

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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THE CAREER OF MONTFORT STOKES IN NORTH CAROLINA

By WILLIAM OMER FOSTER

Three states lay claim to Governor Montfort Stokes, but none of them has honored him with a biography. Virginia has successfully traced his ancestry; Oklahoma has erected a monument in his honor; but North Carolina has either ignored him or has given a garbled account of his life. During the fifty-seven years that he lived in North Carolina, that State gave him nearly every public trust. This article is a tardy effort to bring to light the hidden facts pertinent to an understanding of this forgotten public servant.

Efforts have been made to trace the paternal and maternal ancestry of Montfort Stokes to two noble families of England, Sir Adam de Stokes and Sir Simon de Montfort. The Stokes family tree in America shows the following order of descent: Christopher, Sr.; William; John; David, the Elder (and Sarah Montfort Stokes of Halifax, North Carolina); and Montfort Stokes, the subject of this study.¹ The eleventh and youngest child of David Stokes, the Elder, and Sarah (Montfort) Stokes was Montfort

¹ Tyler, L. G., ed., *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XIII (1932), 187, 188; Stokes, J. L., *The Book of Stokes: House of Stokes, 1201-1915*, p. 3. J. L. Stokes offers an unbroken family line running back to Sir Adam de Stokes of the fourteenth century. Sarah Montfort was probably a daughter of Joseph Montfort, Sr., of Virginia, a sister of Joseph Montfort, Jr., of Halifax, North Carolina, and a granddaughter of Col. Thomas Montfort of Old Point Comfort, Virginia. She was probably living with her father or brother at Halifax, North Carolina, at the time of her marriage. See *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, VI (1898), 95-98. Joseph Montfort, Jr. (1722-1776), the most prominent Mason of colonial America, received his Masonic credentials from England and is said to have come to North Carolina in 1750. Joseph Montfort, Jr., and "Sallie" Montfort are said to have descended from Sir Simon de Montfort of England. The wives of John Baptista Ashe and Willie Jones were Montfort Stokes's first cousins.

Stokes.² He was born in Lunenburg County, Virginia, on March 12, 1762,³ "twenty or thirty miles above Petersburg."⁴

Most of the secondary writers who deal with Governor Stokes say that he served in the Revolution. In one of his letters he spoke of having "remained" in North Carolina at the close of the Revolution, probably indicating that he considered himself a citizen and soldier of North Carolina as early as 1775.⁵ The best established fact about his early military experience is his connection with the ocean service. He wrote Governor Miller that he had been "used to hardships both by land and sea."⁶ His boyhood days were said to have been spent "on the ocean in the employ of Josiah Collins, Sr., sailing out of the port of Edenton, North Carolina." Leaving the merchant service he is said to have entered the infant navy of the Revolution and served under "Commodore [Captain] Stephen Decatur," the father of the more famous Decatur of the War of 1812.⁷ While visiting Stokes in 1828, Professor Elisha Mitchell wrote that the former had been a sailor in his youth, but said nothing of any military experience.⁸ One writer states that he ran away from home about the age of thirteen and enlisted in the navy, was captured near Norfolk in 1776, and was confined for seven months on the prison-ship *Jersey* in New York harbor, where he underwent intense suffering.⁹ These details have never been verified but the fact that he did participate in some phase of the Revolution is clearly stated in a letter he wrote Secretary of War Spencer in 1842:

I was in the public service, either in the land or sea service, during the whole of the Revolutionary War, from 1775 to 1783, and am among the

² He was probably named after his uncle, Joseph Montfort, Jr. Many writers spell the name Joseph "Montford"; the signature in his will and other legal papers is "Montfort." See Halifax County Records, Will-Book 1756-1781, Part II, p. 44, archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh. (Unless otherwise stated, all manuscripts hereafter cited are in these archives.)

³ *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XI (1904), 422; Martin, Mrs. John N., "Stokes Notes," *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, VIII (1928), Series 2, p. 128. The facts are said to be taken from the family Bible of a relative, David Street.

⁴ Battle, K. P., ed., "Diary of a Geological Tour by Dr. Elisha Mitchell in 1827 and 1828," *The James Sprunt Historical Monographs*, No. 6 (1905), p. 37. (Hereafter referred to as Battle, K. P., "Diary of Dr. Elisha Mitchell,") Dr. Mitchell was a teacher of geology in the University of North Carolina. These errors are found in the various accounts; his name appears as Muntford, Monford, Mountfort, Mounfort, Munford, Mumford; his father's name is given as Allen and John; his birth-place is given as "Halifax, Virginia, county," "Wilkes county, North Carolina," "Halifax county, North Carolina"; and several say that he was born in 1760. He signed his name "Montfort Stokes."

⁵ Foreman, Grant, *Pioneer Days in the Southwest*, pp. 264, 265.

⁶ Stokes to Governor Miller, August 21, 1815, Governor's Papers, State Series, XLIII, William Miller, 2, 1815-1816.

⁷ Wheeler, J. H., *Reminiscences and Memories of North Carolina and Eminent North Carolinians*, p. 468 (hereafter referred to as Wheeler, *Reminiscences*).

⁸ Battle, K. P., "Diary of Dr. Elisha Mitchell," p. 37.

⁹ Stokes, J. L., *Book of Stokes: House of Stokes; 1201-1915*, pp. 8, 9.

last of those that remain of that class. After the close of the War in 1783, I remained in North Carolina, in various public appointments until December 1816, when I took my seat in the Senate of the United States. If it should not be deemed inconsistent with the views and interest of the Government to continue an old Revolutionary Veteran in his former office for a short time, I shall be thankful.

This letter is the only primary source known to the author which asserts that Stokes was in the Revolution.¹⁰ It is also the only autobiographical material found in his writings.¹¹

After 1783 Stokes settled for about two years in Halifax. The only fact recorded of this period is that he was made a Mason in 1784 at the age of twenty-two.

About the year 1785 Stokes moved to the pioneer village of Salisbury, in Rowan County. For a time he read law in the office of his brother, John. His friendship with Andrew Jackson began about this time. Jackson studied law in Salisbury under Spruce Macay in 1784 and 1785, and completed his studies under John Stokes in 1786; in the latter year he received his first license to practice law.¹² In later life Stokes said that "he had known General Jackson since early boyhood" and referred to the fact that Jackson had "studied law in the office of his brother." President Jackson wrote of "our friend, General Stokes."¹³

Stokes held political clerkships in North Carolina for thirty years. He was assistant clerk of the North Carolina Senate during the five years from 1785 to 1790.¹⁴ This office, which he ob-

¹⁰ Foreman, Grant, *Pioneer Days in the Southwest*, pp. 264, 265. Dr. Foreman is the only writer who quotes this letter.

¹¹ The author has searched the official State and national documents for verification of Stokes's participation in the Revolution, but the evidence is all negative. The statement of a secondary writer is that he served with the Elder Decatur's privateers who sailed out of Philadelphia but the evidence here is negative. A list of 8,000 Americans who were prisoners on the *Jersey* prison-ship was copied from the files of the British War Department, but it does not contain the name of Montfort Stokes. Dandridge, Daska, *American Prisoners of the Revolution*, pp. 449-491. No archival references are given in this work. Correspondence with the Navy Department, the War Department, the Veteran's Bureau, the Archivist of the United States, and the state historical societies of North Carolina, Virginia, and Pennsylvania gave no additional light.

¹² Bell, L. C., *The Old Free State; A Contribution to the History of Lunenburg County and Southside Virginia*, II, 330; James, Marquis, *Andrew Jackson, Portrait of a President*, pp. 24, 28. Hereafter the term "Stokes" will refer to Montfort Stokes. Jethro Rumble (*History of Rowan County, North Carolina*, p. 94) says that there was neither church nor minister in Rowan County in 1814.

¹³ Bassett, J. S., "Major Lewis on the Nomination of President Andrew Jackson," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, New Series*, XXIII, Part 1, pp. 25-26; Parton, J., *The Life of Andrew Jackson*, III, 41. John Stokes was a captain in the Revolution; moved from Rowan County to Montgomery County in 1786; in 1790 was named by President Washington as the first federal district judge for the District of North Carolina; and died in Fayetteville in 1790 on his way home from his only term on the bench at New Bern. Stokes County was named in his honor in 1798.

¹⁴ *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1929*, p. 1574. In 1832 Stokes said that he had served the State forty-seven years. *House Journal, North Carolina, 1832*, p. 146.

tained in his twenty-third year, was the beginning of a public career of fifty-seven years.

On September 1, 1790, he married Mary Erwin of Tarboro, a daughter of Lieutenant-General Henry Erwin, who had been killed at Germantown in 1777.¹⁵

From 1790 to 1799 he was clerk of the Rowan County Superior Court. There is a hint of shrewd politics connected with the Rowan clerkship. John Steele received a letter in which it was said that "M. Stokes has bartered for the Superior Court clerkship with Governor [Alexander] Martin for which he gives the present document profits and three negroes."¹⁶

While Stokes was giving some attention to politics at this time, he was also trying to find a place among the business men of Salisbury. The first Federal census shows that he was the owner of fifteen slaves, a fairly large holding for a family in Western North Carolina in 1790.¹⁷ In 1795 the village of Salisbury passed an ordinance requiring each householder to keep on hand, for use at fires, a certain number of leather buckets, each holding at least two gallons. The number of buckets required is an index of the wealth of the citizens. Richard Pearson kept four buckets; Dr. Anthony Newman kept three; Montfort Stokes and John Steele were among the twenty required to keep two; twenty-eight kept one each.¹⁸ While in Rowan County Stokes traded consid-

¹⁵ All the facts about the history of the family in North Carolina are taken from The Montfort Stokes Family Bible Record. A copy of this record was furnished the author by Miss Frances R. Bouchelle of De Land, Florida, who says that it was copied by her mother, a granddaughter of Stokes. A typed copy of the record may be seen in the University of North Carolina library. Mary Erwin Stokes died at Salisbury in 1791; their only child, Adelaide, married Henry B. Lewis of Tennessee who afterwards became an auditor of the United States Treasury and lived for a time in the White House as a personal friend of President Jackson.

¹⁶ Wallace Alexander to John Steele, May 21, 1790, Wagstaff, H. M., ed., *The Papers of John Steele*, I, 59, 60 (hereafter referred to as *Steele Papers*).

¹⁷ Clark, W., ed., *The State Records of North Carolina*, XXVI, 1040.

¹⁸ Rumpel, J., *History of Rowan County, North Carolina*, p. 233. In Rowan County between the years 1790 and 1814 Stokes bought twenty pieces of property; between 1793 and 1820 he sold fifteen pieces. These tracts ranged from village lots to farms of 355 acres. Record of Real Estate Conveyances of Rowan County, North Carolina, Books 12-26, vault of Clerk of Superior Court, Rowan County Courthouse, Salisbury, N. C.

A map drawn in 1806 shows that he was interested in 3,640 acres on the Mississippi River. In 1810 he received two letters from his nephew, John R. Stokes, which show that Montfort Stokes had some dealings in military land warrants in Ohio; it is not known whether he received these for his services in the Revolution or whether he bought them. Montfort Stokes Papers, 1790-1811.

In 1825 Stokes invested a thousand dollars in the Yadkin River Navigation Company. *Report of the President and Directors of the Yadkin River Navigation Company, April 10, 1825*, p. 58. He was also a member of the Cape Fear Navigation Company. The Board of Internal Improvement was requested to aid the Yadkin River Navigation Company; the Board complied with this request and sought the aid of Benjamin H. Latrobe, a prominent architect and engineer of Baltimore. Latrobe wrote Joseph Gales of Raleigh that he had talked with General Stokes and that "I find from his information that a very principal object of the Board of Works is to render the river Yadkin navigable thro a pass called the

erably in real estate, and at one time he held about 4,000 acres in Wilkes County.

Apart from any office, Stokes gave considerable time to public affairs. One of the interesting experiences of his public life was connected with the visit of President Washington to Salisbury in 1791. The Federal government under the Constitution had been in operation only two years and North Carolina had very reluctantly and tardily entered the Union. Washington wished to learn the temper of the South and to cement the ties that bound it to the Union.¹⁹ After leaving Savannah, he returned home through the western part of North Carolina. At the border of Rowan County Captain Montfort Stokes and his light horse company, completely equipped and uniformed, met him and escorted the President into town.²⁰ At the hotel he was waited upon by a group of gentlemen who presented him with a laudatory address signed by John Steele, Judge Macay, Maxwell Chambers, and a number of others. A few minutes later the President read in reply a formal, stereotyped message.²¹

Early the next morning the party set off towards Salem. According to one of the press reports, Captain "Mumford" Stokes with his company, and the gentlemen who had dined with the President, accompanied the party as far as Long's Ferry on the Yadkin River. Here the President made a short address to the militia and "took leave of the other gentlemen in the most polite and affectionate manner."²²

narrows; or to conduct the navigation of the Yadkin by means of a canal opening above the narrows into Cape Fear River at Fayetteville."

It has been suggested that "He trusted others overmuch and was often embarrassed in pecuniary matters." Wheeler, *Reminiscences*, p. 468. A great granddaughter says that "He ran through about three fortunes." Miss Frances R. Bouchelle, De Land, Florida, to William O. Foster, May 2, 1938.

¹⁹ Henderson, Archibald, *Washington, the Traveller, Pamphlet No. 11, United States Washington Bicentennial Commission*, part III, pp. 14, 15.

²⁰ *Connecticut Courant*, July 4, 1791.

²¹ Both "The Address of the Inhabitants of Salisbury" and "The President's Answer" may be seen in *The State Gazette of North Carolina* (Edenton), July 3, 1791. Dr. Archibald Henderson (*Washington's Southern Tour, 1791*, p. 300) adds to the names of signers of the address to Washington those of Montfort Stokes, Charles Harris, and L. Beard; he does not give the President's answer. The President said: "YOUR expressions of satisfaction on my arrival in Salisbury are received with pleasure, and thanked with sincerity. The interest which you are pleased to take in my personal welfare, excite a sensibility proportionate to your goodness. While I make the most grateful acknowledgement for that goodness, allow me to observe that your determination, coöperating with that of your fellow-citizens throughout the union, to maintain and perpetuate the federal government, affords better assurance of order and effective government, with their concomitants private and public prosperity, than the best meant endeavors of any individual could give. Our national glory and domestic tranquility, can never be tarnished or disturbed while they are guided by wise laws founded in public virtue. Among the measures which an enlightened and patriotic legislature will pursue to preserve them, I doubt not the means of diffusing public information will be duly considered. My best wishes for the prosperity of your village and for your individual happiness are sincerely offered. George Washington."

²² *The State Gazette of North Carolina* (Edenton), June 10, 1791. In his diary, President Washington referred to his reception by the militia but did not mention Stokes by name.

In the midst of business and social matters, Stokes still found time for political affairs. Probably his first political controversy was with John Steele in 1792 and 1793. Steele was the first Congressman from the Salisbury district. He took his seat on April 19, 1790, served again in the second Congress, and in 1792 announced that instead of seeking re-election he would run for the United States Senate. Steele was a conservative, aristocratic Federalist. In Congress, while seeking to have the state militia take the place of the regular army, he minimized the dangers from the Indians on the frontier and thereby angered the people of his section. He was opposed in the race for the Senate by Governor Alexander Martin, a Republican of the moderate school. Steele was defeated and seems to have looked on Stokes as the leader of the opposition in the state senate.²³ He condemned Stokes on four grounds: he had vigorously supported Alexander Martin; he had said that Steele was "an aristocrat and a . . . of Mr. Hamilton"; he had said that Steele wished to leave public life and had authorized no one to nominate him; and he accused Steele of duplicity in writing as many letters to Federalists as to Anti-Federalists while a member of the conventions which met at Hillsboro and Fayetteville to consider the advisability of ratifying the Federal Constitution. Steele said that the charge of duplicity was the only one that had hurt his feelings; he felt that he represented all the people of North Carolina and that each party had an equal right to information. Stokes acknowledged that he had supported Martin but his motive had been gratitude for favors he had received; the other charges he attributed to the gossip of a personal enemy.²⁴

In 1793 one of the North Carolina papers announced the names of the ten successful candidates for Congress. This announcement was followed by the statement that "Colonel Benjamin Smith and Montfort Stokes were not candidates." Stokes had probably been considered for this office.²⁵

On January 7, 1796, Stokes was married the second time to Rachel Montgomery of Salisbury, the daughter of Hugh Montgomery of England and Catherine Sloan of Georgia. Montgom-

²³ Gilpatrick, D. H., *Jeffersonian Democracy in North Carolina, 1789-1816*, pp. 21, 59, 60.

²⁴ *Steele Papers*, I, 98, 100.

²⁵ *North Carolina Journal* (Halifax), March 13, 1793.

ery was a wealthy land agent of Lord Granville,²⁶ one of the proprietors of colonial North Carolina. Stokes was the father of eleven children, five sons and six daughters.

From 1799 to 1816 he was clerk of the state senate.²⁷ In 1804 the state senate passed a resolution "that the unanimous thanks of this House be returned to General Montfort Stokes, for the long, the faithful and the meritorious service he has rendered the same in the capacity of a clerk during a period of nineteen years."²⁸ Undoubtedly Stokes's efficiency and cordiality during his clerkship was of great aid in his further advancement.

Stokes was a presidential elector in each of the nine elections from 1800 to 1832. In the last three of these elections he presided over the meetings of the electors in North Carolina.²⁹

In a broadside which he sent out to his electoral district in 1804, Stokes stated that in his second appearance as a candidate for presidential elector he could promise that there would not occur the disagreeable scenes which preceded the election in 1800, due to the fact that Jefferson's first term had won the approval of practically all Republicans and of many Federalists as well. The people were not burdened with the support of a large standing army or large naval force. The saving of \$11,000,000 in the national budget was the equivalent of a "voluntary contribution" to the nation. In these three years there had been less disturbance of commerce by foreign foes and less harm from Indians than during any time since independence. Louisiana had been procured by honest negotiations resulting in fair purchase. He rejoiced that as a result of the repeal of the excise taxes and other internal taxes the country was freed from a "host of revenue officials." The repeal of John Adams's "late judicial system" would do no harm. The Alien and Sedition Laws were a thing of the

²⁶ At one time Granville owned the northern part of North Carolina. As Montgomery was not living, the wedding occurred at the home of the bride's guardian, General William Lenoir of Fort Defiance in Wilkes County; Stokes was thirty-four and Rachel Montgomery was seventeen. The names of the children are given in the Family Bible Record; the most prominent was Montfort Sidney Stokes (1810-1862), who served as major in the Mexican War and as colonel in the War between the States. Hackett, J. G., "Montfort Sidney Stokes," *Carolina and the Southern Cross*, I, No. 6, August, 1913, pp. 7, 8. Mrs. Minnie S. Hunt, of North Wilkesboro, N. C., was the only grandchild living in North Carolina in 1938.

²⁷ Connor, R. D. W., *North Carolina Manual*, 1913, pp. 459-464.

²⁸ *Senate Journal, North Carolina*, 1804, Dec. 19, p. 52.

²⁹ Obituary, *Arkansas State Gazette* (Little Rock), Dec. 7, 1842. In 1812 Stokes was selected as an elector by the state legislature. Governor Hawkins's Letter Book, 1812-1813, p. 3.

past. If named an elector, he promised to work diligently in the electoral college for the re-election of Thomas Jefferson.³⁰

On December 4, 1804, Stokes was elected by the General Assembly to the United States Senate for the term beginning March 4, 1805.³¹ During the winter he decided to decline the office because of "the situation of my family and of my affairs" and the knowledge that the State would not need to be without representation in the Senate a single day because of his resignation. He thanked his friends and congratulated his enemies upon their opportunity of proposing a person of their own choice. This letter of resignation was written on October 28, 1805, and was sent to the press in order that the members of the legislature might have notice in advance of their annual meeting, but for some reason it was not published until November 18.³² The letter was read in the state senate on November 11, 1805, and ordered sent to the commons.³³

A public service which demanded Stokes's attention was that of the boundary disputes between the Carolinas and between North Carolina and Tennessee. In October, 1805, Governor James Turner appointed a commission consisting of John Steele, James Wellborn, and John Moore to meet a similar body from South

³⁰ Stokes, M., *To the Freemen of the Counties of Rowan, Randolph and Cabarrus, North Carolina*, Salisbury, September 6, 1804. This pamphlet may be seen in the University of North Carolina Library. An indication of his growing political influence is shown in a statement of a Rowan County citizen to the effect that "I will do nothing to provoke the wrath of Stokes or Fisher." *Steele Papers*, I, 439.

³¹ *Senate Journal, North Carolina, 1804*, p. 23. On November 26, 1804, Joseph Pearson wrote John Steele that, during the election campaign for senator, Stokes "appears quite grave and I am now convinced that he is not all in all at this place. It is generally believed that he intends becoming a candidate." *Steele Papers*, I, 441. Stokes defeated Thomas Blount, Benjamin Smith, and Jesse Franklin. *House Journal, North Carolina, 1804*, pp. 9, 11.

³² *North Carolina Journal* (Halifax), Nov. 18, 1805. "To the members who are elected to serve in the ensuing General Assembly of the State of North Carolina. Gentlemen: The Situation of my family and my affairs, being such as determined me not to accept the appointment of Senator to the Congress of the United States, I avail myself of the public prints . . . that you may be prepared to elect some other person, at a period early enough for the state to be fully represented in the Senate at the meeting of Congress. To the Legislature of North Carolina I have to remark that as the General Assembly convenes on the 18th. of November, and Congress do not meet until the 2nd. of December, I trust the state will suffer no inconvenience by my placing again in the Legislature the power of making another choice,—a duty they are imminently qualified to fulfill and a task I hope they are not unwilling to perform. To my friends I have to return my grateful acknowledgment for their good opinions and patronage, and to assure them that whatever may be my future condition in life, the testimonies they have so often given me of their confidence and regard will ever remain one of the greatest consolations this world can afford me. And here I am bound to confess that I number among my best friends some who, from peculiar circumstances, could not give me their support in the last election. To my enemies I offer what will be gratifying to envious and malicious minds the opportunity of uniting their effort to elevate some person of a disposition congenial to their own. To my country I devote my life; and stand pledged by the acceptance of a high military commission to be ready at my post in the hour of difficulty and danger. And to my God I appeal for the sincerity of my declaration, and the rectitude of my motive upon this occasion." The business affairs may have been connected with the Wilkes County land which his wife had inherited eight years previously. This action on the part of Stokes is not unique; in 1814 Frances Locke, another citizen of Rowan County, refused a seat in the United States Senate. Ashe, S. A., *History of North Carolina*, II, 238.

³³ *Senate Journal, North Carolina, 1805*, p. 4.

Carolina.³⁴ In 1808 a "Convention Agreement" was made between the two commissions which was accepted by the legislatures of the two states. Article three of this agreement created some practical difficulties due to the topography of the mountain section, and there was a further delay. Toward the close of 1808 Stokes replaced Moore on the commission. Steele resigned about this time and for a time no progress was made. In 1812 the governor transferred Wellborn to the state militia in order that he might serve in the war against Great Britain. He appointed a new commission composed of John Steele, Montfort Stokes, and Robert Burton. The governors of the two states agreed that President Caldwell of the University of North Carolina and a certain Blackburn of Columbia University should act as surveyors.³⁵

After months of travel, the two commissions met at McKinney's on Toxoway River on July 20, 1813, and signed a "Provisional Agreement,"³⁶ substituting a new article in place of article three in the "Conventional Agreement" of 1808. This agreement was a concession on the part of North Carolina, for South Carolina gained a considerable section of North Carolina's territory. But the new article enabled the two commissions to agree on the exact location of the line. The North Carolina commission made its report to Governor Hawkins on September 20, 1813.³⁷ In 1814 Governor William Miller named Thomas Love, Montfort Stokes, and John Patton on a new commission actually to run the line. In 1815 the two commissions completed the marking of the line in harmony with the "Provisional Agreement of 1812"; their joint report was signed in Greenville, South Carolina.³⁸ The action of the two commissions was ratified by the two state legislatures, with North Carolina acting on December 18, 1815.³⁹

³⁴ *Laws of North Carolina*, 1813, p. 11.

³⁵ Skaggs, M. L., *North Carolina Boundary Dispute Involving Her Southern Boundary*, a typewritten Ph.D. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1933, p. 247. William Polk said Wellborn was dismissed by the governor. William Polk to John Steele, September 14, 1812, *Steele Papers*, II, 690.

³⁶ A copy of the Provisional Agreement containing the line agreed upon may be seen in *ibid.*, pp. 332-334.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 712, 713.

³⁸ On two occasions Stokes requested Governor Miller to send the commission better tents; he said the ones furnished by South Carolina were much better but that "I will not be the first to complain." Compare *Governors' Papers*, State Series, XLIII, William Miller, 2, 1815-1816, August 21, 1815.

³⁹ "Resolutions of the North Carolina Legislature," December 18, 1815, *Executive Letter Book*, XXL, 320. Compare *Laws of North Carolina*, 1813, p. 11, where the agreement and a brief discussion may be seen.

There was a long struggle between North Carolina and Tennessee over the western lands and the boundary between the two states. In this controversy Stokes was asked by the legislature to represent the State in the discussions before the United States Senate. In 1817 he delivered North Carolina's memorial to the Senate and was placed on a special committee on public lands, to which the matter was referred.⁴⁰

In harmony with the instructions of the state legislature, in 1819 Governor John Branch appointed James Mebane, Montfort Stokes, and Robert Love on a commission to work with a similar commission from Tennessee in settling the line between the two states. Colonel W. Davenport of Wilkes County represented North Carolina as surveyor. The commissions came to an agreement in 1821, and it was thought that the controversy was ended. But land grants made by each state caused confusion as late as 1892. The matter was then taken to the lower United States court, and finally to the Supreme Court, where a decision was made in 1915 in favor of Tennessee.⁴¹ There is no evidence that Stokes made any scientific contribution to the boundary question; he was assigned to these commissions by political appointment.

At the time of her marriage in 1796, Rachel Montgomery Stokes had come into legal possession of considerable land in Wilkes County through the will of her father. In order to give closer supervision to this property, Stokes gradually closed out his interests in Rowan County, and probably in the spring or summer of 1810 the family moved to the new community. They built their permanent home about five miles from Wilkesboro on an eminence nestling between two mountains and overlooking the Yadkin River valley; they called it "Morne Rouge" or "Red Hill"; in 1938 it was known as the "Gray Farm."⁴²

It was as a citizen of Wilkes County that Stokes ceased to be a private citizen and began his real public career. From his mountain retreat he went down often to the state and national capitals

⁴⁰ *Annals of Congress*, 14 Congress, 2 session, pp. 79, 80; 15 Congress, 1 session, pp. 67, 168 (hereafter referred to as *Annals*).

⁴¹ *Transcript and Record of the Supreme Court of the United States*, I, 4. A plot showing the line agreed upon by the two commissions and signed by them at Knoxville on August 31, 1831, may be seen in the third volume of this work.

⁴² Stokes's correspondence (Montfort Stokes Papers 1790-1811) shows that he was still receiving mail in Salisbury in September, 1810; his son, Montfort Sidney Stokes, was born in Wilkes County on October 6, 1810. "Morne Rouge," a building of three floors and eleven rooms, still stands in a state of good repair. Montfort Sidney Stokes is buried near the house.

and spent the greater part of his time in public service. The "War Hawks" of the West were arousing the land to a new pitch of nationalism. Sentiment was rising for expansion of territory and development of the army and navy. "Manifest Destiny" demanded the building up of the nation and the taking of Canada, the West, and the Southwest. While never a crusader, Stokes identified himself with this group of progressive Republicans, who were later known as the "Young Republicans" or "Loose Constructionists."

As an aid to his political advancement and financial support, Stokes had early sought leadership in the state militia. His first military experience after the Revolution was at Salisbury, where he was made captain of a newly formed cavalry company in 1790.⁴³ In 1804 the General Assembly of North Carolina elected him major-general of the fourth division in the state militia.⁴⁴ In the War of 1812 he had the title of major-general. On January 14, 1812, he wrote to Governor William Hawkins volunteering to accept the rank and pay of a brigadier-general in the detached militia;⁴⁵ but when these troops were detached from the state troops for federal service in August, the general assembly elevated him to the higher rank of major-general.⁴⁶ The War Department files show him reporting to Washington in this capacity.⁴⁷ Although in this war North Carolina's men were active in the navy and many of the state militia were sent to Georgia, Norfolk, and Canada, the record is silent as to any active service by Stokes.⁴⁸ Throughout the war he continued to serve as clerk of the state senate, and at intervals served on a boundary commission.

