

be provided for.

Executive Committee:

a recess until 4 o clock. Mr. Wallace suggested that as this was the

day of the decoration of the Confederate sol-

diers' graves, the motion be amended to take

a recess until 7 P. M., which was agreed to,

and the Convintion then adjourned to that

NIGHT SESSION.

Mr; Warley introduced the following resolu-

Resolved. That this Convention, representing

the tax-payers of the State of South Carolina

and authorized to speak for them, solemnly

declare the intention of the people to resist by

all lawful means the payment of any debt here

Mr. Simons introduced the following reso-

Resolved, That this Convention of the Prop-

out legal sanction, and the so-called sterling

loan, or any other bonds or obligations here

after issued, purporting to be under, and by virtue of the authority of this State, as at pres-

State, which have been practically re-

to repair the damage to the good faith and

Mr. Adams introduced the following pream-

Whereas, taxation without adequate repre-

sentation is an anamoly in a true Republican

government; and, whereas, the tax-payers of

the State of South Carolina are now laboring

under the intolerable burdens arising from non-

representation in the legislative councils of the

cellency the Governor a suspension of the col-

lection of taxes for the year 1871 until the ad-

journment of the next session of the Legisla-

Resolved, 2. That it is the sense of this Con-

vention that the necessities of the tax-payers of

the State of South Carolina imperatively re-

tion, which was referred, with all others, to the

# ANDERSON, S. C., THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1871.

PROCEEDINGS

Service and a service of the

#### OF THE

## TAX-PAYERS' CONVENTION.

#### SECOND DAY.

The Convention assembled at 12 M., Hou, V. D. Poster in the Chair. Wr. Wilson moved that the Convention take W. D. Poster in the Chair. The following named delegates were an-

nounced as having registered their names : Kershaw county, William M. Shannon ; Richland county, D. H. Chamberlain ; Charles. ton county, W. B. Smith; Lexington county, F. S. Lewie; Chesterfield county, A. M. Lowry; Clarendon county, John L. Manning, John P. Richardson, James E. Tindall; Fairfield coun-

ty, John Bratton; T. W. Woodward; Farmend Count county, John B. Moore, F. H. Kennedy; Williamsburg county, David Epps; Abbeville county, Armistead Burt and B. Z. Herndon; Anderson county, James A. Hoyt; Edgefield county, M. L. Bonham; Pickens county, W. E. Holcombe, D. F. Bradley ; Oconee county, J. A. Doyle, Wm. C. Keitt.

The minutes of yesterday's proceedings. were then read and confirmed.

Were then read and commend. Under a suspension of the rules, Mr. Gary introduced the following resolution which was after contracted by the present State govern ment, or by any subsequent government, in which the property-holders of the State are adopted: Resolved, That W. D. Simpson, of Andernot represented.

son; C. H. Suber, of Newberry; A. D. Good, wyn, of Orangeburg, and W. H. Trescott, of Greenville, be invited to seats upon the floor of the Cenvention, and to participate in the erty-hole erty-holders and Tax-payers of the State of South Carolina, do hereby deem it our duty to declare that the bonds heretofore issued, withdeliberations.

Mr. Chesnut, from the Executive Committee, reported upon the resolutions of Mr. Warley in relation to the administration of justice, recommending that the same do pass. The report was adopted and the resolutions

ent constituted, will not be held binding on us sgreed to. The Committee of Eleven, under the fourth and that we recommend to the people of the resolution of the Board of Trade, and the State in every manner and at all times, to Committee on the Suffrage Laws were not resist the payment thereof or the enforcement of any tax to pay the same, by all legitimate meaus within our power. Resolved. That we deem it our duty to warn.

ready to report. Call of counties. Mr. Aldrich, of Barnwell, introduced the fol-Mr. Aldrich, of Barnweit, introduced the for-lowing resolutions, which were referred to the Excentive Committee: Executive Committee: Resolved, That the Executive Committee, Resolved, That the Executive Committee, with the President, shall have it in charge to protect the interest represented by this Con-vention in the interval of adjournment, to keep void, as having been issued corruptly, improviin view the current legislation of the Legisla-ture, and to call the Convention together at derogation of the rights of that portion of the such time as they may deem expedient. Resolved. That a committee of five be appeople of this State upon whom the public burdens are made to rest. Resolved, That a committee of five be ap-

pointed by the Executive Committee. to pre-pare a truthful and condensed report of the pointed to investigate and report a plan to restore the credit of the State, and to confer with the representatives of the Fire Loan securities condition of the State now and since the war, and that the same be printed and distributed. Mr. Simons, of Charleston, introduced the of the following, which was referred to the Executive pudiated by the State authorities, with a view

