

TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

On the 29th of November, 1865, I entered upon the discharge of the duties of Chief Magistrate of South Carolina, pursuant to the provisions of the Constitution adopted by a Convention in September, 1865. This Convention was called by a Proclamation of Provisional Governor Pickens, he having been appointed to that position by President Johnson, the July preceding.

Upon what principle the President declared that the Constitution of force at the close of the war was valid, and by virtue of what authority he could order the formation of a new Constitution, has not been very well defined. Nevertheless, as we were just emerging from a revolution, and as the scheme of restoration proposed by the President appeared to be liberal and just, it was accepted by the people of South Carolina, and by no one of her citizens more heartily than by myself. That plan, however, failed; as indicated by the vote of the people in 1866. A new one was adopted by Congress, and the question presented to the then existing Executive of the Southern States was whether they would advise its acceptance or rejection. My official functions having now terminated, I deem the present a proper occasion to briefly review what has been done in the State during my administration—to present some of the reasons which have influenced my official action, and to express the opinions entertained by me as to the proper line of policy in the future.

Until the General Assembly in November, 1865, the State had been for many months entirely under the jurisdiction of provost courts and military commissions. No civil court had met to administer law or justice in South Carolina for more than twelve months preceding. Outlaws abounded in many localities; and desperadoes roamed over the land defying the military and outraging the persons and property of citizens. It was not until the succeeding Spring that the judges resumed their places upon the bench, courts were held, criminals brought to trial and punishment, and civil law, to a certain extent, was restored. Citizens then became more assured of protection and the prospect of material progress and improvement hourly brightened. The public institutions were revived. The South Carolina College was converted into a University, re-organized and placed in successful operation. The Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind, was re-opened and continued in operation until the exhaustion of the fund appropriated by the Legislature. A penitentiary was ordered to be established, and rapid progress has been made in its construction. A large number of convicts are already incarcerated in the prison, earning their subsistence and relieving the State from the expense of maintaining them in idleness in the jails. The new State House has been enclosed and covered, thus protecting a structure, which has cost an immense sum of money, from further deterioration and decay. Court houses have been placed in proper repair, or new ones erected, and the jails destroyed by fires have been rebuilt. The Library of the Court of Appeals, together with the Legislative Library, which were destroyed by the conflagration of February, 1865, are again filling up with those volumes so essential to the judge and legislator in the performance of their duties, the Executives of the various States of the Union having generously responded to the request that they would furnish duplicate copies of such books as could be conveniently spared from their respective collections. The Executive Departments have been thoroughly reorganized, and are in successful operation, and the records and archives of the State which were not destroyed by fire or lost by the casualties of war, have been re-arranged for the public convenience. Artificial legs have been furnished to nearly all of the citizens of South Carolina who lost their limbs during the war. All the important railroads of the State which were torn up and destroyed towards the close of the war have been repaired, and the lines are now in successful operation and prepared to facilitate the commercial intercourse of the interior with the seaboard, the North, and with foreign nations. Repeated remonstrances made against the illegal and oppressive conduct of Treasury agents have secured the restitution of much property belonging to the citizens which had been seized, ostensibly, for the use of the Government, and the obnoxious parties were recalled or dismissed. During the year 1866, and up to April, 1867, there was little or no interference by the military authorities with the civil administration of justice in this State. In consequence of the failure of the provision crop of 1866 appeals were addressed to every section of the North and West for corn and other provisions to supply the destitute, who were numbered by thousands. These appeals were generously responded to, and through this Department a large quantity of corn and bacon was distributed during the Spring and Summer of 1867, thereby alleviating the sufferings of a multitude, many of whom would probably have starved but for these generous donations. A bureau of emigration has been organized and agents sent abroad, with the view of inviting portions of the teeming population of the Old World to seek homes on the generous and inviting soil of South Carolina. The merchant has replenished his vacant storehouse, the mechanic his machine shop, the planter and farmer, notwithstanding past disappointments, are hopeful and industrious; and a vigorous effort is being made by all classes to repair the disasters of a bloody and unsuccessful war.