Upon his election to the United States Senate in 1816, Stokes resigned his office as major-general of the Fifth Division.⁴⁹ In

⁴³ Wallace Alexander to John Steele, May 21, 1790, *Steele Papers*, I, 59, 60.

⁴⁴ Montfort Stokes Papers, 1790-1811.

⁴⁵ Governor Hawkins Letter-Book, 1813-1814, January 14, 1814: "I would if agreeable to you, and not contrary to the regulations of the War Department, accept the command, rank and pay of Brigadier-General. I would not by any means wish to embarrass your excellency, by standing in the way of any person who may have better claims to this command, but I believe Genl. Davidson is in a low state of health at this time. Of this I am not certain. Therefore, I hope your excellency will consider me as among those from whom the claim is to be made."

⁴⁶ *Senate Journal, North Carolina, 1812*, p. 31; *Muster Roll of the Soldiers of the War of 1812, Detached from the Militia of North Carolina in 1812 and 1814*, p. 117.

⁴⁷ Major-General E. T. Conley, of the Adjutant General's Office, to William O. Foster, November 3, 1937.

⁴⁸ Gilpatrick, D. H., *Jeffersonian Democracy in North Carolina*, p. 198. The Adjutant-General's office at Raleigh wrote the author that no record has been kept of any service rendered by Stokes in the War of 1812.

⁴⁹ *Raleigh Register and North Carolina State Gazette*, December 13, 1816.

1817 he wrote Governor Miller from Washington that he had been served with a writ for failing to review his division for four years. He said, by way of excuse, that during three years he had been busy running the state line between the Carolinas at the time the review was usually held, and that the fourth year he had been anticipated by some of the brigadier-generals of his division, since the law, "improperly" in his view, forbade two general officers to review the division at the same time. He added that he could claim illness on the part of himself and family.⁵⁰ As nothing further about the case is found in the records, it is presumed that the governor used his influence to have the writ recalled.

While in the United States Senate, a part of his duties as a member of the Military Affairs Committee included making an annual inspection of the Military Academy at West Point. In 1830 and 1832 he was made president of the Board of Visitors to this institution.⁵¹

Even during the War of 1812 Stokes was more interested in politics than in military affairs. In 1814 Archibald D. Murphey requested him to run for the governorship,⁵² but for some reason he thought it unwise to allow his name to be presented.

In 1816 James Turner resigned from the United States Senate, and Stokes was elected by the legislature to fill out the three months remaining in the short term and also to serve during the full six-year term to begin the following March.⁵³ One contemporary suggested that this honor came to him chiefly as a result of the popularity and influence of his brother-in-law, James Wellborn of Wilkes County.⁵⁴ But another, who in his youth had known Stokes, said that the honor cost him nothing and was merely the bestowment of merit on the right man by an uncorrupted legislature.⁵⁵ Concerning the fight for the long term, Stokes said that "I was shamefully and clandestinely defrauded

⁵⁰ Governor Miller Letter Book, 1816-1817, pp. 215-227.

⁵¹ Obituary, *Arkansas State Gazette* (Little Rock), December 7, 1842; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 1574.

⁵² Hamilton, J. G., deR., ed., *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, I, 77 (hereafter referred to as *Ruffin Papers*).

⁵³ Governor William Miller Letter Book, 1816-1817, pp. 129, 180.

⁵⁴ Crouch, John, *Historical Sketches of Wilkes County, North Carolina*, p. 106. Wellborn was a member of the legislature thirty of the thirty-nine years from 1795 to 1834. He was speaker of the state senate for twenty-nine years. His modest home still may be seen a short distance out of Wilkesboro.

⁵⁵ Talliaferro, H. E., "Governor Montfort Stokes," *London Times* (Tennessee), probably 1875. This clipping may be seen in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society at Madison.

out of my election as Senator on the first balloting that took place for the six years. . . . I had gained my objective, and felt no disposition to dirty my hands with the blood of scoundrels.”⁵⁶ His credentials for the short term and for the long term were presented in the Senate on the same day.

Stokes was a conscientious member of the Senate, but showed no leadership on the floor or in the committees. His few brief speeches received scant notice in the *Annals of Congress*. He was a member of the standing committees of the District of Columbia, Post Offices and Roads, and the Militia. He entered the Senate a year later than his colleague, Nathaniel Macon. Both were ardent Republicans. Stokes reflected the more liberal views of the West and Macon the conservative views of the East. In 1820 both favored a low tariff and helped prevent a general rise in tariff rates.⁵⁷ He was generous in the matter of public expenditures while Macon favored a rigid national economy; this divergence of views was shown in their attitudes toward internal improvements, public lands, and the salaries of Congressmen. On the question of internal improvements, Stokes sided with Clay, Calhoun, and the other “Young Republicans.” Macon advocated the “strict construction” of the Constitution. Western North Carolina needed roads and canals in order to get its products to the seacoast; it also favored a highway from the North to New Orleans through the Piedmont. The East did not wish to be taxed to satisfy the needs of another section. And yet it was Stokes, the leader from the West, who worked for internal improvements in the East as well as in the West. He threw the weight of his influence toward the improvement of Albemarle Sound and the building of a road from Edenton to Norfolk.⁵⁸ The legislature recognized his liberal views by requesting him to represent the State in the Senate in seeking federal aid for dredging Tar River and placing buoys along the coast. He favored using the bonus from the United States Bank for general internal improvements; President Madison vetoed this bill.⁵⁹ He helped pass the bill which authorized the President to survey the Cumberland Road through Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois,

⁵⁶ Montfort Stokes to Thomas Ruffin, February 17, 1819, *Ruffin Papers*, I, 125.

⁵⁷ *Annals*, 14 Congress, 2 session, pp. 33, 36, 52; 16 Congress, 1 session, I, 672.

⁵⁸ Hoyt, W. H., ed., *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, I, 127, 128 (hereafter referred to as *Murphey Papers*).

⁵⁹ *Annals*, 16 Congress, 1 session, I, 430, 431, 501; 14 Congress, 2 session, p. 41.

the cost of the survey to be met by the United States. He voted with the majority in appropriating \$19,000 as extra pay for the soldiers who were employed in building and repairing military roads. President Monroe vetoed a bill establishing toll-gates and appropriating \$9,000,000 for repairs on the Cumberland Road. Both North Carolina Senators supported the President's veto, but when the toll-gate feature was removed, Stokes voted for the bill.⁶⁰

In the matter of the public lands, efforts were made in Congress to help the purchasers who were threatened with bankruptcy as a result of the panic of 1819. Stokes said that a plan was being proposed to help those who

had bought at prices they will never be able to pay. They acted "with their eyes open" and cannot blame the government if they forfeit their lands and the money paid at the time of purchase . . . It is an indisputable fact that the public lands to the South and West were laid off at exorbitant prices, far beyond their intrinsic value . . . Relief ought and will be granted to the purchasers, but that the relief will be anything more than a lengthy credit upon the balance due, I am unable to say.⁶¹

He voted with the majority in changing from a credit to a cash basis in future sales of land and allowing preëmption claims to squatters who had purchased eighty acres.⁶²

He supported an unsuccessful effort to increase the salaries of members of Congress. He addressed the Senate upon the subject but his speech was not reported.⁶³ He favored increasing the pay of Federal District judges in certain states and introduced a bill proposing an increase for those in North Carolina; Macon's vote helped to kill this bill.⁶⁴

Stokes wanted the Senate to reconsider its former action on the question and give those who had been dropped from the pension roll a chance to prove their right to reinstatement. Macon was on the opposite side and the Senate refused to reopen the question. Stokes and Macon voted with the majority in broadening the list of pensions granted for service in the Revolution.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ *Annals*, 16 Congress, 1 session, I, 273, 523, 694; 15 Congress, 2 session, 171; 17 Congress, 1 session, I, 444; 17 Congress, 1 session, II, 1803-1805; 17 Congress, 1 session, I, 455.

⁶¹ Stokes to Archibald D. Murphey, January 2, 1821, *Murphey Papers*, I, 185.

⁶² *Annals*, 16 Congress, 1 session, I, 686.

⁶³ *Annals*, 16 Congress, 2 session, 337, 366.

⁶⁴ *Annals*, 16 Congress, 1 session, I, 596, 603.

⁶⁵ *Annals*, 16 Congress, 1 session, I, 640; 17 Congress, 2 session, II, 264; 15 Congress, 2 session, 73.

Believing the Sedition Law which had been enacted by the Federalists to be unconstitutional, both Stokes and Macon voted to indemnify those who had been punished by its enforcement.⁶⁶

The Senate voted in favor of a proposed constitutional amendment that provided for a uniform system of selecting presidential electors by districts. Both North Carolina Senators supported this measure, but it died in the House.⁶⁷

Congress decided to reduce the number of Supreme Court justices from seven to five, and to confine their labors to the national capital. This act provided for circuit judges who would do the work formerly done by the joint labors of the Supreme Court and District Court judges throughout the states. Both Stokes and Macon opposed this measure.⁶⁸ Stokes was not opposed to the principle of the bill but did not think the status of the docket in North Carolina and neighboring states required such a change.⁶⁹

On the slavery question both of the Senators from North Carolina were strong supporters of the system. On the proposition of extending slavery into the territories Stokes was willing to compromise. The only way in which Missouri could be admitted into the Union was through a compromise on slavery. In the decision known as "The Missouri Compromise," Congress decided that Missouri might come in with slavery but that the rest of the Louisiana purchase should be free north of latitude thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes. The North Carolina delegation, as well as that of every Southern state, voted unanimously for the admission of Missouri as a slave state. Stokes and Macon took opposite sides and North Carolina's twelve votes in the House of Representatives divided evenly on the compromise; Stokes and six Congressmen, all of them from the West, supported the Missouri Compromise. Felix Walker, of Haywood County, was the only member from the West who opposed the compromise.⁷⁰

On February 27, 1820, Stokes wrote Governor Branch a public letter in explanation of his stand. He thought that Congress had the right to regulate slavery in the territories but that when a territory sought statehood it had the constitutional right of de-

⁶⁶ *Annals*, 15 Congress, 2 session, 64.

⁶⁷ *Annals*, 17 Congress, 1 session, I, 283; 17 Congress, 1 session, II, 1249, 1250.

⁶⁸ *Annals*, 15 Congress, 2 session, 160, 164.

⁶⁹ Stokes to Ruffin, February 14, 1819, *Ruffin Papers*, I, 215.

⁷⁰ *Annals*, 16 Congress, 1 session, 1586, 1587.

ciding whether it would enter the Union as a free or slave state. He could not justify the North in its unconstitutional efforts to restrict Missouri, but he had voted for the Missouri Compromise Bill as a "prudent and proper concession." He felt that the Southwest would "offer an asylum for our slaves already too numerous to be comfortably supported in some of the Southern States" and he had a "charitable and respectful regard for the feelings . . . of the great portion of the people of the Northern States who are averse to slavery in any shape." He added that "you have seen and will see volumes of speeches on the subject, most of which not having been listened to in either house are intended for home consumption."⁷¹

Stokes wrote of his pleasure in attending social functions in the national capital. He described the President's reception on New Year's Day of 1821. Great crowds of Congressmen, ministers, cabinet members, and citizens appeared more like

a motley group accidentally collected together than an assembly of genteel people . . . Jostled one another about for an hour, spilt the wine between "the cup and the lip," snatched a few bits of cake as the waiters worked their way through the crowd, bawled out lustily for our carriages at the door . . . This was the first levee or public exhibition since my arrival. . . . All men in high station must be exhibited in some way or other as a *Show*, and there perhaps cannot be a more cheap and harmless way to show the President of the United States as a New Year's Recreation.⁷²

In the autumn of 1822 the North Carolina legislature held an election for a United States Senator for the term to begin the following March. Stokes was a candidate for re-election. William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, partially forecast the outcome when he said that "in North Carolina B. Yancey will probably oppose General Stokes and be successful."⁷³ Stokes had probably learned from political leaders that he had lost much of his support in North Carolina. He was quoted as saying that before he left Raleigh he had instructed his friends to withdraw his name if there was no election by the fifth ballot.⁷⁴ The candidates in this hotly contested election were Montfort Stokes,

⁷¹ Stokes to Branch, February 7, 1820. Governor John Branch Letter Book, 1817-1820, pp. 284, 285. This letter was published in *The Raleigh Register*, March 17, 1820.

⁷² Stokes to Archibald Murphey, January 2, 1821, *Murphey Papers*, I, 185.

⁷³ Crawford to C. Tait, September 17, 1822, Shipp, J. E. D., *Giant Days or the Life and Times of William H. Crawford*, p. 235.

⁷⁴ R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancey, December 20, 1822, Hamilton, J. G. deR., ed., "Letters to Bartlett Yancey," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, X, No. 2 (1910), p. 34.

Bartlett Yancey, and John Branch. After several ballots, the name of Yancey was withdrawn and Branch was elected.⁷⁵

Stokes returned to the State in time to take part in the fight Western North Carolina was making for larger influence in state and national politics. Since the meeting of the first colonial legislature in 1665, the East had enjoyed an unfair representation in that body. The East had many small counties and the West a few large ones; a small county had as many representatives in the legislature as a large one and the legislature now elected the governors and United States Senators. The state constitution of 1776 had been in force fifty years; in this time forty-four governors had come from the East and only fifteen from the West. In protest against this inequality, a caucus of western senators and representatives met near the close of the session of the legislature of 1822 and issued a call for the election of delegates to a reform convention to be held in Raleigh a week before the meeting of the legislature in 1823.⁷⁶

A committee of correspondence met in Wilkesboro on May 31, 1823, to take action on the recommendations of this caucus of 1822. The committee's report to the press stated that the reform movement was state-wide in its outlook; it stressed the lack of sectionalism in its proposal that the state constitution be amended to provide for representation in the legislature on the basis of population. It proposed further that the legislature meet biennially. In the past each session of the legislature had cost the North Carolina taxpayers \$30,000 annually, nearly one-half of the total State's revenue received from taxes. The people were said to have only about six months in which to become acquainted with the laws before the next legislature repealed them. The committee issued a call for a county convention to meet in August for the purpose of selecting delegates for the reform convention in Raleigh.⁷⁷ At this county meeting, Stokes and John Martin were selected as delegates from Wilkes County to the Raleigh convention.⁷⁸

The convention met in Raleigh daily from November 10 to November 15, 1823. Stokes was nominated for president of the

⁷⁵ *House Journal, North Carolina, 1822*, December 9-14.

⁷⁶ Ashe, S. A., *History of North Carolina*, II, 288.

⁷⁷ *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury), June 17, 1823.

⁷⁸ *The Star and North Carolina State Gazette* (Raleigh), November 14, 1823.

convention by Thomas G. Polk and was elected. The secretaries were John F. Brevard and Joshua Lumsden. Stokes appointed Saunders, Williamson, and Fisher as a committee on rules. Twenty-six counties had been invited to send delegates and twenty-four accepted the invitation, and all the delegates were present on the second day. Stokes appointed on the committee on proposed amendments Bartlett Yancey, Willie P. Mangum, Charles Fisher, Robert H. Burton, James Graham, Walter F. Leake, and Thomas Love. A committee for submitting the amendments to the people consisted of Saunders, Smith, Grey, Williamson, Hearne, and Brittain. A committee on taxation was requested to study the relation of taxes to population in the State. The report of this committee started the only serious debate in the convention. The question at issue was the basis of representation in the legislature. The Piedmont wished to count three-fifths of their slaves; the extreme West wished to base representation solely on the white population. The West feared the Piedmont would unite with the East and that the inequalities for the mountain counties would continue. The report of this committee showed that if whites only were counted, the population of the twenty-four counties represented in the reform convention would exceed that of the counties not represented by 33,954; if the whites and three-fifths of the slaves were counted, the population of these twenty-four counties would fall behind that of the unrepresented counties by a margin of 11,833. The taxes paid by the twenty-four counties represented was reported as \$10,000 less than that of the other counties.⁷⁹

The proposed changes in the constitution which the convention adopted were given to the press and sent out to the people in pamphlet form. The convention proposed that representation in the commons be on the basis of 4,000 population and that of the senate on 10,000 population, counting three-fifths of the slaves.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Boyd, W. K., "The Antecedents of the North Carolina Convention of 1835," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, IX, No. 2 (April, 1910), pp. 169-171.

⁸⁰ The pamphlet which set forth the proposals of the convention bore the title: *The Proposed New Constitution of the State of North Carolina as Agreed upon by the Convention which Assembled at Raleigh on the 10th. November, 1823, together with a Copy of the Present Constitution*. Members of the legislature, the secretary of state, the comptroller, and the governor were to serve two years, and the governor was to be elected by the legislature. The legislature was to meet every two years. Each county was to have at least one representative in the commons and each county and each town was to be limited to one representative for each 4,000 population. Until the next census the towns of Wilmington, New Bern, and Fayetteville were each to have one representative; five representatives were to be allotted to Orange County, four to Lincoln, and three each to Guilford, Granville, Halifax, Mecklenburg, Rutherford, Stokes, Wake, and Rowan. No county was to have

Yancey made a motion, which was passed, as follows: "Unanimously resolved that the thanks of this convention are due, and are hereby presented, to the Honorable Montfort Stokes for the able and dignified manner in which he has discharged the duties of the Chair."⁸¹ If Stokes did anything in addition to presiding over the sessions of the convention and appointing the committees, it is not mentioned in the reports in the press.

According to one newspaper editor who reported the convention, the delegates must have "buried the hatchet" before they adjourned. They celebrated their achievements with a dinner given on Saturday afternoon by the citizens of Raleigh and served by Goneke. Colonel Polk served as toastmaster, assisted by Colonel J. Hawkins, Peter Browne, and William Boylan. There were many toasts and songs and "great conviviality and harmony."⁸² Stokes's name was not mentioned in connection with the dinner, but it is presumed that he attended.

On November 21, 1823, the recommendations of the convention were presented to the commons by Robert Martin in the form of a resolution. It was ordered that the resolution be laid on the table and be printed, one copy for each member.⁸³ The resolution was not mentioned in the annual message of Governor Gabriel Holmes, which was delivered a few days later. A futile effort was made to call a second western reform convention. A letter from Thomas Jefferson, advocating the equal rights of non-freeholders, was published in the press of the State in an effort to arouse public interest.⁸⁴ The movement for constitution reform was overshadowed by a division in the Republican party

more than one senator until the next census. After the next census twenty-four counties would have at least one senator each: Burke, Rutherford, Iredell, Surry, Lincoln, Rowan, Davidson, Rockingham, Stokes, Caswell, Randolph, Guilford, Chatham, Anson, Cumberland, Granville, Wake, Warren, Halifax, Northampton, and Craven. The other counties were to be grouped on the basis of population into eighteen senatorial districts with one senator for each district. This plan would provide for thirty-nine senators. It was also proposed that the constitution name Raleigh as the permanent capital.

⁸¹ *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury), January 6, 1824.

⁸² Editorial, *Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette*, November 21, 1823.

⁸³ *House Journal, North Carolina, 1823*, p. 128. "Whereas many of the good people of this state, believing it essential to the future happiness and prosperity of themselves, and their posterity to amend the constitution thereof; and having in the experience of an unquestionable right, duly elected Delegates from their several counties, for the purpose of proposing amendments to the same, and the Delegates aforesaid having convened in Raleigh, agreeable to appointment, and in convention, did agree to sundry amendments thereto, for the consideration of their constituents; and whereas, this House believes it their bounden duty at all times when fundamental principles become a question, to afford the free citizens of this state an opportunity of expressing their collective sentiments thereon, therefore, Resolved that a select committee be appointed with special instructions to report a bill to this House for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of the people on the proposed Constitution, and to cause the returns thereof to be read to the next Legislature. Resolved, further that copies of the existing Constitution, and the Constitution as amended be printed for the information of the citizens of this State."

⁸⁴ *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury), May 25, 1824.

over the presidential election of 1824 and a growing interest in such national questions as the tariff and nullification. There were not enough delegates elected by the counties to organize a second reform convention.⁸⁵ Amendments to the constitution, embracing some of the reforms suggested by the convention of 1823, were finally adopted by the people in 1835.⁸⁶

Stokes was quite active in the presidential campaign of 1824. The candidates were J. Q. Adams, Crawford, Clay, Calhoun, and Jackson. The Tennessee legislature got into the campaign early by nominating Jackson; Crawford commented that "there is no other state in the Union that will take him for President."⁸⁷ But Jackson was not taken so lightly by the American people. Early in the campaign Stokes had committed himself to the support of Calhoun. George McDuffie wrote Stokes that Pennsylvania and Maryland would nominate Calhoun, and that he had heard that the West placed him second to Clay.⁸⁸ Considerable objection had arisen throughout the nation to the method of nominating presidential candidates by a caucus of the members of Congress. Crawford's friends clung to the caucus method. There was arising in North Carolina a revolutionary group which demanded a more democratic method of selecting the chief executive. In 1823 Fisher of Rowan, the leader of the Calhoun forces in North Carolina, introduced a resolution into the North Carolina legislature instructing the State's Senators and requesting its Congressmen to endeavor to block the calling of a congressional caucus. The resolution was indefinitely postponed, showing that the revolutionary group had not yet gotten control of the State government.⁸⁹ Calhoun's prospects waned after Pennsylvania declared for Jackson, and Stokes named Jackson as his second choice. Some of the North Carolina politicians thought that Crawford was his second choice and when Stokes learned that some of his political enemies had been placed in charge of Crawford's cam-

⁸⁵ Boyd, W. K., "The Antecedents of the North Carolina Convention of 1835," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, IX, No. 2 (April, 1910), pp. 169-171.

⁸⁶ Boyd, W. K., *The History of North Carolina, The Federal Period*, II, 157-162. These provided for the biennial election of the governor by the people; the commons was to be based on population and the senate on the amount of taxes people paid. The amendments were ratified by a majority of more than 5,000.

⁸⁷ Crawford to C. Tait, September 17, 1822, Shipp, J. E. D., *Giant Days; or the Life and Times of William H. Crawford*, p. 234.

⁸⁸ McDuffie to Stokes, April 7, 1823, Newsome, A. R., ed., "Correspondence of John C. Calhoun, George McDuffie and Charles Fisher Relative to the Presidential Campaign of 1824," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, VII, No. 4 (October, 1920), p. 488.

⁸⁹ Boyd, W. K., "Federal Politics in North Carolina, 1824-1836," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, VII, No. 4 (October, 1930), p. 488.

paign in the State, he is quoted as saying that, "next to Calhoun Crawford was and is the choice of his understanding but he'll be G-d d---d if he would go to heaven with some of Crawford's friends; that he can not and will not support him. With such men as Cocke, L. Williams and Dick Spaight, he says he can't travel."⁹⁰ The "Spaight faction," led by R. D. Spaight, was opposed to national aid for rivers, roads, and harbors within the states; it was also hostile to Calhoun, Clay, and Jackson and sympathized with Macon and the "strict construction" view of the federal Constitution.

Jackson would probably have been Stokes's first choice if he had entered the race earlier. In 1844 or 1845 William B. Lewis wrote Lewis Cass an account of the 1824 campaign in North Carolina as well as his part in bringing Stokes around to the support of Jackson. He said,

About this time, the spring of 1822, I left home on a visit to North Carolina to see the family of my father-in-law, Governor Montfort Stokes, who was then a Senator of Congress. The Governor had always belonged to the Democratic party and was one of its most prominent and influential leaders. . . . I felt anxious to enlist him on the side of General Jackson, but he gave me not the slightest intimation that he preferred him for the presidency. . . . He had not supposed that it was seriously intended to run him. . . . "What support do his friends expect him to get," he inquired. "If nominated," I answered, "they expect him to be supported by the whole country." "Then," he facetiously replied, "he will certainly be elected." . . . He said to me that he had known General Jackson from boyhood, he having read law with his brother when quite a youth and that there was no living man whom he so much admired. . . . but being already committed to the support of Calhoun, he could not advocate his election. . . . I then remarked, but suppose Calhoun should not be a candidate can you support the general as your next choice, "Yes," he promptly replied, "with great pleasure." . . . Having now the support of both General Polk and Governor Stokes, the two leaders I may say of the Federal and Democratic parties in No. Carolina, his friends became confident of being able to carry the state for him.⁹¹

⁹⁰ P. A. Mangum to W. P. Mangum, April 5, 1824, Mangum MSS. The men mentioned were members of the "Spaight Faction" in the Republican party; this faction was led by Spaight, Charles Fisher, and Joseph H. Bryan, political opponents of Stokes. If Stokes used the expression quoted by Mangum it must have been in a facetious manner; Crawford was supported mainly by the old line, conservative Republicans while Stokes favored the progressive Republicans.

⁹¹ Bassett, J. S., "Major Lewis on the Nomination of Andrew Jackson," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, New Series*, XXIII, Part I, pp. 25-26.

Late in the 1823 session of the North Carolina legislature, a minority of the members held a caucus and selected a Crawford electoral ticket. Those who opposed Crawford and the caucus selected a group of electors called the "People's Ticket" who were pledged to support the candidate who had the best chance of defeating Crawford. Crawford was identified with the "caucus method" and was supported by Virginia. He was opposed by the "People's Ticket" on both grounds; the caucus was undemocratic, and Virginia's alliance with New York during the presidency of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe had advanced New York's statesmen at the expense of those of North Carolina.

The tide in the State turned steadily toward Jackson. In May Archibald D. Murphey said that "General Stokes told me that his [Jackson's] interests were literally overwhelming near the mountains. The Genel. will, I hope, consent to be placed on the ticket."⁹² Stokes's name was placed on the "People's Ticket" in May, 1824.⁹³ Jackson carried the State. In the nation he had a plurality of electoral votes, but not a majority. As is well known, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, and through Clay's support J. Q. Adams was elected President.

In 1824 Stokes sought an appointment as minister to Mexico and asked the aid of Congressman Saunders. Saunders said that Monroe's personal preference was Edwards of Illinois but that Calhoun sought to have Dallas of Pennsylvania or Stokes nominated. Saunders continued,

There are strong objections to him [Dallas] in the Senate—yet they are given to understand that if they do not take him they are to have Stokes. Indeed I would not be surprised if the appointment was given to Stokes if Calhoun, thought he would gain more in North Carolina by the appointment of Stokes than in Penns. by the appointment of Dallas, he would no doubt get it—a miserable state of things this—which I declined as best I could.⁹⁴

Andrew Jackson was in Congress at the time and used his influence in behalf of Stokes. He told William B. Lewis that "I had not enough influence to obtain the Mission to Mexico for our friend, General Stokes. As soon as I found we could not succeed

⁹² *Murphey Papers*, I, 296.

⁹³ *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury), May 11, 1824.

⁹⁴ R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancey, Newsome, A. R., ed., "The Letters of Romulus M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancey, 1821-1828," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VIII, No. 4 (October, 1931), p. 422.

with General Crabb, I threw my weight in the General's scale. . . . I was told that General Stokes could not be appointed because he dissipated sometimes at a card-table."⁹⁵

J. Q. Adams noted in his diary that "G. Sullivan told me that the President was determined to make all the nominations to the foreign missions today or tomorrow and that M. Stokes was also to be appointed to a mission." He wrote that to prevent his [Adams's] enemies from saying that he was using these appointments in the promotion of his own candidacy, "I suggested that the nominations be held up until after the election. The President had named G. M. Dallas, Henry Wheaton, Garnett and M. Stokes as candidates for the Mexican Mission." All the appointments to the Latin American missions were postponed until after the election;⁹⁶ the appointment of the Minister to Mexico was made during Adams's administration, and Stokes failed in his ambition.

Stokes represented Wilkes County in the North Carolina Senate in the session of 1826-1827.⁹⁷ He was a member of the finance committee, and made several reports for the committee.⁹⁸ Because of his interest in the subject, he was made a member of the committee on internal improvements. In this capacity he continued to represent the West's desire for an outlet to the sea and also favored internal improvements for the East. His committee recommended a loan to the Clubfoot and Harlow Creek Canal Company. The loan was granted on the understanding that the property of the company would be given as security. He failed in his effort to "amend and improve" the Hickory Nut Gap Road. He succeeded in getting the State to improve the road from Old Fort in Burke County to Asheville. His vote also helped secure the improvement of Currituck Inlet.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Parton, James, *The Life of Andrew Jackson*, III, 4. Marquis James in *Andrew Jackson, Portrait of a President*, p. 80 incorrectly says that the honor was sought for John Stokes.

⁹⁶ Adams, J. Q., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, VI, 415, 424, 485. The appointment went to Ninian Edwards of Illinois. In 1824 Stokes ran for the governorship but was defeated by H. G. Burton of Halifax, a Crawford leader. *Senate Journal, North Carolina, 1824*, December 3, 1824.