Committee Resolved, That a committee of five be ap- | honor of the State, by influencing an early lipointed to confer with the Governor in relation quidation of these obligations. to the postponement of the collection of taxes, to be raised in November ensuing, and report ble and resolutions:

to be raised in November ensuing, and report upon the same to this Convention... Mr. Wallace of Richland, introduced the following preamble and resolutions, which were referred to the Executive Committee:

WHEREAS, crimes hitherto unknown in South Carolina, viz. embezzlement of public funds, and bribery in the Legislature, have become so flagrant as to make the Government of the State a bye-word and reproach in the eyes of the civilized world, committed as they have been almost openly in the presence of the Exe-cutive of the State and of the Attorney Gen-eral, whose duty it is to see that all offenders are brought to punishment. And whereas, these violations of law on the part of those occupying high places in the Government, com-mitted almost openly, and with impunity, be-get a spirit of lawlessness throughout the State.

Resolved. That the Attorney General be in-Mr. J. P. 100 structed to ferret out and prosecute all such offenders, and that a Committee of Five, mem-bers of this Convention, be appointed by the chair, to aid that officer in the discharge of to make the following report:

tional representation. In the case stated the following, which was referred to the Executive 5,000 Democrats would secure one representa-Committee: Resolved. That it be referred to the Execuive, and the 9,000 Republicans two representive Committee to report some plan by which the necessary expenses of this Convention shall tatives. This is the principle of proportional representation by means of the cumulative sys-

Mr. Chesnut, from the Executive Commit-Your committee desiring to confine themselves to general propositions, propose to re-frain from further details. tee, asked leave for that committee to sit during the regular session of the Convention.

Your committee are gratified to state that this system of cumulative voting, which is des-tined to play so important a part in the development of popular rule, has already been put in operation, "proposed, explained, and advocated," in the first instance, by James Garth Marshall, a subject of the crown of Great Britain. This plan has been championed by ex-Senator Buckalew, of this country; has been incorporated in the revised Constitution of Illi-nois, and has been put upon its trial in a Pennsylvania town. Recently, the subject has at-tracted universal interest in the South. In our own State it has been received with great favor, and lifted above the plane of political partyism. Your committee are of the opinion that, ab-

stractly considered, proportional representaion is a great governmental principle, a wise, just measure of reform, and one absolutely necessary to make unlimited suffrage consistent with peace, order and security. It enters the political body as a saving, a conserving element. It comes to leaven the lump of democracy, and to give essence of genuine republicanism, which is, briefly stated, thorough and genuine representation. But if propor-tional representation be an admirable system in any government founded upon the popular will, your committee holds that the plan peculiarly applicable to such a condition of so-ciety as this State now presents.

to attain.

come or not, we cannot decide. In either event, the minority in South Carolina, put forth their claim in this behalf.

It is their right. Should it be denied, the responsibility must rest upon those who use thus the power that the present gives. Should it be tendered, it will doubtless produce the fruits of justice, and widen the circle of peace. This much we may add: Since it is the nature of majorities to change, it may be well for the dominant party to consider whether the adoption of proportional representation may not for them, be the best. policy for the future, as well as the highest wisdom for the present. Mr. Thomas spoke substantially as follows,

in support of the measure : extraordinary credit was to be given to the Cummittee in connection with the presentation of the report. As the report itself inti mated, the subject was no new one. Both in Europe and in this country, every thoughtful man has had his mind turned to the subject of cumulative voting. The matter is of great importance to the people of the State of South future. Carolina. The Convention had assembled under the inspiration of a great public sentiment ; great abuses in the State Government had been the cause of calling the Convention into life. and specific remedies were to be proposed for specific evils.

In South Carolina, there are two races, who have between them a strong line of demarka-Some seemed to imagine that that there tion. was a political millenium not far distant. The

quire such suspension. the Executive Committee, to whom was referred the question of the expediency of the cumulative system of voting, or such system as will protect the right of minorities, asked leave revered of Republicans, it was that of Mr. Lincoln. And what do we see in the State from which Mr. Lincoln came. When the government of that State was very little better than it is in our State, a convention was called to de-

vise some means for the getting rid of the existing evils. They determined upon the adoption of the principle of giving a representative to the minority, and this was carried by a majority of share with you, Mr. Chairman, the responsi-bility of a representative of the Chamber of Commerce of Charleston, a body in whom the people of the city of Charleston are willing to confide, and I feel myself constrained, if not instructed, to conduct myself with great moder-

