1905, the secretary of state transferred the Ordinance of Secession to the Historical Commission of the State of South Carolina.⁵³ By December 20, 1910, the fiftieth anniversary of its signing, only one of the delegates was living. Newspaper editor and publisher, Confederate officer, lawyer, legislator, and Presbyterian elder, eighty-two-year-old Robert A.



Robert A. Thompson, the last surviving signer of the Ordinance of Secession. This photograph was taken late in his life at a time when Thompson was the object of some public notice in the newspapers.

Thompson of Walhalla would continue to be the object of public attention. The *New York Herald* in an illustrated sketch of Thompson the next year noted, "Had the outcome of the great war in which he fought been different his name might have been blazoned in the memory of his countrymen as gloriously as if he had signed the Declaration of Independence." In an eyewitness account of the convention Thompson had written for his *Keowee Courier*, he had noted that December 20, 1860, was "regarded as the sacred Independence of the State." In 1860, Thompson had owned seven slaves, including a baby girl and two boys, 3 and 4 years of age. In 1895, another South Carolina "Convention of the People" enacted a new state constitution that ensured that those boys, now men, and others like them could not vote in the Palmetto State. By 1901, the document of which Thompson was to be the last living signer was an historic relic enshrined in a glory that transcended the divisions of North and South. Robert Anderson Thompson, last survivor of the Secession Convention, died at his home in Walhalla on August 8, 1914.⁵⁴ The last human link to the document was gone, but the Ordinance of Secession endures at "the vital center of our history," a Declaration of Independence, defense of slavery, trophy of war, and relic of the Lost Cause.



★ Appendix

The signers of the South Carolina Ordinance of Secession with the locations of their signatures on the document

The post offices and election districts below are taken from the list on pages 315-19 of the *Journal of the Convention*. Both parishes and judicial districts served as election districts in antebellum South Carolina. The names and dates are primarily from the biographical sketches in John Amasa May and Joan Reynolds Faunt, *South Carolina Secedes*, but they have also been compared with N. Louise Bailey, *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina Senate, 1776-1985* (42 signers); Chalmers G. Davidson, *The Last Foray, The South Carolina*

Planters of 1860 (26 signers); Jon L. Wakelyn, *Biographical Dictionary of the Confederacy* (16 signers); the *Dictionary of American Biography* (15 signers); the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774-1989* (9 signers); and Ezra J. Warner and W. Buck Yearns, *Biographical Register of the Confederate Congress* (9 signers). The figures are for the column and number within the column where the signature may be found.

James Hopkins Adams (1812-61) <i>Gadsden, Richland District.</i>	3-23	Peter Porcher Bonneau (1816-71) <i>Haddrell's, Christ Church Parish</i>	1-26
Robert Turner Allison (1798-1882) <i>Meek's Hill, York District.</i>	5-33	Joseph Josiah Brabham (1817-83) <i>Buford's Bridge, Barnwell District</i>	1-16
David Clinton Appleby (1808-64) <i>Branchville, St. George, Dorchester Parish</i>	3-33	Alexander Henry Brown (1809-79) <i>Charleston, St. Andrew's Parish</i>	3-27
Benjamin Franklin Arthur (1826-70) <i>Clerk of the Convention, Union District</i>		Charles Pinckney Brown (ca. 1825-1864) <i>Charleston, St. James', Goose Creek Parish</i>	4-3
Samuel Taylor Atkinson (1822-80) <i>Georgetown, Prince George, Winyah Parish</i>	5-30	John Buchanan (1790-1862) <i>Winnsboro, Fairfield District</i>	2-11
Lewis Malone Ayer, Jr. (1821-95) <i>Buford's Bridge, Barnwell District</i>	1-14	Andrew William Burnet (1811-96) <i>Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's Parishes</i>	4-32
Robert Woodward Barnwell (1801-82) <i>Beaufort, St. Helena Parish</i>	4-1	William Cain (1792-1878) <i>Black Oak, St. John's, Berkley Parish</i>	4-7
Archibald Ingram Barron (1807-87) <i>Yorkville, York District</i>	5-36	Joseph Caldwell (ca. 1808-1888) <i>Mount Bethel, Newberry District</i>	3-9
Donald Rowe Barton (1806-89) <i>Branchville, Orange Parish</i>	3-13	John Alfred Calhoun (1807-74) <i>Abbeville Court House, Abbeville District</i>	1-6
Thomas Wilson Beaty (1825-86) <i>Conwayboro, Horry District</i>	2-20	William Hans Campbell (1823-1901) <i>Greenville Court House, Greenville District</i>	2-16
Eustace St. Pierre Bellinger (1812-76) <i>Walterboro, St. Bartholomew's Parish</i>	3-28	James Henry Carlisle (1825-1909) <i>Spartanburg Court House, Spartanburg District</i>	5-14
Alfred Walker Bethea (1816-65) <i>Little Rock, Marion District</i>	3-3	Merrick Ezra Carn (1808-62) <i>Walterboro, St. Bartholomew's Parish</i>	3-29
Simpson Bobo (1804-1885) <i>Spartanburg Court House, Spartanburg District</i>	5-15	James Parsons Carroll (1809-83) <i>Aiken, Edgefield District</i>	2-3



Former Governor James Hopkins Adams, who signed the Ordinance as a delegate from Richland District. During his term as governor, 1854-1856, he unsuccessfully sought the reopening of the slave trade. C. J. Quinby took this carte de visite photograph and three others—of former governors John L. Manning, John Hugh Means, and John P. Richardson—when the men were in Charleston for the Secession Convention.