⁹⁷ *Senate Journal, North Carolina, 1826-1827*, p. 3.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 23, 28.

⁹⁹ *Senate Journal, North Carolina, 1826*; *House Journal, North Carolina, 1826*, pp. 231, 253. In 1828 Stokes ran for the short term of United States Senator to replace Macon, who was retiring to private life. Nineteen members of the general assembly met and debated the merits of Wilson, Stokes, Forney, and Franklin. Stokes had the support of only two of these men, all of whom were from the West, and yet he persisted in his candidacy. James H. Ruffin said that "Genl. Stokes is in nomination without any earthly probability of success . . . Genl. Stokes will not be put down, the consequence of which obstinacy is that the West is disposed to take Genl. Iredell." Frederick Nash to Thomas Ruffin, November 22, 1828, *Ruffin Papers*, I, 457-458. Iredell was elected. In 1830 Stokes, Owen,

In 1829 and again in 1830 Stokes represented Wilkes County in the North Carolina house of commons.¹⁰⁰ He was chairman of the finance committee. He failed in his effort to secure a stricter valuation of land in returning taxes. He also failed in his inflationary move to have the State issue treasury notes. He won in his fight to have the salaries of the State Supreme Court justices kept at the current level.¹⁰¹ In 1829 he voted in favor of continuing exemption from military duties on the part of the Mennonites, the Moravians, the Quakers, and the Dunkards. The House decided to continue its policy of respecting the religious convictions of these denominations.¹⁰²

On December 17, 1830, Stokes defeated Richard Dobbs Spaight, Jr., for the governorship. He was again elected governor on December 12, 1831, defeating J. J. McKay.¹⁰³

When Stokes became governor, there was only one college in the State, the academies were in the main inadequate, and illiteracy was prevalent among the masses. Archibald D. Murphey had made the creation of public schools a live issue. Stokes planned to make recommendations to the legislature upon the subject but, like most of the governors of the period, remained silent. He had already served the state university as a trustee for twenty-five years; by virtue of his office, he now became president of the board of trustees of the university.¹⁰⁴ But nothing in his past would indicate that he had been a champion of education.

In 1810 he was chairman of the board of trustees of the Wilkesboro Academy.¹⁰⁵ For several years the leaders of the western part of the State felt that the state university was too far removed to be of greatest service to their section, and therefore they began to agitate for a state-supported college to be located in the West. Stokes attended a convention in Lincolnton on September 22, 1820, where plans were considered for establishing the new college. What part he took in the convention is not

Spaight, and Willie P. Mangum were candidates to succeed Iredell as United States Senator. Mangum was elected. *House Journal, North Carolina, 1830*, pp. 182, 195.

¹⁰⁰ *North Carolina Manual, 1913*, p. 854.

¹⁰¹ *House Journal, North Carolina, 1829*, pp. 157, 167, 276.

¹⁰² *House Journal, North Carolina, 1829*, p. 196.

¹⁰³ *Senate Journal, North Carolina, 1831*, p. 43.

¹⁰⁴ Battle, K. P., *History of the University of North Carolina from Its Beginning to the Death of President Swain, 1739 to 1868*, p. 822. Stokes was a trustee of the university from 1805-1838, a total of thirty-three years.

¹⁰⁵ *The Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette*, December 27, 1810. This article was a paid advertisement.

known. He was named on the group of trustees which was proposed for the consideration of the legislature.¹⁰⁶

Stokes's activities as state representative, state senator, and governor show no constructive activity in education. He seems to have believed that Murphey's effort to awaken the State to the needs of educating the masses was worthy of support. He was mildly sympathetic to the Literary Fund as an initial movement in the direction of a state-supported system of public schools. On three occasions he voted for measures that sought to increase the fund.¹⁰⁷ In his annual message to the legislature of 1831 he said that he hoped the requirements of the fund would have the favorable attention of the legislature. He asked the State to drain the swamp land that had been given to the fund. But he said that, "Believing this Assembly will have much to do in providing for the establishment of a new Bank . . . , a sound circulating currency, and providing for the security of the people . . . , these being primary objects for the consideration of the Legislature, I have declined making recommendations, which I had contemplated, relative to the situation in the University and the establishment of common schools."¹⁰⁸

Upon the question of finance, Stokes warned the general assembly in 1831 that "owing to the large amount of Treasury notes redeemable this year, the taxes collected will fall short of meeting the current expenses of the government." The State had invested \$712,700 in the State Bank of North Carolina, the New Bern Bank, and the Bank of Cape Fear; instead of yielding the customary six per cent interest, these banks had yielded less than three per cent. "The time is near at hand when the charters of the several Banks in this State will expire . . . under these circumstances would it not be advisable to provide for the establishment of a new Bank, in which the funds of the State may be invested, under such regulations as [in] your wisdom and experience shall be deemed safe and proper? Or shall the State rely, for the accommodation of its citizens and for a circulating

¹⁰⁶ *The Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette*, October 30, 1820. Stokes is said to have attended a preparatory school, but the name of the school is not given. A great-granddaughter says that Stokes gave each of his sons a year of travel in Europe after they completed their studies; she has read some of their letters mailed from Europe. Frances R. Bouchelle to William O. Foster, May 2, 1938.

¹⁰⁷ *House Journal, North Carolina, 1831*, pp. 144, 149.

¹⁰⁸ *House Journal, North Carolina, 1831*, pp. 144, 149. Unless otherwise stated, Stokes's suggestions refer to his annual message to the legislature in 1831.

currency, on the North Carolina branch of the United States Bank?"

Due to its poor construction, Stokes did not regard the burning of the "State House," on June 21, 1831, as a "public calamity." He regretted, however, the destruction of Canova's statue of President Washington. He appreciated the public spirit of the Presbyterian church in offering the use of its buildings to the general assembly and matched their generosity by offering the "Government House" for the same purpose. He asked that an appropriation be made for a new capitol.

The last general assembly had directed the governor to "cause to be published in pamphlet form a Report relative to the Declaration of Independence by a Committee of Mecklenburg County." This instruction had been complied with.

Negotiations were being continued relative to North Carolina's claim on "the General Government for expenditures made during the late war in defense of the country" through correspondence by the governor with the War Department.

As governor he continued to work for internal improvements; but he did not bring sufficient pressure to bear to get much done. He received word from Washington that the War Department had agreed to assist the State in dredging Pamlico Sound and Tar River.¹⁰⁹ In his annual message of 1831 he said that the legislature had made subscriptions to the Cape Fear Navigation Company, the Catawba Navigation Company, and other companies. These subscriptions had not been paid, and the State should meet its obligations. He recommended that navigable connections be made from Albemarle Sound to the Atlantic, north of Cape Hatteras.¹¹⁰

Stokes's attitude towards the free Negroes and slaves is on record. In 1826, when the legislature had enacted that free Negroes could not enter the State, he had voted against the measure on the ground that it was not constitutional for one state to refuse free admission to the citizens of another state.¹¹¹

In 1830 and 1831 excitement bordering on panic was aroused in the eastern half of North Carolina over the reports of insurrection

¹⁰⁹ Wm. A. Blount to Governor Stokes, February 17, 1831, and March 31, 1831, Governor Montfort Stokes Letter Book, 1830-1832, p. 34.

¹¹⁰ *House Journal, North Carolina, 1831*, 143-146.

¹¹¹ *Senate Journal, North Carolina, 1826-1827*, p. 42.

of the slaves. Governor Stokes handled this difficult situation with wisdom and patience. The Nat Turner Insurrection occurred in Southern Virginia in the summer of 1831; but this outburst of violence was preceded by rumors that aroused concern in both Virginia and North Carolina. As early as December, 1830, Stokes received a request from New Bern for three hundred stands of arms.¹¹² In 1830 Calvin Jones of Wake Forest wrote him that an incendiary preacher had been exciting the Negroes of Chapel Hill and Hillsboro and that the whites were aroused over the fact that arms had been sent to several towns. Jones thought the people would become quiet if they knew what further action the government was taking.¹¹³

In 1830 the legislature passed a bill prohibiting anyone from teaching a slave to read or write, figures excepted.¹¹⁴ Another law was passed in 1831 prohibiting free Negroes from preaching to slaves.¹¹⁵

In August, 1831, the state militia was called out in Murfreesboro and Northampton County. Stokes sent Major-General M. T. Hawkins to take charge of the situation in Warrenton. Hawkins reported that he had on duty 100 of the militia and 100 of the volunteers and that he did not believe it was necessary to take any action in other counties.¹¹⁶ Major-General Nathan B. Whitefield reported to the governor in September that an express had brought him word that "seventeen white families were horribly massacred last night by the Negroes in the upper edge of Duplin and the lower edge of Sampson counties"; a few days later he reported that the excitement in those counties was due merely to rumor and that he would dismiss the militia.¹¹⁷ Requests for military supplies kept coming in to the governor during 1831; most of these were from the eastern and southern counties. On September 17 Joseph Caldwell, president of the state university, told the governor that "should the government think it proper to supply the college with arms measures will be taken" to keep them in readiness. On the same day approximately sixty students in Chapel Hill sent the governor a signed statement to the

¹¹² Governor Montfort Stokes Letter Book, 1830-1832, December 20, 1830.

¹¹³ Calvin Jones to Governor Stokes, December 28, 1830, Governors' Papers, XVI.

¹¹⁴ *Acts Passed by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, 1830-1831*, p. 11.

¹¹⁵ *Acts Passed by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, 1831-1832*, p. 7.

¹¹⁶ Governors' Papers, LXII, August 23, August 25, and August 26, 1831, p. 53.

¹¹⁷ Governor Montfort Stokes Letter Book, 1830-1832, p. 58.

effect that with the consent of the faculty they had organized a voluntary company and that they were in need of arms.¹¹⁸

In 1831, in the southern counties and also in Wayne and Lenoir counties, a slave plot to rebel and march on Wilmington was reported.¹¹⁹ It was reported that two columns of Negroes would unite at Wilmington, where they would secure arms and return to Sampson and Duplin counties for open warfare on the whites. This alleged plan was betrayed by a free Negro. Due to these threats, the city of Raleigh was put in a state of complete defense.¹²⁰

On November 18, 1831, Governor Hamilton of South Carolina sounded Stokes out on the wisdom of joint action by several states in curbing the Negroes. Stokes replied that he felt certain that North Carolina would be willing to cooperate in any feasible plan. Since he was busy preparing for the meeting of the legislature, he would be glad for Hamilton to take the initiative. He added that there was much excitement in North Carolina but no insurrection. The counties adjoining Virginia had released from prison the suspected slaves and sent them back to their masters. In the southeastern part of the State along the Cape Fear and Pee Dee rivers ten or twelve slaves had been executed. He continued,

I have no doubt that the news of the Virginia insurrection prompted the restless and unruly slaves, in a few instances, to make a similar attempt in this state, but nothing like a concerted or extensive plan has been discovered; and I am afraid, that among the negroes condemned and executed, some who were innocent, have suffered. I am led to this conclusion by the circumstances that in places where the excitement has subsided, the prisoners were all acquitted.¹²¹

Five officers of Franklin County wrote the governor that they feared the papers were likely to excite the whites and cause them to inflict undeserved cruelty on the slaves. They suggested that the governor take no drastic action based on statements appearing in the press.¹²²

¹¹⁸ Governors' Papers, State Series, LXII, September 17, 1831.

¹¹⁹ Governor Montfort Stokes Letter Book, 1830-1832, p. 58. Major-General W. B. Whitefield wrote that three Negroes were killed as "examples" in Lenoir County. Thirty-five Negroes were reported to have confessed that they had agreed to join Dave, a Negro, and march on Wilmington.

¹²⁰ *Raleigh Register* (North Carolina), September 15, 1831, quoted in Taylor, R. H., "Slave Conspiracies in North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, V, No. 1 (1931), pp. 20-34.

¹²¹ Montfort Stokes Letter Book, 1830-1832, pp. 70, 71.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 63.

In December, 1831, a committee of vigilance in Raleigh petitioned the War Department to send a detachment of troops to guard the city. Secretary of War Cass wrote Stokes that this and similar petitions from Charleston and Pensacola had been refused.¹²³ Early in 1832 the legislature requested Governor Stokes to petition the War Department for 1,000 horse-pistols and five hundred horsemen's swords. In making this request the governor told Secretary Cass that these supplies might be credited to the State's quota furnished by the government; but he acknowledged that the request was based on "the recent excitement in this state caused by the apprehension of insurrection among our slaves." This petition was granted.¹²⁴

The excitement died down in the State to such an extent that the governor did not even mention the matter in his annual message in the autumn of 1832.

Stokes consistently supported President Jackson and opposed the doctrine of nullification. Congress had raised the tariff rates. Jackson thought the rates too high, but nevertheless signed the tariff act of 1832. The Northern and Western states were pleased, but the planters of the Southeastern states were opposed. South Carolina planned to treat the law as a dead letter. Jackson threatened force on the conviction that the Union must be preserved. On November 29, 1830, this resolution was presented in the commons,

Resolved by the General Assembly of North Carolina, That the tariff laws as they now exist are unwise, unequal in their operations and oppressive to the Southern states; yet this Legislature cannot concur with the extreme, violent and dangerous remedy towards which the doctrine of nullification manifestly tends. Resolved, That in the sentiment "this union must be preserved" we recognize principles which challenge the approbation of every Republican and which promise to save the union from disunion and anarchy.

On the motion of Stokes this resolution was laid on the table and ordered printed.¹²⁵

Shortly after Stokes became governor, he sent the commons a resolution which had been adopted by the legislature of Alabama approving the conduct of President Jackson and recom-

¹²³ Governors' Papers, State Series, LXIII, December 3, 1831.

¹²⁴ Montfort Stokes Letter Book, 1830-1832, p. 73.

¹²⁵ *House Journal, North Carolina, 1830*, p. 187.

mending his re-election. He said: "I have great pleasure in laying before you for your consideration, this evidence of the increased confidence in our beloved Chief Magistrate." This message was read and referred to the Senate. Two days later the legislature passed a joint resolution praising Jackson's veto of the bill appropriating money for the Maysville Turnpike and suggesting that "the best interests of the union will be preserved by his re-election."¹²⁶

In his annual message in 1831 Governor Stokes said that he felt that North Carolina very generally regretted the tariff policy of Congress as harmful to the planters; but he asserted the State was proud of the help it had given to the Revolution and desired no remedy that went beyond the Constitution. He was opposed to the policy of nullification advanced by a sister state. He believed that while the states had delegated to Congress only those powers which were essential to a union, the spirit of compromise which had helped to produce the Constitution must preserve it in the Congress which was soon to assemble. The message later turned to a political defense of the President. The governor was happy over the manner in which the President had handled both the domestic and foreign affairs of the country: trade had increased with the West Indies, the Indians had been removed, and the national debt had been almost liquidated. He evidently thought that the evils of the "Spoils System" had been exaggerated. At the close of the message he asked:

Of what consequence is it to the people of the United States, that some subordinate members of the government have been dismissed by General Jackson, provided the duties required are faithfully performed by their successors? Then let us not rashly rush to destroy this prosperous condition of our affairs, by endeavoring to place them in untried hands.¹²⁷

In 1832 the legislature passed unanimously a joint resolution "that the General Assembly doth solemnly declare a devoted attachment to the Federal Union, believing that on its continuance depends the liberty, the peace and the prosperity of these United States."¹²⁸

¹²⁶ *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, 1831-1832*, p. 139.

¹²⁷ *House Journal, North Carolina, 1831*, pp. 144-149.

¹²⁸ *Senate Journal, North Carolina, 1832*, pp. 33, 99; *House Journal, North Carolina, 1832*, pp. 224, 225.

In his annual message to the legislature on November 19, 1832, Stokes again referred to South Carolina's action. He feared that such excitement in the South "must have a tendency to weaken the ties that have heretofore united us together as a nation. . . . I rejoice that the people of North Carolina have so wisely avoided any interference calculated to disturb the public tranquility." He felt certain that the State was satisfied with the Union which had stood for fifty years, and that it would not hazard the breaking of that connection.¹²⁹ Jackson had just carried the State by a majority greater than in 1824 or 1828.

Most of the defense of South Carolina was found in the southern Piedmont section of North Carolina, although the majority in this section was with Jackson. *The Western Carolinian* defended nullification; *The Carolina Watchman* and *The Greensboro Patriot* opposed it.¹³⁰

The question of nullification was settled by a compromise; in 1833 Congress passed a bill, with Jackson's approval, gradually lowering the tariff. South Carolina then rescinded its ordinance of nullification.

In 1832 the people of North Carolina were alarmed over the spread of cholera in the United States. A group of twenty-seven clergymen and laymen requested the governor to issue a proclamation calling for a day of fasting and prayer that divine aid might be sought in this emergency. Stokes said that he had no authority to grant this request, but that he would do it on his own responsibility. He named the date and called upon all who were so disposed to petition

Almighty God that in His infinite mercy he will be graciously pleased to continue his blessings on our country and avert every impending Judgment, and ward off from us the further inroads of that desolating plague which in its mysterious progress over the face of the earth has made such fearful ravages among the families of other lands.¹³¹

Stokes was not elected for a third term as governor, due to the fact that in his annual message to the legislature on November 19, 1832, he announced that he had accepted an appointment by

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

¹³⁰ Boyd, W. K., *The History of North Carolina, the Federal Period*, II, 180. There were many friends of Calhoun in the southern Piedmont and there was much trade between this section and South Carolina.

¹³¹ Montfort Stokes Letter Book, 1830-1832, pp. 120-125. This proclamation was published in the *North Carolina Journal* (Halifax), August 22, 1832.

President Jackson as chairman of a Federal Indian Commission charged with the responsibility of supervising the settling of the Southern Indians west of the Mississippi River.¹³²

Stokes had shown no special interest in the Indians. In 1819 Clay and others had severely criticized Jackson's invasion of Florida. Stokes said he thought Jackson had gone to the limits of his authority but that he did not deserve the censure of Congress.¹³³ As a member of the United States Senate he voted in favor of removing the Indians beyond the Mississippi River, and especially he favored the plan of providing the President with \$50,000 with which to hold conferences with the various nations looking to their removal. He also wished to have the government protect the whites and help the Indians through the maintenance of posts in the interior of the Indian country.¹³⁴

In the North Carolina commons Stokes helped defeat a plan to extend the laws of the State to the Cherokees.¹³⁵ In his annual message in 1831 he said that he rejoiced that the Indians remained peaceful and that the laws of the State had not been extended to them save to protect them. He felt that they deserved a like protection by the national government, but "I have declined making recommendations . . . relative to the condition of that portion of the Cherokee nation that remained within the limits of North Carolina."¹³⁶

On May 15, 1832, Stokes wrote Cass, Secretary of War, that one Colonel Dennis of Savannah, Georgia, had brought about forty slaves into North Carolina. They had illegally settled on Cherokee land and were mining for gold. Since the state laws did not extend to the Cherokee section, Cass was requested to see President Jackson and have the federal forces remove the intruders. In July Major-General A. G. Macomb notified the governor that the troops had removed the Georgians.¹³⁷

In appointing Stokes to "treat with the Indians and for other purposes," Jackson sought to reward a friend of his boyhood days

¹³² *House Journal, North Carolina, 1832*, p. 143. He said that "the peaceful settlement and location of the Indians removing beyond the Mississippi, is a matter of great importance to the United States, and not less so to North Carolina; especially as regards the removal of that portion of the Cherokee nation now residing within the limits of this state." He left the governor's chair on December 6. *North Carolina Manual, 1913*, p. 418.

¹³³ Stokes to Thomas Ruffin, February 17, 1819, *Ruffin Papers*, I, 215.

¹³⁴ *Annals*, 14 Congress, 2 session, p. 97; 16 Congress, 1 session, I, 557.

¹³⁵ *House Journal, North Carolina, 1830*, p. 200.

¹³⁶ *House Journal, North Carolina, 1831*, pp. 143-146.

¹³⁷ Montfort Stokes Letter Book, 1830-1832, pp. 30-32, 120.

and a supporter who had rendered potent service in his presidential campaigns of 1824, 1828, and 1832. Jackson acted on the theory that "to the victor belongs the spoils."

Stokes's message to the legislature in 1832 was concerned with reports rather than recommendations. He said in conclusion that

In this last act of my political relations with the state of North Carolina, I should be ungrateful in withholding the expression of my unfeigned thanks for the many testimonies of confidence and support which I have received from the Legislature and from the people, in the course of a public life of forty-seven years spent in their service.

Early in 1833 Stokes took a steamer for the wilds of Indian Territory. Due to the care of a large family and a large plantation, Mrs. Stokes remained in Morne Rouge, and whether she ever visited her husband in his new field is unknown.¹³⁸

The governorship gave Stokes his last opportunity of becoming a positive leader. When he began his first term he was already sixty-eight; and while between seventy and eighty he was to make a contribution to human welfare, he was to live far from the center of state and national affairs and was to execute plans made by others. While in the United States Senate he had voted on every important measure that was presented, he did not assert himself with sufficient vigor to create much of a following. In the reform convention of 1823 he presided with ability, but he shielded himself from the criticism of the East by allowing others to make the speeches on this controversial subject. As state senator and state representative he made some reports for committees and voted for the progressive, democratic measures that were considered; but he was not a strenuous champion of any issue. It had become a tradition in North Carolina to give the governor three successive terms if he kept within the limited powers assigned him. Like most of our governors, Stokes made nice speeches, kept his ear to the ground, and played safe. He gave most of his attention to routine matters. Urgent questions of constitutional reform, internal improvements, and common

¹³⁸ On one occasion Mrs. Stokes sent her husband word that she was ill; although in frail health, he rode all the way back on horseback. After this visit he probably never saw Morne Rouge again. Miss Ethel Crane, 901 College St., Shreveport, Louisiana, to William O. Foster, March 19, 1938. Miss Crane is a great-granddaughter of Stokes. After ten years of service to the Indians he died near Fort Gibson at the age of eighty; his experiences in Indian territory will be given in an article by Dr. Grant Foreman in the next issue of *The North Carolina Historical Review* (Vol. XVI, No. 4, October, 1939).

schools were before the people awaiting vigorous leadership. Constitutional reform came with comparative ease three years later; had Stokes pushed this matter through in his first term, in later terms the Piedmont and mountains would have obtained sufficient representation to secure a railroad into the West and he might also have become the father of the State's public school system. Or if he had earnestly striven for these measures and failed, future generations would have looked upon him as a leader. He missed his opportunity; as a result, today his career is conspicuous chiefly for what he failed to do.

After the lapse of a century, historical students should be able to make an objective appraisal of Stokes's personality. He was hindered in his early career by an explosive temper. Jesse A. Pearson once accused him of writing a paper, "A Few Citizens of Rowan," in which the motives of Pearson and others were called into question. The quarrel led to a duel in "Mason's Old Field near Salisbury," in which Stokes received a wound which handicapped him the rest of his life.¹³⁹ One biographer says he possessed "a rare genius of the highest courage but marred by being sudden and quick in quarrel."¹⁴⁰ Another says that "He was a type of chivalry of those days and was quick to resent an insult."¹⁴¹

Stokes was at his best in social groups. One historian says that "He was of infinite wit, and men are yet alive who repeat his good sayings. He was ever good humored in his raillery, and rarely lost a friend by his jesting."¹⁴² He was a congenial host. While touring the mountains in 1827, Professor Elisha Mitchell wrote that "At General Stokes's I was treated with great kindness. I used to wonder why he was so often put forward in the state but it now appears. He is a very pleasant man of good

¹³⁹ *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, IV, 424. Pearson wrote Stokes that he was of the "generality of Pearson's friends and one of that party whose motives the author of that piece alluded to, has arraigned in language insolent and personal. . . . My friend, W. Chambers, will wait on you to give you an opportunity to disavow your agency in this business if unjustly charged." Montfort Stokes Papers, 1790-1811. Mr. Gordon Hackett of Wilkesboro told the author that according to a family tradition Pearson's son took his father's place and that Stokes, feeling no enmity towards the son, held his fire. Mr. Hackett is related to the Stokes family by marriage.

¹⁴⁰ *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, IV, 424.

¹⁴¹ Ashe, S. A., ed., *The Encyclopedia of Eminent and Representative Men of the Carolinas of the Nineteenth Century*, II, 424.

¹⁴² Moore, J. W., *History of North Carolina*, I, 478. Archibald Henderson ("Served the State with Distinction but Is Ignored by Historian," *Durham Morning Herald*, June 5, 1927) says that he has seen a playing-card on which M. Stokes, M. A. Locke, and M. Troy, Managers, sent this invitation: "The Gentlemen of Salisbury and its vicinity solicit the pleasure of Miss Holland's company at a Ball, in the Court House, on Friday the fourth of July, at six o'clock in the evening." Mr. Walter Murphy of Salisbury told the author that he once had this card in his possession.

sense."¹⁴³ He was active in Masonic circles, being made Deputy Grand Master in 1803.¹⁴⁴

There is no evidence of Stokes's relations to the church. He ran away to sea about the time children are usually confirmed. When Professor Elisha Mitchell preached at the Wilkesboro courthouse in 1828, Stokes presided at one of the services.¹⁴⁵ Neither his obituary nor any other source shows that he ever united with any church.

There is a family tradition of friction between Stokes and his second wife, although there was no open break. About the time he left the United States Senate, his wife became reconciled to his long absences from home in the promotion of his political career; she never discussed his alleged imperfections and refused to let the children mention the subject, saying that rumors about public men should be proved before they are accepted.¹⁴⁶

The Moravians of North Carolina accused Stokes of dishonesty in connection with certain Wilkes County lands which his father-in-law purchased from the Moravians and willed to his daughters. The defense made by Stokes has not been preserved; since the Moravians preferred to charge the notes to "profit and loss" instead of collecting from the estate by law, impartial students probably consider him as innocent of the charge.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ Battle, K. P., "Diary of a Geological Tour by Dr. Elisha Mitchell in 1827 and 1828," p. 37.

¹⁴⁴ Stokes gave fifty-eight years of loyal service to the Masonic fraternity. He was active in the Royal White Hart Lodge, No. 2, of Halifax, the Old Cone Lodge, No. 9, of Salisbury, and Liberty Lodge, No. 45, of Wilkesboro. He was admitted to the Grand Lodge of North Carolina on November 23, 1790. He organized Stokes Lodge, No. 32, near Salisbury, 1797; this lodge was named in his honor, and he was its first Worshipful Master. In 1807 the following resolutions were passed by the Grand Lodge of North Carolina: "Resolved, unanimously, that the thanks of this Grand Lodge be presented to our Brother, General Montfort Stokes, for the ability and impartiality with which he has performed the duties of Deputy Grand Master of Masons." In brief, his record in the Grand Lodge of North Carolina was: Junior Grand Warden, 1797 to 1798; Senior Grand Warden, 1799-1802; Deputy Grand Master, 1803-1809. Bridges, W. W., *The Masonic Governors of North Carolina*, pp. 185-193.

¹⁴⁵ Battle, K. P., "Diary of a Geological Tour by Dr. Elisha Mitchell in 1827 and 1828," p. 46. Prof. Mitchell said that Stokes had been a very profane man and a great card-player.

¹⁴⁶ Miss Frances Bouchelle, De Land, Florida, to William O. Foster, May 2, 1938.

¹⁴⁷ In 1778 approximately 9,000 acres were sold by the Moravians to Hugh Montgomery, part of the payments being made in notes. Montgomery left his property to his daughters, Rachel and Rebecca. Efforts were made to escheat this property to the State on the ground that the Moravians were loyal to Great Britain during the Revolution. This charge was groundless; they willingly submitted to extraordinary taxes and volunteered provisions for the American patriots. During the Revolution the legislature freed them from military service on account of their religious convictions. The State Supreme Court confirmed the sale to Montgomery. Stokes and James Wellborn married the daughters of Montgomery and thus became interested in the property. In 1827 the Moravians went to court and forced Stokes to pay one of his notes. Judge W. P. Mangum, who wrote the decision, said that Stokes was violently opposed to him and remarked that "but for that damned fellow the Moravian suits would have slept forever." Mangum's decision was later affirmed by the State Supreme Court. W. P. Mangum to Bartlett Yancey, 27th. January, 1827, Hamilton, J. G., deR., ed., "Letters to Bartlett Yancey," *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, X, No. 2 (1911), pp. 64-65. Wellborn's notes were paid in 1845. When he left for Indian territory in 1833, Stokes refused to pay his other notes, saying that he had "not received

In evaluating the character of Governor Stokes, due consideration must be given to his rough environment. At the age of thirteen he was deprived of the influence of the family, the school, the community, and the church; he was suddenly thrown into the society of adult men in the navy. Both Salisbury and Wilkesboro were rough, pioneer communities, and Indian Territory was a wilderness. In each of these social spheres profanity, gambling, intemperance, and immorality were common among the men.