Looking at the other side of the question, I saw that the Republican party of the North, which had been the war party which had carried the country triumphantly through the war which threatened the destruction of this Union, was destined to become the Nacional party. We must not close our eyes to such facts ; it woold be childlike and weak to do so. Sup-pose, sir, upon the close of this war, that the Republican party of the North, having secured to themselves successes desired, had been dispossessed of power; and, sir, they would have been dispossessed of power had they not es-tablished universal suffrage at the South. The only salvation of the Republican party

at the North was the establishment of universal suffrage at the South. Had this not come about, every white man at the South joining, as contarly applicable to such a condition of so-ciety as this State now presents. Your committee do not affirm that this would cure all the diseases of the body politic. But they may, without extravagance, suggest that the system of proportional representation. if adopted by those who wield the numerical power, would alleviate many of the evils inci-dent to our present abnormal condition, would to a large extent tranguilize public apprehento a large extent tranquilize public apprehen-sions, would moderate the spirit of political convulsion, and tend to bring about in this State all the peace that we can reasonably hope to attain the sentiment of the world. And, sir, when that same Providence comes in an unexpected Your committee are aware of the fact that this measure of electoral reform, if it shall be promptly realized by us, must come from the dominant party of the State. Whether it will country is possible or desirable. If such a thing were possible, and it was put

now to a vote of this Convention, not a voice, in my opinion, would be raised for it. We are in the march of intelligence. The senti-ment of the civilized world goes to establish universal freedom as the birth-right of every man. We must, and we shall acquiesce in that principle. But, sir, when we relinquish the principles for which so many have bled and died. can we not call upon and summon to our assistance, the citizens of a State, who surely will sustain us in what we now do. I have great confidence in the strength of justice. to not coincide with the opinions of those who

do not trust the opinion of the North. I have always solicited the confidence of those people, even if they were enemies. In conclusion, would advise you not to abandon in despai the benefits of the soil, and your constitutional rights. Let us cultivate this rich and noble soil that has given to us so much of abundance in the past and promises so much for the

The motion to lay upon the table was then renewed, when General Gary asked that reasons be given for making the motion. Ex-Governor Manning, who made the motion, then spoke as follows:

to discuss this point than I am this evening; but, having strong convictions, I will do so. The question seems to no nic to no nic to which I do not below of the party to which I do not below of t aving strong convictions, I will do so. uestion seems to me, sir, to consist in Whether we, by this cumulative voting, have to say to those who are my associates. I have to say to those who sit around me, that I this: to bind myself by no such obligation. The history of the world shows us that the modifying influences of intelligence have their effects. This settlement of the question by the committee prevents any further discussion. To think that the people who controlled the Government republicanism, that I say it. of South Carolina from the time when it first became a colony-to think that they are to be seems to me is abhorrent to the mind of every enlightened man. It is a sort of declaration of weakness to the other element to ask them to

there is a name above any other name that was revolution, or past politics ; I do not think it

becomes us to disturb the past. The people of the North don't understand the spirit of the people of the South. There was a time when we did not welcome a Yankee, because we thought he was an abolitionant; we had those differences, and predudices against the North. But now it is differ-The people of the North are laboring ent. only an example to us, but an authority to many. I hope there will be no difference of opinion in this State. I have the transmission of government when under a mistake. They say that the opposition not got it, when they confiscate our lands, it is time we should be heard. When any attempt is made to protect our rights-to strike back as would a brute-they cry out that we are waging war against the General Government. Are they not plundering us under the forme of the

> I submit that we are not here in opp to the General Government. I am glad to see the spirit of the letter of the Attorney General of this State. If the Governor and Attorney General mean what they say they do, it will be an entering wedge to the system of cumula-tive voting. I regret that I have been betrayed into these remarks. I must acknowl edge I never knew anything about cumulative voting, until I heard it here from Mr. Thomas. I only take a plain practicable view of the sull-Such, gentlemen, are my views, and I ject. give them for what they are worth.

MR. CANNON'S SPEECH.

Mr. Cannon said:

I tear we have misunderstood the reasons or which we have assembled. We do not come here in opposition to any government, United States or State. We do not oppose any party. I acknowledge the reconstruction acts, and for one, intend to obey them, as the law of the land. Let us look about and try to discover if there be evils. We are here to see if fraud does exist. I am glad to see that the assistance of State officials is tendered us. I hope that the account of this Convention will correct many false impressions that have gone abroad throughout the State. I regret that there should be violence in any portion of the State, and I hope that the members will use all their influence to preserve the public peace. More time is needed to examine into this system of cumulative voting. I, therefore, move that the resolutions be referred to the

Executive Committee. Mr. Warley proposed that when their guns were cocked and loaded, they should go off. If they had had a specimen of the kind of discussion they were going to have, he wanted to hear no more of it. He moved to lay the mo-tion of Mr. Cannon on the table.