Taxes sufficient to defray the ordinary and extraordinary expenses of the State government have been paid. No combinations have existed to defeat by violence, the laws of the land; and no riot between the white and colored races has marred the peace and good order which has prevailed in South Carolina since the cessation of hostilities. Indeed, a degree of tranquility has marked on the career which may proudly challenge comparison not only with any of the late Confederate

States, but with any State in the Union.

Within one year after the abolition of slavery the Legislature of our State voluntarily passed a "Civil Rights Bill," which secured to the colored man all the rights enjoyed by any citizen—allowing him to sue and be sued, and to give evidence in all cases. The traditional prejudice brought from the mother country, which had been nourished for ages, against permitting any party in interest to give evidence in any cause, civil or criminal, was broken down; and the law now invites testimony from every source which is calculated to evolve the whole truth, leaving it to jurors and judges to determine what credence shall be given thereto.

From time to time measures for the relief of the people who were suffering from the pressure of a large ante-war indebtedness were recommended by me to the Legislature, but that body, in its wisdom, did not think it proper to adopt these suggestions. A liberal homestead law, the abolition of imprisonment for debt, and the passage of an insolvent law which would wipe out all indebtedness on the surrender, by the debtor, of his property, have been earnestly urged by me during my administration, but while failing in the General Assembly to compass these most desirable ends, I am gratified to know that such measures have been embodied in the new Constitution.

It would also have been wise to incorporate in that instrument a provision for the scaling of debts contracted prior to and during the war down to the basis of the existing wealth and resources of the country. No one will question that the war destroyed more than one-half of the value of property in the South, and since its close various causes have produced a depreciation of one-half of the State is really reduced to one-fourth of its value prior to the war. Now, if an individual chanced, at the commencement of the struggle, to have his estate invested in loans on bonds and mortgages, there certainly can be no justice or propriety in permitting him to recover the full amount of his property, dollar for dollar, when the very property upon which the credit was given has perished in the hands of the debtor, not by his own act but by the act of the Government and the casualties of war for which the lender and borrower are equally responsible. There is no justice, equity or morality which would require that the note or bondholder prior to the war, should not suffer at least pro rata with the debtor whose property was ruined by the calamities and disasters of the same period.

The present is also a fitting opportunity for a brief review of my course since the passage of the Reconstruction Acts of Congress, and of the reasons influencing my conduct with reference to them—the same not having before been presented. In January, 1867, at the instance of several of the leading citizens of the State, I visited Washington, and after a full conference with leading Senators and Representatives of the Republican party, became satisfied that under no circumstances would they recognize the President's plan of restoration; and that in the plan which Congress intended to adopt, the alternative presented was either qualified or universal suffrage to the colored race. In view of this fact, the text of a constitutional amendment was prepared by several leading Southern statesmen then in Washington, approved by many Republicans, and submitted to the Legislature of North Carolina in the hope that that body would accept the same, and request Congress to adopt it in lieu of the fourteenth article, or Howard amendment. It, however, failed in the North Carolina Legislature. On my return to the City of Charleston, early in February, in an address delivered to the colored people of the city, I stated that I was in favour of admitting the colored man to the right of suffrage who was able to read and write, or who possessed property to the value of \$250. Early in March, the first reconstruction act of Congress was passed, and on the 22d of the same month it was followed by a supplemental act, giving to the colored race universal suffrage, and dividing the ten Southern States into five military districts. These governments, which had been brought into existence by the plan of the President, were declared to be only provisional. The District Commanders were vested with such absolute powers as made the civil authority subservient to, and dependent upon, the military. In April following, in an address made before the Charleston Board of Trade, among other things, I said: "The vital question now presented to the people of South Carolina, as well as to the people of the Southern States, is whether we shall accept the terms of these bills and endeavor earnestly and in good faith to carry out their provisions, or fold our arms in silence, apathy, indifference and contempt, and determined to take no step." Again: "While the constitutional amendment was proposed to South Carolina as a State, and our own volition in that capacity could be exercised, I opposed its adoption; but the act of Congress, recently passed, has assumed that this country is a conquered territory and we a conquered people, and consequently that that body has a right to dictate terms. The power undoubtedly exists in that body to dictate those terms; it is secure for the next two years; and when they place themselves squarely and broadly upon that platform, I for one do not propose to go to the Supreme Court or anywhere else for the purpose of disputing that power; but in good faith, I will accept the terms, humiliating as they may be, and openly, fairly and honestly urge their adoption before our people." Again, I remarked: "I would, therefore, say to every man in South Carolina who has not been disfranchised, that as soon as the proper order has been issued, he should proceed to register his name, and go to the polls to vote for the best man who can be selected to form a constitution under which we and our posterity can live."