Primarily Stokes will be remembered as a public man. One of the most apt descriptions of a politician ever written was applied to him by his life-long friend, Thomas Ruffin, who spoke of him as an old politician. That is a character that is seldom in a hurry to *get home*; or that exhibits any anxiety but for popular favor. And when at home, they are of little use and do little else than be served by their families. So I do not feel that I am doing either member of the family much harm in proposing their separation one day.¹⁴⁸

Stokes wrote fewer letters than most public men. When he wished to confer with a man he usually went to see him or met him at a convention. What he lacked in industry and thoroughness, he supplied by the cultivation of political friends. To him politics was a vocation. After his twenty-third year there were only four years when he was not holding some office. He gave the public his time and his talents, receiving in return the satisfaction of his ambition and much of his livelihood. Although he was not a dominant, aggressive leader, he had considerable influence in North Carolina politics, especially in the West; and had he not buried himself in the wilderness from 1833 to 1842, his own generation and later historians probably would have given him larger recognition.

his just credits." He probably meant that some of his payments had not been credited upon the notes. A Moravian historian wrote the author in 1937 that "I know very little about Montfort Stokes and that not to his credit." Compare Fries, A. L., ed., *The Records of the Moravian in North Carolina*, IV, 1413-1419; Blackwelder, Ruth, "The Attitude of the North Carolina Moravians toward the American Revolution," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, IX, No. 1 (January, 1932), p. 15; *The State Records of North Carolina*, XXIV, 390. In one of these suits Stokes was represented by Archibald D. Murphey, who indicated that the only service he could render his client was to have the case continued. A. D. Murphey to Thomas Ruffin, *Ruffin Papers*, I, 275.

¹⁴⁸ Ruffin to Catherine Ruffin, January 31, 1831, *Ruffin Papers*, II, 23. Ruffin wrote his daughter that a Miss Elenor would leave Raleigh with her uncle, Governor Stokes. They planned to spend the night at the Ruffin home in Orange County. Ruffin hoped the visit would be extended and that they would spend one day and two nights. He added that "she wants you to accompany her to Wilkes where you would see mountains and snow and ice enough."

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND MECHANIC ARTS¹

By DAVID ALEXANDER LOCKMILLER

About a century ago a new spirit became apparent in the field of higher education in America. It was a spirit destined to unite the nation and the separate states in a unique program of making knowledge available to the sons and daughters of that great majority of our citizens whose livelihood depends on agriculture and the mechanic arts. The growth of this spirit into the land-grant college system and the struggles and achievements of the land-grant colleges in democratizing higher education is necessarily a part of the history of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.²

The transformation in the field of higher education was, of course, only a phase of the great awakening or humanitarian revolt of the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Grade schools and academies, literature and science, religion and law all felt the vivifying impulse of spiritual and intellectual change. Men and women in all walks of life welcomed the dawn of a new day and turned with enthusiasm to the development of a better civilization.

Following the Revolution, education was still the traditional and classical type which had been imported from England. Here and there a voice was raised in protest against the exclusive continuance of aristocratic instruction in a democracy, but little or nothing was done to change the system. Colleges were for the select few who desired to study theology, law, or medicine. The son of a small farmer or of a craftsman, generally speaking, was not expected to go to college; and if he had the desire to secure a higher education, he would be forced to leave the occupation about which he knew most. There were few courses which had any relation to our natural resources or to the callings of

¹ This article is part of the author's projected History of North Carolina State College, 1889-1939.

² The General Assembly of 1917 changed the name of the college to The North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering. In 1931 the General Assembly "consolidated and merged" State College, the North Carolina College for Women, and the University of North Carolina into the University of North Carolina.

the great mass of the people. Technical terms were in Latin or Greek, both of which were dead languages to the multitude. Not only were the sons of farmers and mechanics handicapped in studying the trades of their fathers, but also women of all classes were excluded from the portals of higher learning. Gradually, however, the voice of a people who were continuing their struggle for political freedom was to demand and secure educational opportunity for the common man.

Although Columbia College, the University of North Carolina, and perhaps a few other institutions of higher learning established combination professorships such as those of philosophy, natural history, medicine, chemistry, and agriculture before the end of the eighteenth century, the real beginning of agriculture and mechanic arts as subjects of study dates from the period of the War of 1812 when the country secured a large measure of economic and industrial independence from Europe. The demand for information on all phases of agriculture and manufacturing was expressed in various reports and memorials to the state legislatures and to Congress. Agricultural societies, state boards of agriculture, lyceums, periodicals, and books served to crystallize public opinion in the support of those leaders who desired to educate the masses according to the needs of their everyday life.³

The popular cry for more democracy in higher education found an outlet in the establishment of separate schools of agriculture and mechanic arts and in the introduction of theoretical courses on agricultural chemistry, mineralogy, and mechanics into the curricula of the older colleges and universities, both public and private. In 1819 Josiah Holbrook of Connecticut began an industrial school on Fellenberg's plan, and five years later he undertook an agricultural school at Derby which soon failed. In 1823 Jesse Buel, a member of the committee on agriculture of the New York Assembly, brought in a report favoring the establishment of a tax-supported agricultural school, but the project was delayed for several years. The following year Stephen Van Rensselaer founded the pioneer technical school in the United States at Troy, New York. The Rensselaer Poly-

³ True, Alfred Charles, *A History of Agricultural Education in the United States, 1785-1925*, pp. 7 and following.

technic Institute, the prototype of subsequent land-grant colleges, was expressly established to train men in "the application of science to the common purposes of life." In 1853 the state of New York incorporated The People's College for the purpose of offering advanced courses in literature, science, mechanic arts, and agriculture. About the same time definite movements for the establishment of separate state colleges of agriculture were under way in Michigan, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. In 1861 the Massachusetts legislature incorporated the Massachusetts Institute of Technology "for the purpose of instituting and maintaining a society of arts, a museum of arts, and a school of industrial science."⁴

In North Carolina little was done prior to the Civil War towards giving college courses in agriculture and mechanic arts.⁵ Although the State University was established to encourage "all useful learning," it was not until 1852 that the Board of Trustees established a School for the Application of Science to the Arts. The purpose of the school, which was opened on January 1, 1854, was to train engineers, artisans, chemists, miners, and physicians. Chief emphasis was given to the theories of the subjects studied, but a limited amount of practical work was carried on in the laboratories. The program of study was largely confined to chemistry, in which many of the problems were selected from the field of agriculture. Students in the new school could substitute civil engineering or agricultural chemistry for languages or for international and constitutional law in meeting the requirements for the A.B. degree. The University did not maintain that it was teaching practical agriculture and engineering, and the courses offered were limited indeed when contrasted to those which later developed as a result of the Morrill Act.⁶

The name of Justin S. Morrill, United States senator from Vermont, is inseparably linked with the establishment of land-grant colleges and universities. Despite the claims advanced

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ Agricultural instruction, both theoretical and practical, was emphasized by the manual-labor schools which were popular throughout the country a century or more ago. Wake Forest Institute, now Wake Forest College, and Davidson Seminary, now Davidson College, in North Carolina, were both chartered in the 1830's as manual-labor schools. These institutions and others abandoned the manual-labor plan after a very few years because of practical difficulties.

⁶ Armstrong, Lindsey Otis, *The Development of Agricultural Education in North Carolina* (unpublished MS. thesis in the N. C. State College Library), pp. 20-24.

for Alden Partridge of Norwich, Vermont, and Jonathan Baldwin Turner of Illinois, it was Morrill who led the successful fight for more democracy in higher education through various sessions of the United States Congress. On December 14, 1857, Morrill introduced the first land-grant bill in the House. This measure, later amended to give each state 30,000 acres instead of 20,000 acres of public lands for each representative and senator then in Congress, definitely provided for the endowment and maintenance of at least one college in each state where the leading object would be, "without excluding other scientific or classical studies, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts . . . in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life."⁷ This measure, which was enacted into law in 1859 by small majorities in both the House and Senate, was vetoed by President Buchanan on the grounds that it was extravagant, impolitic, and unconstitutional. Following the election of Lincoln and the withdrawal of most of the Congressmen from the South, many of whom had opposed the land-grant plan on constitutional grounds, the act was passed by Congress and signed by the President on July 2, 1862. By this time North Carolina had joined the Confederacy, and the provisions of the Morrill Act were not extended to the seceded states until after 1865.⁸

The Civil War blighted higher education in North Carolina and other Southern states for more than a generation. The University of North Carolina, which had offered a few theoretical courses in agriculture prior to 1860, was hopelessly in debt and almost without students when the war came to a close. In 1867 the General Assembly passed an act transferring the State's land-script provided by the Morrill Act to the trustees of the University. The trustees in seeking to give effect to the objects of this law sold some 270,000 acres of land at the market price of fifty cents per acre and proceeded to use \$13,000 of the first money received for general expenses. In 1868 the Reconstruction legislature appointed a new board of trustees

⁷ True, *History of Agricultural Education*, p. 100.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 104. Although the original land-grant act of 1862 has been amplified and its benefits have been expanded by such measures as the Hatch Act, the Adams Act, the Smith-Lever Acts, and the Smith-Hughes Act, the fundamental objectives of Senator Morrill have not been changed.

for the University and a general reorganization ensued. But failing to receive public support, and suffering from bad management and litigation over the land-script fund, the University was forced to close in 1869. The officials, however, continued to hold their positions and made plans for various colleges, including a college of agriculture and mechanic arts. Instruction was not resumed until 1875, when the General Assembly appointed a new board of trustees and replaced the lost land-script funds by authorizing the issuance of interest-bearing certificates of indebtedness.⁹

A committee of the new board of trustees recommended that the University consist of six colleges, including a College of Agriculture and a College of Engineering and the Mechanic Arts. This recommendation was unanimously adopted and John Kimberly, who had previously taught at the University, was employed as professor of agriculture. Although Professor Kimberly had requested \$2,800 for his department, the sum allotted during 1876 was only \$200. This was much less than the appropriations made for other departments; and soon individuals and organizations were saying that the University did not really believe in practical education for the masses, and that the officials were barely meeting the requirements of the Land-Grant Act. In the fall of 1876 the State Grange made inquiry of President Battle concerning the University's use of the land-script funds. Dr. Battle made a detailed reply which served to quiet public criticism of the University's policy for almost a decade. Among other things he noted the objectives of the Morrill Act and called attention to the catalogue which showed that studies relating to agriculture and mechanic arts were receiving special consideration. "For example, Chemistry, including the composition and analysis of soils, manure, etc.; Botany, Zoology, including domestic animals and their foes; Geology, including character of soils; Mineralogy, especially the minerals of our state; Mechanics, including agricultural implements; Physics, light and heat as influencing plant life; also Meteorology; Engineering, including road making, land surveying, etc.; Mathematics, necessary for Mechanics, Engineering, etc. All this in addition to the English Language and

⁹ Battle, Kemp P., *History of the University of North Carolina*, II, 1 and following.

Literature, Political Economy, Constitutional and International Law, and the Greek and Latin, and the German and French languages needed to make our students intelligent citizens."¹⁰

Undoubtedly President Battle and the trustees made an honest effort to carry out the intent of the Morrill Act. During the period under consideration, 1875-87, few students were enrolled in the practical courses at Chapel Hill; and, lacking adequate buildings and equipment, the University could not well offer both theoretical and practical instruction on the slender appropriation of \$7,500 per annum. Dr. Battle frankly admitted that the instruction was theoretical, but he contended that "the University is doing more for the \$7,500 than any other similar institution in the United States that has as little money."¹¹ The truth is that North Carolina had not yet sufficiently recovered from the effects of the Civil War, Reconstruction, and the Panic of 1873 to support adequately a first-class agricultural and mechanical college. Also, the classical atmosphere at Chapel Hill was perhaps a bit unfriendly to the new democratic ideal of higher education for the masses. This attitude, real or imaginary, no doubt convinced many that the real hope for education in agriculture and mechanic arts lay in the establishment of a separate institution.

Despite the able defense of the University's use of the land-script funds made by President Battle and other friends of the University through the press, in reports to the legislature, and at public meetings throughout the State, the belief grew in the minds of many that the instruction offered was too theoretical and that shop work, cultivated fields, and dairy barns should replace some of the Latin, Greek, and other cultural studies. The example of fine agricultural and engineering colleges in other states and the continued interest of the Federal Government in supporting land-grant institutions did not go unnoticed in North Carolina. Within a few years a new group of leaders, no doubt inspired by some of the movements which ultimately merged in "Populism," took the initiative in the establishment of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 228.

State College, as it is popularly known, is the work of no one man or group of men. Like all institutions, it is a product of history. During the period of its inception and early struggles for life, however, certain leaders—believers in democratizing higher education—stand out in bold relief; and at the head of these was Colonel Leonidas L. Polk. As early as 1872, if not earlier, Colonel Polk, North Carolina's first commissioner of agriculture and founder of *The Progressive Farmer*, was publicly urging the establishment of an agricultural college. In the fall of 1872, at the opening of the first Agricultural Fair in Raleigh, he made an address in which he urged the people to establish an agricultural college somewhere in the State "with its branch schools in every county as feeders to the main school."¹² Polk, more than any other man, organized and led the farmers of North Carolina in their demand for a college which would comply with the broad terms of the Morrill Act. Through the editorial column of *The Progressive Farmer* he continued week after week the fight for a "farmers' college" which he had begun by word of mouth. He served notice on all concerned that he would "continue this subject and follow it up until justice is done the people, or they know why it is not done."¹³ He told the people of the good work being done by the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, the Mississippi A. and M. College, and by other land-grant institutions throughout the country. Finally, when the University of North Carolina catalogue for 1885-86 was changed to include a theoretical College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, Colonel Polk, no doubt exasperated with the little progress thus far made, printed the following caustic comments:

The catalogue of the State University for 1885-6, recently issued, informs us that there is an "agricultural college" connected with and as a part of that institution. If this were literally true, or even approximately true, it would be agreeable information; but it is neither. The so-called "agricultural college" which is paraded in the catalogue is a sham, a mere pretence, a thing which has a mere technical existence, under cover of which the University continues to appropriate and to use the annual interest on \$125,000 which belongs to the agricultural and mechanical classes of the State and which should be used for their benefit only.

¹² Poe, Clarence, "Leonidas Lafayette Polk," *Alumni News* (N. C. State College), September, 1928.

¹³ *Ibid.* See also *The Progressive Farmer*, I, *passim*.

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After a period of eleven years of laborious effort, and with an expenditure of \$85,000 of money given our people by the Government, we have at last succeeded in getting a "College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts!"

It is a model of architectural beauty and admirably equipped in all its departments. It is located on the forty-eighth page of the catalog of the University. The catalog says that "two courses are offered" in this elegant paper college. "Offered" is a good word! These "courses" we presume, have been offered to our farmer boys for these eleven years, but we search the catalog in vain to find one who has availed himself of the offer.

We make no war upon the University. We want to see it rise until it shall stand the equal of any similar institution in all the land, but an earnest conviction of duty to the farmers of our State shall enlist our utmost effort until we see that justice is done them in this matter. We need an agricultural college for the practical training of the children of our farmers and other industrial classes, and there is but one way to get it—build it with the money given us by the government for that purpose. How are we to get it? By electing a legislature that will give it to us!¹⁴

While Colonel Polk was organizing the farmers of the State and stressing the need for an agricultural college, other forward-looking citizens, sensing the importance of the industrial revolution in the South and realizing the value of a diversified economic system, were urging the need for a school of industrial and mechanic arts. This movement was led by a group of able young men of Raleigh, collectively known as the Watauga Club.

On May 26, 1884, at the suggestion of William J. Peele, a young lawyer and public-spirited citizen, the Watauga Club was organized in Raleigh. The purpose of the club was "to encourage free discussion and to promote the educational, agricultural, and industrial interests of the state."¹⁵ Among the first members of this organization were William J. Peele, Edward P. Moses, Arthur Winslow, Josephus Daniels, John W. Thompson, W. E. Ashley, A. D. Jones, G. E. Leach, Alfred Haywood, Charles D. McIver, Charles Latta, Thomas Dixon, Jr., Walter H. Page, William S. Primrose, and Charles W. Dabney. The membership, consisting of twenty-four young men, all under thirty,

¹⁴ *The Progressive Farmer*, May 19, 1886, August 25, 1886.

¹⁵ Dabney, Charles William, *Universal Education in the South*, I, 182.

included lawyers, teachers, doctors, engineers, and business men. According to one of the club members, "Men with personal axes to grind, cranks, or hobby-riders were excluded." The club had no constitution, by-laws, or secret ritual, and publicity was avoided. The members, imbued with the spirit of the Watauga pioneers of the Revolutionary era, did not argue about the rights and wrongs of the Civil War and Reconstruction; they dealt with reality in serving an impoverished and distracted people.¹⁶

In its desire to widen the opportunities of the common man, the club advocated instruction in both agriculture and industrial arts. It emphasized, however, manual training and technical and engineering instruction, in order that the resources and manufactures of the State might be more fully developed. In time the first object of the club became the introduction of industrial education into the school system of North Carolina. From its headquarters—a bare room over a store on Fayetteville Street—the club launched its campaign. Page's newspaper, *The State Chronicle*, became the unofficial journal of the organization, and members undertook to educate the public on the need for an industrial school through correspondence with prominent leaders in the State and by public speeches. By these methods and through personal conferences the active support of other young men was enlisted. Among these were Augustus Leazar of Iredell County, and Henry E. Fries of Salem.¹⁷

A few months after the club had been organized a committee was appointed to prepare a report on the need and practicability of an industrial school in North Carolina. Arthur Winslow, a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and chairman of the committee, submitted, on January 7, 1885, a report which was so convincing that the club voted to memorialize the General Assembly on the subject. Winslow, Peele, and Page were named a committee to present the memorial and to supply the legislature with necessary information.

In preparing the memorial the committee was squarely confronted with the question of agricultural education. Although most of the club members were sons of the soil and keenly con-

¹⁶ *Loc. cit.* See also Peele, W. J., "A History of the Agricultural and Mechanical College." This address was delivered at the laying of the corner stone of Holladay Hall, August 22, 1888. A typed copy is in the State College Library.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

cerned about the welfare of agriculture, the club's program emphasized mechanical and engineering instruction. Its members believed that North Carolina should add the products of the mines, forests, and factories to agriculture, so that the people would no longer be dependent on the North for technical experts and manufactured articles of daily use. The question of whether the school should be agricultural as well as industrial was effectually settled one Sunday afternoon by Walter H. Page when he stated that the bill would never be passed by "the d—n farmer legislature unless there was some agriculture in it somewhere."¹⁸ Thus the gospel which Colonel Polk had been preaching for more than a decade was beginning to bear fruit.

In February, 1885, the Watauga Club memorial was presented to the General Assembly by the committee. The petition stated that the object was "To establish an Industrial School in North Carolina, which will be a training place for young men who wish to acquire skill in the wealth-producing arts and sciences."¹⁹ The memorial further stated that the school should be located in Raleigh in connection with the State Department of Agriculture, and that instruction should be given in woodwork, mining, metallurgy, and practical agriculture. These proposals were ably supported by an argument, written by Charles W. Dabney, which pointed out the advantages to be derived from such a school. It included an outline of the work to be offered and estimates of the cost of establishing and operating such an institution.²⁰

The proposals calling for the establishment of an industrial school were carefully considered by the House Committee on Education, of which Augustus Leazar was chairman. While the committee had the matter under advisement, Thomas Dixon, Jr., an enthusiastic advocate of industrial education, introduced a bill in the House for the establishment by the State of an industrial school. A few days later, the Committee on Education having approved the project, Dixon's bill was dropped and Leazar introduced a measure which provided:

1. That the Board of Agriculture should seek proposals of donations from the cities and towns of North Carolina; and when an adequate

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁹ Dabney, *Universal Education*, I, 185.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

donation should be made by any city or town, there the school should be located, giving the place the preference which offered the greatest inducements.

2. That the school should be under joint control of the Board of Agriculture and directors from such town or city.

3. That instruction should be in woodwork, mining, metallurgy, practical agriculture, and such other branches of industrial education as may be deemed expedient.

4. That the Board of Agriculture should be authorized to apply annually \$5,000 of the surplus funds of their department to the establishment and maintenance of said school.²¹

The bill did not become a law without considerable difficulty. William J. Peele, who watched its progress through the General Assembly with great interest, later said: "Some opposed it because they were fossils and oppose everything; some feared it would ultimately draw the land-script fund away from the University. It was the general opinion of its friends at the time it was passed that it would have failed if it had called for one dollar from the general treasury."²² The measure was sponsored in the House by Leazar, Dixon, and Fries, where it passed by a vote of 51 to 11. In the Senate it was championed by Robert W. Winston, Willis R. Williams, S. B. Alexander, and John Gatling. On March 11, 1885, with 23 senators voting in favor of the bill to 9 opposed, the bill became a law.²³

Pursuant to the act the commissioner of agriculture advertised for proposals on the location of the school. Charlotte responded with the offer of \$5,000 and an eligible site, Kinston offered \$10,000, and Raleigh offered \$5,000 (later increased to \$8,000), one acre of land donated by William Stronach, the Exposition Building at the State Fair Grounds, valued at \$3,000, and the use of twenty acres in the western part of the Fair Grounds. These provisions being found inadequate for the establishment of an industrial school, the project reverted to its sponsors for further consideration.²⁴

On November 4, 1885, the Watauga Club passed a resolution calling for a mass meeting in Raleigh on November 26 of all the friends of industrial education throughout the State. The

²¹ *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1885*, Chap. 308.

²² Peele, "History," p. 2.

²³ *Loc. cit.*; Dabney, *Universal Education*, I, 186.

²⁴ *State College Record*, Vol. 35, No. 4, p. 33.

notice of the meeting was written by Charles W. Dabney and signed by William S. Primrose as chairman.

It reads as follows:

A MASS MEETING
in the interests of a State
INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

will be held in the Metropolitan Hall, Raleigh, Wednesday, Nov. 11th, at 8 o'clock P.M.

A number of distinguished educators and advocates of industrial education have been invited and have signified their intention to be present. Among them

Mr. George L. Chaney, the father of the Atlanta Artisans Institute, has promised to address the meeting.

North Carolina's chief educators and progressive thinkers of all professions have been requested to make addresses and already enough have been heard from to make it certain that this will be a very interesting and important occasion.

Everybody is invited, but especially the artisans, manufacturers, and friends of education.

WM. S. PRIMROSE,
Ch'man.²⁵

At the designated time and place a large group assembled to hear the speakers and to take part in the deliberations. Captain Octavius Coke was made chairman, and Major Robert Bingham, William H. Kerr, George L. Chaney, and others addressed the meeting. On the wave of the great enthusiasm which prevailed, the following resolutions were adopted:

1. That we ought to have an Industrial School.
2. That it ought to be located in Raleigh.
3. That we will give such corporation our cordial coöperation and support.
4. That a committee of twenty-five be appointed to prepare a report upon the cost, character, and constitution of such school, and submit the same to the Board of Agriculture at their next regular meeting in December.²⁶

William S. Primrose was made chairman of the committee, and he with the active aid of S. R. Tucker, W. E. Ashley, and S. A. Ashe of Raleigh, Donald McRae of Wilmington, R. J. Pow-

²⁵ Dabney, *Universal Education*, I, 533-34.

²⁶ Peele, "History," p. 3.

ell of Chatham, and others, made the report to the Board of Agriculture as provided by the resolutions. After considerable discussion by the board, in the press, and by people throughout the State, the increased offer of the city of Raleigh was accepted by the Board of Agriculture on April 21, 1886.²⁷

In accordance with section two of the act of 1885, the city of Raleigh appointed G. E. Leach, F. O. Moring, and J. S. Wynne as its directors of the new school. A site was purchased from Dr. Eugene Grissom, and negotiations were under way for the erection of a building when events occurred which were to convert the industrial school into a land-grant college of agriculture and mechanic arts.²⁸

Mention has previously been made of the fight being waged by Colonel Leonidas L. Polk for an agricultural college in accordance with the largest objectives of the Morrill Act. All during the 1880's, through speeches, correspondence, and the columns of *The Progressive Farmer*, he continued to arouse and organize the farmers and farm clubs of the State in support of such a plan. He was not unmindful of the efforts being made by the Watauga Club in behalf of industrial education, but his aims were larger: he wanted a college in which agriculture would not rank beneath "woodwork, mining, and metallurgy" in the curricula. Also, he wanted a college which would receive substantial support from the state treasury, and he demanded that the land-scrip fund of \$7,500 a year be transferred from the University to maintain the new College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts in accordance with the true spirit of the act. Writing in *The Progressive Farmer* in April, 1886, he said: "Let the true friends of Progress unite in the demand that this fund shall be applied to industrial, practical education." And, the following year he wrote:

We have \$125,000 in our State Treasury, which was given to our people for that purpose. We accepted it and promised to apply it for that purpose. But we have not done it. It was given to our University under the sham pretense that there is an agricultural college connected with the university. It is all *bosh*. And the people from whom this money was taken have paid \$86,250 interest on it to the University, during the past eleven years, and today there is not a single farmer's

²⁷ *Loc. cit.*

²⁸ *Loc. cit.*

son in the whole State who is getting the benefit intended by the government when the money was donated. There are some things on which the people are posted and which they expect the present legislature to do. One of these things, and upon which the people have set their hearts, is *that the legislature shall establish an Agricultural College, and transfer to that College the \$125,000 which belongs to them.*²⁹

In 1886 a legislature largely composed of farmers had been elected by the voters. Many of these men were Polk's friends and with their backing, and with support from the Board of Agriculture, he called for a meeting of farmers to be held in Raleigh on January 18, 1887, to consider the conditions and needs of the farmers of the State. The group passed a resolution asking that the land-script fund be taken from the University and applied to the teaching of agriculture in a new institution. On the same date the Board of Aldermen of Raleigh suggested that the Industrial and Agricultural schools should be combined. They stated that their gifts to the original school would be available to the consolidated college and that R. Stanhope Pullen would donate sixty acres of land to such a college if it were located in Raleigh. The aldermen also stated that the city did not desire to exercise joint control over the college or to have anything to do with its management.³⁰

Backed by these resolutions, suggestions, and promises, and realizing that the time was ripe to force the issue, Colonel Polk called for an official mass meeting of all organized farmers' clubs of the State to be held in Raleigh, January 26, 1887. Despite the season, expense, and the limited facilities for advertising the meeting, over three hundred farmers representing some forty counties from the mountains to the coast met in Metropolitan Hall at noon on the appointed date. According to Walter H. Page, writing in *The State Chronicle*, it was probably the largest gathering of farmers ever held in North Carolina up to that time and their two days of political activity reflect credit on them. The meeting was called to order by Colonel Polk, and it was decided to organize the group as The North Carolina Farmers' Association. The following officers, all able men, were

²⁹ *The Progressive Farmer*, April 21, 1886, May 5, 1887.

³⁰ *State College Record*, Vol. 35, No. 4, p. 34.

elected for a term of one year: Elias Carr, president; Willis R. Williams, Captain William A. Darden, George Z. French, Colonel W. F. Green, H. E. Fries, J. S. Reid, W. H. Hobson, Burwell Blanton, and W. H. McClure, vice-presidents; B. F. Hester, S. Otho Wilson, and C. McDonald, secretaries; and W. E. Benbow, treasurer. An executive committee consisting of Leonidas L. Polk, C. McDonald, D. N. McKay, A. M. McIver, and Dr. D. R. Parker was named to represent the group until the next meeting of the association.³¹

The convention, after listening respectfully to addresses by Colonel Polk, Governor Jarvis, and other notables, proceeded to express its views in no uncertain manner on the issues presented. Among other things the body adopted resolutions demanding that an agricultural and mechanical college be established in accordance with the Morrill Act, that the income from this fund be paid to the college; that a sufficient amount from the general treasury be appropriated, together with convict labor, to establish, equip, and maintain said college; that the surplus funds of the Agricultural Department be used in this connection; and that if a plea be made that the state treasury could not aid said college for want of funds, the legislature enact a law imposing a tax of one dollar on every dog in the State for the benefit of the treasury and the College. The dog tax resolution was passed with unanimity, and it was estimated that this tax would bring in a revenue of at least \$300,000 a year. The farmers further resolved that the transfer of the land-script fund should not work a diminution of the appropriations to the University; that the funds and property of the Industrial School, including the donations of the city of Raleigh, should be turned over to the proposed college. The text of these resolutions was prepared by P. A. Dunn, A. D. Jones, Colonel Leonidas L. Polk, and others. A committee consisting of J. L. LeGrand, chairman; H. E. Norris, D. M. McKay, and G. Z. French was named to transmit the resolutions to the General Assembly and to work for the enactment of a law which would establish a real agriculture and mechanic arts college in North Carolina.³²

³¹ *The Progressive Farmer*, February 2, 1887.