Henry Isaac Caughman (1803-73)	2-30
<i>Lexington Court House, Lexington District</i>	
William Columbus Cauthen (1825-65)	2-23
<i>Hanging Rock, Lancaster District.</i>	
Edgar Wells Charles (1801-76)	1-30
<i>Darlington Court House, Darlington District</i>	
James Chesnut, Jr. (1815-85)	2-18
<i>Camden, Kershaw District</i>	
Langdon Cheves (1814-63)	4-16
<i>Savannah, Ga., St. Peter's Parish</i>	
Ephraim Mikell Clark (1814-85)	3-26
<i>Charleston, St. Andrew's Parish</i>	
Henry Workman Conner (1797-1861)	4-22
<i>Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's Parishes</i>	
Robert Lafayette Crawford (1825-63)	2-22
<i>Lancaster Court House, Lancaster District</i>	
William Curtis (1817-73)	5-16
<i>Limestone Springs, Spartanburg District.</i>	
Artemas Thomson Darby (1806-78)	4-34
<i>Fort Motte, St. Mathew's Parish</i>	
Julius Alfred Dargan (1815-61)	1-31
<i>Darlington Court House, Darlington District</i>	
Richard James Davant (1805-73)	4-11
<i>Gillisonville, St. Luke's Parish</i>	
Henry Campbell Davis (1823-86)	2-10
<i>Ridgeway, Fairfield District</i>	
William Ford de Saussure (1792-1870)	3-21
<i>Columbia, Richland District</i>	
Richard De Treville (1801-74)	4-30
<i>Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's Parishes</i>	
Anthony White Dozier (1801-70)	5-25
<i>Johnsonville, Williamsburg District</i>	
Perry Emory Duncan (1800-67)	2-13
<i>Greenville Court House, Greenville District</i>	
Benjamin Faneuil Dunkin (1792-1874)	5-29
<i>Charleston, Prince George, Winyah Parish</i>	
Alexander Quay Dunovant (1815-69)	1-21
<i>Chesterville, Chester District</i>	
Robert Gill Mills Dunovant (1821-98)	2-2
<i>Edgefield Court House, Edgefield District</i>	
Daniel DuPre (1793-1878)	4-5
<i>South Santee Ferry, St. James', Santee Parish</i>	

William King Easley (1825-72) <i>Greenville Court House, Greenville District</i>	2-14	William Gregg (1800-67) <i>Aiken, Edgefield District</i>	2-4
William J. Ellis (ca.1804-ca.1868) <i>Conwayboro, Horry District</i>	2-21	William Steele Grisham (1824-78) <i>Walhalla, Pickens District</i>	3-17
Thomas Reese English, Sr. (1806-69) <i>Mayesville, Sumter District</i>	5-19	Andrew Jackson Hammond (1814-82) <i>Hamburg, Edgefield District</i>	2-5
Chesley Daniel Evans (1817-97) <i>Marion Court House, Marion District</i>	3-1	Thomas Middleton Hanckel (1822-88) <i>Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's Parishes</i>	4-31
Simeon Fair (1801-73) <i>Newberry Court House, Newberry District</i>	3-10	William Wallace Harlee (1812-97) <i>Mars' Bluff, Marion District</i>	3-2
William Peronneau Finley (1803-76) <i>Aiken, Barnwell District</i>	1-15	James Perry Harrison (1813-71) <i>Cedar Falls, Greenville District</i>	2-15
Daniel Flud (1818-96) <i>Summerville, St. George's, Dorchester Parish</i>	3-32	Isaac William Hayne (1809-80) <i>Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's Parishes</i>	4-28
Alexius Mador Forster (1815-79) <i>Georgetown, Prince George, Winyah Parish</i>	5-31	Edward Rogers Henderson (1811-65) <i>Blue House, St. Bartholomew's Parish</i>	3-30
Barham Bobo Foster (1817-97) <i>Glenn Springs, Spartanburg District</i>	5-12	John Henry Honour (1802-85) <i>Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's Parishes</i>	4-29
John Edward Frampton (1810-96) <i>Pocotaligo, Prince William's Parish</i>	3-19	William Hopkins (1805-63) <i>Hopkins' Turn Out, Richland District</i>	3-22
James Clement Furman (1809-91) <i>Greenville Court House, Greenville District</i>	2-12	William Hunter (1816-1902) <i>Wolf Creek, Pickens District</i>	3-14
James M. Gadberry (1817-62) <i>Union Court House, Union District</i>	5-21	William Ferguson Hutson (1815-81) <i>Pocotaligo, Prince William's Parish</i>	3-20
Henry William Garlington (1811-93) <i>Laurens Court House, Laurens District</i>	2-26	John Auchincloss Inglis (1813-78) <i>Cheraw, Chesterfield District</i>	1-22
John Conrad Geiger (ca.1802-1870) <i>Sandy Run, Lexington District</i>	2-31	John Isaac Ingram (1820-88) <i>Manning, Clarendon District</i>	1-29
William Henry Gist (1807-74) <i>Union Court House, Union District</i>	5-23	Stephen Jackson (1808-87) <i>Mount Crogan, Chesterfield District</i>	1-24
Thomas Worth Glover (1796-1884) <i>Orangeburg, Orange Parish</i>	3-11	David Flavel Jamison (1810-64) <i>President of the Convention, Midway, Barnwell District</i>	
Ebenezer Wescot Goodwin (1823-91) <i>Brightsville, Marlboro District</i>	3-4	James Jefferies (1802-66) <i>Gowdeysville, Union District</i>	5-24
Robert Newman Gourdin (1812-94) <i>Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's Parishes</i>	4-21	John Jenkins (1824-1905) <i>Edisto Island, St. John's, Colleton Parish</i>	4-10
Theodore Louis Gourdin (1790-1866) <i>Pineville, St. Stephen's Parish</i>	4-21	Joseph Evans Jenkins (1793-1874) <i>Adams' Run, St. Paul's Parish</i>	4-15
Henry Davis Green (1791-1871) <i>Mechanicsville, Sumter District</i>	5-17	William Dalrymple Johnson (1818-1901) <i>Bennettsville, Marlboro District</i>	3-5
Maxcy Gregg (1814-62) <i>Columbia, Richland District</i>	3-24	Lawrence Massillon Keitt (1824-64) <i>Orangeburg, Orange Parish</i>	3-12