The motion was withdrawn, the Chair ruling that it was not proper to refer the report of one standing committee to another standing committee.

General Chesnut then addressed the Chair in favor of the report, requesting that it be reread, which was done.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S SPEECH.

At the conclusion of the reading of the re-port, Mr. Chamberlain arose and spoke, in substance, as follows :

I had hoped to address the Convention at some length upon this subject. I feel, how-ever, that I can better forward the good of this Convention by confining myself to a very few remarks.

We are here, if we are honest in the declarations we have made, assembled as citizens of the State, not as members of political parties, which divide the State or nation, but simply to look to the common interest of the State v name and fame we all profess to cherish. My position, as every one must be aware, is a pe-culiar and, I may add, in many of its features,

operate. Your committee are constrained to believe that larcenies and incendiarism practiced by ignorant, deluded and bad men, sugrested in many instances, and encouraged by a That we recommend to the Legisla gested in many instances, and encouraged of class much worse and more responsible, were among the initial causes of the first cases of the first cases of presentation in the Legislature of the presentation in the Legislature of the start o lowed instances of corporeal punishments, and homicides perpetrated by unknown persons upon citizens, and even of a few officials of the government, who seem to have become obnoxious to many in the communities wherein they lived, on account of supposed injustice, fraud aud oppression. These are lamentable truths, which the consmittee feel called on unequivocally to deploce and conderan. Your Committee believe that an effectual

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remedy for these evils will be found in good government, the removal of all dishonest, in-conspetent, and hed men from office ; and the appointment thereto of men, no matter of what party, who are howest and competent, and who feel the obligations which official station should impose, and who will promptly and faithfully

execute the laws. Mr. Chesnut, also reported from the same Committee, as follows:

COLLECTION OF TAXES.

The Esecutive Committee, to whom was referred a resolution to appoint a committee of five to confer with the Governor, as to the postponement of the collection of taxes, beg-leave to report that they have considered the same, and recommend that the resolution do

EXPENSES. Also. The Executive Committee; to whom was referred a resolution to report a plan to provide for the necessary expenses of this Convention, beg leave to report that they have considered the same, and recommend, that each delegate deposit with the clerk the sum. of five dollars for that parpose.

POWERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. Mr. Smart, from the Executive Committee,

reported as follows : The Executive Committee to whom was re ferred the resolution providing that the Exe-eutive Committee, with the President of this Convention, shall have it in charge to protect the interest represented by this Convention during the interval of adjournment, to keep in. wiew the current legislation, and to call the Convention together at such time as they think. proper, beg leave to report, that they have had same under consuleration, and recommend. its adoption.

TAXATION AND REPRESENTATION. Mr. Aldrich, from the Executive Committee,

eported as follows: The Executive Committee, to whom was referred the grievances of taxation without representation in the taxing body, and to suggest a remedy for the existing evil, beg leave to report, that the present political and financial condition of South Carolina is a foreible and melancholy illustration of the evils resulting from taxation without representation. The judicial investigations lately had in the United States Court for this District, prove beyond controversy that astounding frauds were prac-ticed in the late election, and demonstrate the necessity of a remedy. The theory of the Constitution is, that the people shall be fully and fairly represented, and promise is made in that instrument to protect minorities. Thus, in the House of Representatives, the whole body of the people is represented, and the majority rules. In the Senate, the States are represented, and the smallest State has an equal vote with the largest State. The one is intended to be a check on the other. While the war lasted, passion took the place of reason, the States represented in the Senate set aside the Constitution, forgot their sovereignty, and blindly followed the lead of conquest. Since the war, the States that struggled for what they supposed was a constitutional right, have not been represented, their Senators have not been

Believing that the principles abo really actuate the great majority of it is the purpose of this Convention natives, or, if natives, not representative men, so that the check of the States, as represented

Your committee believe that the is ripe to meet this evil, save this d therefore propose the following sage of an election law, by which the 90,000 voters who pay no taxe tion so just, reasonable and consci not fail to recommend itself favor right-minded citizen.