³² Peele, "History," p. 4.

When the farmers met on January 26, Kemp P. Battle, president of the University and ex-officio member of the Board of Agriculture, made a speech in which he explained the University's need for and use of the land-script funds. Officially he carried out the wishes of his trustees and made a plea for the retention of the funds by the University, but privately he agreed with Polk that a separate land-grant college should be established. His position was a delicate one but he handled the situation with credit to himself and the University. Being fully persuaded that the movement to transfer the land-script funds would be successful, President Battle agreed "that ultimately it would be best for the University to surrender the fund rather than have an endless wrangle on the subject."³³

The committee appointed by the farmers' meeting lost no time in presenting the resolutions to members of the General Assembly, which was then in session. "A member of the Watauga Club, Charles W. Dabney, wrote a bill with the aid of Augustus Leazer, a member of the Board of Agriculture and of the House. Leazer introduced the bill, which was backed by the Board of Agriculture, Colonel Polk, and the farmers' organizations of the State. After considerable discussion and rejection of several amendments, including one to locate the college at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the bill passed the House on March 1, 1887, by a vote of 61 in favor to 37 opposed. Among those taking an active part in supporting the bill in the House were Doughton, Fries, Holt, Leazer, Overman, and Worth. This bill passed the Senate on March 3, 1887, by a vote of 29 to 13. Among those supporting the bill in the Senate were: Sydenham Alexander, Cope [Kope] Elias, H. A. Gudger, and [E. M.] Pou. The passage in Congress at this time of the 'Hatch Act,' appropriating \$15,000 for an experiment station, to be conducted in connection with the college, and the donation of a suitable site of sixty acres by Mr. R. S. Pullen, helped to carry the bill through the legislature in spite of strong opposition."³⁴

Thus did the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts come into being, not as an industrial school but as a land-grant college. Hundreds had worked for one cause or

³³ Battle, *History of the University*, II, 375-77.

³⁴ Dabney, *Universal Education*, I, 188.

the other, but the chief credit for success belongs to Colonel Leonidas L. Polk. He had led the movement from the beginning for an agricultural as well as an industrial school and he had insisted without surcease that a separate institution be established which would use the land-script fund in accordance with the Morrill Act. In 1892 William J. Peele, the organizer of the Watauga Club and a staunch friend of the college before and after its establishment, wrote of Polk as follows:

In 1884, 1885, 1886, and 1887, he was the most powerful factor in the establishment of an agricultural and mechanical college.³⁵

Years later another member of the Watauga Club, Josephus Daniels, wrote of Polk's service in securing the A. and M. College in these words:

I was secretary of the Watauga Club for a time and this club was very active in its efforts, but it could not have enlisted the necessary support and aroused the enthusiasm that resulted in success until Colonel Polk organized the farmers into militant support. It was this organization of farmers led by Colonel Polk that put it over.³⁶

The act authorizing the establishment of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts was well drawn and comprehensive. It provided that the college should be located on the lands donated by R. Stanhope Pullen, "lying west of and near the city of Raleigh; that the leading object of this college shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life"; that the management and control of said college should be vested in a board of trustees and that each of the major political parties should have equal representation on said board;³⁷ that the six per cent land-script certificates of indebtedness for \$125,000 should be transferred from the University to the new college in accordance with the terms of the Morrill Act; that the directors of the Penitentiary should furnish brick and convict labor for the erection of necessary build-

³⁵ Quoted in Poe, "Leonidas Lafayette Polk," p. 8.

³⁶ *Loc. cit.*

³⁷ The bill could hardly have passed without the aid of the Republicans. Peele, "History," p. 4.

ings; that the Experiment Station should be connected with the college and operated in accordance with the Act of Congress; that the Camp Mangum tract of 300 acres situated one-half mile west of the Fair Grounds should be given to the college; that 120 students should be admitted free, each county being entitled to a scholarship for every member it sends to the General Assembly; that every student should take a course in manual training or labor in addition to other prescribed work; and that the Board of Agriculture should turn over to the new college the assets of the Industrial School and its surplus from licenses on fertilizers. In general the act gave the trustees authority to operate the college in accordance with those powers and customs which were generally obtained in similar land-grant institutions throughout the country.³⁸

The first board of trustees, consisting of fifteen members, ten of whom were members of the Board of Agriculture and five of whom were appointed by the governor and confirmed by the senate, contained several men who had fought for the establishment of the college. Among the better known were W. S. Primrose, president; Augustus Leazer, W. F. Green, Henry E. Fries, Elias Carr, S. B. Alexander, and W. R. Williams. The board held its first meeting in the Agricultural Building in Raleigh, April 22, 1887, and was called to order by Governor A. M. Scales. T. K. Bruner was appointed secretary, and an executive committee was elected to transact essential business when the full board was not in session. The trustees formally thanked R. Stanhope Pullen for his gift of sixty-two acres of land, and resolved that the first building to be erected should be an agricultural building, the second a machinery building, the third a steward's house, which would include a dining hall and chapel, and the fourth building—or rather buildings—should be houses for the professors, "all arranged in such a way as to admit of addition or enlargement." The board also requested the director of the state prison to make 1,500,000 bricks and to have a labor supply available to assist in the college's building program.³⁹ While these plans were being executed, the

³⁸ Dabney, *Universal Education*, I, 534-37; see also *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1887*, Chap. 410.

³⁹ Official Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts (manuscript and typed minutes in bound volumes in the Treasurer's vault, N. C. State College. Hereafter cited as Trustees' Minutes), I, 1-11.

Pullen tract in West Raleigh and adjoining farm lands were receiving considerable attention.

Prior to the pledge of R. Stanhope Pullen that he would give some sixty acres of land in West Raleigh to a college of agriculture and mechanic arts, various sites in and near the capital city had been suggested for the school. There was some talk of erecting a building on Nash Square, but finally a site was located on St. Mary's Street, not far from the present Methodist Orphanage, at what was then known as the village of Brooklyn. Of course these plans were changed when Pullen bought the Eason Lee farm a mile and a half west of the Capitol, and gave part of it to the City for a park and part to the college trustees for a campus.⁴⁰

The dividing line between Pullen Park and the college campus, "together with original walks and driveways," was located in the following manner: "Mr. Pullen walked ahead of a plow, held by a small negro boy, and Mr. J. Stanhope Wynne led the mule over the lines indicated by Mr. Pullen."⁴¹

The laying out of the walks and drives was followed by a much-needed landscaping program. On December 9, 1887, the trustees authorized the executive committee to plant grape vines, and shade and fruit trees to a limited extent.⁴² During the early part of the following year B. S. Skinner was employed as superintendent of farm and garden and was instructed by the trustees to plant the college grounds in peas, "using by way of experiment . . . several kinds of fertilizing matter, such as lime, phosphate, etc., on the same kind of ground and noting results of same for future use."⁴³ By May, 1889, Skinner was able to report that the college lands were "all reclaimed and in cultivation, except about seven acres, and that is ditched."⁴⁴ The North Carolina Experiment Station, which had been established in 1877 and which has played such an important rôle in the history of the college and the State, was not transferred from the State Board of Agriculture to the college trustees until December 5,

⁴⁰ Owen, E. B., *Scrap Book*, p. 10. E. B. Owen, '98, late Registrar of State College and founder of the *Alumni News*, wrote many "Random Sketches of College History." Most of these were printed in the *Alumni News* and then copies were pasted by Owen in a *Scrap Book*. The author is indebted to Owen's daughter, Margaret Owen, '37, for permission to use this valuable collection of source material.

⁴¹ *State College Record*, Vol. 35, No. 4, p. 35.

⁴² Trustees' Minutes, I, 17.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

1889.⁴⁵ The work of the Experiment Station was greatly promoted by the Hatch act which was passed by Congress in 1887.

As campus and farm improvements were being made, work proceeded apace on the new main building, later named Holladay Hall in honor of the first president, Colonel Alexander Q. Holladay. The plans for the building were drawn by Charles L. Carson, and W. E. Ashley was superintendent in charge of construction. Most of the brick and stone used in the building and the labor for the foundation were supplied by the State Penitentiary. The corner stone was laid on August 22, 1889, at which time William J. Peele gave the principal address. Just before the building was completed, a fire of unknown origin destroyed part of the woodwork and defaced the walls with smoke. Fortunately the damage was covered by insurance, but following the fire a watchman was employed until the building was completed. That Holladay Hall was erected on or near the site of an old family burial ground seems to be verified by the following statement in the minutes of the trustees for November 9, 1887: "The chairman was requested to see the parties interested in the dead buried on the College grounds with a view to having the bodies removed; otherwise, to have them disinterred and buried elsewhere."⁴⁶

The assets available for the trustees were listed by William J. Peele in his dedicatory address as follows:

1. The site and sixty acres surrounding, donated by Mr. R. S. Pullen, valued at \$4,000.
2. The use of twenty acres of land in the State Fair Ground, donated by Directors of State Fair, valued at \$2,000.
3. Three hundred acres of land, the Camp Mangum tract, located about three-quarters of a mile west of this building, valued at \$5,000.
4. The Exposition Building, donated by the Raleigh stockholders, and valued at \$3,000.
5. Surplus of Agricultural Department, \$14,000 per annum, contingent upon continued existence of the fertilizer tax.
6. The direct donations of the City of Raleigh in money, \$8,000.
7. The accumulated assets of the Industrial School set aside under Act of 1885, amounting to \$5,000.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁴⁶ Trustee's Minutes, I, 15. See also Roberts, W. L., "N. C. State College As It Was and As It Is," *News and Observer*, August 12, 1928.

8. The materials and labor furnished and to be furnished by the Directors of the Penitentiary, valued at \$6,000.

9. The State's certificate of indebtedness for the Land-Script Fund, \$7,500 a year, a permanent endowment, if good government continues, of \$125,000.

10. The appropriation under the Hatch Act, \$15,000 per annum, equivalent, upon certain limitations, to an endowment of \$300,000. Total, \$472,000.

11. The earnest labors of 500 of our best citizens and the best wishes of many thousand others.⁴⁷

Fully cognizant that land, money, and buildings alone would not make a college, the trustees on December 6, 1888, began to make plans for a faculty, courses of study, and entrance requirements for students. Colonel W. F. Green moved "That steps be taken to secure a President . . . who shall be a man of thorough scientific education and practical experience, at a salary of \$2000 and a house, or equivalent for same."⁴⁸ The motion was adopted, and at the same meeting the board approved the establishment of a professorship of agriculture, livestock, and dairying; a professorship of horticulture, arboriculture, and botany; a chair of pure chemistry and agricultural chemistry; a professorship of practical mechanics and pure and applied mathematics; and a chair of English and bookkeeping. The trustees also provided for an assistant in the mechanical department to teach drawing and carpentry, a foreman of farms and garden, a steward, and a matron. The board agreed to advertise for competent persons to fill these positions, and deferred action on student entrance requirements until the next meeting.⁴⁹

In July, 1889, the following rule concerning the age and qualifications of students was approved: "Applicants must be at least fourteen years of age; must furnish evidence of good moral character and physical development; must be able to read and write ordinary English intelligently, and must be familiar with simple arithmetic including the practical rules of the same through fractions, and have a fair knowledge of geography, and state history."⁵⁰ The trustees also prescribed examinations for

⁴⁷ Peele, "History," p. 6.

⁴⁸ Trustees' Minutes, I, 39.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-47.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

those students who entered as county scholars. The rate of tuition was fixed at \$20 a year, board to be furnished at \$8 a month, and books and stationery were to be sold at cost.⁵¹ The board next turned its attention to the election of a president and faculty, many applications having been made for the positions advertised.

Applications for the presidency of the college were received from North Carolina, Arkansas, Missouri, Georgia, New York, and Pennsylvania. On July 11, 1889, Colonel Green placed in nomination for president, former Governor Thomas J. Jarvis. Although Governor Jarvis was not an applicant for the position he was unanimously elected, and a committee was appointed to notify him of his election and to receive his answer. Governor Jarvis, although in sympathy with the aims and purposes of the college, declined to accept the presidency.⁵² The trustees, perhaps hoping that Jarvis would reconsider, deferred further action on the election of a president and proceeded to elect a faculty and administrative assistants. Joseph R. Chamberlain of Bath, N. Y., was elected professor of agriculture; W. F. Massey of Miller School, Virginia, was chosen to fill the chair of horticulture, arboriculture, and bontology; W. A. Withers of Davidson College, North Carolina, was elected professor of pure and agricultural chemistry; D. H. Hill, Jr., of Milledgeville, Georgia, was selected as professor of English and bookkeeping; and J. H. Kinley of St. Louis, Missouri, was elected to the chair of mathematics and practical mechanics. The administrative assistants elected by the board were: B. S. Skinner, of Hertford County, N. C., superintendent of farms; J. N. Hubbard of Raleigh, steward; and Mrs. Sue C. Carroll of Sampson County, N. C., matron. The board postponed the election of a president until its next meeting.⁵³

On August 30, 1889, the board met in special session to elect a president of the college. After considerable discussion, Colonel Alexander Q. Holladay of Virginia, later of the Agricultural College of Florida, was unanimously elected president. This was quite a tribute to the new president as he had been

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-51.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 57-65.

an applicant, not for the presidency, but for the professorship of English.⁵⁴

Shortly after the election of President Holladay, the fire damage to the main building was repaired and examinations were given to prospective students. The main building, lacking such modern conveniences as electric lights and running water, included administrative offices, classrooms, dormitories, and the dining hall. On October 3, 1889, the doors of the college were officially opened, and seventy-two students, all residents of the State excepting one, were enrolled as freshmen in the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 61, 73.

⁵⁵ *First Annual Catalogue of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts*, pp. 5-6.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN NORTH CAROLINA ABOUT 1780

By FRANCIS GRAVE MORRIS and PHYLLIS MARY MORRIS

Part II

Ownership of Town Lots, Slaves, and Cattle

In the first part of this article,¹³ the conditions of landholding were discussed at some length. The term "landowner" did not, however, include those who held only town lots, since it was felt that there was a real distinction between those who held tracts of land, however small, which could be, and in most cases probably were, used for the exploitation of the natural resources of the country either through arable cultivation, the pastoral industry, or forestry and those who held town lots, which would be used for residence, manufacture, or commerce. It is the distinction between the primary producer on the one hand and the manufacturer, the retailer, and to some extent the professional man on the other.

It is unfortunate that these tax lists do not make it possible to draw a complete picture of the towns. Nevertheless, a good deal of information upon this subject can be obtained from them. The act of 1784 provided that "whereas there are generally in the towns of this State lots and improvements the property of persons living at a distance, or without the bounds of such towns, by reason of which such property if returned only by the proprietors would not come to the hands of the assessors . . . all property in the several towns shall be returned by the tenants or occupiers thereof, or the agent, attorneys, trustee or guardian of the proprietor; and when returned by the tenant or occupier, such person or occupier shall be liable to pay the taxes thereon assessed, but the absent owner or person in whose care the same shall be, shall nevertheless return such lots in his general return, specifying at the same time in whose actual possession or under whose immediate superintendency the same may be."¹⁴

¹³ *North Carolina Historical Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 2 (April, 1939).

¹⁴ *Laws of North Carolina, 1784* (April Session), Chap. I, Sec. 6, *State Records of North Carolina*, XXIV, 543-546.

A justice of the peace was appointed for each captain's district and for each town in the county and for each town the justice of the peace appointed three freeholders as assessors. The latter made returns to the county court in the following form:¹⁵

Person's Names	Number of Lots or Parts of Lots	Value of Lots	Amount of Assessment
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Thus where the lists of the assessors have survived there is complete information about the holders of lots in those towns. Since owners residing outside the town were ordered to make a return of the lots held by them it is possible, by a comparison of the town lists and the district lists, to ascertain how many of those who held lots in the town were also holders of land in the county. It is true that the owner of a town lot might have resided in a county for which no returns now exist, but such instances appear to have been rare.

In the years previous to 1784 no separate lists were made for the towns and one is, therefore, dependent upon the district returns. In such cases it is possible to determine how many landowners also possessed town lots and how many taxables held lots without any other land, but it is impossible to give a complete picture of any particular town since some lots may have been held by people resident in a county for which returns no longer exist. But again such instances were probably rare, as in the returns which have survived there are few instances of taxables holding town lots in a town outside their own county. All the evidence shows that the holders of town lots generally resided in the county in which the town lay and, indeed, in many instances in the same district.

The acts relating to the creation of the various towns specify in most cases that the land be laid out in half acre lots with the exception of Hillsborough which was to be laid out in one acre lots.

Table 7 shows the number of taxables in each county who held town lots, distinguishing those who had some other land from those who did not, together with the town or towns in which the lots were held.

¹⁵ Laws of North Carolina, 1784 (April Session), Chap. I, Sec. 7. *Loc. cit.*

TABLE 7. HOLDERS OF TOWN LOTS¹

County	Landowners	Not Landowners	Total	Place Where Lots Were Held
<i>Group 1. Albemarle Sound:</i>				
Camden.....	0	0	0	
Pasquotank.....	0	3	3	Not stated.
Perquimans.....	6	13	19	In 13 instances, Hertford; others, not stated.
Tyrrell.....	1	2	3	In 2 instances, Edenton; other, not stated.
Chowan, District of Edenton.....	21	70	91	} Edenton.
Rest of County.....	5	0	5	
Total.....	26	70	96	
Gates.....	0	1	1	Nixonton.
Hertford.....	7	10	17	In 16 instances, Winton; other, not stated.
<i>Group 2. Neuse and Pamlico:</i>				
Beaufort ²			79	66 in Washington; 13 in Bath Town.
Carteret.....	25	20	45	41 held in Beaufort; 4 in "New Town."
Jones.....	9	0	9	6 held in New Bern; 1 in Kinston; 1 in Charlotte and Salisbury; 1 not stated.
<i>Group 3. Cape Fear:</i>				
New Hanover.....	49	10	59	Wilmington.
Brunswick.....	10	1	11	6 held in Wilmington; 5 in Brunswick Town.
Bladen.....	See	Text.		
Cumberland, District of				
Campbellton.....	24	10	34	} See Text.
Rest of County.....	13	0	13	
Total.....	37	10	47	
<i>Group 4:</i>				
Johnston.....	21	0	21	Not stated.
Nash.....	0	0	0	
Granville.....	1	0	1	Richmond.
Warren.....	6	0	6	1 held in Warrenton; others, not stated.
Halifax.....	22	7	29	25 held in Halifax; 1 in Tarboro; 1 in Windsor; 1 in Hillsboro; 1 not stated.
<i>Group 5:</i>				
Caswell.....	0	0	0	
Orange.....	10	6	16	Hillsboro.
Surry.....	8	14	22	In 21 instances, not stated, probably Salem; in other, Richmond.

¹ In Group 6 (Rutherford, Montgomery, Wilkes, Randolph) there were no holders of town lots.

² Number of landowners and non-landowners cannot be determined from the returns.

In the region around Albemarle Sound the town of Edenton was of course the most important and the returns for the district of Edenton have been separated from those for the other districts of the county. It will be observed that in Chowan ninety-six taxables possessed lots in Edenton of whom only twenty-six appear to have held any other land and this seems to imply the existence of a distinct class of people who might be regarded as commercial or professional. It is worth remarking that of the ninety-six holders of lots, ninety-one belonged to the district of Edenton. Owners of town lots, it would seem, generally lived in the town or in the immediate neighborhood. In the district of Edenton there were one hundred forty-six taxables of whom four appear to have been firms and not individuals, and of these one hundred forty-six, as already noticed, ninety-one possessed town lots. Of these ninety-one, only twenty-one had any other land. In addition nine others, not possessing lots, held land in the district. Thus of the one hundred forty-six taxables in the district (or, excluding the four firms just mentioned, one hundred forty-two individuals), only thirty were landowners in the sense that the term is used here. Thirty-three others had some taxable property in the form of slaves, cattle, horses, or stock-in-trade and thirteen were without any taxable property. One of those owning land in the district but apparently without a lot in the town is recorded as having a house there and another with neither land outside nor a lot within is recorded as possessing a shop. Possibly these should be regarded as having town lots. The greatest number of lots held by a single taxable was fourteen but the majority had only one or two, whilst a few had only half a lot. One or two other items of interest can be gleaned from the records. Five taxables are recorded as possessing shops, one of them having two. It is possible that, in addition to these, some of those who had houses also had shops. One taxable had a warehouse and a blacksmith's shop. He also had, in addition to 2 lots in Edenton, $3\frac{3}{4}$ lots in Windsor. Another had a wharf and warehouse. A third had a storehouse and also a wharf and warehouse on Rockahock Creek, an eighth share in a brig, and a quarter share in a ship. A fourth, with $5\frac{1}{2}$ lots, described them as "water lots and warehouses."

Outside the district of Edenton five taxables, all landowners, held lots in the town, having 13, 9, 4, 2½, and 1 lot, respectively. In Perquimans one taxable, a landowner, held 19 lots in Edenton and two or possibly three taxables in Tyrrell also had lots there. It may be that in other counties for which there are now no records there were taxables holding lots in Edenton.

The town of Hertford, in Perquimans County, was the next in importance to Edenton. Yet in the whole county there were only nineteen taxables with town lots, six of whom held other land. In thirteen instances the lots are stated to have been in Hertford; in the others the town is unspecified. The landowner just mentioned who had 19 lots in Edenton also had 1 lot in Hertford. It is impossible to give an exact idea of the number of lots held by individuals, as the entry is often the vague phrase, "Houses and lots in Hertford." The largest number given is four.

In Hertford County sixteen taxables had lots in Winton and one other may have had. One had 3 lots, eight had 2 lots each, and eight had 1 lot each. In the rest of the region, as the table shows, there were few taxables with town lots and further comment seems unnecessary.

The tax list available for Beaufort County belongs to the year 1784 and so there is a "valuation of the town of Washington," giving the names of all owners of lots and the number held by each as well as the ordinary district returns, including one for the "District belonging to the town of Washington." Sixty-six names are given in the valuation of the town, fifty-two of which occur in the list for the district belonging to it and one in another district of the county. The names of the other thirteen cannot be found, so it is probable that they resided in some other county. Of the fifty-three living in the county, twenty-six had some other land while the rest had only their lots. The number of lots held by individuals was as follows: One had 8 lots, two had 5 lots, three had 3 lots, fourteen had 2 lots, thirty-five had 1 lot, and eleven had only half a lot each. There is also an "Assessment of Lotts in Bath Town" with the names of thirteen taxables, nine of which are found in the district returns. The other four presumably lived outside Beaufort County. All those living in the county had land in addition to their lots. The individual holdings were: one had 27 lots, one had 8 lots, one had 7 lots,

two had 3 lots, four had 2 lots, and four had 1 lot. It is worth noticing that the man who owned 27 lots also had 2 lots in Washington and as much as 7,250 acres in the counties of Beaufort and Halifax.

Not much comment seems necessary upon the returns for Carteret and Jones. Of the forty-one taxables recorded as having lots in the town of Beaufort, twenty-one were landowners, a higher proportion than in any of the towns so far considered. A few had 2 lots, the rest only 1 or part of 1 lot. All of the four with lots in "New Town" were landowners.¹⁶ In Jones there was at that time no town (Trenton was not established until 1784), but nine taxables, all of them landowners, had lots in some town outside, six of them in New Bern. One of these is also recorded as having a lot in "Bogue." Another taxable had 2 lots in Kingston, now called Kinston; another had a lot in some town the name of which is not recorded. Finally, one taxable, one of the largest landowners in the county, having much landed property in Burke and what was then the district of Washington, now in Tennessee, had 36 lots in Charlotte and 1 lot in Salisbury. Such a holding savors of speculation.

The returns for New Hanover, made in 1782, are particularly interesting, as the town of Wilmington lies in that county. It gave its name to one of the districts into which the county was divided.¹⁷ All the fifty-nine taxables recorded as having lots belonged to this district and it will be observed that forty-nine of them were landowners, a very high proportion as compared with Edenton. It may also be remarked that in the district of Wilmington there were in all ninety-seven taxables of whom sixty-four were landowners. Thus a very large proportion of the landowners in the district had lots in the town. The number of lots (excluding parts of lots) held by individuals was: one had $\frac{1}{4}$ lot, one had $\frac{1}{2}$ lot, eighteen had 1 lot, eleven had 2 lots, ten had 3 lots, two had 4 lots, four had 5 lots, three had 6 lots, four had 8 lots, one each had 9, 10, 12, and 27 lots respectively, while one had a number not stated. The list gives a total of $211\frac{1}{2}$ lots held by residents in the district but this is certainly not the total of lots held in Wilmington, as lots were held by taxables belong-

¹⁶ The authors have been unable to ascertain the identity of "New Town."

¹⁷ No returns for one of the five districts into which the county was divided.

ing to other counties; for instance, six taxables in Brunswick County had lots there.

One warning must be given about these figures. As was observed in the first part of this article, the term "taxable" included the estates of deceased persons and of minors, which would have been returned by agents or attorneys and such would appear in the lists of the county to which the latter belonged. In the returns for the district of Wilmington, there are several such estates, and though in most instances it seems clear from the fact that the estate also contained land in the county of New Hanover that the original owner lived there, yet in four instances the estate contained no land in New Hanover but only land in some other county and it is possible that the original owner belonged to that other county. On the other hand, he might have lived in Wilmington and managed his land through an agent. This is by no means unlikely, as there are several instances of living persons with lots in Wilmington and presumably residing there, though their land lay in some neighbouring county, usually Brunswick. There is no mention of shops in the returns for Wilmington as there is for Edenton, but nine taxables in the district of Wilmington and one in another district are credited with a certain amount of stock-in-trade, which suggests that they were shop-keepers or merchants.

Not much comment is needed on the returns for Brunswick (1784). Of those with lots in Wilmington, one had 16½, one had 4 and a part, and two had 2 each. Of those with lots in Brunswick Town, one had 6, one had 2, two had 1, and another had a half of one lot and a quarter of another. One of those with 2 lots in Wilmington, who was also a large landowner, had 15 lots in Salisbury, 3 in Hillsborough, and 4 in Campbellton. This again suggests speculation.

The returns for Bladen (1784) are very puzzling. There is "A list of the Houses and Lotts taken in Elizabeth Town," in which twenty-three names are given, of which twenty occur in the district returns. But in the latter, although a column is carefully drawn for town lots, only five of these twenty taxables are entered as having town lots. On the other hand, twenty-three taxables in addition to these five are recorded as having lots, though the place is not stated. Of the twenty holders of lots

in Elizabeth Town, whose names are found in the district returns, sixteen were landowners and nearly all of them lived in the same district, possibly the one in which the town lay, though the name of the district is not given. The list for the town contains one interesting feature: a division of lots into "improved" and "not improved." While there were forty-six of the latter, there were only seven of the former. From this list it appears that there were ten taxables with 1 lot each, six with 2 lots each, and three with 3 lots each, and one each with 4, 5, 6, and 7 lots.

In Cumberland (1780) the district of Campbellton can be separated from the rest of the county. In it there were one hundred forty-five taxables of whom thirty-four held town lots. Twenty-six are clearly stated to have had their lots in Upper or Lower Campbellton and one in Wilmington but the entries for the other seven are indefinite. One of those with a lot in Campbellton also had $3\frac{1}{2}$ lots in Wilmington and another had houses in Hillsborough and Wilmington. Of the thirteen lot holders belonging to districts other than Campbellton, eight clearly had lots in that town, one had a lot in Wilmington, two had 1 and 2 lots respectively in Smithfield, one had a lot in "Chatham County," and for 1 lot the place is not given. Of those with lots in Campbellton, one also had a lot in "Chatham County." Thus thirty-four taxables in Cumberland certainly had lots in Campbellton and the number of lots held was as follows: Nineteen had 1 lot, seven had 2 lots, four had 3 lots, one had 5 lots, and one had $12\frac{1}{2}$ lots, while for two of them the number of lots is uncertain. Indicative of the commercial importance of the town are the entries such as "Stock-in-Trade," and "Money and Bonds," the former occurring 8 times.

In the list for Johnston there is no indication of the places where the town lots were held, though no doubt in most cases it was Smithfield. Though the return is for the year 1784, no separate list for that town seems to have survived. It will be noticed that all the lot holders were also landowners.

In Nash, Granville, and Warren there appear to have been very few lot holders. It is worth noticing that the only holder of a town lot in Granville held in "Richmond Town."