Congress had taken the position that the right belonged to that body, rather than to the President, to fix the conditions upon which the Southern States should be readmitted to the Union. Hence the pertinacity with which they adhered to the Constitutional plan, and hence the passage of the act of July, imposing still more stringent conditions than existed in the preceding law. Hence, also, the long, angry and unfortunate controversy between the President and Congress—a quarrel in which we have been the suffer-

ers. For three long years, readmission into the Union and the right of representation has been denied us, and Congress having the power to enforce their views, and the President being impotent to execute his own plan, was it not wise for the South to accept that which promised the speediest restoration to a representation in Congress? Although many of our citizens were disfranchised, a sufficient number still were entitled to go to the ballot box, and being eligible to official position, they could have controlled the conventions by intelligence and virtue, and moulded constitutions in all of the Southern States under which both races might have lived in harmony. I was satisfied that our material prosperity, the development of our resources and the restoration of confidence and credit, could not be secured until the political issues involved in the question of reconstruction were settled, and the representatives of the South on the floor of Congress could make known her wants and protest against her wrongs. Our capital had been swept away by hundreds of millions: a large number of our young men—the flower of the population—had been killed in the war; and industrial employments were either crippled or broken up, and the wide spread ruin could only be repaired by inducing capitalists from the North and from Europe to locate in our midst, and bring with them their artisans, merchants, mechanics, ship-builders, and others whose labor is wealth itself. The struggle which impoverished us made the North rich; and since the formation of the Government capital has never been so abundant or so ready to embark in safe investments. Yet, for three long years, both capital and emigrants have been deterred from seeking a resting place in the South. Partisans, using a partisan press for partisan purposes, have represented the South as being still in a condition of quasi rebellion. Life has been declared to be insecure and property uncertain. It was said that Northern men who had the temerity to seek homes in the South, were set upon by ruthless mobs and murdered. Every species of enormity were attributed to the Southern people to subvert political and partisan ends. The effect of such misrepresentations upon us has been most disastrous. A few tourists have come to the State—a few adventurers looking to political promotion have rested here; but a comparatively small number have brought their capital and located with the bona fide purpose of identifying themselves with the State and aiding her people to rebuild their broken fortunes. The appreciation in the value of the stocks and bonds of the State within a few months past, furnish conclusive evidence of the correctness of the opinion that Northern capital would not be trusted in the South until representation in Congress was consummated. In January last, South Carolina stocks and bonds were selling at twenty two and twenty five cents on the dollar. Now, with restoration assured, they are worth from sixty two to sixty six cents on the dollar. In the Spring and Summer of 1867, money readily commanded from two and a half to three per cent per month. In the same market it is now readily borrowed at from three quarters to one per cent per month.

Objectionable as the reconstruction Acts, or the new constitutions, or the privilege of universal suffrage to the colored race, may have been, was it not the part of wisdom, looking at the condition of affairs in the material sense to which I have referred, and to the fact that the domination of the bayonet could not be superseded by the judge and the jury-box, to have accepted these obnoxious measures, controlled as far as possible the conventions, secured the best constitutions, gained readmission into the Federal councils, and trusted to the future to correct such errors, remove such burdens and rebuke such tyranny as made odious either the Acts of Congress or the constitutions or legislation of the States?

