

THE NULLIFICATION CONTROVERSY IN AN UP-COUNTRY DISTRICT

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The people of Greenville District were rather slow in feeling that the tariff was detrimental to their interests. The first newspaper in the District, established at Greenville Court House on July 12, 1826, contains no criticism of the Tariff of 1824.¹ At that time B. J. Earle,² one of the leading lawyers, and Jeremiah Cleveland,³ one of the leading merchants, were in favor of the tariff.⁴ The proposed Woolens bill of 1827 was firmly objected to as unfair class legislation, but was not opposed for its economic effect, since homespun was generally used throughout the District.⁵

There were three other reasons why Greenville was rather slow in reacting against the tariff. First, it was not entirely dependent upon cotton, for corn and wheat were planted in rather large quantities; second, a spirited summer resort business had developed within the District; and third, the state had built the Saluda Mountain Road and the trade with Kentucky and Tennessee had become of much importance.⁶

When word came of the violent protests against the tariff in meetings at Walterboro and Columbia in the summer of 1827, Editor D'Oyley of the *Greenville Republican* said, "Some allusion has been made to a separation of the States—the dissolution of the Union ought to be regarded as an *impossible event*. We should not even speak of it. The wretch who would seriously wish for a separation of the States should be hunted down like a wild beast, or shot like a mad dog." He deprecated the resolution from Colleton which he called "The Walterborough threat to the North." He thought the threat contemptible coming from a District with only about one thousand whites capable of bearing arms. He hoped that citizens of the North would not consider it as "indicative of public feeling in South Carolina." He added further,

Those who calculate on any countenance or support from Greenville in propagating principles or defending conduct, hostile to the Union, are

egregiously mistaken; they may rest satisfied that such sentiments and their authors will be regarded with horror and indignation by every man in the District. . . . We unhesitatingly declare, that we should be glad to see the first traitor who should propose a dissolution of the Union, sacrificed to honest indignation, and hung without judge or jury.⁹

The Woolens bill failed to pass Congress, but the following year a more severe bill was passed—the Tariff of Abominations. This measure was violently opposed over the state, but the Greenville paper praised Governor Taylor for not calling the Legislature in extra session as an anti-tariff meeting in Colleton wanted him to do. The Editor suggested that if the low-country wished to secede from the Union, that the up-country would leave the low-country.⁹ “As regards the tariff,” said he, “we believe that the opposition to it in Greenville will be firm, reasonable, and worthy of citizens of this great republic. But we will not tolerate one word about disunion.”¹⁰

Enough interest was finally aroused in Greenville to call its first anti-tariff meeting for September 15, 1828.¹¹ Waddy Thompson, member of the Legislature and destined to become one of the greatest men of the District, violently opposed the tariff. He threatened to “live on snow birds, and walk around the circuit on foot rather than eat Kentucky pork or ride Kentucky horses.”¹² The spirited discussion in the Legislative session of 1828 stressed the evil effects of the tariff to such an extent that Editor Wells of the *Mountaineer* filled his columns with anti-tariff news for several months thereafter. After reading the *Exposition and Protest*, with its doctrine of nullification, he commented, “It is an able State paper, a powerful exposé of our wrongs, and [but] more ingenious than correct in the remedy it proposes.”¹³

On January 16, 1830, Benjamin Franklin Perry assumed control of the editorial page of the local newspaper. He believed in the rights of the people and the union of the states. He opposed the tariff but objected to the idea of nullification in any form, believing that the Supreme Court should be the arbiter. He argued that sovereignty in this country was divided among the federal government, the states, and the people. He reasoned that peaceable secession was absolutely impossible. For these ideas he fought fearlessly and became the leading

Unionist in Greenville and among the foremost in the state."¹⁴

Soon after Perry began his editorship there took place in the United States Senate the famous Hayne-Webster debate, which served to advertise the nullification doctrine in spite of the fact that Hayne mis-stated it.¹⁵ Perry made good use of his editorial page to display the weak points of the doctrine claiming that it would give the minority the right to govern, and contending that the twenty-four states would be forced to approve unanimously any law before it could be passed effectively by Congress.¹⁶