Joseph Brevard Kershaw (1822-94) <i>Camden, Kershaw District</i>	2-19	Christopher Gustavus Memminger (1803-88) <i>Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's Parishes</i>	4-25
Benjamin Franklin Kilgore (1820-97) <i>Laurensville, Spartanburg District</i>	5-13	John Izard Middleton (1800-77) <i>Georgetown, All Saints Parish</i>	1-7
John P. Kinard (ca. 1812-1890) <i>Newberry Court House, Newberry District</i>	3-7	Williams Middleton (1809-83) <i>Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's Parishes</i>	5-2
John Herman Kinsler (1823-1901) <i>Columbia, Richland District</i>	3-25	William Porcher Miles (1822-99) <i>Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's Parishes</i>	4-19
John Gill Landrum (1810-82) <i>Spartanburg Court House, Spartanburg District</i>	5-11	Thomas Wade Moore (1809-71) <i>Smith's Turn Out, Chester District</i>	1-19
Benjamin William Lawton (1822-79) <i>Allendale, Barnwell District</i>	1-17	Robert Moorman (1814-73) <i>Maybinton, Newberry District</i>	3-8
Andrew Fielding Lewis (1814-94) <i>Pendleton, Pickens District</i>	3-15	Edward Noble (1823-89) <i>Abbeville Court House, Abbeville District</i>	1-2
Richard Columbus Logan (1832-1904) <i>Kingstree, Williamsburg District</i>	5-27	John Lascelles Nowell (1798-1881) <i>Charleston, St. Thomas and St. Dennis Parish</i>	5-9
William Strother Lyles (1813-62) <i>Strother, Fairfield District</i>	2-9	John Sanders O'Hear (1806-75) <i>Charleston, St. Thomas and St. Dennis Parish</i>	5-10
Andrew Gordon Magrath (1813-93) <i>Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's Parishes</i>	4-18	James Lawrence Orr (1822-73) <i>Anderson Court House, Anderson District</i>	1-10
Gabriel Manigault (1809-88) <i>Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's Parishes</i>	4-26	John Saunders Palmer (1804-81) <i>Echaw, St. Stephen's Parish</i>	5-8
John Laurence Manning (1816-89) <i>Fulton, Clarendon District</i>	1-28	Francis Simons Parker (1814-65) <i>Georgetown, Prince George, Winyah Parish</i>	5-28
Benjamin Franklin Mauldin (1814-86) <i>Williamston, Anderson District</i>	1-13	Thomas Chiles Perrin (1805-78) <i>Abbeville Court House, Abbeville District</i>	1-1
John Maxwell (1791-1870) <i>Pendleton, Pickens District</i>	3-18	Joseph Daniel Pope (1820-1908) <i>Beaufort, St. Helena Parish</i>	4-2
Matthew Peterson Mayes (1794-1878) <i>Mayesville, Sumter District</i>	5-18	Francis James Porcher (1821-72) <i>Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's Parishes</i>	5-6
Alexander Mazyck (1801-94) <i>Charleston, St. James', Santee Parish</i>	4-6	John Gotea Pressley (1833-95) <i>Kingstree, Williamsburg District</i>	5-26
Edward McCrady (1802-92) <i>Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's Parishes</i>	5-5	Paul Quattlebaum (1812-90) <i>Lightwood Creek, Lexington District</i>	2-32
Henry McIver (1826-1903) <i>Cheraw, Chesterfield District</i>	1-23	Samuel Rainey (1789-1867) <i>Guthriesville, York District</i>	5-34
John McKee (1787-1871) <i>Chester Court House, Chester District</i>	1-18	Jacob Pinckney Reed (1814-80) <i>Anderson Court House, Anderson District</i>	1-11
Alexander McLeod (1812-82) <i>Bennettsville, Marlboro District</i>	3-6	Robert Barnwell Rhett (1800-76) <i>Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's Parishes</i>	4-24
John Hugh Means (1812-62) <i>Buckhead, Fairfield District</i>	2-8	George Rhodes (1802-81) <i>Lawtonville, St. Peter's Parish</i>	4-17