Being myself firmly convinced of the prudence of such a policy, I enunciated the sentiments before the Board of Trade already quoted; and as far as possible, I have co-operated in good faith with the military authorities in carrying out the laws of Congress and promoting peace and order among the people. Whatever may be my individual opinion as to their constitutionality, it was my duty to recognize their validity until pronounced unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States.

When the election occurred for members of the State Convention, the white population of South Carolina, by their action at least, seemed to have adopted opinions adverse to those which I have expressed. Very few repaired to the polls to vote for delegates to that body. There appeared to be a stange delusion prevailing the public mind, that the Convention would not meet, or, if it did meet, that its action would be nugatory. It is, perhaps, the first instance in the history of a free, intelligent people where the ballot having been given to them they have refused its exercise and abdicated the power, the rights and privileges which their intelligence, experience and wealth would have enabled them to wield successfully. They ignored their opportunity, and surrendered to strangers, and to the colored people almost exclusive, the selection of delegates to the Convention. If, therefore, the constitution framed is obnoxious, very many of the intelligent white voters of the State must feel that the fault is their own. Their action, perhaps, has been wiser than my advice. Time alone must decide.

As has been stated, in February, 1867, I avowed myself favorable to the idea of conferring qualified suffrage upon the colored race. It was manifest that to that extent, at least, suffrage would be enforced. But a higher motive moved me to make the emancipation.

The colored population in South Carolina outnumbered the whites by 120,000.—Many of the colored men had enjoyed some educational advantages, and others had accumulated property. In making laws which were to operate upon this entire class as well as upon the whites—laws affecting the life, liberty, property and pursuit of happiness of so considerable a majority of the population—was it just or right that this class should be excluded from any voice in choosing the representatives to enact those laws? Would they have patiently and tamely submitted to a system of laws which they had no agency in making; or to taxation without representation? If there had been no open combinations to resist and defeat such leg-

islation, could secret societies, conspiracies, perjuries and assassinations have been prevented? Would a single individual of that class—be his intelligence and virtue what it may—have had any inducement to co-operate in the enforcement of laws thus passed?

These views which were regarded with so much odium only a brief year ago, when I was frank enough to make them public, are now accepted by large and respectable organizations of the white people in every section of the State, and on that basis earnest efforts are being made to obtain the support of the colored race.

Looking even to the interest of that race, Congress, in my judgment, committed a grievous mistake in bestowing upon it universal suffrage. It may secure a temporary party triumph, but it will inevitably lay the foundation of a corrupt government—of corruption among voters and corruption among legislators and ministerial officers.

Can it be expected that wholesome laws will emanate from legislators whose constituents may be ignorant and vicious?—Again, where the large majority of voters are ignorant, do they thus become the instruments of corrupt men, in elevating to power those who are utterly unworthy of their suffrage? How can a voter, whose mind is unenlightened by experience or intelligence, protect himself from fraud or imposition—unable, as he will be, to discriminate between that which is upright and that which is depraved?

Universal suffrage is an evil which has been appreciated for many years; and the evil results from the fact that the ignorant voter enables the corrupt aspirant for office by bribery, persuasion or importunity to foist himself into position, and then protect himself in his tenure by means at once illegitimate and dishonorable. It is for this reason that universal suffrage has been repudiated in several of the Northern States.

To confer the right, therefore, upon the colored people of the South—the majority of whom have just emerged from a condition of slavery, and who have not intelligence to exercise the privilege, is a wrong done to society and to the colored man himself, which must retard the civilization of this section for many years to come.—It has, however, been imposed upon the South, and in my judgment the evil will not be ameliorated except through our own exertions, aided by the efforts and influences of the more intelligent of the colored race.