Perry by no means had the support of all the people of Greenville. He declared that the toasts at the July 4 celebration of 1830 would have been considered treason a few years before.¹⁷ On July 28 a public dinner was held in the village of Greenville in honor of Warren R. Davis, at that time Congressman from the Greenville-Pendleton District.¹⁸ Davis, an ardent Nullifier, denounced the combination of East and West which was ruining the South. He declared that he had no love for the Union and felt that South Carolina should not submit to the Tariff of Abominations. He wanted a convention elected by the people of the state to nullify the unconstitutional law. Dr. William Butler and Waddy Thompson, local candidates for the state Legislature, made similar speeches. Perry, in a minority at the dinner, opposed these views saying: "Give this power to the States and the Federal Government is worse than a rope of sand."¹⁹

The views expressed at this dinner stirred the people of the District to quick action. August 2 being sale day they came to the Court House in large numbers. The candidates for the Legislature were called upon to express their views. Waddy Thompson, Dr. William Butler and Tandy Walker declared that they were in favor of the Legislature's calling a convention, while John H. Harrison and Wilson Cobb opposed the call. The people generally objected to the call, and the first three candidates agreed to retire from the race. It was then proposed that they remain as candidates but be instructed to vote against a convention. This they refused to do.²⁰

The excitement led the leading men to state more clearly the

ideas which they held. John H. Harrison opposed a convention for the purpose of nullification believing that it would lead to a dissolution of the Union. He stated that South Carolina stood alone in demanding such action and it would be impossible to get as good a bargain in a new union—certainly not representation for three-fifths of the slaves. Waddy Thompson was anxious to save the Union but felt that if nothing were done to check the combination of East and West, the South would eventually be forced to break away. He thought that a convention should first protest to Congress and if that failed, it should then nullify the tariff act. He also objected to the Supreme Court as being the interpreter of the constitutionality of a law.²¹ Tandy Walker held that the Legislature had done all that it could do in the way of protest. The only answer now was in the reserved powers of the state in its highest sovereign capacity—the convention.²² B.J. Earle favored a convention, but opposed nullification and all talk of disunion. This view made a convention appear to be a rather mild affair.²³

Many moderate men accepted the idea of a convention when it was shorn of nullification, and the three legislative candidates who had retired from the race again entered it. The campaign was waged primarily on the convention issue with three on each side. The Non-Convention candidates won by a decisive majority in spite of the fact that they were competing with very popular men.²⁴

Editor Perry was extremely active throughout the campaign and refused to accept the idea of a convention, no matter how innocent it was reputed to be. He argued that one was not needed for the purpose of protest because the Legislature had already protested and could repeat it. He felt that a convention for the purpose of nullifying a federal law would be disastrous, because nullification and disunion were synonymous. In speaking to a large group of Greenville citizens on the question he said,

I will not detain you any longer to impress on your minds the value of this union. I know that your attachment to it is sufficiently strong. I believe that you prefer it to every political blessing except that of liberty. I believe you will, in the language of the Father of His Country, 'frown indignantly upon the first dawning of every effort to alienate one portion

of it from another.' I believe you will concur with me in a sentiment which I gave two years ago on this subject. 'Political infamy to him who wishes and the dagger of a Brutus for him who attempts the dissolution of this Union.'"²⁵

Perry published the letter of James Madison to the *North American Review* in which the Father of the Constitution flatly denied that his Virginia Resolutions of 1798 were any authority for the Carolina Doctrine of Nullification. This was a blow to the Nullifiers because they had cited Madison as authority for their ideas.²⁶

The convention question caused a furious debate in the South Carolina Legislature in December, 1830. Although those in favor were in a decided majority, they were unable to command the two-thirds vote necessary to call the convention.²⁷

The failure of the Legislature to call a convention did not mean that the contest was over. The next year the *Greenville Mountaineer* carried the heading, "It is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union."²⁸ Party lines became more tightly drawn. Dr. Symmes, the able editor of the *Pendleton Messenger*, took up the fight for the Nullifiers and hotly opposed Perry's Unionist paper in the northwest part of the state.²⁹