OBJECTS OF CONVENTION AND NEED The Executive Committee, to wa ferred the paper presented by fro Dudley, of Marlboro, beg leave reco report, that the paper has received consideration of the committee.thom amended, and in its amended form, ported to the Convention, with the

dation that it do pass. The following is the paper a

ferred to by the committee: The delegates to the Tax-payers' Con now met, and sitting in Columbia, Sin line, desiring to be fully underst fellow-citizens of the State, and of States, declare :

3. That they meditate no resist ever to the Government of the Un and intend in respect thereof, themselves as peaceful and law-a

2. That we regard the reconstri-ures as finalities, and recognize the tion of the established laws of the 3. That we look to time and ne cies only for the solution of any of now or may hereafter exist in the tion of the public affairs of this St entertain the hope that all the modifications that may be desired nection, will be effected by the au of an enlightened public opinion. 4. That the exigencies of the ti from the people other efforts than ed to promote the success of an their true interests consisting in good citizens of any and all partie ing the welfare of every section of

5. That certain measures of essential to the peace and proope State; that prominent among the The adoption by the Legislatur method of voting, which will secur sentation therein of a minority of 2. Retremchment in the expe State Government by abolishing that can be dispensed with, reduct ries of public officers, and req economy in the administration of departments of the Government. 3. That the public debt shall no ed; and that His Excellency the G requested to prevent if poss

negotiation of the bonds antical of the Legislature, "to creathe State of South Carolina, to the Sterling Funded Debt."

A. To be relieved from parts ta les in one year, as is now provided by law.

5. To have the various officied by competent and trustwor so as to secure the prompt and on of the laws, instead of the used of selecting them from the without regard to their quality

6. Such an amendment of the la to elections by the people as will from fraud either in the control or

the ballots. 7. That the pay and mileage the Legislature be reduced to the lin ing previous to the adoption of Constitution : and the duration of of that body be made to conform to lute necessities for legislation.

his duty. Mr. A. B. Woodruff, of Spartanburg county introduced the following, which was referred to the Executive Committee:

Resolved, That it be referred to the Committee of Eleven, to report on the propriety of proposing some plan, through the Governor, or otherwise, by which the law requiring all official notices to be published in certain papers; be repealed, or so modified as to re-

move said requisition. Mr. Smart, of Beaufort, offered the following, which was referred to the Executive Com-

WHEREAS, Recognizing our obligations as delegates of the people of this State, in volun-tary convention assembled, to adopt such measures, as in our judgment, be most conducive to social harmony, mutual co-operation in, and support of the government, and confi-dence in the ficancial condition of the State; receiving and excepting in good faith the assurances of his Excellency, that he "will ren-der any nid in his power to facilitate such be selected. It gives the elector as many votes vention may adopt, consistent with our system him to bestow his votes upon the whole numof free government, will deserve the earliest ber or to concentrate them upon any number attention and sapport of the General Assem- less than the whole. The effect of this system bly ;" appreciating his suggestion as to the is to give to each political interest in a com-proper and most effective remedy for the exist- munity a representation proportionate proper and most effective remedy for the exist-ing evils, to wis: "to secure for the State the services of citizens whose experience and personal character would furnish a sufficient guarantee for wise legislation and judicious expen-diture of the public funds ;" be it, therefore,

Resolved, 1. That the Executive Committee of this Convention be, and they are hereby requested to nominate a committee to consist of that the cumulative system secures through a not less than five, nor more than ten compe- general representation, all the interests in tent persons, who shall make and cause to be the political body. To illustrate the system, made, a thorough investigation of all the lia-

*Resolved*, 2. That his Excellency the Governor be, and he is hereby requested to render any aid in his power to the accomplishment of his object, and as an important agency exists in the city of New York, a visit to which would entail much expense on the members of this committee, this aid be extended to embrace transportation of the committee

Resolved, 3. The officers of the various departments be, and are hereby requested to give to the Committee access to all sources of information within their power. Resolved, 4. That the Executive Committee

the call of his Excellency and its chairman.

Resolved, 5. In addition to the duties here inbefore provided for, the members of this Committee (the Executive Committee) shall, by conference and communication with his Ex-cellency the Governor, whenever by him desired, assist him to secure the services of citizens to fill the various offices of State and County, whose experience and personal char-were to attempt to elect all their representaacter will furnish a guarantee for wise administration, and thereby secure the proper confidence of the tax-payers and other good citi-

zens. Resolved, 6. That we are opposed to repudiation, and hope that the result of the the Republicans were to attempt to elect all arrangement herein provided, will be to secure the prompt payment of all lawful obligations. Provided, however, that we distinctly reserve the right to further action on this point, until after made.

The means of protecting the rights of minorities in representative forms of government has, for a long period, engaged the attention of thoughtful minds. In Europe, as well as in this country, this question has been fully discussed, and a satisfactory solution anxiously sought. So defective is the system of mere majority rule. so flagrant are the abuses to which it is liable, that the necessity for its modification strikes with force every impartial observer. It is obvious that the needs of good govern ment require that some effective organism be devised for the protection of minorities.