It is very apparent that the Republican party, so long as they may retain power, will adhere to universal suffrage. With their plan of restoration carried into effect as it has been, the Republican party are now willing to leave the question of suffrage to the States themselves, their policy having placed the party in power; and it is vain to expect any restriction while they remain in power. It is equally idle to anticipate relief from the Democratic party. The Republicans will have the undisputed control of the government on the 4th of March, 1869. Even though the Democrats succeed in the Fall elections, and secure their President, and the House of Representatives, there will still be a Republican majority of more than two thirds in the Senate, and that majority must continue if the present party divisions are maintained, until the 4th of March, 1870. Assuming, therefore, that all the intermediate elections shall be favorable to the Democratic party, not until the 4th of March, 1871, can they obtain control of the legislative and executive departments of the Government; and not until then, whatever may be their disposition, will they possess the strength necessary to limit this right of suffrage. When in power, however, how are they to proceed in removing the evil—what remedy can they apply? Will they repeal the Reconstruction acts of 1867?

The Convention in New York has avowed the doctrine that the right of regulating suffrage belongs exclusively to the States. Upon that issue, mainly within the last six months, the party have achieved their success over the Republicans in the North and West.

In 1871, the Southern State governments will have been in operation under these Acts for three years, and, to a certain extent, society will have adapted itself to their laws and requirements. Should the Democrats, under these circumstances, repeal the Reconstruction Acts, or should the Supreme Court pronounce them unconstitutional and declare the State organizations then existing void, we shall be left in a condition of anarchy. If, on the other hand, they declare them to be simply provisional, what authority will then determine the question of suffrage? The theory of the Democratic party will do so.—Will the party in direct opposition to that theory, when they pass new Reconstruction Acts, ignore the Southern Constitutions of 1868, and by their act declare against the suffrage of the colored man, either universal or qualified? Will not such action upon their part be directly antagonistic to their professed principles, and their legislation be following directly in the footsteps of the Republicans whom they censure so gravely for regulating suffrage in the States?

Should the Supreme Court declare the Acts unconstitutional, and the State government void, what government will be in existence? Can anarchy then be avoided without the intervention of Congress, and an invasion of the right of the State to regulate this question? Will the Constitutions of 1869, or 1865, be declared in force; and will the officers in office, when those Constitutions were superseded in 1868, be reinstated? If so, which set of officers? The terms of all of them have expired. How will elections be ordered to fill their vacancies?

Upon neither of the foregoing theories can the right of suffrage in the States be regulated otherwise than by Congress.—Does any reflecting man believe for a moment, that Congress, in 1871, will remit these States to a territorial and chaotic condition, and require us to go through a new process of restoration. The Southern people need not delude themselves with false expectations. When the time arrives, if the Democratic party are in power, and the regulations of suffrage in the States is the recognized principle, depend upon it, the status quo then existing will not be disturbed by Congress.

What, then, are we to rely upon to relieve the body politic from the serious injury which is to result from the continu-

ance of universal suffrage, with so much ignorance prevailing among the voters. In my judgment, the remedy is exclusively with ourselves. It will prove illusory to rely upon help emanating from any other source. Intelligence and wealth have heretofore, in all sections of the Union, sooner or later, controlled the votes of the ignorant and dependent, and in time the same result will follow.

That the colored vote should have sustained the Republican party, in the recent elections, is not surprising, especially when it is remembered that the party was solidified by the organization of another party, whose principles, as avowed, looked to the repudiation, or at least to the abridgment of the elective franchise, which Congress has granted to the colored man.—When he was called upon to cast his ballot, and the issue presented was to sustain the party which had first proclaimed his freedom, enacted the Freedman's Bureau and Civil Rights bill, which had extended to him the right of universal suffrage, and was then struggling to maintain its existence against the party, which in Congress and elsewhere had opposed all these privileges—when to vote in opposition to Republican ideas, was to voluntarily renounce the elective franchise so much esteemed as a public boon—it was not at all surprising that the ballot of the colored man was cast, nearly as a unit, against the advice and influence of the great majority of the white population of the Southern States. When this question of suffrage is settled, he will learn that his best friends and safest advisers, are those with whom from childhood he has been associated in the various relations of life. Many of the colored people will soon begin to acquire property, and they will at once appreciate the identity of political and personal interest between themselves and the white race. This interest, combined with a disappearance of that prejudice and distrust which now exists, will, if they are kindly and fairly treated, induce them heartily to co-operate with the whites, in imposing such restrictions upon the right of suffrage, as will secure society against tumult, disorder and vicious legislation. To the white, and to the intelligent colored man alike, therefore, and to no external power do I look for a limitation of the right of suffrage, and its establishment upon the basis of an educational property qualification. Should they fail, however, they will control and direct the vote of the ignorant, and thus exert a conservative influence upon the welfare of the State.