On September 5, 1831, the Nullifiers of the District met at Greenville and worked out a more effective organization. They were now suggesting that the tariff law be nullified by the Legislature. Not to be outdone, the Unionists immediately planned a great rally for October 3. At this meeting carefully prepared resolutions were passed showing the views of the majority in the District. They deplored the party divisions within the state because the energies of the people were directed at fighting each other rather than the tariff. They were willing to try all constitutional methods for resisting the tariff, but they would not submit to nullification by the Legislature. They felt that nullification was revolution and that it would destroy the Union; but after all other forms of redress had been exhausted, they would abide by the action of a convention elected by the people, provided the consequences of such action had been previously explained to them. At a meeting in the

upper part of the District, secession was threatened, provided the Legislature nullified the tariff law.³⁰

In spite of the fact that the Nullifiers had a majority in the Legislature of 1831, nothing drastic was done. They poured their wrath upon President Jackson on account of his uncompromising stand against them.³¹ Both parties appealed to the people of the state in long addresses³², and it was soon apparent that the nullification issue would be decided in the next election for the Legislature.³³

Greenville lost no time in beginning the campaign. During the first week in May the old delegation announced themselves as candidates of the Union party. The Nullifiers placed in the race Dr. William Butler for the Senate and Tandy Walker, William Choice and Robert Maxwell for the House.³⁴ The opening dispute occurred when citizens met to make arrangements for the Independence Day celebration at the Court House. Such angry discussion took place between representatives of the two parties that it was decided to forego the customary dinner and toasts.³⁵ The party battle even entered the town elections in the village of Greenville.³⁶

Knowing the strong unionist sentiment in the District and attributing it to the effective work of Editor Perry's paper, the friends of John C. Calhoun in Pendleton persuaded Turner Bynum to go to Greenville and establish a rival journal.³⁷ On June 23, 1832, the first issue of the *Southern Sentinel* appeared, edited by Turner Bynum and published by B. Bynum and G. E. W. Nelson.³⁸ Perry did not feel that his paper had much influence in making Greenville unionist in sympathy. He welcomed the new paper by saying,

The Editor is a young man of talents and literary attainments, and will, no doubt, conduct the *Sentinel* with great zeal and ability. He says in his address that his course shall be governed by fair, open and manly argument, without descending to the slang, abuse and personalities of a newspaper bully. To such an Editor, conducting his paper on such principles, we shall always be happy to extend the right hand of friendship and good feeling. Although we differ on abstract principles, it is no cause for a want of civility, courtesy and kindness which mark the conduct of friends and honorable men.³⁹

Neither this friendly introduction nor any other personal matter published in *The Mountaineer* suggests grounds for the duel between the two editors which ended in the death of Bynum a few months after launching his paper.⁴⁰

In July, 1832, there was a slight reduction of the tariff by Congress with three Congressmen from South Carolina voting for the bill. Although it still had the protective feature *The Mountaineer* defended it as a step in the right direction, and an indication that further reductions would follow.⁴¹ A Unionist meeting at the Court House on September 10, with over one thousand present, approved the action of the Congressmen who supported the bill. They still opposed a state convention but were willing to cooperate with the Nullifiers in a constitutional attack on the tariff, suggesting a Southern Convention.⁴² On September 19 the Nullifiers gave a large dinner to honor the Congressmen who voted against this tariff bill. Judge Baylis J. Earle presided, and among those present were Congressman Warren R. Davis, Governor Hamilton, Chancellor Harper and George McDuffie.⁴³

Even such an array of talent as the above had no effect upon Unionist Greenville as the election for the Legislature soon proved. All the Unionist candidates were re-elected by even larger majorities than two years before. At Dickies, a polling place near the mountains, the Nullifiers received only one vote out of one hundred eighty-four.⁴⁴

Events now followed fast. Governor Hamilton called the newly elected Legislature in special session and the legislature in turn called on the people to elect delegates to a convention. Both of these events were against the wishes of the Greenville delegation.⁴⁵ Since each election district was to elect as many delegates as it had members of the Legislature, Greenville was entitled to four. The Unionist candidates were B. F. Perry, Silas R. Whitten, Thomas P. Brockman and Henry Middleton. The latter, a former governor of the state from Charleston, had at one time resided in Greenville during the summer months. The candidates of the Nullifiers were judge B. J. Earle, Dr. William Butler, William Thruston and Benjamin Arnold. Needless to say the Unionists were overwhelmingly elected.⁴⁶