In Halifax (1782) the majority of the lot holders were also landowners. In the town of Halifax five held 1 lot, nine held 2

lots, two held 3 lots, two held 4 lots, one held 5 lots, one held 6 lots, three held 7 lots, one held 10 lots, and one held 11 lots. The districts of the county of Halifax were numbered and not named, but all the persons who owned lots in the town belonged to one district so it is probable that it was the district in which the town lay. There were eighty taxables in this district; nine of them were credited with some amount of stock-in-trade. Outside this district only two taxables are credited with any stock-in-trade.

Of the interior counties in the State only Orange and Surry had any lot holders as far as can be ascertained from the available returns. In the former all those who had lots belonged to the district of Hillsborough. In the town of Hillsborough four had 1 lot, three had 2 lots, two had 3 lots, three had 4 lots, one had 5 lots, one had 11 lots, and for two the number of lots is not stated. Six taxables are credited with stock-in-trade in the district of Hillsborough.

Of the twenty-two lot holders in Surry seventeen belonged to one district, probably that in which Salem lay. Although the place in which the lots lay is in most cases not stated, it is likely that they were in that town. The number of lots held by one individual never exceeded 3; the majority had only 1 each.

The tax lists for the years 1779 to 1783 inclusive afford a considerable amount of information about slavery which is set out in Tables 8, 9, and 10. In those years all slaves of whatever age were enumerated but, owing to the change in the basis of taxation in 1784, only slaves between 16 and 60 were given in lists of that year, and the lists are thus rendered useless for comparative purposes. Therefore Beaufort, Brunswick, Bladen, Johnston, and Warren are excluded from these tables. In Table 8 are set out the number and percentage of landowners with slaves, the number and percentage of those who were slaveowners but had no land, and the percentage of all taxables owning slaves. In addition to this there are given the total number of slaves enumerated and the average holding of slaves in each county. The grouping of the counties is slightly different from that used in the first part of this paper. The intention is to group counties according to the percentage of taxables owning slaves. Nevertheless these groups form fairly definite geographical units. An exception to this rule has been made for the counties

TABLE 8. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF SLAVEOWNERS. TOTAL NUMBER OF SLAVES

County	Taxables Making Returns	Landowners	Landowners with Slaves	Per Cent	No Land but Having Some Property ¹	No Land but Having Slaves ²	Per Cent	Total Slave-owners	Per Cent of All Taxables ³	Total No. of Slaves	Av. No. per Slaveowner
Chowan.....	467	263	155	58.9	164	96	58.5	251	53.7	1,843	7
Perquimans.....	559	388	235	60.6	113	58	51.3	293	52.4	1,429	5
Gates.....	578	422	235	55.7	93	37	39.8	272	47.1	1,556	6
Hertford.....	621	443	216	48.7	129	38	29.5	254	40.9	1,526	6
Pasquotank.....	643	451	208	46.1	114	40	35.1	248	38.6	1,205	5
Camden.....	601	429	154	35.9	116	25	21.5	179	29.8	790	4
Tyrrell.....	540	426	127	29.8	34	13	38.2	140	25.9	651	5
Jones ⁴	268	188	68	36.2	65	11	16.9	79	29.5	470	6
Carteret.....	452	301	106	35.2	107	18	16.8	124	27.4	678	6
N. Hanover ⁵ ...	359	255	160	62.7	49	19	38.8	179	49.9	1,634	9
Halifax.....	1,174	808	485	60.0	311	118	37.9	603	51.4	4,528	8
Granville.....	1,225	825	426	51.6	368	81	22.0	507	41.4	3,438	7
Nash.....	674	496	195	39.3	168	37	22.0	232	34.4	1,122	5
Caswell.....	1,225	910	344	37.8	275	61	22.2	405	33.1	1,699	4
Cumberland.....	812	579	176	30.4	184	19	10.3	195	24.0	997	5
Montgomery.....	455	348	101	29.0	101	8	7.9	109	24.0	462	4
Orange.....	1,179	831	222	26.7	318	31	9.7	253	21.5	1,080	4
Rutherford.....	487	311	61	19.6	170	22	12.9	83	17.0	238	3
Surry.....	1,802	1,231	234	19.0	490	47	9.6	281	15.6	967	4
Wilkes.....	869	603	107	17.7	249	22	8.8	129	14.8	496	4
Randolph.....	573	443	51	11.5	118	5	4.2	56	9.8	180	3

¹ *I.e.*, Persons having some taxable property, but without land. See Table 2 (page 119) in the first part of this article.

² *I.e.*, Number of foregoing possessing slaves.

³ *I.e.*, Percentage of all taxables, including those with no taxable property.

⁴ Based on returns for three out of four districts. See note to Table 2.

⁵ Based on returns for four out of five districts.

around Albemarle Sound. Despite considerable variations between them, they form so compact a geographical unit that it hardly seems worth while to separate them.

In this group of counties, Chowan with the town of Edenton had the greatest percentage of taxables owning slaves and it was closely followed by Perquimans, both of them having a higher percentage than any other county for which records exist. The percentage of landowners with slaves in Perquimans slightly exceeds that in Chowan but this is counterbalanced by a smaller percentage of landless taxables possessing slaves. In Chowan the average holding was greater than in Perquimans, probably owing to the existence of the commercial and professional classes in Edenton and the large number of slaveowners without land may be due to the same cause. Away from Chowan and the important town of Edenton there is a steady drop in the percentage of taxables owning slaves and a decrease in the number of slaves held.

In Jones and Carteret the percentage of taxables owning slaves is smaller than in any county around Albemarle Sound except Tyrrell, but the average number of slaves held is relatively high.

The percentage of landowners with slaves in New Hanover, 62.7, and the average number of slaves held, nine, are the highest in the counties for which lists have survived, but these figures are almost certainly somewhat too high since the returns for one district are missing, only the total assessment being given, and, as this is small, it is reasonable to infer that it was not a wealthy district possessing many slaves. The town of Wilmington undoubtedly helps to account for the high figures here given. It is noticeable that the number of slaveowners without land is by no means as great as in Chowan, and, as a result, the percentage of all taxables with slaves is lower than in Chowan, Perquimans, and Halifax.

The counties of Halifax and Granville, particularly the former, had a large number of slaveholders and the average holding was also high. This was probably due to the fact that a large number of settlers came to this district from Virginia in the eighteenth century and that it was in closer touch with Virginia

than were other parts of North Carolina, as the pages of the *Virginia Gazette* during this period will show.

It is not easy to group the rest of the counties but the arrangement adopted here seems as satisfactory as any. Nash, which in the discussion of landholding was included with Halifax and Granville, is now included with such counties as Caswell and Orange. The group, therefore, covers a wide area but it may be taken as representative of the middle section of the State, though there is some difference between the first and last counties in it. There is a decrease, generally speaking, in the percentage of taxables with slaves as compared with many of the more eastern counties, but more noticeable is the smaller size of holding. In Caswell, for instance, though 33.1 per cent of the taxables owned slaves, the average holding was only 4. Compare this with a county like Gates where the percentage of taxables owning slaves was 47.1 and the average holding 6. In Jones and Carteret, despite a smaller percentage of slaveowners than in Caswell, there was a larger average holding.

Three of the remaining four counties may be justly regarded as frontier counties, with few slaveowners and small holdings. Randolph, the last on the list, seems anomalous. From its geographical position one would expect it to be with counties such as Montgomery and Orange.

The next table, Number 9, sets out the slaveowners of each county classified according to the number of slaves held, as in the Census of 1790, the slaveowners being divided into those with land and those without. It is not necessary to comment upon these figures which are really an elaboration of those for the average holding of slaves in the different counties.

Table 10 is an estimate of the population and its composition at this period. The figures can be only approximate and some explanation must be given of the way in which they have been obtained. In column 1 are set down the total number of taxables in each county, including, where such existed, those who were entered as making no returns. Among the taxables are almost certainly included a number of free Negroes or mulattoes. These figures have been multiplied by four to obtain an estimate of the total free population. The figure 4 has been used on the authority of Greene and Harrington in their work "American

TABLE 9. CLASSIFICATION OF SLAVEHOLDINGS

County		Number Holding										Total Slave-owners		
		1		2 - 4		5 - 9		10 - 19		20 - 49			50-99	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%		No	%
Chowan:	L. ¹	23	14.8	44	28.4	40	25.8	28	18.1	18	11.6	2	1.3	155
	N.L.	30	31.2	34	35.4	23	24.0	9	9.4	---	---	---	---	96
	T.	53	21.1	78	31.1	63	25.1	37	14.7	18	7.2	2	.8	251
Perquimans:	L.	55	23.4	86	36.6	54	23.0	35	14.9	5	2.1	---	---	235
	N.L.	24	41.4	23	39.6	8	13.8	3	5.2	---	---	---	---	58
	T.	79	27.0	109	37.2	62	21.1	38	13.0	5	1.7	---	---	293
Gates:	L.	52	22.2	80	34.2	51	21.8	42	18.0	9	3.8	---	---	234
	N.L.	13	34.2	20	52.6	5	13.2	---	---	---	---	---	---	38
	T.	65	23.9	100	36.8	56	20.6	42	15.4	9	3.3	---	---	272
Hertford:	L.	46	21.2	58	26.9	54	25.0	50	23.2	8	3.7	---	---	216
	N.L.	18	47.4	18	47.4	2	5.2	---	---	---	---	---	---	38
	T.	64	25.2	76	29.9	56	22.1	50	19.7	8	3.1	---	---	254
Pasquotank:	L.	53	25.5	70	33.6	50	24.0	28	13.5	7	3.4	---	---	208
	N.L.	13	32.5	19	47.5	6	15.0	2	5.0	---	---	---	---	40
	T.	66	26.6	89	35.9	56	22.6	30	12.1	7	2.8	---	---	248
Camden:	L.	43	27.9	59	38.3	31	20.1	18	11.7	3	2.0	---	---	154
	N.L.	12	48.0	11	44.0	1	4.0	---	---	1	4.0	---	---	25
	T.	55	30.7	70	39.1	32	17.9	18	10.1	4	2.2	---	---	179
Tyrrell:	L.	33	26.0	48	37.8	34	26.8	5	3.9	7	5.5	---	---	127
	N.L.	4	30.8	5	38.4	4	30.8	---	---	---	---	---	---	13
	T.	37	26.4	53	37.9	38	27.1	5	3.6	7	5.0	---	---	140
Jones: ²	L.	18	26.5	18	26.5	15	22.0	13	19.1	4	5.9	---	---	68
	N.L.	5	45.4	4	36.4	2	18.2	---	---	---	---	---	---	11
	T.	23	29.1	22	27.9	17	21.5	13	16.5	4	5.0	---	---	79
Carteret:	L.	25	23.6	34	32.1	30	28.3	12	11.3	4	3.8	1	.9	106
	N.L.	10	55.6	5	27.7	2	11.1	1	5.6	---	---	---	---	18
	T.	35	28.2	39	31.5	32	25.8	13	10.5	4	3.2	1	.8	124
N. Hanover: ³	L.	33	20.6	29	18.1	42	26.3	31	19.4	24	15.0	1	.6	160
	N.L.	6	31.6	9	47.4	3	15.8	1	5.2	---	---	---	---	19
	T.	39	21.8	38	21.2	45	25.1	32	17.9	24	13.4	1	.6	179
Halifax:	L.	90	18.6	127	26.2	135	27.8	85	17.5	42	8.7	6	1.2	485
	N.L.	43	36.5	49	41.5	22	18.6	4	3.4	---	---	---	---	118
	T.	133	22.0	176	29.2	157	26.0	89	14.8	42	7.0	6	1.0	603

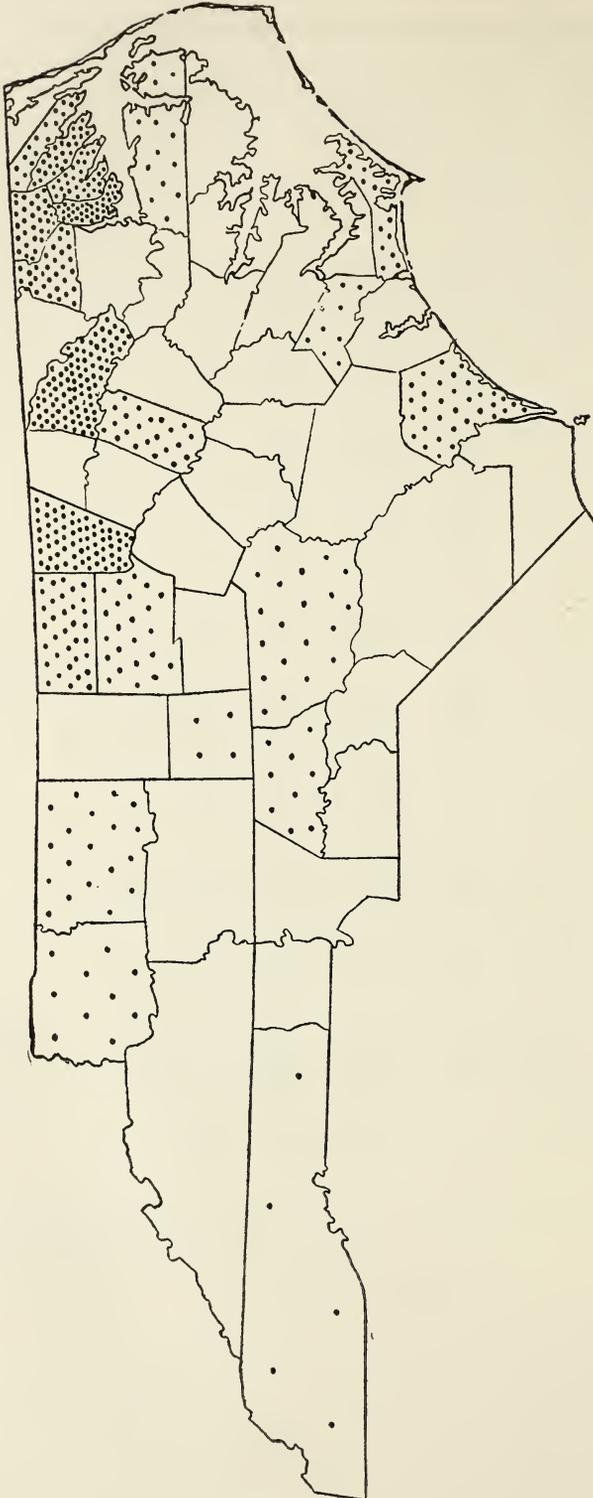
¹ { L=Landowners possessing slaves.
N.L.=Non-landowners, but possessing taxable property, including slaves.
T=Total slaveowners.

² Based on returns for three out of four districts.

³ Based on returns for four out of five districts.

TABLE 9. CLASSIFICATION OF SLAVEHOLDINGS—Continued

County		Number Holding										Total Slave-owners		
		1		2 - 4		5 - 9		10 - 19		20 - 49			50-99	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%		No	%
Granville:	L.	83	19.5	132	30.9	117	27.5	54	12.7	37	8.7	3	.7	426 81 507
	N.L.	30	37.0	33	40.7	13	16.1	3	3.7	2	2.5	---	---	
	T.	113	22.3	165	32.6	130	25.6	57	11.2	39	7.7	3	.6	
Nash:	L.	66	33.9	58	29.7	41	21.0	22	11.3	6	3.1	2	1.0	195 37 232
	N.L.	17	45.9	16	43.3	4	10.8	---	---	---	---	---	---	
	T.	83	35.8	74	31.9	45	19.3	22	9.5	6	2.6	2	.9	
Caswell:	L.	112	32.6	121	35.2	77	22.4	29	8.4	5	1.4	---	---	344 61 405
	N.L.	25	41.0	24	39.3	8	13.1	4	6.6	---	---	---	---	
	T.	137	33.8	145	35.8	85	21.0	33	8.2	5	1.2	---	---	
Cumberland:	L.	52	29.5	53	30.1	44	25.0	19	10.8	7	4.0	1	.6	176 19 195
	N.L.	5	26.3	7	36.8	6	31.6	---	---	1	5.3	---	---	
	T.	57	29.2	60	30.8	50	25.6	19	9.8	8	4.1	1	.5	
Montgomery:	L.	34	33.7	33	32.7	22	21.8	10	9.9	2	1.9	---	---	101 8 109
	N.L.	5	62.5	2	25.0	1	12.5	---	---	---	---	---	---	
	T.	39	35.8	35	32.1	23	21.1	10	9.2	2	1.8	---	---	
Orange:	L.	69	31.1	82	36.9	48	21.6	18	8.1	4	1.8	1	.5	222 31 253
	N.L.	19	61.3	5	16.1	5	16.1	2	6.5	---	---	---	---	
	T.	88	34.8	87	34.4	53	20.9	20	7.9	4	1.6	1	.4	
Rutherford:	L.	21	34.4	26	42.6	12	19.7	2	3.3	---	---	---	---	61 22 83
	N.L.	7	31.8	12	54.6	3	13.6	---	---	---	---	---	---	
	T.	28	33.7	38	45.8	15	18.1	2	2.4	---	---	---	---	
Surry:	L.	91	38.9	83	35.5	48	20.5	11	4.7	1	.4	---	---	234 47 281
	N.L.	15	31.9	24	51.1	5	10.6	3	6.4	---	---	---	---	
	T.	106	37.7	107	38.1	53	18.9	14	5.0	1	.3	---	---	
Wilkes:	L.	37	34.6	37	34.6	24	22.4	9	8.4	---	---	---	---	107 22 129
	N.L.	8	36.4	11	50.0	2	9.1	1	4.5	---	---	---	---	
	T.	45	34.9	48	37.2	26	20.1	10	7.8	---	---	---	---	
Randolph:	L.	21	41.2	18	35.3	9	17.6	3	5.9	---	---	---	---	51 5 56
	N.L.	2	40.0	2	40.0	1	20.0	---	---	---	---	---	---	
	T.	23	41.1	20	35.7	10	17.9	3	5.3	---	---	---	---	

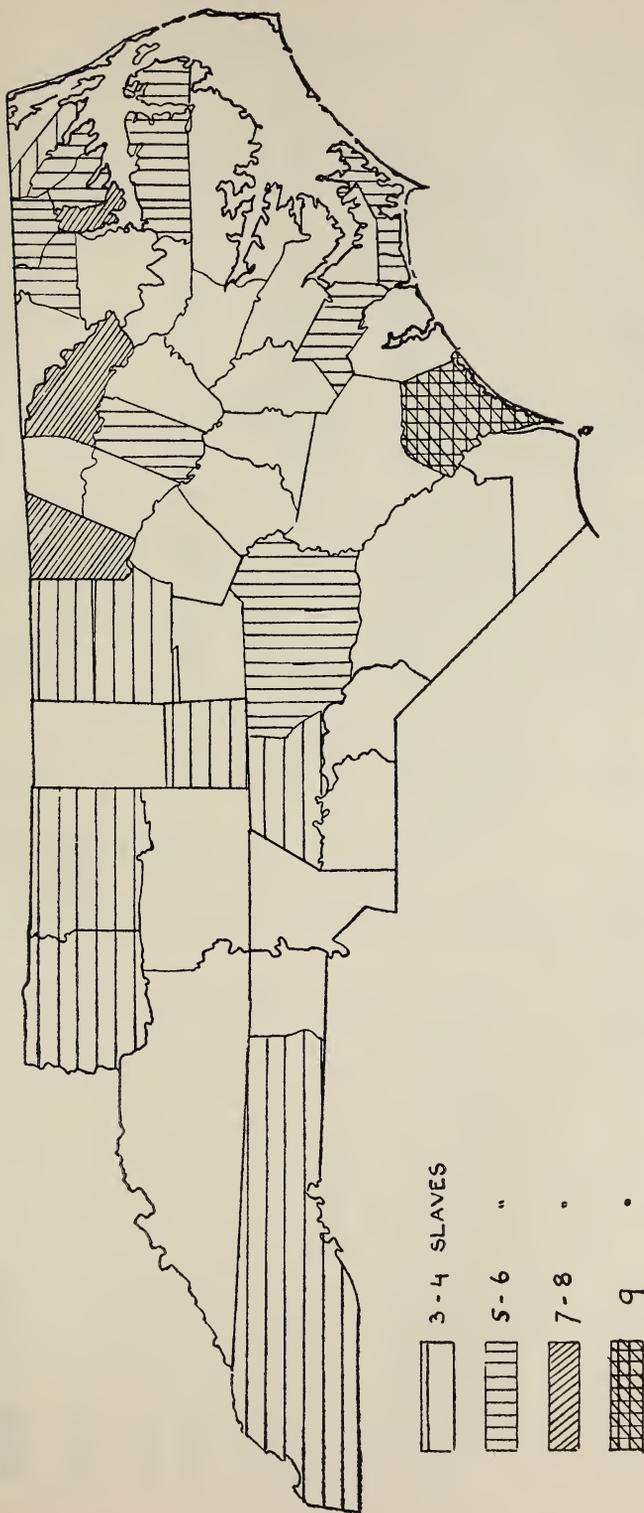


MAP 1. DISTRIBUTION OF SLAVES.

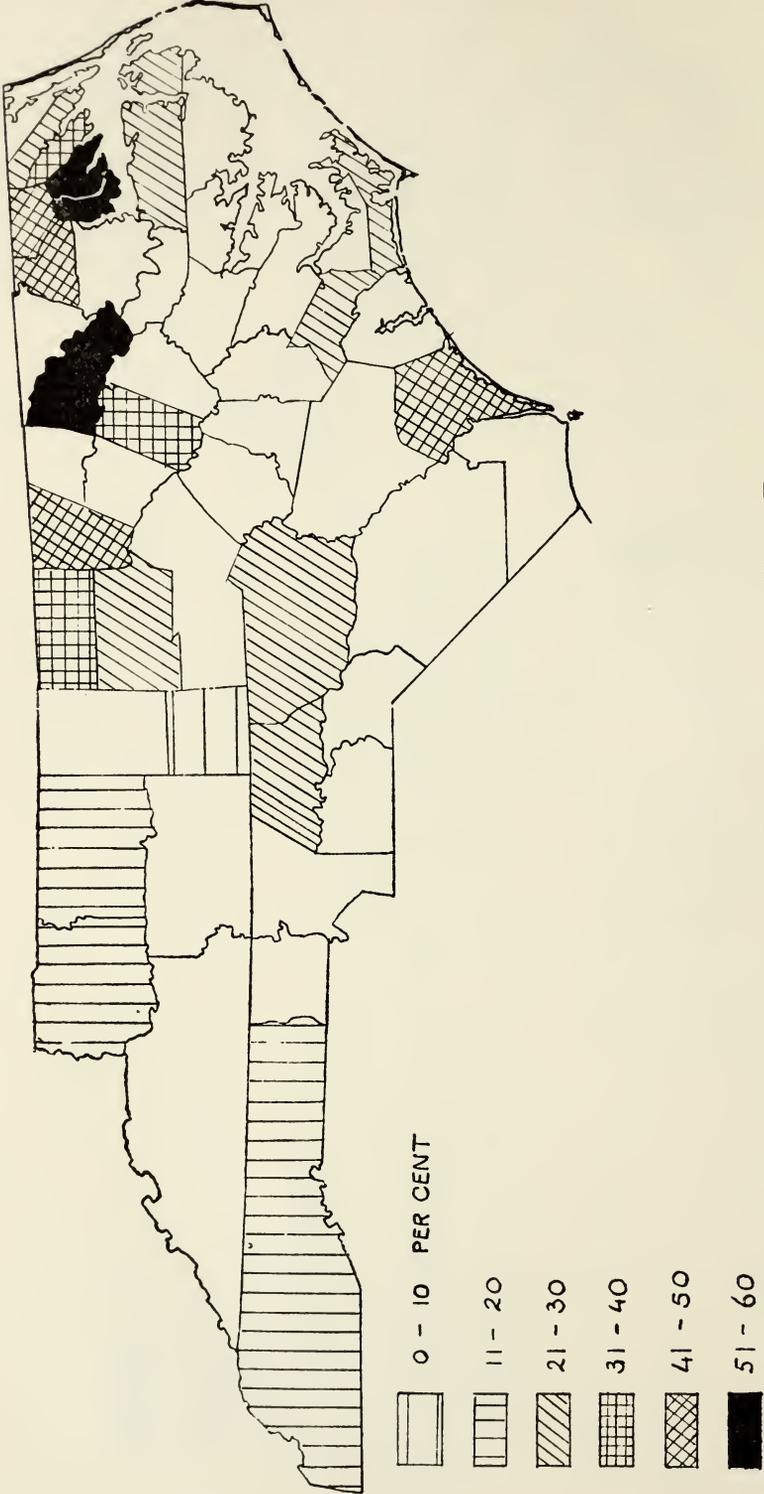
1 dot = 50 slaves.

Note 1. In this and the succeeding maps, areas left blank are those for which there are no returns.

Note 2. In this and the succeeding maps, there is a slight error in New Hanover and Jones, owing to a lack of complete returns for these counties. See notes to Table 8.



MAP 2. AVERAGE NUMBER OF SLAVES PER SLAVEOWNER



MAP 3. PERCENTAGE OF SLAVEOWNERS IN THE TOTAL TAXABLES

TABLE 10. ESTIMATED FREE AND SLAVE POPULATION. PROPORTION OF SLAVES TO FREE

County	Total Taxables ¹	Estimated Free Population	Slaves	Total Population	No. of Slaves per 1,000 Free	Per Cent Slaves Are of Total Population
Chowan.....	467	1,868	1,843	3,711	987	49.7
Gates.....	578	2,312	1,556	3,868	673	40.2
Perquimans.....	576	2,304	1,472	3,776	639	39.0
Hertford.....	623	2,492	1,531	4,023	614	38.1
Pasquotank.....	643	2,572	1,205	3,777	469	31.9
Camden.....	601	2,404	790	3,194	329	24.7
Tyrrell.....	546	2,184	658	2,842	301	23.2
Jones ²	367	1,468	644	2,112	438	30.5
Carteret.....	453	1,812	680	2,492	375	27.3
New Hanover ³ ...	360	1,440	1,639	3,079	1,139	53.2
Halifax.....	1,174	4,696	4,528	9,224	964	49.1
Granville.....	1,247	4,988	3,499	8,487	702	41.2
Nash.....	675	2,700	1,124	3,824	416	29.4
Caswell.....	1,230	4,920	1,706	6,626	347	25.7
Cumberland.....	1,040	4,160	1,276	5,436	307	23.5
Montgomery.....	455	1,820	462	2,282	254	20.2
Orange.....	1,744	6,976	1,597	8,573	229	18.6
Wilkes.....	873	3,492	498	3,990	142	12.5
Surry.....	1,804	7,216	968	8,184	134	11.8
Rutherford.....	492	1,968	241	2,209	122	10.9
Randolph.....	881	3,524	277	3,801	79	7.3

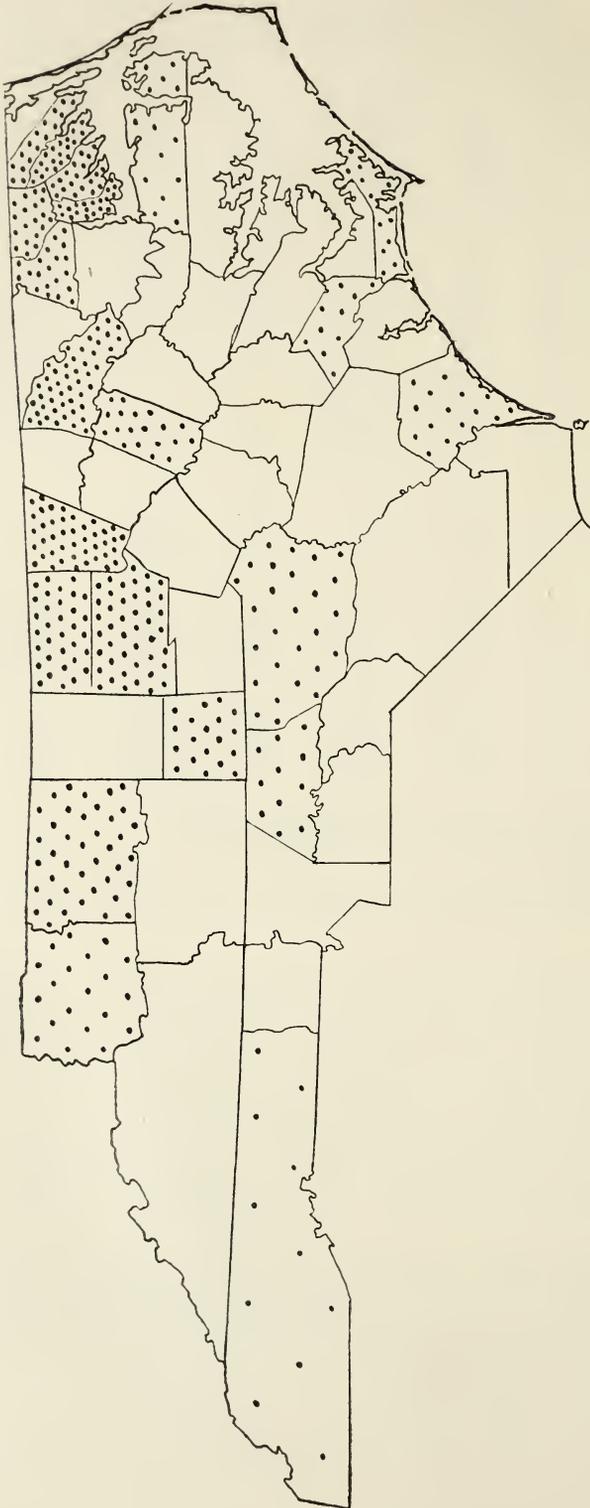
¹ Includes taxables enumerated but not making returns.