Left to right, John P. Richardson, John Hugh Means, and John L. Manning. All three delegates had served as governor: Richardson from 1840-1842, Means from 1850-1852, and Manning from 1852-1854. Earlier a prominent Unionist, Richardson had voted against the Nullification Ordinance. Means was later colonel of the 17th South Carolina Infantry and was fatally wounded at the second Battle of Manassas. Manning was one of the wealthiest men in the South with plantations in Louisiana as well as South Carolina.

Francis DeLesseline Richardson (ca. 1818-?)
Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's Parishes

John Peter Richardson (1801-64)
Fulton, Clarendon District

David Pressley Robinson (1819-92)
Craigville, Lancaster District

William Bascomb Rowell (1800-80)
Marion Court House, Marion District

Benjamin Huger Rutledge (1829-93)
Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's Parishes

Elias Ball Scott (1805-72)
Summerville, St. Paul's Parish

Ephraim Mikell Seabrook (1820-95)
Bluffton, St. Luke's Parish

George Washington Seabrook (1808-66)
Charleston, St. John's, Colleton Parish

5-3 Benjamin Eson Sessions (1815-73)
Conwayboro, All Saints Parish

1-27 John Monroe Shingler (1794-1872)
Holly Hill, St. James', Goose Creek Parish

2-24 William Pinkney Shingler (1827-69)
Charleston, Christ Church Parish

2-33 Thomas Young Simons, Jr. (1828-78)
Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's Parishes

5-4 Richard Franklin Simpson (1798-1882)
Pendleton, Anderson District

4-14 Joseph Starke Sims (1802-75)
Pacolet Mills, Union District

4-12 John Julius Pringle Smith (1816-94)
Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's Parishes

4-9 James C. Smyly (1820-72)
Lotts, Edgefield District

1-8

4-4

1-25

4-33

1-12

5-22

4-27

2-7

Peter Gaillard Snowden (1823-89) <i>Black Oak, St. John's, Berkley Parish</i>	4-8	David Lewis Wardlaw (1799-1873) <i>Abbeville Court House, Abbeville District</i>	1-5
Albertus Chambers Spain (1821-81) <i>Sumter Court House, Sumter District</i>	5-20	Francis Hugh Wardlaw (1800-61) <i>Edgefield Court House, Edgefield District</i>	2-1
Leonidas William Spratt (1818-1903) <i>Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's Parishes</i>	5-1	William Dendy Watts (1800-61) <i>Laurens Court House, Laurens District</i>	2-28
Andrew Baxter Springs (1819-86) <i>Fort Mill, York District</i>	5-35	Joseph Newton Whitner (1799-1864) <i>Anderson Court House, Anderson District</i>	1-9
Peter Stokes (1822-1904) <i>Branchville, St. Bartholomew's Parish</i>	3-31	Thomas Wier (1800-80) <i>Clinton, Laurens District</i>	2-29
Robert Anderson Thompson (1828-1914) <i>Pickens Court House, Pickens District</i>	3-16	John Drayton Williams (1798-1870) <i>Spring Grove, Laurens District</i>	2-27
Thomas Thomson (1813-81) <i>Abbeville Court House, Abbeville District</i>	1-4	Isaac DeLiesseline Wilson (1810-89) <i>Society Hill, Darlington District</i>	1-32
John Morgan Timmons (1800-69) <i>Timmonsville, Darlington District</i>	1-33	John H. Wilson (ca. 1825-1869) <i>Abbeville Court House, Abbeville District</i>	1-3
James S. Tompkins (1793-1864) <i>Park's Store, Edgefield District</i>	2-6	William Blackburn Wilson (1827-94) <i>Yorkville, York District</i>	5-32
John Ferrars Townsend (1799-1881) <i>Edisto Island, St. Philip's and St. Michael's Parishes</i>	4-20	Thomas Jefferson Withers (1804-65) <i>Camden, Kershaw District</i>	2-17
Theodore Dehon Wagner (1819-80) <i>Charleston, St. Philip's and St. Michael's Parishes</i>	4-23	Richard Woods (1813-84) <i>Carmel Hill, Chester District</i>	1-20
John Jacob Wannamaker (1801-64) <i>St. Mathew's, St. Mathew's Parish</i>	4-13	Henry Clinton Young (1794-1875) <i>Laurens Court House, Laurens District</i>	2-25



★ Endnotes

1. *Journal of the Convention of the People of South Carolina Held in 1860-'61, Together with the Reports, Resolutions, &c.* (Charleston: Evans & Cogswell, Printers to the Convention, 1861), 53-54; *Charleston Mercury*, Dec. 21, 1860; N. Louise Bailey, Mary L. Morgan, and Carolyn R. Taylor, *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina Senate, 1776-1985* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1986), 2:1066-69. For the weather see *Charleston Daily Courier*, Dec. 21 and 22, 1860.