Your committee deem it unnecessary to enter upon an analysis of the several schemes of proportional representation that have been suggested. Enough to say that, in their judgment, the plan of cumulative voting best accomplishes the end in view-best makes representation co-extensive with the whole body of the electors. This plan obtains and that "any plan which this Con- as there are persons to be chosen, and allows munity a representation proportionate to its numerical strength. Under its operation the true office of suffrage, which is to collect the sense of the whole community, will be subserved. There is effected neither exclusive representation of the majority; nor exclusive representation of the minority; but proportional representation. The proposition is, under the present electoral system State, in a community of two hundred voters,

munity, the two hundred, are equally divided politically, the representation would be equally divided. It may be mathematically stated thus-1.000 voters, are to 500 voters as two to Resolved, 4. That the Executive Committee one. Under the operation of such a system, be continuous in its organization, subject to each party would, of necessity, calculate its strength in advance, and seek to elect only the number proportionate to its numerical strength. For instance, in a certain community, let us assume that there are 5,000 Democrats and 9.000 Republican voters, and that there are three persons to be elected. The 5,000 Democrats have 15,000 votes. The 9,000 Republitives, they could give each only 5,000 votes, which would result in their securing no representative, as the Republicans being able to give each of their candidates 9,000 votes. would elect them all. On the other hand, i their representatives, they could give each only 9,000 votes, which would result in the defeat of one, as the Democrats could cumulate their 15,000 votes upon one candidate, and thus the reports herein contemplated are elect him. The effect would be that each party would, of necessity, calculate Mr. Wilson, of Georgetown, introduced the its strength, and there would result a propor-

speaker did not look forward to any such time. Whilst he recognized the fact that such a line of demarkation did exist, he was still of the opinion that under influences of proper spirit, it was possible for the two races to live together in a condition of comparative peace, and to attain to a comparatively permanent peace. And if that condition is to be attained, if any understanding is to exist between the two races, each race must be prepared to plant itself upon the foundation of justice and right. Is it in our power, peaceably, to solve that vexed problem with which we have to deal? vexed problem with which we have to deal? Under the influence of proportional representation or cumulative voting, I believe it possible to secure a large measure of success, and a large degree of peace.

Mr. Thomas was not unmindful of the race to which he belonged. He addressed himself to the country, not in the character of a suppliant, but in the spirit of a future conqueror, aying down the terms under which his race should live in peace in South Carolina. He had never had any fear as to the ultimate result in South Carolina. I can here affirm, that if I should at this moment wield the power of this Government, I would use it impartially. and without distinction. Some of the people of South Carolina have endured much under the present regime ; and now, sir, not only do I pronounce the reconstruction of South Caroina a failure, but the very architects pronounce it a failure, and the temple is about to fall down about their ears. If we desire to reconstruct the work of reconstruction, we must adopt a line of policy, such as is recommended in the report. Ex-Governor John L. Manning, then moved

to lay the report of the Committee on the Mr. Trenholm, of Charleston, asked that

the motion be withdrawn to afford him an opportunity to make a few remarks upon the report, which was done.

SPEECH OF HON. GEO. A. TRENHOLM.

Mr. Trenholm, of Charleston, said : The principle of universal suffrage is one which commends itself to the intellect of every right-minded man, and to which statesmen in all countries have opposed themselves in vain. The principle of universal suffrage lies at the foundation of every true Republican Government. It is not against the principle of uni-

versal suffrage, that we have met to remonstrate against grievous complaint, it is against the unequal application of that princile. And what, sir, are the inequalities of that principle? It is no new principle advo-cated by this Committee. In that great coun-try which has produced that great system of Anglo-Saxon laws of which we boast, and in which originated the principles of freedom; in England, sir, that aristocracy of wealth and education, they have been compelled to admit the justice of this principle and to. incorporate

it in their Government. In the year 1870, an effort was made to return to the old manner of voting. Gladstone and Bright united in opposition to any repeal of the existing laws. What was the motive of the existing laws. What was the motive that induced those who held the supremacy of power to give a representation to the minority It was not misunderstood by the public; it was because the majority saw that the principle of universal suffrage were destined to be carried into effect, that the time would come when those who ruled the country would find, perhaps, that they were themselves in the minority. And, sir, what do we see in our own country? We must not shut our eyes to the fact that we