² The total number of taxables in Jones County is known. See note to Table 2 in the first part of this article.

³ Based on returns for four out of five districts. The total population, both free and slave was therefore larger but the proportion between free and slave must have been about the same as the figure given here.

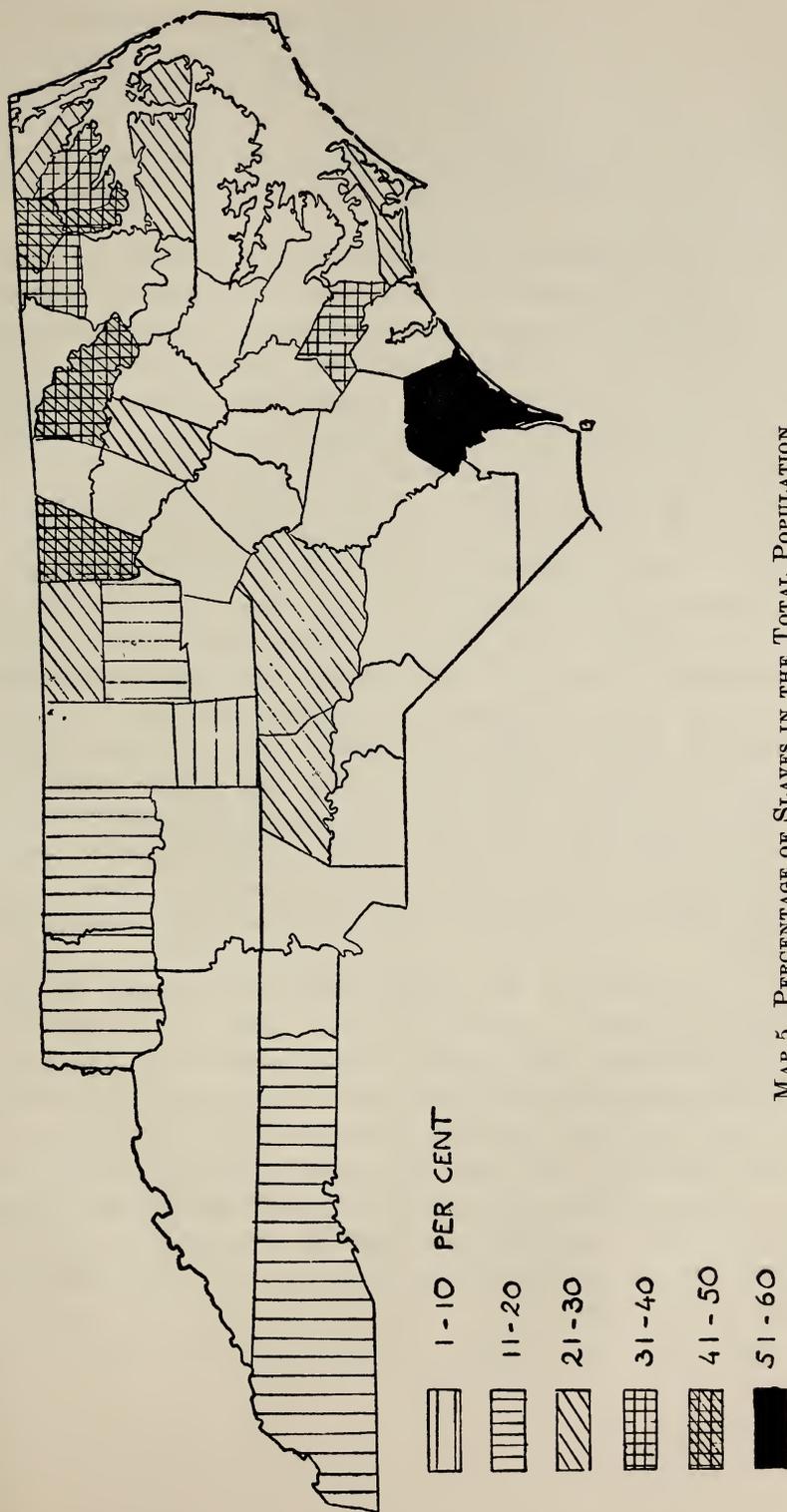
Population before the Federal Census of 1790."¹⁸ In column 3 are given the numbers of slaves in each county. In certain cases this figure differs from that given in Table 8 because the number has been raised in proportion in counties where there were taxables who made no returns and whose slaves, if any, would not, therefore, appear in these lists. The two remaining columns need no further explanation. The grouping of the counties is the same as in the two previous tables but the order has been slightly

¹⁸ Greene and Harrington write in "Note on methods of calculation," opposite p. xxii, "Polls, Taxables and tax lists: estimated at 4 to 1. Polls were usually all men above 21, residents; sometimes all above 16. . . . There is general agreement among contemporaries such as Gov. Bernard . . . and modern students such as Felt, that they represented about one-fourth of the population." A "taxable" in these tax lists has been described in the first part of this article.



MAP 4. DISTRIBUTION OF ESTIMATED TOTAL POPULATION

1 dot = 200 people.



altered in two instances so that, in any group, the order is now that of the proportion of slaves to free population. Perquimans and Gates change places in the group around Albemarle Sound because, although the latter had fewer slaveowners, the average holding was greater. For similar reasons the order in the last group is altered so that Wilkes changes places with Rutherford.

The relative importance of cattle is shown in Table 11, which sets out first the number and percentage of landowners possessing cattle, then the number and percentage of those owners of cattle who owned no land yet had some taxable property. The counties have been grouped on a geographical basis and each group arranged in order of the average size of herds. The percentage of landowners possessing cattle is everywhere high, the lowest being New Hanover (77.6 per cent). No distinctions can be made between various parts of the State in this connection. Although there is more variation in the percentage of non-landowners possessing cattle, it is not such as to allow any generalization. The number of apparently landless people in possession of cattle is an interesting feature and is considered more fully later in this paper. This table also shows the total number of cattle in each county together with the average number of cattle per cattle-owner.¹⁹ This last column should be studied in connection with Table 12 in which the number of persons possessing herds of various sizes is shown in greater detail. It is clear that the largest herds were on the Coastal Plain, those of the Piedmont being much smaller and decreasing towards the frontier.

It is well known that North Carolina exported, in the eighteenth century, a large number of cattle and products derived from them. The counties of the Coastal Plain must have been the most important in this trade. Yet the size of the herds was not very great, the highest average being 16 (Chowan) while there were very few herds exceeding 100. In Chowan, for instance, there were but three exceeding 100, and these formed .9 per cent of all the herds in the county. In Nash there were six, forming 1.1 per cent, and in Cumberland five, forming .7 per cent.

¹⁹ The returns only give the cattle aged 1 year and upwards.

TABLE 11. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF OWNERS OF CATTLE.
TOTAL NUMBER OF CATTLE

County	Taxables Making Returns	Landowners	Landowners with Cattle	Per Cent	No Land but Having Some Property ¹	No Land but Having Cattle ²	Per Cent	Total Cattle-owners	Per Cent of All Taxables ³	Total No. of Cattle ⁴	Av. No. per Cattleowner
Chowan.....	467	263	230	87.4	164	89	54.3	319	68.3	5,240	16
Tyrrell.....	540	426	388	91.1	34	27	79.4	415	76.9	5,806	14
Gates.....	578	422	377	89.3	93	61	65.6	438	75.8	6,024	14
Perquimans.....	559	388	327	84.3	113	66	58.4	393	70.3	4,974	13
Pasquotank.....	643	451	430	95.3	114	108	94.7	538	83.7	6,653	12
Hertford.....	621	443	366	82.6	129	72	55.8	438	70.5	4,427	10
Camden.....	601	429	391	91.1	116	95	81.9	486	80.9	4,329	9
Jones ⁵	268	188	170	90.4	65	49	75.4	219	81.7	3,565	16
Carteret.....	452	301	267	88.7	107	72	67.3	339	75.0	5,172	15
New Hanover ⁶	359	255	198	77.6	49	21	42.8	219	61.0	3,289	15
Nash.....	674	496	455	91.7	168	94	56.0	549	81.5	8,335	15
Cumberland.....	812	579	545	94.1	184	148	80.4	693	85.3	9,408	14
Granville.....	1,225	825	773	93.7	368	282	76.6	1,055	86.1	12,555	12
Halifax.....	1,174	808	732	90.6	311	185	59.5	917	78.1	10,241	11
Orange.....	1,179	831	798	96.0	318	253	79.6	1,051	89.1	10,482	10
Randolph.....	573	443	424	95.7	118	99	83.9	523	91.3	4,961	10
Caswell.....	1,225	910	862	94.7	275	236	85.8	1,098	89.6	10,200	9
Rutherford.....	487	311	290	93.3	170	141	82.9	431	88.5	3,175	7
Montgomery.....	455	348	321	92.2	101	77	76.2	398	87.5	2,820	7
Surry.....	1,802	1,231	1,150	93.4	490	373	76.1	1,523	84.5	9,975	7
Wilkes.....	869	603	560	92.9	249	183	73.5	743	85.5	4,574	6

¹ *i.e.*, Persons having taxable property, but not including land.

² *i.e.*, Number of foregoing possessing cattle.

³ *i.e.*, Of all taxables, including those without any taxable property.

⁴ The returns only give the number of cattle aged one year and upwards.

⁵ Based on returns for three out of four districts.

⁶ Based on returns for four out of five districts.

The existence of a number of landless people with cattle is an interesting point and in Table 13 the figures of cattleowners have been analyzed in a different way, the number of cattle owners with and without land being expressed as a percentage of all cattleowners. It is difficult to make any generalizations about the different groups of counties, though the percentage of cattleowners without land is slightly higher in the counties of the Piedmont than elsewhere. Table 12 shows that occasionally these people had fair-sized herds. Thus in Gates there was one

TABLE 12. CLASSIFICATIONS OF HOLDINGS OF CATTLE

County	Head of Cattle																		Total								
	1-5		6-10		11-21		21-30		31-40		41-50		51-60		61-70		71-80			81-90		91-100		Over 100			
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%		No	%	No	%	No	%		
Chowan:	L.	47	20.4	46	20.0	63	27.4	23	10.0	19	8.3	17	7.4	5	2.2	4	1.7	1	*	2	.9			3	1.3		
	N.L.	60	67.4	14	15.7	12	13.5	2	2.3	1	1.1														89		
	T.	107	33.6	60	18.8	75	23.5	25	7.8	20	6.3	17	5.3	5	1.6	4	1.3	1	*	2	.6			3	.9	319	
Tyrrell:	L.	108	27.8	105	27.1	108	27.8	24	6.2	14	3.6	12	3.1	10	2.5	2	.5	1	*	2	.5			1	*	388	
	N.L.	17	63.0	4	14.8	4	14.8	1	3.7	1	3.7															27	
	T.	125	30.1	109	26.3	112	27.0	25	6.0	15	3.6	12	2.9	10	2.4	2	.5	1	*	2	.5			1	*	415	
Gates:	L.	88	23.3	101	26.8	97	25.7	53	14.1	21	5.6	9	2.4	2	.5	2	.5	3	.8					1	*	377	
	N.L.	32	52.5	17	27.9	10	16.4	1	1.6			1	1.6													61	
	T.	120	27.4	118	26.9	107	24.4	54	12.3	21	4.8	10	2.3	2	.5	2	.5	3	.7					1	*	438	
Perquimans:	L.	91	27.8	84	25.7	85	26.0	38	11.6	17	5.2	6	1.8	2	.6	1	*	2	.6	1	*					327	
	N.L.	36	54.6	17	25.8	9	13.6	2	3.0	1	1.5	1	1.5													66	
	T.	127	32.3	101	25.7	94	23.9	40	10.1	18	4.6	7	1.8	2	.5	1	*	2	.5	1	*					393	
Pasquotank:	L.	114	26.5	106	24.7	128	29.8	42	9.8	28	6.5	4	.9	4	.9	1	*	2	.5					1	*	430	
	N.L.	53	49.1	35	32.4	17	15.7	2	1.9	1	.9															108	
	T.	167	31.0	141	26.2	145	27.0	44	8.2	29	5.4	4	.7	4	.7	1	*	2	*					1	*	538	
Hertford:	L.	110	30.1	101	27.6	108	29.5	29	7.9	13	3.6	2	.5	3	.8											366	
	N.L.	58	80.6	14	19.4																						72
	T.	168	38.3	115	26.2	108	24.7	29	6.6	13	3.0	2	.5	3	.7											438	

L=Landowners possessing cattle.
 1 { N.L.=Non-landowners, but possessing some taxable property, including cattle.
 T=Total owners of cattle, in each group.
 2 An asterisk denotes less than one-half of one per cent.

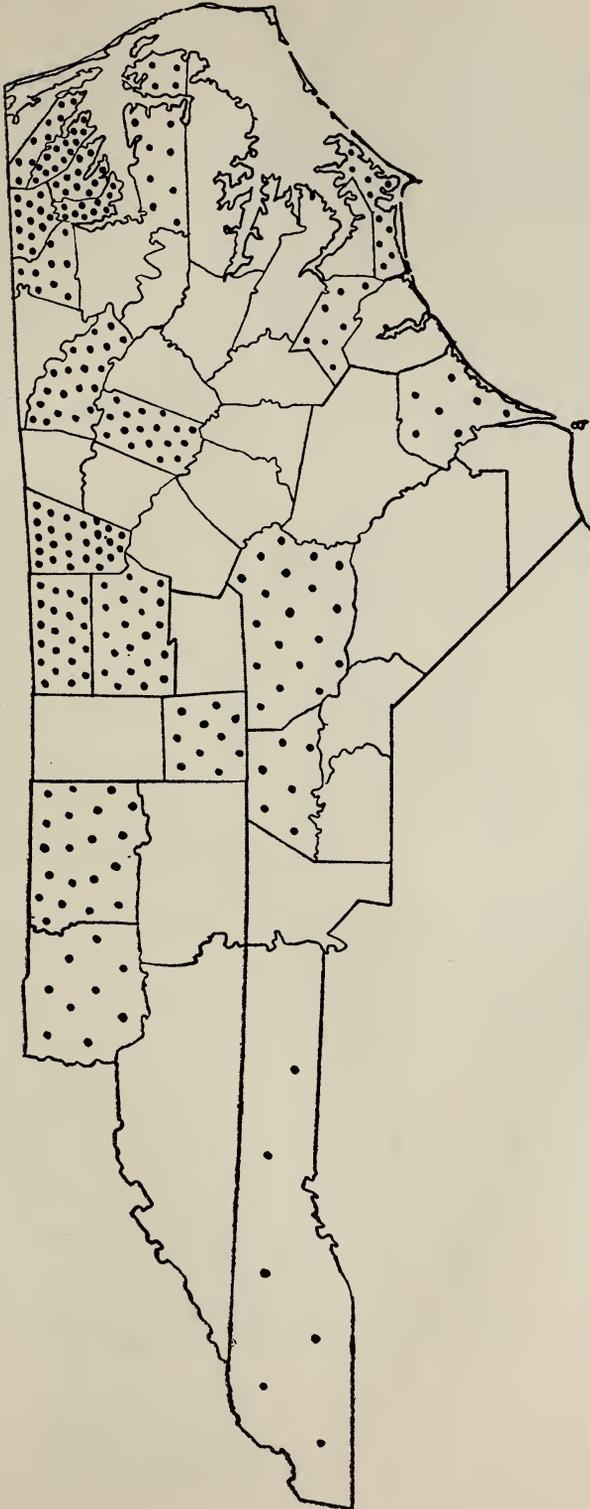
Camden:	L.	159	40.7	115	29.4	79	20.2	22	5.6	4	1.0	4	1.0	6	1.5	1	*	1	*	391
	N.L.	67	70.5	17	17.9	11	11.6	22	4.5	4	.8	4	.8	6	1.3	1	*	1	*	95
	T.	226	46.5	132	27.2	90	18.5	22	4.5	4	.8	4	.8	6	1.3	1	*	1	*	486
Jones: ³	L.	30	17.6	45	26.5	45	26.5	19	11.2	12	7.1	7	4.1	7	4.1	2	1.2	2	1.2	170
	N.L.	24	49.0	13	26.5	6	12.3	4	8.2	1	2.0	1	2.0	1	2.0	1	2.0	1	2.0	49
	T.	54	24.7	58	26.5	51	23.3	23	10.5	13	5.9	7	3.2	8	3.6	2	.9	2	.9	219
Carteret:	L.	43	16.1	63	23.6	90	33.7	38	14.2	15	5.6	6	2.2	9	3.4	1	*	2	.7	267
	N.L.	37	51.4	23	32.0	11	15.3	38	11.2	15	4.4	6	1.8	10	2.9	1	*	2	.6	72
	T.	80	23.6	86	25.4	101	29.8	38	11.2	15	4.4	6	1.8	10	2.9	1	*	2	.6	339
N. Hanover: ⁴	L.	35	17.7	52	26.3	60	30.3	29	14.6	11	5.6	6	3.0	2	1.0	2	1.0	1	.5	198
	N.L.	9	42.8	7	33.4	2	9.5	3	14.3	2	9.5	3	14.3	2	9.5	3	14.3	1	.5	21
	T.	44	20.1	59	27.0	62	28.3	32	14.6	11	5.0	6	2.7	2	.9	2	.9	1	.5	219
Nash:	L.	94	20.6	124	27.3	142	31.2	43	9.5	21	4.6	11	2.4	6	1.3	3	.7	2	6	1.3
	N.L.	53	56.4	28	29.8	9	9.6	3	3.2	2	3.8	12	2.2	6	1.1	3	.5	2	6	1.1
	T.	147	26.8	152	27.7	151	27.5	46	8.4	21	3.8	12	2.2	6	1.1	3	.5	2	6	1.1
Cumberland:	L.	142	26.1	134	24.6	141	25.9	58	10.7	30	5.5	15	2.8	10	1.8	3	.5	2	5	.9
	N.L.	67	45.3	44	29.7	29	19.6	6	4.0	2	1.4	1	1.0	1	1.0	3	.5	2	5	.9
	T.	209	30.2	178	25.7	170	24.6	64	9.3	32	4.6	15	2.2	10	1.4	3	.5	2	5	.9
Granville:	L.	168	21.7	219	28.3	238	30.8	84	10.9	31	4.0	15	1.9	6	.8	5	.6	4	1	773
	N.L.	182	64.5	74	26.2	23	8.2	2	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	282
	T.	350	33.2	293	27.8	261	24.7	86	8.2	31	2.9	15	1.4	6	.6	6	.6	4	1	1,055
Halifax:	L.	204	27.9	228	31.2	189	25.8	65	8.9	21	2.9	9	1.2	7	1.0	1	*	3	3	732
	N.L.	129	69.7	41	22.2	15	8.1	6	8.1	2	15	8.1	6	8.1	2	15	8.1	3	3	185
	T.	333	36.3	269	29.3	204	22.3	65	7.1	21	2.3	9	1.0	7	.8	1	*	3	3	917

³ Based on returns for three out of four districts.

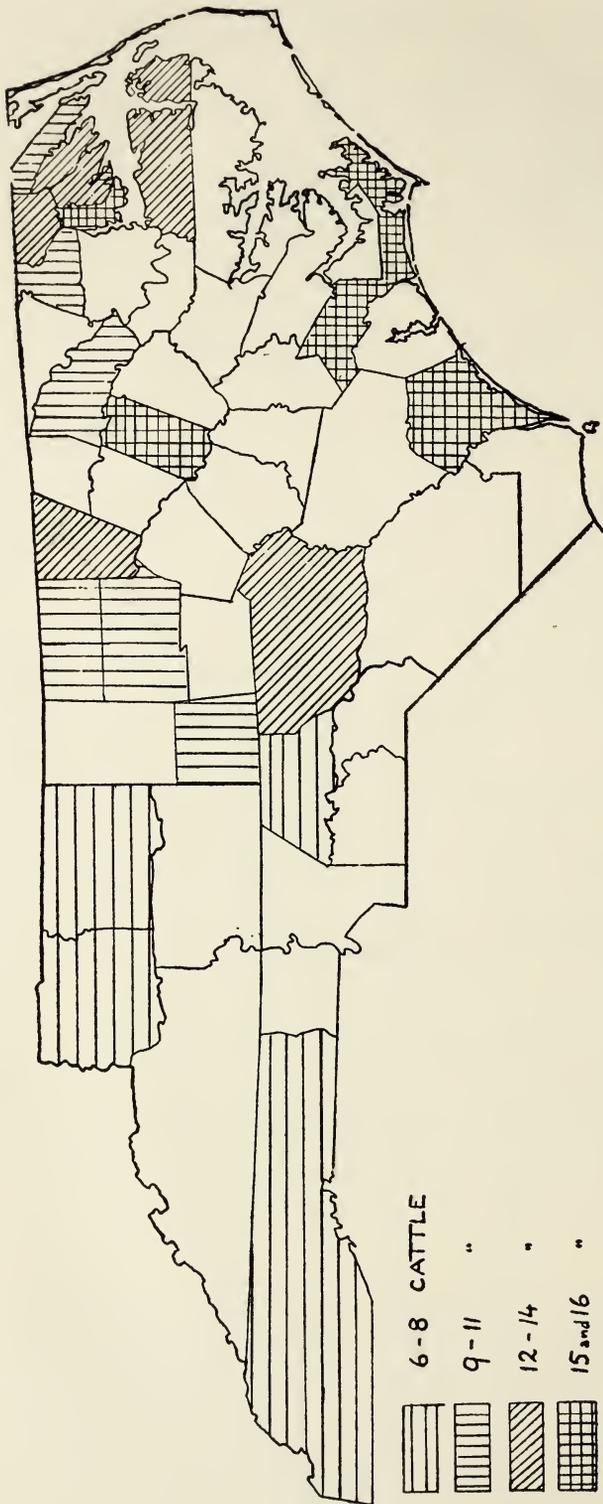
⁴ Based on returns for four out of five districts.

TABLE 12. CLASSIFICATIONS OF HOLDINGS OF CATTLE—Continued

County	Head of Cattle																		Total						
	1-5		6-10		11-21		21-31		31-40		41-50		51-60		61-70		71-80			81-90		91-100		Over 100	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%		No	%	No	%	No	%
Orange:	L.	167	20.9	278	34.8	267	33.5	69	8.6	11	1.4	3	*	2	*	1	*								798
	N.L.	149	58.8	70	27.7	30	11.9	3	1.2	1	*														253
	T.	316	30.1	348	33.1	297	28.3	72	6.8	12	1.1	3	*	2	*	1	*								1,051
Randolph:	L.	116	27.4	141	33.3	136	32.1	25	5.9	4	.9			1	*			1	*						424
	N.L.	51	51.5	32	32.3	16	16.2																		99
	T.	167	31.8	173	33.1	152	29.1	25	4.8	4	.8			1	*			1	*						523
Caswell:	L.	241	28.0	291	33.8	258	29.9	49	5.7	13	1.5	3	*	3	*	3	*								862
	N.L.	156	66.1	66	28.0	14	5.9																		236
	T.	397	36.2	357	32.3	272	24.8	49	4.5	13	1.2	3	*	3	*	3	*								1,098
Rutherford:	L.	107	36.9	99	34.1	75	25.9	8	2.8									1	*						290
	N.L.	87	61.7	44	31.2	9	6.4			1	.7														141
	T.	194	45.0	143	33.2	84	19.5	8	1.9	1	*							1	*						431
Montgomery:	L.	132	41.1	112	34.9	67	20.9	9	2.8			1	*												321
	N.L.	59	76.6	16	20.8	2	2.6																		77
	T.	191	47.9	128	32.2	69	17.3	9	2.3			1	*												398
Surry:	L.	500	43.5	434	37.7	194	16.9	16	1.4	4	*	1	*					1	*						1,150
	N.L.	273	73.2	83	22.2	17	4.6																		373
	T.	773	50.8	517	33.9	211	13.9	16	1.0	4	*	1	*					1	*						1,523
Wilkes:	L.	270	48.2	197	35.2	80	14.3	10	1.8	1	*	1	*									1	*		560
	N.L.	147	80.3	30	16.4	6	3.3																		183
	T.	417	56.1	227	30.6	86	11.6	10	1.3	1	*	1	*								1	*			743



MAP 6. DISTRIBUTION OF CATTLE (aged one and upwards)
1 dot = 500 cattle.



MAP 7. AVERAGE NUMBER OF CATTLE PER CATTLE OWNER

TABLE 13. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF OWNERS OF CATTLE WITH AND WITHOUT LAND

County	Total Cattle-owners	Cattle-owners with Land	Per Cent of All Cattle Owners	Cattle-owners without Land	Per Cent of All Cattle-Owners
Chowan.....	319	230	72.1	89	27.9
Tyrrell.....	415	388	93.5	27	6.5
Gates.....	438	377	86.1	61	13.9
Perquimans.....	393	327	83.2	66	16.8
Pasquotank.....	538	430	79.9	108	20.1
Hertford.....	438	366	83.6	72	16.4
Camden.....	486	391	80.5	95	19.5
Jones ¹	219	170	77.6	49	22.4
Carteret.....	339	267	78.8	72	21.2
New Hanover ²	219	198	90.4	21	9.6
Nash.....	549	455	82.9	94	17.1
Cumberland.....	693	545	78.6	148	21.4
Granville.....	1055	773	73.3	282	26.7
Halifax.....	917	732	79.9	185	20.1
Orange.....	1051	798	75.9	253	24.1
Randolph.....	523	424	81.1	99	18.9
Caswell.....	1098	862	78.5	236	21.5
Rutherford.....	431	290	67.3	141	32.7
Montgomery.....	398	321	80.7	77	19.3
Surry.....	1523	1150	75.5	373	24.5
Wilkes.....	743	560	75.4	183	24.6

¹ Based on returns for three out of four districts.

² Based on returns for four out of five districts.

between 41 and 50 and in Carteret one between 51 and 60. Upon what land did these people keep their herds? In the Piedmont there was, no doubt, the open range, but in counties that had been settled for a long period there could have been little open range unless it were the coastal marshes. In the Piedmont the number of landless people with cattle was considerable. Possibly some were only squatters, not yet having obtained title to any land. One may also hazard the suggestion that in the older-settled regions some of these landless people may have been tenants of some kind and therefore did not return the land, though this is unlikely. It is unfortunate that these records do not give any indication, except in one district of Warren, of tenancy. In this one district a number of landowners are clearly stated to

have held their land on lease. The fact that, though the land was held on lease, the tenants returned their land thus held seems to show that all land, whether freehold or on lease, had to be returned.

The great majority of taxables owned horses and it has not been thought worth while to enter into any detailed analysis of the figures. The number and percentage of taxables owning horses together with the number of horses in each county is set out in Table 14. For convenience the counties have been grouped as in the tables relating to cattle. The percentage of taxables owning horses in the Piedmont counties is very high indeed, over 90 per cent in every case. The low figures which occur in some counties, for example Tyrrell and Carteret, may be due to the

TABLE 14. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF TAXABLES OWNING HORSES. TOTAL NUMBER OF HORSES

County	Taxables Making Returns	Owners of Horses	Per Cent of All Taxables	Total No. of Horses
Chowan.....	467	335	71.7	918
Tyrrell.....	540	347	64.3	764
Gates.....	578	436	75.4	867
Perquimans.....	559	397	71.0	1,199
Pasquotank.....	643	507	78.8	1,453
Hertford.....	621	476	76.7	1,127
Camden.....	601	486	80.9	1,185
Jones ¹	268	219	81.7	667
Carteret.....	452	284	62.8	880
New Hanover ²	359	238	66.3	732
Nash.....	674	627	93.0	1,692
Cumberland.....	812	667	82.1	1,951
Granville.....	1,225	1,131	92.3	3,880
Halifax.....	1,174	1,059	90.2	3,591
Orange.....	1,179	1,097	93.1	3,571
Randolph.....	573	545	95.1	1,822
Caswell.....	1,225	1,136	92.7	3,528
Rutherford.....	487	459	94.3	1,404
Montgomery.....	455	411	90.3	1,108
Surry.....	1,802	1,631	90.5	3,651
Wilkes.....	869	801	92.2	2,449

¹ Based on returns for three out of four districts.