2. *Charleston Daily Courier*, Dec. 21, 1860; *Keowee Courier*, Jan. 5, 1861; *Charleston Mercury*, Nov. 30, Dec. 1, 1860; *Directory of the City of Charleston* (Charleston: W. Eugene Ferslew, 1860) and Anna Wells Rutledge, *Artists in the Life of Charleston: Through Colony and State, from Restoration to Reconstruction* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1980), passim.

3. *Charleston Mercury*, Dec. 21, 1860; *Charleston Daily Courier*,

Dec. 21, 1860; file on "Tanglewood," 612 Laurens St., Camden (home of Isaac Brownfield Alexander), Camden Archives, Camden, South Carolina; Thomas J. Kirkland and Robert M. Kennedy, *Historic Camden*, 2 vols. (Columbia: The State Company, 1905-1926), 1:342-43, 2:438-39; Paul C. Ditzel, Woodland Hills, California, June 15, 1989, to the author. Mr. Ditzel is the author of a forthcoming book on fire alarm devices and the Gamewell Company.

4. *Journals of the Conventions of the People of South Carolina Held in 1832, 1833, and 1852* (Columbia: R. W. Gibbes, State Printer, 1860), 151-52; John Barnwell, *Love of Order: South Carolina's First Secession Crisis* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982); Stephen A. Channing, *Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970), 245; Dwight L. Dumond, *The Secession Movement, 1860-1861* (New

York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), 138.

5. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of South Carolina: Being the Sessions of 1860 [-1861]* (Columbia: R. W. Gibbes, State Printer, 1860 [sic 1861]), 19-20; *Journal of the Senate of the State of South Carolina: Being the Sessions of 1860 [-1861]* (Columbia: R. W. Gibbes, State Printer, 1860 [sic 1861]), 14; Lacy K. Ford, Jr., *Origins of Southern Radicalism: The South Carolina Upcountry, 1800-1860* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 369-70.

6. C. Vann Woodward, ed., *Mary Chesnut's Civil War* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), 71.

7. John Amasa May and Joan Reynolds Faunt, *South Carolina Secedes* (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 1960), 93-99. This volume contains biographical sketches of all of the delegates. See also headnote to appendix. Ralph A. Wooster, *The Secession Conventions of the South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), 11-25, is the source for slave holdings. The figures are bare minimums since Wooster tallied the 1860 slave census schedules only for the district the delegate represented. Slave holdings elsewhere in the state or on the large plantations in the gulf states owned by some of the delegates are thus omitted. Chalmers G. Davidson's study of planters who owned over 100 slaves, *The Last Foray: The South Carolina Planters of 1860: A Sociological Study* (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 1971) has the same methodological limitation. Davidson includes 26 members of the convention.

8. *Journal of the Convention*, 13-16; U. R. Brooks, *South Carolina Bench and Bar* (Columbia: The State Company, 1908), 1:114-16.

9. Robert A. Thompson, Charleston, Dec. 18, 1860, printed in *Keowee Courier*, Jan. 5, 1861; *Journal of the Convention*, 25-26; *Charleston Mercury*, Dec. 20, 1860.

10. W. F. H., "To the Editor of the *Charleston Mercury*," *Charleston Mercury*, Nov. 29, 1860.

11. *Charleston Mercury*, Dec. 4, 8, 1860.

12. Draft ordinance, Dec. 11, 1860, and "Wardlaw draft," South Carolina Archives. The drafts were given to the department by the Wardlaw family sometime between 1910, when the centennial issue of the *State* (Columbia) places them in the hands of J. L. Wardlaw, and the early 1950s. In this period the department kept no detailed accession records.

13. *Charleston Mercury*, Dec. 21, 1860.

14. Stenographic report of the proceedings in *Charleston Daily Courier*, Dec. 21, 1860; Channing, *Crisis of Fear*, 190.

15. Paul S. Storch, Chief Conservator, South Carolina State Museum, Aug. 14, 1989, to Ms. Patricia Morris, South Carolina

Department of Archives and History. The ordinance measures 23 3/8 inches wide and 26 5/8 inches high and bears no watermark.

16. A 1942 account full of rather fanciful stories by Arthur's son is in an account book, 1854-1861, in the Benjamin Franklin Arthur Papers, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina. An engrossing committee was subsequently appointed on Dec. 24 (*Journal of the Convention*, 79) and authorized to employ two clerks (Ibid., 89). On Jan. 31, 1861, President Jamison authorized payment of \$75 to James Simons, Jr., "as engrossing clerk," but there is no evidence linking Simons with the engrossing of the Ordinance of Secession. The warrant for payment is in the South Carolina Archives.

17. James A. Duffus, claim for services rendered notarized Nov. 21, 1861; City Council of Charleston, petition for the right to tax the dividends of city banks, "no date" petitions # 2400 (ca. 1855), Records of the General Assembly; tax returns of James A. Duffus, 1860, 1863, 1865, Parishes of St. Philip and St. Michael, Records of the Comptroller General; and B. J. Whaley, Trustee, vs. James A. Duffus, Report Book, Jan. 7, 1867-Dec. 30, 1868, pp. 295-96, Charleston District Court of Equity, all in the South Carolina Archives. Duffus lost out by a vote of 78 to 73 to William R. Hunt in the election for Secretary of State in 1863 ("no date" petitions #2446).