yield their influence to control one-third of the State. The true interest, sir, of the people of South Carolina is to enlighten the who le representative mind in the State to enact laws for the benefit of the whole people. Whenever you restrict the mind of the individual people you restrict the liberties of the land. It is by the homogeneous elements of the whole State only that the State can be formed. When you confine the action of a citizen by incorporation or restrict it by other means, you restrict the right of will and the right of action. The principles of human liberty are just as free, sir, as

the air of God's heaven. A compromise! No sir: There is a better voice to appeal to, and that is the voice of the world. Give us justice, sir, and equal laws, and you will have citizens who will obey the laws. I say for one, that of all the law-abiding people of the United States, this has been most. It is the mal-administration of the laws that gives us all the trouble. There is no qualification to the sentiments I make. I will never compromise my rights as a whole for an integral part, let others modify their sentiments as they choose. Give us equal laws, and we would have proper representation ; then will we have justice throughout the land, and every man may sit down under his own vine and fig

General M. W. Gary defended the report of the committee in the following remarks: tree.

### SPEECH OF M. W. GARY.

I suppose it is expected that I should as a member of the Committee give the views that influenced my mind in bringing the resolutions before the Convention. What is the cause that has brought us together? Why have the wise men of the State assembled from all parts of it? It is because the taxes are so excessive that we are unable to pay them. The Government has passed into the hands, not of Radicals or Republicans, but of thieves and robbers. We have then assembled to take counse against the squandering of public moneys, and the abuse of the power placed in the hands of We have assembled not as public officers. partizans, but as representatives of the tax-payers of the State.

Now, how will you reach the evil? We must modify the present election laws. Any body who examines them must see that they were empeted in the interest of fraud. There is a majority of 30,000 against us in this State. How are we to reach that majority. I am as far from surrendering my rights as any mem-ber of this Convention, but I have always held that a half loaf is better than none. I never have believed in universal suffrage, and don't believe that any man can lay his hand on his heart, and say that he believes in it, except demagogues, who lead parties for personal aggrandizement. If we can by any system of voting secure a representation of the minority in the Legislature, it seems that we ought to have passed through a great revolution. If do it. I don't propose to refer to the past

shall be confined to one-third the power to which we are entitled. I. for one, am willing peace and welfare; and I have to say to those who have taunted me, because I am here, neither they nor any one else can read me out of any party to which I choose to ally myself. Pardon me if I say I am a Republican-and it republicanism, that I say it. Now lying at the foundation of this movement

I see something that shall again place the conconfined to this one point, is a thought that trol of public affairs in South Carolina in the hands of those who represented its interests in times past. I confess there is something that moves me in the idea that the voice of the opposition in South Carolina shall be again heard within the walls of her Legislature. [Applause.]

I am, in its proper sphere, a partisan. It is necessary to introduce into that which controls the Legislature of South Carolina to-day, some modifying influence. In looking about it for some device, without violence to the fundamental principles upon which government rests, that should bring to us relief from these grievances, I have fixed upon this system which is so ably presented in the report of your committee.

Gentlemen of the Convention, that system is right its Republicanism, in its justice, and in theory. It takes nothing from the rights of the majority and leaves them all they now have. It gives them a dominating contro! but does not give them the absolute disposition of the government of the State. It is no new thing, that the presence of one honest man puts to flight a band of robbers. [Applause.] Iam talking of general truths, I am casting reflections on no man, or set of men.

Take this system of cumulative voting, you take nothing from the rights of the majority, while you place in the lower house about fortyseven men who will be, if you are true to your interests, your most valued citizens. Then bad legislation will cease, and good legislation begin. Is it not fair? Is it not generous in us to grant this? If we grant it, it is simply justice; simply right. It is right in principle. In its immediate result you are relieved from present grievances, and pointed to lasting prosperity in uture. I sav to you, give us, who thing to do with making this practicable, something we can take back to our own political associates. Will not this Convention, by a unani mous vote, strengthen us who desire to do what in us lies? No greater object, no higher aim could animate any body of men.

VIOLATIONS OF LAWS.