The four Greenville members of the Convention voted against the Nullification Ordinance and refused to sign their names to it.⁴⁷ Henry Middleton attempted to block the work of the Convention by claiming that it did not represent the whole people, but that representation in it was based on a compound ratio of population and property. He introduced a resolution to refer the entire business of a convention back to the Legislature for reconsideration. Should that body find a convention necessary it should call one in which the representation of the people would be full and complete. The resolution was not even given the courtesy of a discussion.⁴⁸ The Convention required that all officers of the state, except members of the Legislature, take an oath to support the Nullification Ordinance, and any law regarding its enforcement. Even members of a jury sitting on a case involving the Ordinance were required to take the oath.⁴⁹

The Greenville delegates returned home in a very bitter frame of mind. They condemned the high handed methods of the Convention and blamed the trouble on the rotten boroughs in the low-country parishes. The people responded by holding a meeting of protest against the actions of the Convention.⁵⁰

The regular session of the Legislature convened in December, and passed laws to carry out the Ordinance of Nullification. President Jackson's Proclamation, stating that the laws of the United States would be enforced, only angered the Nullifier majority. Plans were made for raising a volunteer army and equipping it. Perry felt that civil war was imminent. He called on the Unionists to defend themselves and placed on his editorial page the inscription, "The Union Must Be Preserved."⁵¹

A state-wide meeting of Unionists in Columbia decided that they would not submit to the so called Test Oath which had been required of office holders by the Convention. Their plan was to organize semi-military societies throughout the state in order to be in a position to defend themselves more readily. Accordingly, six of these societies were formed in Greenville District.⁵² The main society, which was organized at the Court House passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, that no matter what may be our allegiance to South Carolina, we owe none to those who are now wielding her sovereignty; and we shall ever keep in mind that *they* are not "The State", but the *destroyers* of the Union and the *enemies* of Regulated Liberty.

Resolved, that Greenville never will obey and call on her militia to march against the Government of the United States, and that she *defies* the *tyranny of the Nullifiers*—scorns their *insolence*, and *despises* their *menaces*.

Resolved, that the "Test Oath" is *wilful, deliberate perjury*, and that no civil or military officer in the District will submit to it whilst he has any regard for his reputation or cares for the *scorn and contempt* of his fellow citizens.

Resolved, that we form ourselves into a Society, the object of which shall be to *sustain the government*—support the union—preserve peace—and oppose Nullification.

They approved the proclamation of President Jackson, criticized the Legislature for not giving him the electoral vote of the state, and appointed a committee to write him that Greenville would stand by him to preserve the Union.⁵³

The Paris Mountain Union Society with C. W. D'Oyley as president, expressed itself as follows:

Resolved, that the Federal Union must be preserved or we will perish in the attempt to preserve it.

Resolved, that in defense of the Federal Union, we have drawn our swords and flung away the scabbards.

Resolved . . . that we have two words by way of reply to the Nullifiers, which are these: "Come on."⁵⁴

The above quotations show the temper of the people of Greenville District. Governor Hayne's Proclamation drew only 120 volunteers for service to the state while around 500 had voted for the Nullifiers in the last election. This would indicate that Greenville was more Unionist than ever.⁵⁵

The issue in South Carolina was not settled by force because Congress passed a tariff law which was accepted by the Nullifiers as a compromise. The South Carolina Convention reassembled in March, 1833, and the leaders exercised just enough moderation to bring temporary peace to the state.

Perry, feeling that the great contest was over, resigned the editorship of the *Greenville Mountaineer*.⁵⁶

The party controversy remained dormant in Greenville District through most of the Spring and Summer of 1833. Warren R. Davis reopened the wounds, while campaigning for Congress in August of that year, by advocating that the General Assembly require a Test Oath demanding supreme allegiance to the state. He barely defeated Joseph Grisham, the Unionist candidate who opposed such action, but Greenville gave Grisham approximately a four to one majority.⁵⁷ O. H. Wells, again editing the local paper, felt that if the Legislature passed a Test Oath more trouble than ever would be the result.⁵⁸

The last session of the Nullification Convention commended the enactment of such a law when and if it was needed.⁵⁹ The General Assembly, meeting in December with a decided Nullifier majority, lost no time in denying rights to the Unionist minority, although the great cry of the Nullifiers had been against the ruthless majority in Congress. In order to rid the state of the Unionist militia officers a bill was passed which forced all military officers to take an oath of allegiance to the state. A constitutional amendment was also enacted, to be confirmed by the next Legislature, which provided for a Test Oath for all state officials.⁶⁰