18. *Journal of the Convention*, 53.

19. Kenneth Severens, *Charleston Antebellum Architecture and Civic Destiny* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1988), 217-20.

20. *Charleston Mercury*, Dec. 21, 1860; *Charleston Daily Courier*, Dec. 21, 1860; [Claudine Rhett], "Reminiscences of Secession," Rhett Papers, Charleston Museum; Samuel Mays, "A Personal Account of the South Carolina Secession Convention," *United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine* 25 (1962): 16-17, 36-37; Mrs. F. G. Fontaine, 1886, quoted in the *State* (Columbia), Dec. 18, 1910.

21. *Journal of the Convention*, 10; *Charleston Mercury*, Dec. 22, 1860.

22. "A Carolinian," *Charleston Mercury*, Dec. 20, 1860, and the issues of that paper for Dec. 21 and 22; *Charleston Daily Courier*, Dec. 21, 22, 1860.

23. Diary of John Berkley Grimball, Dec. 20, 21, 1860, *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 56 (1955): 102; Diary of Jacob Frederick Schirmer, Dec. 20, 1860, Ibid. 61 (1960): 232; [Claudine Rhett], "Reminiscences of Secession"; *Charleston Mercury*, Dec. 18, 21, 22, 1860; Fitzhugh McMaster and Barry E. Thompson, "Washington Light Infantry of Charleston, S. C.,

1858," Plate No. 529, *Military Collector & Historian* 34 (1982): 118-19; Maris A. Vinovskis, "Have Social Historians Lost the Civil War? Some Preliminary Demographic Speculations," *Journal of American History* 76 (1989): 38-40.

24. *Daily Southern Guardian* (Columbia), Dec. 22, 1860; *Charleston Mercury*, Dec. 22, 1860; *Charleston Daily Courier*, Dec. 22, 1860.

25. *Journal of the Convention*, 43, 61-62, 81-84, 325-31.

26. *Charleston Mercury*, Dec. 22, 1860; Edward McCrady, Jr., "Address of Colonel Edward McCrady, Jr., before Company A (Gregg's Regiment), First S. C. Volunteers, at the Reunion at Williston, Barnwell County, S. C., 14th July, 1882," *Southern Historical Society Papers* 16 (1888): 255.

27. [Claudine Rhett], "Reminiscences of Secession"; Charles Joyner, *Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 21, 64, 227, 233.

28. *Journal of the Convention*, 120. Darby's signature was placed where there was room at the foot of the fourth column and thus is with the delegation from St. Philip's and St. Michael's instead of in its proper place with St. Matthew's.

29. *Journal of the Convention*, 80-81, 184, 216-18, 409; *Charleston Mercury*, Dec. 25, 1860; Bailey, *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina Senate*, 1:291-92. The lithograph bears the signature of Artemas T. Darby, so it has to have been made after December 28. Its measurements are 26 5/8 inches wide and 33 1/2 inches long. Alexander S. Salley, Jr., in a letter of July 23, 1945, to Randolph G. Adams (copy in the subject file at the South Carolina Archives) notes that "An old printer of Charleston told me many years ago that each printer in the establishment had an extra one pulled for himself."

30. C. C. Fulton, Nov. 13, 1861, to the Secretary of the Navy, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894-1922), Series I, 12:291-92; *New York Times*, Nov. 14, 22, 27, 1861.

31. Alexia Jones Helsley, "William R. Hunt and the Rescue of South Carolina's Records," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 87 (1986): 259-63; Wm. R. Hunt, Oct. 5, 1865, to James Patterson, printed in the *State* (Columbia), May 10, 1891; Mrs. James Conner, Mrs. Thomas Taylor, et. al., editors, *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy* (Columbia: The State Company, 1903-1907), 2:120-21; Sarah G. Buckheister, Columbia, June 1, 1903, to Mrs. Adams, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina.

32. Kenneth C. Henke, Jr., Keokuk, Iowa, Jan. 18, 1966, to the Honorable Robert N. McNair, copy in subject file, South

Carolina Archives. Iowa, Adjutant General's Office, *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion*, vol. 1: 1st-8th Regiments—Infantry (Des Moines: Emory H. English, State Printer, 1908), 223; Wm. Stanley Hoole, *Alabama Tories: The First Alabama Cavalry, U.S.A., 1862-1865* (Tuscaloosa: Confederate Publishing Company, Inc., 1960), 15, 43-45, 50, 100; accession files at the South Carolina State Museum, to which this lithograph was given in 1990. McWorkman's name also appears as Workman.

Another copy taken by "our grandfather, Captain Ashley" that "was mounted for exhibit by the Chicago Historical Society" was offered as "the original" to Governor Burnet Maybank in 1940. Thomas Wolfe, Western Air Express Corporation, Los Angeles, Calif., Nov. 19, 1940, to the Honorable Burnet Maybank, copy in South Carolina Historical Commission Files, South Carolina Archives.