Mr. Chestnut from the Executive Commitee made the following report:

The Executive Committee to whom was re-ferred the resolution of Mr. D. H. Chamberlain, of Richland county, directing the said committee "to inquire into the alleged violence now prevailing in the several counties of the and to report upon a plan for the execution of the laws against such violence, and the better protection of all our citizens in their ives and property throughout the State." ask leave to report, they have considered the sub-ject with the deliberation its importance demands. They have learned with regret, that violence has prevailed to a greater or lesser extent in several counties. But they feel bound to say with much satisfaction that in by far the larger number of the counties of the State, not ngle instance of such violence has occurred. Bad government, corruption in high place, set the example of moral decadence and disregard of law, which was too readily followed by those upon whom the laws are intended to

in the Senate, has been entirely lost. and, of course, all legislation has been partisan, sectional and vindictive. The same feature which characterized the

congressional legislation was incorporated into our State government. The Parish system which existed in our State Constitution before the war, operated as a check upon the legislation of the majority. The new Constitution of '65 and '68 abolished that conservative eleday at 12 m.

ment. Under the Constitution of '65 it is possible no evil could have resulted, because in telligence and property were equally repre-sented, and all the voters belonged to the same caste. Under the Constitution of '68, how ever, a new element was brought into th voting power-men of a different race and caste, uneducated slaves just emancipated, an impressible people whose passions and preju-dices could be easily excited, were suddenly clothed with the elective franchise, and made not only a power but the controlling power in the State

Considering our condition then, the result was inevitable. The newly enfranchised were was inevitable. The newly enfranchised were not only jealous of their acquired liberty, but the Committee of Eleven to sit suspicious of the feeling and intentions of their late owners. They were ignorant of political affairs, totally uninstructed in the science of government, and naturally turned to the men who had flocked here as birds of prey, and who are generally known as carpet baggers. It was equally natural for the native, respectable and intelligent white people, who had heretofore controlled affairs, to feel a supreme disgust, and to hold themselves aloof from this mass of ignorance and vice. It must also be remembered, that all the

gentlemen in the State, of experience, patriot-

ism and virtue were laboring under the politi cal disabilities of the reconstruction acts, which prevented them from taking part in legislative proceedings. But time and its healng influences has shown to the colored people that the white people have no disposition to deprive them of any of their rights, civil or political, that have been conferred on them. t has proved to the white people that the colored citizens, generally, feel no enmity against them; are not disposed to oppress them, and are willing, if not anxious, to avail themselves of their learning, experience, virtue and patriotism. It has also proved to the adven-turers who may be included under the general terms of carpet baggers and scallawags, white and colored, that the eyes of the native colored

people are open to their selfishness and rapacity. Having arrived at this conclusion, the ques-tion is, how can we avail ourselves of its power of this native element and get rid of the bad influence which has heretofore controlled it, using the colored people as mere voting chattels to plunder and ruin this devoted State. They need and desire the virtue, intelligence and experience of the native white people. The white people cannot maintain the ancient virtue, dignity and honor of this old State, unless the native colored people will co-operate with them. The corruption of the State government is notorious; bribes are openly offered to and received by Senators and Representatives; high officials are engaged in speculating in the stocks and bonds of the State. All these great crimes are being perpe-trated freely here, in the capitol, and there has not been the first prosecution commenced to prevent them. In a word, the ancient honor of the proud old State, is lost and gone. Every white man and every colored man who is a native South Carolinian, must deplore this disgraceful and humiliating condition.

ends above ma dred measures, as may appear ne after, by such peaceful and legitim comport with the duty of good citi not otherwise.

The whole of the foregoing we special order for the next meeting The Convention then adjourne

THIRD DAY.

The Convention was called to or by the President, Hon. W. D. Po The minutes of Wednesday w and adopted.

[The following named reports of tive Committee on the variou named will be found in another p Report of the Executive on ex-Convention, was read and ador Report of the same commiter. without representation, was rectou The special order was suspe was granted on the request of

sion. Report of the Executive Con resolution regarding violence in the ties of the State, was read and add Report of the same committ ower to the Executive Committee emble the Convention at such may deem expedient, was read an Report of the same committee a was read and adopted.

Report of the same committee jects of the Convention, was read a 

Mr. Chesnut, of the Executive asked leave to be discharged from ration of certain financial resolution having been referred, in other n the Executive Committee. Leave and the resolutions referred to the Committee.

Mr. Schriven, from the Committ tions and Suffrage Laws, reported and asked that the same be refe and asked that the same Executive Committee, which was stating as a reason for this, th mittee, it was apprehended, would manent committee: The following is the report of t

Committee:

The Committee on Election Laws, to whom was referred the res the expediency of memoralizing th for the repeal or modification o election laws of South Carolina, report (concisely) that they have giv ject the earnest consideration which tance demands. The Committee the present mode of counting th fruitful and original source of pre troubles, creating distrust in the abiding citizens on account of the custodians of the ballot-box to de the intent and sovereign rights of Recent developments and convict officials at Charleston, in the Un Court, after patient, laborious an trial, confirm the apprehensions tions of the citizens as to the all curity for the future purity of the Your committee are familiar with vative conduct of the elections an of the ballot under the old laws Parties of any political comp sured of the honest result