These acts met with a storm of protest in Greenville. The largest Unionist meeting yet held in the District took place at the Court House on February 3, to protest against the obnoxious laws. The crowd of twelve to fifteen hundred, under the leadership of Josiah Kilgore, Benajah Dunham and B. F. Perry, decided to pursue peaceful means for a redress of grievances, but many were ready to shed blood.⁶¹

The Union party decided to hold a state-wide convention, and Unionist Greenville was selected as the meeting place. The sessions were held in the Methodist Church on March 24, 25, and 26, with Daniel E. Huger presiding. One hundred ten delegates attended from all sections of the state and many who could not attend pledged their lives and property to the cause. The Convention, led by Huger, Poinsett, and Perry, decided to

resort to the courts and ballot box to adjust their wrongs, but they made it plain that they would not be enslaved by a ruthless majority.⁴²

The first test of the new battle in Greenville occurred in April when the elections were held for the minor militia officers. Practically all those elected were Union men. Waddy Thompson, the Nullifier Brigadier-General of the First Brigade, called on the officers to take the oath required by the Legislature. Trouble was averted by the state Court of Appeals declaring the oath unconstitutional.⁴³ At the large gatherings celebrating Independence Day in the District the Test Oath Amendment was denounced and Unionist sentiment was enthusiastically expressed.⁴⁴

With the coming of the fall elections political excitement increased. Both parties held large meetings in September. The Unionists again nominated their veteran delegation as candidates for the Legislature and the Nullifiers did not deem it worth while to oppose them. Perry entered the Congressional race against Davis. *The Greenville Mountaineer* called on all to vote, claiming it to be the most important election ever held in the state and suggesting it might be the last free one.⁴⁵ Perry lost the election by a very narrow margin, although he carried Greenville almost four to one.⁴⁶

During the pre-election campaign a new face appeared among the Unionists of Greenville. This man was William Lowndes Yancey who had recently come from Abbeville to read law in the office of Perry. He threw himself into the thick of the fight, denouncing the Nullifiers in the harshest terms, thereby failing to display the slightest indication that he would lead the fight to destroy the Union twenty-six years later. One of his first acts was to clash with Waddy Thompson by reporting a meeting in a manner that the latter resented. Yancy maintained his statements in spite of the protest of Thompson.⁴⁷ Realizing his ability and courage the Unionists persuaded him to become editor of the local paper. He began this task on November 22, 1834, for the cause of liberty and the Union. He violently opposed nullification as well as secession, and objected to any Test Oath concerning allegiance or state sovereignty. Hatred of

Calhoun and his ideas seemed to be an obsession with him.⁶⁶

When the Greenville delegation went to the Legislative session in December they carried a protest against the passage of the Test Oath Amendment signed by 1,428 citizens of the District. In spite of this and other petitions, the amendment was passed. However, the majority, realizing the violent opposition to the measure, finally agreed to what was accepted by most people as a compromise. The main substance of this compromise was a report from a Joint Committee on Federal Relations which declared that the Test Oath was not intended to conflict with the obligation of a citizen to the Constitution of the United States.⁶⁷

Both Yancey and Perry refused to accept the compromise,⁶⁸ but the Legislative delegation from Greenville held it to be satisfactory.⁶⁹ The *Greenville Mountaineer* tried to keep the contest open⁷⁰ but the people evidently were ready for it to close. Yancey, finally realizing this, resigned the editorship on May 16, 1835.