33. Conversation with Charles E. Lee, retired director of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, April 14, 1989; Milford folders, National Register of Historic Places files, South Carolina Archives; Jack E. Boucher, *A Record in Detail: The Architectural Photographs of Jack E. Boucher* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1988), 19-20.

34. Record of Events, 102nd United States Colored Infantry, Roll 215, Microcopy 594, Compiled Records Showing Service of Military Units in Volunteer Union Organizations, and descriptive roll of the 102nd United States Colored Troops, Record Group 94, National Archives; Michigan, Adjutant General's Office, *Record of Service of Michigan Volunteers in the Civil War, 1861-1865*, vol. 46: *Record First Michigan Colored Infantry* (Kalamazoo: Ihling Bros. & Evarard, printers, 1905); John Robertson, comp., *Michigan in the War* (Lansing: W. S. George & Co., State Printers, 1882), 489-93.

35. Henry A. M. Smith, "The Ashley River: Its Seats and Settlements," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 20 (1919): 15-16; 1860 Agriculture Schedules, St. Andrew's Parish, Roll 3, South Carolina Archives Microcopy No. 2, U. S. Census: Original Agriculture, Industry, Social Statistics, and Mortality Schedules for South Carolina, 1850-1880; 1860 Slave Schedules, Charleston District, Roll 1232, National Archives Microcopy 653, Eighth Census of the United States, microfilm copy at the South Carolina Archives; 1860 *Directory of the City of Charleston*, 89.

36. Jane L. Southworth, widow's pension application no. 815148, pension case files, Record Group 15, Records of the Veterans Administration; Southworth's application for leave of June 21, 1865, filed with his compiled service record, Record

Group 94, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, National Archives; inscription and copyright registration on the "Scroll of Treason" lithograph. This lithograph is 24 inches wide and 30 1/2 inches high.

37. Peleg Dennis Harrison, *The Stars and Stripes and Other American Flags, Including Their Origin and History...* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1906), 311; Alexander S. Salley, Jr., Feb. 20, 1907, to Miss Mary B. Poppenheim, South Carolina Historical Commission Files, South Carolina Archives.

38. Broadus Mitchell, July 29, 1948, to Linwood Erskine, Esq., President, Rufus Putnam Assn., copy in South Carolina Historical Commission Files, South Carolina Archives.

39. The Ravenel edition measures 19 by 24 inches and was lithographed in an edition of 1,000 copies by the Charleston Lithographing Company. The R. L. Bryan edition, 25 by 38 inches, bears the wording "Reprinted 1970 by The R. L. Bryan Co., Columbia, S. C." as well as the original Evans and Cogswell imprint. The Lexington edition has the imprint "REPRINTED 1988 BY MAC KOHN INC. FOR SOL-TEX ENTERPRISES, BOX 2062, LEXINGTON, S. C." and measures 20 by 24 inches. In addition, Alexander S. Salley, Jr., in a letter of Sept. 24, 1938, to Miss Sallie Stallworth (South Carolina Historical Commission Files, South Carolina Archives) notes, "The State Company has issued a little reproduction of one of these fac-similies about one-fourth the actual size of the document. They sell for 50¢ each."

40. The former measures 17 by 16 inches and is on paper watermarked: Parsons, Defendum, Linen Ledger. In phone conversations on Aug. 24 and 25, 1989, Charles Dolecki of the Parsons Paper Division of Holyoke, Mass., indicated that this paper began to be manufactured ca. 1911. A copy of this facsimile is in the South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina. This department's edition, issued in a run of 1,500 copies, was printed by Dependable Printing Co., Inc., Columbia, from a photostat and measures 12 1/2 by 13 3/4 inches. For thirty years prior to issuing this facsimile the department did a brisk business in photostats of the Ordinance.

41. *Journal of the Convention*, 190; B. F. Arthur, 1st Asst. Auditor S. C., Spartanburg, March 13, 1865, statement of expenses on account of removal of records, Feb. 14-March 1, 1865, South Carolina Archives; postcard copyrighted 1927 featuring photographs of members of three generations of the Arthur family and of the table in the Union Carnegie Library, Picture File, South Carolina Archives; B. F. Arthur, Jr.'s, account, 1942, Benjamin Franklin Arthur Papers, South Caroliniana Library. Some of the local accounts of the table confuse the

"writing" of the document with its signing.

42. Phone conversation with Chris Loebelin, Curator of History, the Charleston Museum, July 19, 1989; Item #26, page 14 and item #14, page 24, *Catalogue of Articles of Historic Interest Connected with the War Between the States in the Collection of the Daughters of the Confederacy of Charleston, S. C.* (Charleston: Walker, Evans, & Cogswell, 1902); piece of velvet from the "Bill Teague Collection of Confederate Relics and Curios" and inscription from an old identification card about a piece of palmetto presented to Mrs. T. S. Mills by General Clement Stevens as she was leaving Institute Hall, South Carolina Confederate Relic Room and Museum, Columbia. For a "palmetto cross book mark, made from a piece of palmetto branch that lay on the desk at the time of Secession" see *Charleston Sunday News*, June 28, 1896.