The evils of universal suffrage, which have already largely developed themselves, will in a few months teach the colored race the most instructive lessons, especially in those Districts in which they have a majority. The ambition of adventurers of their own race, and the love of notoriety possessed by many natives, have induced large numbers of them to become candidates for offices, legislative, ministerial and judicial. When called upon to perform the various duties of these offices, it will be found that their lack of education, information, experience and training will utterly disqualify them from holding positions so responsible. As a consequence, the country will be overrun with inefficient and incompetent officers, and the public interest and the peace of society will alike be jeopardized by their incapacity. The meritorious and intelligent of the colored population, whose interests are identified with those of the white race, will themselves soon appreciate these facts, and realize the grave mistake that has been made in elevating to position a class of persons unfitted therefor. They will likewise perceive that the evil can only be corrected by restricting the privilege of the ballot box to those who have intelligence sufficient to enable them to judge of the fitness and capacity of those who may aspire to represent them? Hence this class will be prepared to unite cheerfully with the white race in imposing the restriction which experience will demonstrate to be necessary.

A corrupt magistrate, or an ignorant constable, has in his power solely to annoy and oppress the poor—those whose contracts are limited to small sums, and upon whom mainly the jurisdiction of officers of this grade will be exercised. An incompetent sheriff involves his sureties in ruin, entails loss upon parties who have executions in his hands, and harasses the public by an inefficient discharge of his duties. The same remark applies to all other officers. Experience has demonstrated that there can be no greater curse inflicted upon a community than incompetent officials, to whom is entrusted the expounding and enforcement of the law, and the preservation of peace. The first and heaviest sufferers under the existing condition of affairs are likely to be the colored people themselves.

The Reconstruction acts have given to the five Military Commanders almost absolute power in the Southern States. The power to enact laws by order, to remove all classes of officers, and to appoint others, unquestionably constituted the military superior to civil authority. In performing the duties of the Executive of the State, therefore, I have sought to avoid collision with this assumed superior power, and thereby secure the least interference with the civil administration of the government. I have invited no controversy and provoked no antagonism, and it is my duty and pleasure to say that, in the main, the military have rarely interfered with the officers of the State in the performance of their duties. The present Military Commander has rarely interfered with the administration of the criminal law, and where appeals have been addressed to him to interfere his authority, he has invariably referred them to me for final decision. The Judges of the Court of Appeals, the Circuit Judges, (with a single exception,) and all the Chancellors concurring in the views above expressed, have yielded obedience to such military orders as have been issued, and a similar spirit of co-operation has been exhibited by all other executive, judicial and ministerial officers. This course, in my judgment, has been eminently wise. It has secured the retention of the officers elected by the people themselves, and the execution and enforcement of their own laws. If obedience had been refused by any department, there can be no doubt that removals would have taken place, and strangers appointed to fill the vacancies. Every officer in the State, who could conscientiously carry out the military orders, has rendered an essential service to the people in that he has relieved the citizen from what, in all probability, would have been a much

more rigorous and oppressive administration of military law in case of the exhibition of any contumacy.