There were two other events during the year 1835 which caused a temporary revival of party trouble. The first took place when the militia officers in the District refused to attend encampment because the orders were issued by General Waddy Thompson, who had been appointed by a Nullifier legislature rather than elected by the members of the militia.⁷¹ The second event was when Thompson and Perry, the leaders of their respective parties, campaigned for the unexpired term of Warren R. Davis. The former won the election, although Greenville gave Perry a three to one majority.⁷²

Thus the agitation closed in Greenville, and the large majority of the people in the District agreed with the closing words of Perry's speech at Cowpens battlefield in 1835 when he said: "I would exhort you, Fellow Citizens, in the name of your Country in the name of Liberty, and in the name of Almighty God, to look to this sacred Union—reared by the wisdom and cemented with the blood of your fathers—as the Bulwark of your Freedom—as the Palladium of your Liberty—as the *very existence* of your National Independence and your prosperity

and happiness as a people."¹³

¹³This newspaper was the *Greenville Republican*. Messrs. Young and Timme were the owners. On October 7, 1826, Charles W. D'Oyley (formerly of Charleston) became the editor, and on November 3, 1827, O. H. Wells (a native of Massachusetts) became the owner and publisher. Mr. Wells ran the paper until August 30, 1828, when he suspended temporarily in order to get better equipment. He resumed publication on January 10, 1829, but changed its title to *The Mountaineer*. On January 16, 1830, B. F. Perry became its editor and the name was again changed, this time to the *Greenville Mountaineer*. Mr. Wells continued the publication of the paper until 1850. He employed an editor when he could secure one, and in the intervals edited it himself. Other outstanding editors besides Perry, were William Lowndes Yancey, George F. Townes and William H. Campbell. After Wells sold the paper it existed under that name and in conjunction with other papers down into the post-war period. However, it can hardly be called the same paper after the early 1850's. The files of the *Republican* and the *Mountaineer* until Wells sold it in 1850, are the property of Mrs. A. H. Wells of Greenville, S. C. (1939). These files (1826-1835) constitute the chief source for this article.

¹⁴He was an outstanding Circuit Judge from 1830-44. For his public career—*Greenville Mountaineer*, May 31, June 7, 1844.

¹⁵Probably the wealthiest merchant of Greenville, *Ibid.*, January 9, 1846. The writer has been told that Vardry McBee, an extensive property owner but not yet a resident, had no fear of the tariff.

¹⁶B. F. Perry, *Reminiscences of Public Men With Speeches and Addresses* (Second Series, Greenville, 1889), p. 201.

¹⁷*Greenville Republican*, August 11, 1827. The toasts given at July 4 celebrations usually convey public sentiment. Attacks on the tariff are conspicuously absent from these toasts. *Ibid.*, July 12, 1826; July 12, 1828.

¹⁸Following the local paper for a year would convince anyone that Greenville was not busy growing cotton, but that the activities above absorbed much of the time and thought.

¹⁹August 11, 1827.

²⁰September 8, 1827. The *Charleston Mercury* accused the *Greenville Republican* and the *Pendleton Messenger* of misrepresenting the views of their respective Districts, but Editor D'Oyley was positive that both papers expressed the views of their people. *Greenville Republican*, October 6, 1827.

²¹*Ibid.*, July 19, 26, 1828.

²²*Ibid.*, August 16, 1828.

²³*Ibid.*, August 30, 1828. Due to temporary suspension of the local paper this meeting is not recorded. Boucher says that the *Charleston Mercury* reported an anti-tariff meeting for Greenville on September 9, 1828. C. S. Boucher, *The Nullification Controversy in South Carolina* (Chicago, 1916), p. 11.

²⁴Perry, *Reminiscences*, p. 205. Dr. Wallace, quoting Boucher, makes it his father's statement—Judge Waddy Thompson. D. D. Wallace, *History of South Carolina* (4 vols., New York, 1934), II, 422.

²⁵*The Mountaineer*, February 28, 1829.

²⁶*Greenville Mountaineer*, January 16, April 23, 1830; January 19, 1833.

²⁷Wallace, *History of South Carolina*, II, 432-33. Perry published extracts from the debate through the months of February and March.

¹⁸*Greenville Mountaineer*, April 3, 1830.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, July 9, 16, 1830.

²⁰Resident of Pendleton and Congressman, 1826-1835.

²¹*Greenville Mountaineer*, July 30, 1830. After the law was nullified Davis wanted the importer to refuse to pay the tax (a credit revenue system was then in vogue), and then the U. S. would sue. The case would go to a jury and the jury would decide with the convention that the law was unconstitutional. The S. C. ports would thus become free ports and get much trade. The law would soon become inoperative—all by "trial by jury." *Ibid.*, August 13, 1830. Davis had previously advocated each state passing its own tariff laws with the revenue going into the U. S. Treasury—*The Mountaineer*, May 2, 1829.