43. *Charleston Mercury*, Dec. 21, 1860; pen used by Simeon Fair, untitled account by Alexander S. Salley, the *State Magazine* (Columbia), December 17, 1950; pen used by Henry W. Garlington, South Carolina Confederate Relic Room and Museum; pen used by Thomas Worth Glover, item 5, page 12, *Catalogue of Articles*; pen used by George Rhodes, Robert E. H. Peebles, comp., "Family Records from Bible of George Rhodes," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 54 (1953): 101; pen used by Richard Franklin Simpson, Mays, "A Personal Account," 36-37.

44. After the signing the banner was hung from the exterior of the building. Alexander later gave the banner to a cousin of Dr. John H. Fogg of Boston, who presented it to the society. In 1962 the society returned the banner to South Carolina. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 29 (1875): 118; George Henry Preble, *History of the Flag of the United States of America, and of the Naval and Yacht-Club Signals, Seals, and Arms...*, 4th ed. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1894), 496-97; Nathaniel N. Shipton, Manuscript Curator, New England Historic Genealogical Society, to the author, March 1, and June 21, 1989. A large banner used in Savannah's celebration of South Carolina's secession is in the visitor center at Fort Pulaski National Park. Furniture from both St. Andrew's Hall and First Baptist Church have also been preserved as relics because of their association with the convention.

45. i.e., amanuensis, one employed to write from dictation or copy manuscripts; a scribe.

46. The *State* (Columbia), May 9, 1901.

47. Alexander S. Salley, Jr., Feb. 20, 1907, to Miss Mary B. Poppenheim. Francis Marion Hutson, who joined the staff of the Historical Commission in 1936, told William L. McDowell,

Jr., in the early 1950s that an itinerant German who was in Charleston sometime in the 1890s had been hired to trace over the Ordinance. The late LaVerne Watson, director of the South Carolina Confederate Relic Room and Museum, had heard a similar story. Benjamin F. Arthur, Jr.'s story that use of the Ordinance as a fire screen in the governor's office after Reconstruction caused it to fade sounds apocryphal. See footnote 16.

48. The *State* (Columbia), May 8, 9, 10, 1901, Dec. 18, 1910. The front page story in the May 9, 1901 issue includes only nine survivors. The 1910 account includes ten signers who had "passed away since that great reunion." An eleventh, Robert A. Thompson, was then still living. William Hunter was omitted from both reckonings.

49. *Charleston News and Courier*, Dec. 9, 1901.

50. "Report of Board of Commissioners to Cooperate at South Carolina Interstate and West Indian Exposition," *Reports and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina, Regular Session Commencing January 13, 1903* (Columbia: The State Company, 1903), 1:980; the *State* (Columbia), Nov. 30, Dec. 10, 1901; *Charleston News and Courier*, Nov. 30, Dec. 9, 1901; concurrent resolution authorizing the exhibit in House and Senate journals, Feb. 11 and 12, 1901; J. C. Hemphill, "A Short Story of the South Carolina Inter-State and West Indian Exposition,"

Yearbook, 1902, City of Charleston, So. Ca. (Charleston: Walker, Evans & Cogswell, 1903), 158, 160-61.

51. Owen Wister, "The Charleston Exposition," *Charleston*, March 10, 1902, printed in *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* 64:161-62; Malcolm Bell, Jr., *Major Butler's Legacy: Five Generations of a Slaveholding Family* (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1987), xvi-xvii, 461.

52. Owen Wister, *Roosevelt, the Story of a Friendship, 1880-1919* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930), 95-99; Hemphill, "A Short Story," 163-65; *Charleston News and Courier*, April 10, 1902; Bell, *Major Butler's Legacy*, 462-69.

53. Alexander S. Salley, July 31, 1945, to Randolph G. Adams, copy in subject file, South Carolina Archives. In 1940 Salley hoped to acquire a display vault for the Ordinance, which was then still "in a common wooden frame." Alexander S. Salley, June 21, 1940, to Senator Edgar A. Brown, South Carolina Historical Commission Files, South Carolina Archives.

54. The *State* (Columbia), Dec. 18, 1910, Aug. 8, 1914; *New York Herald* quoted in the *State*, Jan. 2, 1912; *Keowee Courier*, Jan. 5, 1861; 1860 Slave Schedules, Pickens District, Roll 1236, National Archives Microcopy 653, Eighth Census of the United States, microfilm copy at the South Carolina Archives.

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Hunter Clarkson of Alt Lee Inc. photographed the Ordinance

of Secession, the 1861 one dollar note of the Bank of the State of South Carolina, and the matrices of the Great Seal of South Carolina. All are in the custody of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History. Terry Richardson photographed the "Secession Banner," which is owned by the South Carolina Historical Society and on loan to The Charleston Museum. It is reproduced here courtesy of The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina. The "Secession Table" was photographed in Union by Dennis Prather. All of the portrait images except three likenesses listed below are from the remarkable Heyward Album of cartes de visite at the South Caroliniana Library. Charles Gay of the library's staff photographed these images as well as the sheet music, the photograph of Robert A. Thompson, the newspaper engraving of James Chesnut, Jr., and the engraving of Secretary of State Tindal. These four items are also in the holdings of the library.