In adopting this general line of policy, endeavoring to carry out in good faith the provisions of the reconstruction acts, I was satisfied that the citizen would be better protected in person and property than if the civil structure was overturned, and, in lieu of it an exclusively military government was established. I have found the military at all times ready to co-operate, cheerfully and efficiently, with the civil authority, whenever they have been called upon so to do; and the course of conciliation pursued has often enabled me to intervene, for the benefit of the citizen, in whose case the rigor of military authority might have been oppressive.—By this course of conciliation, I have been enabled to effect modifications of military orders that might have borne heavily upon communities. By this course of conciliation, the taxes imposed by the military have not only been materially reduced, but levied upon a more equitable and acceptable basis than heretofore. By this course of conciliation, I have been enabled to secure the usual support for the public institutions, and they have been fostered and encouraged. Public improvements have not been arrested, but pushed forward to a state of completion. And, finally, harmony and peace have been preserved, and the great interests of the commonwealth been promoted, so that the people of the State have not materially experienced the usual inconveniences of military rule. And I now repeat, what has already been stated, namely, that the peace of society, the liberty of the citizen, the protection of person and property, the usual avocations and employments of the citizen, and the regular administration of justice, have been interfered with and obstructed as little in South Carolina as in any other of the ten States under military rule.

The Executive might have resigned, or have refused to recognize the Acts of Congress, and the military orders, and have been removed. The Judges of the Courts of Appeal, of the Circuit Courts, and of the Court of Chancery, District officers, tax collectors, magistrates, and others, might have adopted a similar policy. But what would have been the result?—Their places would have been filled by strangers, having neither interest nor sympathy with our population; or there would have been established an absolute military government with bayonets and provost courts to enforce military law, to afford the protection demanded by the various classes in the community. It may be, that those holding official position in South Carolina, who have adopted the course which has been pursued, have acted unwisely; but it is doubtful whether a conscientious man can be found, within the limits of the State, who will not admit that, by this policy, the citizen has been protected from the arbitrary oppressions of the bayonet power. It remains for the people to say whether their executive, judicial and ministerial officers have not, under all the circumstances, acted in accordance with the dictates of wisdom, and patriotism, and pursued the only policy which could secure the peace and prosperity of the State.

My successor, Governor R. K. Scott, has been inaugurated. His address and message are before you. The principles and purposes which he avows, with reference to the policy and interest of the State, are wise and patriotic, and I respectfully invite the people to give his administration a full and fair trial, before they determine upon its condemnation. However much as an individual, he may differ in political opinion with the majority of the white citizens who represent the wealth and intelligence of South Carolina, I believe it to be his aim and object, as the Executive of the State, to develop in the largest degree her material prosperity. In this undertaking he should receive the co-operation of every class of the community and an encouragement which will stimulate him to such exertions as will not only command the praise of men, but obliterate the memory of the wrongs and prejudices of the past.

A few words personal to myself, and I am done. Twenty four years ago I entered the service of the people of South Carolina. During this period, which has embraced the prime of my life, I have filled, with a brief respite, many of the most honorable and responsible positions in the State and General Government. I may have committed grave errors of judgment; but in every sphere in which I have acted, it has been my aim to protect and promote the interests of the people of South Carolina. In common with all public men, my motives have been impugned and my actions misrepresented. Harsh and unjust criticism has often followed the most earnest efforts to accomplish good; but I have lived long enough to be rewarded by the success of many measures and opinions, which have outlived the censure bestowed upon them and their author. While some have shown an antagonism which was undesired, I have received sympathy and support from many kind friends, who in the darkest moments, have never relaxed their confidence in the earnestness and honesty of purpose with which I have sought to administer public affairs.

Especially during the last three years, in which I have acted as the Governor of South Carolina, under embarrassments unknown to any of my predecessors, I have encountered prejudices, whose bitterness time alone can assuage, and whose injustice time alone will obliterate. Conscious, however, of a rectitude of purpose, feeling that Providence had placed me in a position which would enable me to serve the people of South Carolina, and perhaps spare them the infliction of many of the evils incident to absolute military authority, I have pursued my convictions, regardless of the threats of enemies or the importunities of friends. My work has been accomplished. The State has passed into the control of those authorized to govern it by the supreme law of the land; and nothing is left to me now, but to invoke the blessings of Heaven upon this shattered and stricken commonwealth.

To the people of South Carolina, for their oft-repeated evidences of confidence and support, I tender my heartfelt thanks, and bid them farewell.

JAMES L. ORR.

COLUMBIA, July 10, 1868.

Commodore James F. Miller, forty two years in service, is dead.