²²*Greenville Mountaineer*, August 6, 1830. There was some talk of trying to defeat Warren R. Davis for Congress since he favored the convention, but this was discouraged by Perry. *Ibid.*

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴*Ibid.*, August 13, 1830.

²⁵*Ibid.*, September 3, 1830.

²⁶Wilson Cobb received 1,256; Micajah Berry, 992; John H. Harrison, 970; Waddy Thompson, 716; Tandy Walker, 547; William Butler, 515. The Senator at that time was Banister Stone. *Ibid.*, October 15, 22, 1830.

²⁷*Ibid.*, September 3, 1830.

²⁸*Ibid.*, October 29, November 5, 1830.

²⁹*Ibid.*, December 17, 1830.

³⁰*Ibid.*, January 15, May 14, 1831.

³¹*Ibid.*, June 18, July 2, July 23, 1831.

³²*Ibid.*, September 10, October 8, 1831.

³³*Ibid.*, December 10, 1831; January 14, 1832.

³⁴*Ibid.*, January 7, 28, 1832.

³⁵*Ibid.*, May 5, 1832.

³⁶*Ibid.*, May 5, 12, October 13, 1832.

³⁷*Ibid.*, May 12, June 30, 1832.

³⁸*Ibid.*, September 8, 1832. Out of the voters in the town the Unionists were reported to have 76, the Nullifiers 21, and 10 doubtful. *Ibid.*, May 12, 1832.

³⁹R. W. Simpson, *History of Old Pendleton District with a Genealogy of the Leading Families of the District* (Anderson, S. C. 1913), p. 35. Bynum had previously arranged to establish a nullification paper in Montgomery, Alabama. *Greenville Mountaineer*, March 10, 1832.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, June 30, 1832. The writer has not been able to locate even one issue of this paper. It evidently ran until December. *Ibid.*, December 15, 1832.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, June 30, 1832.

⁴²Simpson, *History of Old Pendleton District*, p. 35.

⁴³*Greenville Mountaineer*, July 28, August 25, September 1, 1832.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, September 15, 1832.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, September 22, 1832.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, October 13, 1832. For Senator: Banister Stone, 1,311; Butler, 334. For House: Cobb, 1,293; Harrison, 1,280; Berry, 1,279; Walker, 500; Maxwell, 471; Choice, 427.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, November 3, 1832.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, November 10, 17, 1832. Perry received 1,055; Brockman, 1,043; Middleton, 1,034; Whitten, 1,022; Earle 381; Butler 363; Thruston, 349; and Arnold, 342.

⁴⁹*Journal of the Conventions of the People of South Carolina Held in 1832, 1833, and 1832* (Columbia, 1860), pp. 25-26, 51-53.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁴³*Greenville Mountaineer*, December 1, 8, 1832.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, December 29, 1832.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, January 19, February 2, 9, 1833. Perry, *Reminiscences*, p. 212.

⁴⁶*Greenville Mountaineer*, January 12, 1833. The officers of this society were: President, Barksdale Garrison; Vice-Presidents, Benajah Dunham, T. P. Brockman, Wilson Barton; Secretary-Treasurer, Dr. A. B. Cook; Committee of Correspondence, B. F. Perry, J. H. Harrison, Spartan Goodlett.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, February 23, 1833.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, March 23, 30, 1833.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, August 10, September 7, 1833.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, November 23, 1833.

⁵²*Convention Journal*, pp. 132-33.

⁵³*Greenville Mountaineer*, January 4, 11, 1834.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, February 8, 1834.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, March 29, 1834.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, April 19, 26, June 7, 1834.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, July 12, 1834.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, September 6, October 4, 1834.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, October 18, 1834.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, October 18, 25, November 1, 1834.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, November 22, 1834, *passim*.

⁶²*Ibid.*, December 13, 1834.

⁶³*Ibid.*, December 20, 1834, January 24, February 14, 1835. Perry accepted it later—Perry, *Reminiscences*, p. 213.

⁶⁴*Greenville Mountaineer*, February 7, 1835.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, February 21, April 15, May 2, 9, 1835.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, August 1, 22, September 5, 1835.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, September 12, 1835, Davis died in Washington, January 29, 1835—*Ibid.*, February 14, 1835.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, February 14, 1835.