² Based on returns for four out of five districts.

fact that in some cases the returns do not give details of property where the value was below £100 and the owner was liable only to a poll tax on that sum. Thus a man owning a horse or two may appear as having no property at all.

In summary, the region around Albemarle Sound was, in general, one of small holdings in land; but slavery was nevertheless important, a considerable proportion of the taxables owning slaves. The average holding of slaves was not, however, as large as in some other counties. There was a difference between the counties higher up the sound such as Chowan, Hertford, and Gates and those nearer the coast such as Pasquotank and Camden, with which Tyrrell may perhaps be included. In these latter the holdings of land were generally very small, smaller than anywhere else in the State. In these three counties, too, slavery was of less importance. Cattle raising seems to have been important in this region as a whole, though the sizes of herds decreased in Pasquotank and Camden. Tyrrell is in this respect anomalous, since in the size of herds it was comparable with the counties around Edenton rather than with those nearer the coast. The importance of Edenton as a commercial town is brought out in these returns, the most interesting feature being the existence of a class of people without direct interest in the land, in contrast to Wilmington.

In the counties around the lower Neuse and Pamlico rivers the size of landholdings was somewhat greater than in those around Albemarle Sound, but slavery was of less importance. The number of taxables possessing slaves was certainly lower, though the average holding was slightly higher. The proportion of slaves in the population was smaller, however, than in the former region except for Camden and Tyrrell. Cattle were clearly of considerable importance so far as can be ascertained from the two counties Jones and Carteret for which returns are available. As in Edenton, so also in the towns of Beaufort and Washington there were a number of people without direct interest in the land.

In the neighbourhood of the lower Cape Fear River holdings of land were generally larger, particularly in New Hanover. In summarizing these results as a whole, it is clear that Cumberland cannot be included with New Hanover, Bladen, and Brunswick

despite some resemblance in the conditions of landholding. It is unfortunate that the returns for Brunswick and Bladen afford no information regarding slavery and cattle-raising, so that one can hardly make any deductions concerning these subjects for this district since New Hanover was almost certainly unique in many respects. Slavery was of great importance in that county, however, and the proportion of slaves in the total population was the greatest of any county for which returns still exist. In contrast to Edenton it would seem that there did not exist in Wilmington a class divorced from the land. Instead one pictures something akin to Charleston, large plantation owners having interests in the town.

Returning now to the northern border of the State, the counties of Granville, Halifax, and Warren stand apart as a group from whatever aspect they are regarded. Holdings of land were usually of a fair size, 50 to 60 per cent being over 200 acres. Though the returns for Warren belong to the year 1784 and therefore provide no information regarding slavery and cattle raising, it is likely enough that conditions were similar to those in the counties on either side of it. Slavery was important in this group, particularly in Halifax where slaves formed nearly one-half of the population, a proportion only exceeded in New Hanover and Chowan. Cattle were of somewhat less importance than in the counties nearer the coast, as far as can be judged from these scattered lists.

The three counties of Nash, Johnston, and Cumberland, lying on the edge of the Piedmont, are not easy to describe in general terms. In the two former, holdings of land were generally large, the small proportion of holdings under 100 acres being particularly noticeable. In Cumberland holdings tended to be smaller. Slavery, too, was slightly more important in Nash than in Cumberland, though in cattle the two counties were much alike. The significance of Campbellton (now Fayetteville) as the point of interchange between Piedmont and Coastal Plain is perhaps reflected in the number of owners of town lots in Cumberland.

In the counties situated wholly in the Piedmont the general size of holdings varied, being greatest in those nearer the eastern border, such as Orange and Caswell, and tending to decrease westward. A similar decrease in the importance of slavery west-

ward is clearly brought out by these figures. The size of herds was also much smaller in the western and more recently settled counties. Randolph is, however, anomalous. Though lying fairly near the eastern edge of the Piedmont, it appears in almost every respect to resemble the most westward counties such as Wilkes and Rutherford. Holdings of land were small while there were fewer slaves in proportion to the total population than in Rutherford, Wilkes, and Surry.

Although from the fragmentary nature of the evidence all conclusions must be drawn with considerable caution, it is hoped that the results set forth in this article may be of use in reconstructing the economic and social life of North Carolina in the period to which it refers.

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINIANS TO POLK

Edited by ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON

[*Continued*]

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD

Raleigh 10 Mar 1838.

My dear Sir/.

I have been confined to the house for 12 days with a most distressing disease—at present partially releaved but not wholly so — Still I am easy eno[ough] to day to think about politics and write you a short letter — It is not necessary for me to say to you that I can safely be trusted in the matter about which I wish to propound an enquiry and it is altogether inconceivable with me how a man like you can be unable to answer me. — In a word then I desire to know for my own individual conduct whether the Independent Treasury Bill is to pass your House or not? No one shall know it if you will frankly answer me on this point & it is important to me to know it, as the knowledge of it is essential to me in determining the particular course of certain essays I have been preparing for the Meridian of N.Caro:— My own opinions do not depend at all upon the determination of Congress whilst it is obviously injurious to the success of the adm^r. to lead off the people of this State in a direction wherever it shall afterwards be necessary to *recede* — for in receding many will refuse to follow and be changed from friends into foes.—Again — I shall probably find it necessary to retire from the Legislature at least one session and up to the present time it is wholly unknown, and a knowledge of the probable fate of the Bill will be usefull to me and *our cause* to me in determining the point of time for avowing this necessity — to our cause in improving that occasion to strike a blow for its success.—

The very motive of this letter imposes a seal of confidence and I rely upon you to preserve it unbroken—

Our State has not a *Conservative within its borders* — not one — The chain of Virg^a. influence is broken, and the old dominion will now be as she was till the democrats teach her that they can walk without her crutches and if they cannot they will dare try it — Clay reempitted to the Union as a N^o Caro: candidate — not so — not so— a few Editors have nominated him — no more — not a publick meeting has spoken it and very few others besides the old Adams party will vote for him.— Even the Editors when their articles are closely scanned

have not all ventured beyond a point of retreat.— But I expect you will agree that it is too early to commence counting votes yet.— You have always reckoned upon Tennessee coming right — I doubted it before when you was [*sic*] sanguine — I fear she will not cast off the “maligned influence” that contracts here for many years to come— yet “spero meliora”

Pray answer my letter as soon as you can — Mark what I say: Nothing specially occurring to disappoint our hopes No Caro: is as surely in favor of Mr. U. B s re-election as he lives to run again—

But my good old friend Col Johnson will have to throw up, and the *Vice Prest.* must come from the *South*. Is it not too soon to think of the mode & manner of bringing about this. I esteem the old Col: very highly I supported him very heartily — preferred him to *Rives* at the last election — But the people of the State will not support his re-election — especially our new allies cannot be expected to do it and he ought not to wait to be *asked out* — Indeed his proper course is to make it known *sua sponte* that he means to retire — He relieves himself and his friends by this course—

It will be a fatal policy if early action is not had upon this subject— The opposition are labouring to unite the *South* in base hostility to the admⁿ. & nothing beyond it — Whilst they are combining the North & West against V. B. & for C. or W. or any other — Meaning however no other.— As soon as we can begin to talk of a *Southern V. Prest.* it will stop their operations here in the South & embarrass them in all other sections.— What a miss old Judge W. made of it!! If no one else does it I shall some of these days write to the old Col. myself impertinent as he & others may think it is — My personal respect for him might make it possible to do but the interest of the country depends upon the success of our cause and that cause *cannot prevail* if we adhere to Col J as Vice Prest. The *people* did not elect him⁹⁰— he gave us not a vote in Electoral Colledge [*sic*] — probably lost several and if he has not the sagacity to see and the patriotism to feel that he ought to retire, then is he wanting in the elements that are requisite to constitute a fitness for the post.— All which (though it might be done in different words) I should certainly say to Col J himself if I were in Congress & thereby associated with him.—

I look for an answer to this letter soon — very soon & with the best respects of Mrs. H & myself to Mrs P. I am dear Sir your

Sincere friend

⁹⁰ When the electoral vote was counted on February 8, 1837, Martin Van Buren was elected President of the United States, but no candidate for Vice-President had received a majority of all the votes cast. Of the total number of votes Richard M. Johnson received 147; Francis Granger, 77; John Tyler, 47; and William Smith, 23. Then the Senate withdrew to its own chamber and voted *vide voce*. By a vote of 33 to 16, Johnson was elected Vice-President of the United States for the term beginning March 4, 1837. He was the only Vice President ever elected by the Senate. Meyer, Leland Winfield, *The Life and Times of Richard M. Johnson*, pp. 425-429.

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

Newbern 19 May 1838.

My dear Sir/.

The bearer Mr John Roberts⁹¹ is a young friend of mine who is on his way to Europe with his uncle *Asa Jones* of this town a wealthy & highly respectable Citizen of our State — They will be in Washington City a few days and I hope your incessant labors will yet spare you time to give attention to them particularly to obtain some letters of introduction in W. City to those of the foreign country where they expect to travel who can add to their pleasure & convenience—

Mr Roberts or Mr Jones will be able to designate the points for which they aim to travel.

I am here for a few days on a very disagreeable business—selling out the Estat[e] of a deceased friend who is in debt beyond his property & I had the ill luck to be an *Endorser* & thereby become bound to act as *Ex'or*.

My very best respects to Mrs Polk — I hope you'll pass thro: No Caro: this Summer & stop a day at Raleigh if not a week.

Your friend sincerely,

FROM P. C. CALDWELL

Charlotte N° C.

Sir

I have been requested to inform you that the House & Lots belonging to Marshall Polks children are advertised for sale I understand there is execution against the property to the amount of about \$1100 — & the most of the money is in the hands of a man that will certainly sell & in my opinion he will take any advantage that may present itself — If the property is sold it will as certainly be sacrificed at this time the sale will be at the County Court the third Monday in October — As to the management of the estate I have nothing to say I have never been consulted by Laura⁹² or any one else I have been living on the property 4 years paying the rent to Laura for the benefit of the Children I may be doing wrong in doing so but it has went pretty much intirely for the benefit of the Children — I will be absent at the time

⁹¹ John Jones Roberts was born in New Bern, North Carolina, December 1, 1819, and died May 20, 1908. He graduated from the University of North Carolina in the class of 1838 and received his M.A. degree from the same institution in 1841. The next year he was professor of modern languages. He became an Episcopal minister in 1846 and in 1878 he received his D.D. degree. Grant, *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina*, p. 528.

⁹² Mrs. Marshall T. Polk had remarried.

of the Sale — I am not in a situation at present to prevent the property from being sacrificed if I should be here & I know of no one that is or would do it — Mr. Alexander will be here at the time of sale

Yours respectfully

Sept^r 27th 1838

FROM JAMES A. CRAIG

Haw River, N. C^a.

22^d. Dec^r. 1838.

Dear Sir:

Mrs Nunn⁹³ of Chapel Hill (with whom you are acquainted) informs me that her brother John Copeland of Tennessee, was on a visit to this County some three or four years since, for the purpose of getting proof, that the disability under which he labours, he received while in the Service of his Country; and that you had informed him. "If he could prove he rec^d. the disability, while in the army, and in the time of his duty, you could procure for him an Invalid pension, commencing with the date of his disability." Mr. Copeland returned without getting the desired proof — but since, his sister informs me that proof can be had—

I did not know that there was such an act — My impression was, that the Invalid's pay commenced with the completion of the proof—

Pray have the goodness to write me on this Subject and if M^{rs} Nunn understood her brother John Copeland correctly.

Any Documents you may [be] kind enough to forward me, will be kindly received.

By your's very truly

Hon. J. K. Polk
S.H.R.
Washington City,

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD

[1838?]

My Dear Sir

Hon Mr Walker⁹⁴ is not in his seat and how long he may be absent I cannot tell. You are at liberty to communicate to him what I re-

⁹³ For a sketch of Elizabeth Nunn see *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVI (1939), p. 190, note 62.

⁹⁴ Robert J. Walker of Mississippi became Secretary of the Treasury during Polk's administration.

ported to you if he should be at his room & of course in reach of a message from you. I do not wish what I told you *written* to any one for the present.

Your friend

Monday morning

FROM DAVID W. STONE⁹⁵

Raleigh North Carolina

February 11th. 1839-

Dear Sir

I wish to engage the services of some lawyer of respectability and standing in his profession in Memphis Tennessee & not having the pleasure of any acquaintance there and presuming on our College acquaintance I take the liberty of asking you to give me the name of some gentleman of the profession at that place to whom I may entrust some business I have there for my wife's sister in doing which you will greatly oblige.

Very Respectfully

Yr. mo. obdt. Servt.

The Hon^{ble}. Jas K Polk
Washington City
D. C

FROM LARKIN STOWE⁹⁶ AND OTHERS

Lincolnton (N. C.) September 1, 1840.

Sir:

A portion of the Democratic citizens of the two Carolinas having determined to celebrate the anniversary of the King's Mountain battle on the ground upon which it was fought, and having appointed the un-

⁹⁵ David W. Stone was a student at the University of North Carolina from 1818 to 1820. After leaving the University he became a banker and was cashier of the Bank of Cape Fear. Grant, *Alumni History*, p. 596.

⁹⁶ Larkin Stowe (Aug. 23, 1788-June 12, 1857), son of James Stowe, was an influential citizen of Lincoln County, North Carolina. He represented the county in the North Carolina house of commons in 1844 and 1846. He was one of the state councilors in 1854. Frequently he served as chairman or delegate to various patriotic meetings. He married Susan Spratt Neal. To this union were born four sons and a daughter, all of whom were successful business, political, and social leaders. The eldest son, Colonel Jasper Stowe (1821-1902), and his brother, E. B. Stowe (1823-1904), successfully operated a cotton mill prior to the Civil War. The other sons, Samuel N. (1822-1894) and Colonel William A. Stowe, were prominent politicians. The daughter, Elizabeth, married Dr. William Sloan. Sherrill, William L., *Annals of Lincoln County, North Carolina*, pp. 102, 107, 132, 162-163. This letter was printed.

dersigned a committee of invitation; we respectfully solicit your attendance there, October 7th, 1840.

The Committee cannot think it inappropriate here to remark, that the manifest and unwarrantable exertions now made by the opponents of the true Republican doctrines to overthrow the present Administration, render it proper for the friends of equal rights to embrace occasions like the one now alluded to, to make a free interchange of Sentiments.

Very Respectfully,

Your obedient Servants,

Larkin Stowe,
 J. R. Ramsour,
 M. Hoke,
 L. E. Thompson,
 Michael Reinhardt,
 W^m. Williams,
 W^m. Love,
 Benjamin Norris,
 John Wilfong,
 Thomas Williamson,
 T. M. Abernathy,
 John Neal,
 W. J. Abernathy,
Com. of Invitation.

FROM WILLIAM M. GREEN

Chapel Hill

May 3^d 1841

Hon James K. Polk

My Dear old friend

Permit me to introduce to you my young friend Ja^s H. Viser who has just taken his degree, with the first distinction, at our University. Mr Viser's⁹⁷ home is in Alabama But, upon hearing from him that he intended to spend the next twelvemonths [*sic*] in Columbia, I tendered to him this line of introduction to you, believing that he will prove himself worthy of any attentions which you may be pleased to show to him— He is regarded by our Faculty as possessing talents of a superior order, and has so conducted himself during his stay with us as to merit our high approbation. I have for him a line to Bh. Otey also.

Believe me to be

Yr's with unchanging.

⁹⁷ James Henry Viser received his A.B. degree from the University of North Carolina in 1841, and his M.A. degree in 1848. Upon his return to Alabama he engaged in the practice of law at Florence. Grant, *Alumni History*, p. 639.

FROM EUNICE O. POLK⁹⁸Charlotte, Jan. 20th. 1842.

Dear Uncle

I have been thinking of writing to you a long time but I have now commenced writting [*sic*] a letter to you for the first time Dear Uncle I know I ought to have written to you before but I hope you will excuse me and here after write often I study Grammar Wats [*sic*] on the the mind Arithmetic and write My teachers name is Mrs. Hutchinson she is a very good teacher and I love her very much I heard from mother tuesday by Mr Forbs an Episcopal minister she and all the family were well. Brother Marshall is going to school in Morganton to Mr. Addams Aunt Catherine Alexander with whom I now stay has had a baby and has been sick indeed but is now a little better.

I have written two letters to Grandma but I have not received an answer to either of them I am very anxious to hear from her Give my love to aunt Sarah write me soon I want to hear from you

Your effectionate [*sic*] neiceFROM WILLIAM F. DAVIDSON⁹⁹Charlotte March 17th 1842-

Hon. James K. Polk-

Sir- I am desirous of acquiring some information relative to the statute law of limitation in your state - and having no acquaintance with any member of the legal profession there but yourself- I have taken the liberty to address you for that purpose - my Father W^m - Davidson held a life estate in a large body of land in the western part of Tennessee - which he sold about ten or twelve years since,- and was joined in the conveyance by his children - one of whom (myself) was not of age at the time-

Will you be kind enough to inform me whether by your laws I can now commence and sustain a suit for my portion of the land- after the lapse of twelve years- I was about 18 years of age at the time the land was sold-

I will certainly feel under very great obligations to you for any assistance you may be kind enough to afford me in this matter-

Very Respectfully yours

O^b- servt

⁹⁸ Eunice O. Polk was the daughter of Marshall T. and Laura Polk. Eunice died in the summer of 1844. See John H. Wheeler to Polk, July 16, 1844.

⁹⁹ William F. Davidson represented Mecklenburg County in the North Carolina house of commons in 1856 and in the senate in 1858. *A Manual of North Carolina, 1913*, p. 701.

FROM LUCIUS J. POLK¹⁰⁰Raleigh July 11.^h 1842

Hon J- K- Polk-

Dear Sir.

I was informed by Genl. Clements when in Washington that the N. York capitalists were disposed to loan money on bond and mortgage provided they could be assured of the value of the property- I am a borrower and would be glad to get about \$10,000, if you can aid me in the matter you will oblige me, I am disposed to mortgage my Maury Cty property to raise the money- I want it on 1, 2, & 3 years, if it can't be had on such terms I would take it on 12 months. If you can give me a letter to any acquaintance in N. York and discribe my property with your opinion of its value it would be all that I should require-

I am very respectfully

Yours

P. S. Answer this as soon as you get it

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

Washington City

29 May 1844

My Dear Sir

Others will no doubt inform you of the fact but non shall be before me in congratulating you on your unanimous nomination as the Demo Candidate for Presdt of U States So none shall pass me in my exertions to carry your native State for you - though the Fed's count so surely on N. C.

My best respects to Mrs. Polk

Your friend

U. S. Senate

¹⁰⁰ Lucius J. Polk was the son of Colonel William and Sarah Hawkins Polk, daughter of Philemon Hawkins, Jr. Lucius married Mary Ann Easton in the White House during the administration of Andrew Jackson. Ashe, S. A., *Biographical History of North Carolina*, II, 365.

FROM WILLIAM J. ALEXANDER AND OTHERS

Hon James K. Polk

Charlotte, N. C. June 15, 1844

Sir,

The Democracy of Mecklenburg County, in public meeting this day resolved to give a public Barbecue in this place on the 23^d day of next month, (July) to evince their approbation of, & rejoicing at, the recent nomination made at Baltimore for the Presidency and V. Presidency of the U States in behalf of our party.¹⁰¹ And the undersigned were appointed a Committee specially to invite you to be present with us on that occasion. The position in which you now stand before the American People may prompt you to decline our request; but, Sir, suffer us to urge your acceptance. We believe Old Mecklenburg has the honor of being your *Native County*; and uncharitable indeed would be that heart, that would censure you for indulging the pleasure of revisiting once more the scenes of early life—The home of your fathers. And the Democracy of Old Mecklenburg, of the old North State, would rejoice in meeting on the consecrated soil, where first we declared the Independence of this country, the distinguished descendant of one of the illustrious patriots of May, '75.

Hoping that we may have the pleasure of meeting you here on that occasion, we are

Your friends obt sert.

W. J. Alexander
 B. Morrow
 T. L. Hutchinson
 C. T. Alexander
 P. C. Caldwell
 C. J. Fox
 John Walker
 J. B. Kerr
 J. W. Houghton
 C. G. Alexander

FROM WILLIAM J. ALEXANDER

Raleigh June 22nd. 1844

Dear Sir

Dear Sir we have determined to have a meeting of your friends in Charlotte on the 23d of July and have through our committee re-

¹⁰¹ For an account of the Democratic meeting held at Charlotte see *The North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), Aug. 7, 1844.

requested your presence there on that occasion I must add my own request to what the committee has said to you that you will be with us if at all consistent with your convenience I do not like to see a candidate for the high office for which your friends have selected you canvassing the whole country but your visit to Charlotte cannot subject to you this charge. We expect that many of the most distinguished men of our party in Virginia South Carolina Georgia besides those of our own State to be present. Will you do us the favor to write to us *at Charlotte* whether we may expect to see you

I am Dear Sir yours Etc

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

Raleigh 28 June 1844

My Dear Sir

I have an indistinct or rather imperfect recollection of some controversy in your State (when your canvass for Gov. occurred) on the subject of your Grandfather's position during the War of the Revolution If it was in print & a copy can be procured (both sides) I should be obliged to you for it.

Once for all— My head & heart are both enlisted in your success for the sake of the country our personal friendship and last not least my special regard for Mrs. P. and I desire that you will feel at liberty to use my services and call in my aid as you may deem it proper & necessary

Your friends in N.C are in good heart and to the utmost of my ability in the short period allowed by the protracted Session of Congress I am daily at work in organizing & rallying our party for August. If we can overcome the enemy in August and N. C. goes for you it will give fresh animation to Democrats abroad and operate powerfully to depress the hopes of the selfish Corps of Federalists opposed to us— I am not able to say that I consider it at all certain that we shall be able to accomplish that good work but as Miller said about taking the Fort "*We will try*" and the world must not be surprized if it is accomplished—

I do not know the fact but I hear of Mr. Badger's saying that Col W. Polk in his life time said your Grand father was not a Whig of '76—This is of course confidential and it is mentioned only as my excuse for the request at the outset of this letter— Another thing of no great moment and which I do not propose to use in publick I wish you to

tell me – Mr. Badger¹⁰² says when Col W. Polk was on a visit to Columbia you neglected to call on him as to show him civility and assigned as your reason that “Col P was a Federalist and you feared it might injure your political standing to be familiar or intimate with your relatives–” Is this true? What did occur from which such a story could emanate: I think it is used to set the sons of Col. P. against you – Lucius¹⁰³ – Geo:¹⁰⁴ & Andrew¹⁰⁵ are all here –

If you have had any correspondence with Col W. Polk in his life time that would assist me in counter-acting those Hell driven against you Send me Copies.– Write me as freely as you choose–

There are two thing you may rely upon one that I will serve you zealously – Another that I will be *prudent*– My friends give me credit for the last – My affection & friendship are a guaranty for the first–

Do not permit our friends to draw you to any public meetings either in N. C. or Tennessee or elsewhere & put your refusal manfully and openly on the ground that it is not becoming in any man to *seek* the Presid^y by *personal electioneering*.– “Do right” is the great maxim of a Statesman at least.– I shall be at Mecklenburg God willing on 23 July– I am afraid you will get *all* the States– Can there be a doubt about Tennessee?

I ask the honor of being kindly remembered by Mrs. P whom I desire above all things to attend the Inaguration Ball of March 1845 which will be “glory enough for one day–”

Your friend

FROM JOHN H. WHEELER

Raleigh N C. 16th. July '44

My esteemed Sir

If not too late, allow me to congratulate you on your nomination as the Democratic candidate of our party for the Presidency. I took occasion to be present at Baltimore, & no one more heartily rejoiced

¹⁰² George E. Badger (Apr. 17, 1795-May 11, 1866) became Secretary of the Navy in 1841 and continued in this capacity until September 11, 1841, when he resigned to resume the practice of law in Raleigh. In 1846 he was elected by the legislature of North Carolina to fill the vacancy in the United States Senate caused by the resignation of William H. Haywood, Jr. Badger served in the United States Senate from November 25, 1846, to March 3, 1855. President Fillmore nominated him as an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, but his nomination was not confirmed. Upon his retirement from the Senate he resumed the practice of law and remained a prominent Whig leader. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 659.

¹⁰³ See p. 335, note 100.

¹⁰⁴ For a sketch of George Washington Polk see *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XVI (1939), p. 72, note 28.

¹⁰⁵ Andrew Jackson Polk married Rebecca Van Leer. He was educated at the University of North Carolina and served as a captain in the Confederate Army. Grant, *Alumni History*, p. 498; Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*, II, 366.

that I did at the harmonious action of that talented & patriotic Convention.

For the first time in the history of our Republic does "the old North State" present one of her native sons for the highest office on earth, and my firm belief (and I have a good opportunity of knowing since I am here at the seat of Government the only Democrat in the Government holding in her Executive the responsible post of Public Treasurer) that the state will be ranked among the earliest and most ardent of your supporters.

Our canvass for Governor and the Legislature waxes with unusual warmth; Every Democrat is infused with resistless ardour and contends as if the eventful crisis depended on his vote & exertions Our enemies are dispirited and downcast. They are torpid and occasionally vent their spleen by a slur on the illustrious dead. You are aware to what I allude. We have a publication for this or the next Standard which places this matter in its true and faithful light. The testimony of Captain Jack¹⁰⁶ who bore the Mecklenburg Declaration to Phil^a. mentions the name of Ezekiel Polk as one of the foremost friends of liberty in the Revolution. I procured when at Charlotte (for I resided there six years, (five as superintendent of the U S Branch Mint and one as a practicing Lawyer) an original copy of the Declaration which now hangs in the U S Mint there, and *Ezekiel Polk* is one of the signers. That a name might be *omitted* is probable; but that one should be *inserted* is too poor a forgery to be done, without any motive whatever. I pledge myself to set this matter beyond all civil dispute. The testimony of poor Thomas Alexander¹⁰⁷ given (1841) in heated canvass to unscrupulous politicians of that day does not prove the fact, but the contrary for he expressly swears that Ezekiel Polk was a captain, and "proceeded with his company on his Expedition against Tories not far from 96."

I recollect your urbanity to me with much gratitude, and the portrait of yourself that you gave me I have had framed and hangs in the capitol in my office, and is daily shown as one who is to be our next President. I gave the others to whom you sent them Eunice (who I regret to learn has died) and to Marshall.

I sent to you the Standard last week, and I send you one this week, It is a bold & talented sheet, and spreads dismay among the Federal ranks.

I start tomorrow to the great mass meeting at Charlotte (on the 23^d.) Gen^l Saunders, Gen^l Dromgoole will certainly accompany me,

¹⁰⁶ The testimony of Captain James Jack was published in *The North Carolina Standard*, Aug. 7, 1844.

¹⁰⁷ For an account of the testimony of Thomas Alexander see *The North Carolina Standard*, Aug. 7, 1844.

or start the next stage. Gen^l McDuffie & others of South Carolina delegation will be ther[e]

Allow me to hear from you as your leisure may be permit, and with my respectful compliments to Mrs. Polk

I subscribe myself

Very respectfully

Your friend

Hon Jas K Polk

FROM JESSE P. SMITH¹⁰⁸

Chapel Hill Aug 1 1844.

Dear Sir

On account of the size, condition and inconvenient situation of the old Halls, the two Societies design erecting new ones. The members of the Dialectic Society, finding that, without assistance, they could not accomplish this very desirable object, passed the following resolution.

Resolved. That the building committee be required to address a letter to each Honorary and Transient member of the Society requesting him to assist us in the building of our Hall.

In compliance with orders I have to request your assistance in furtherance of the above-mentioned design.

Very Respectfully

May North Carolina- may the whole union go for Polk.

FROM ROMULUS M. SAUNDERS

Raleigh Augt-3-'44

My dear Sir-

I have delayed writing in order to give you the result of our elections- so that you might be able to know to some certainty how things stand with us- The elections have gone against us - that of the Legislature much worse than I had any idea of- In several counties we lost for the want of proper candidates - But I doubt not the course of our

¹⁰⁸ Jesse Potts Smith graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1845. He was one of the commencement declaimers during his freshman and sophomore years at the University. Battle, *op. cit.*, I, 472, 480, 494, 495, 800; Grant, *Alumni History*, p. 575.

party at the last session when we had 24 majority operated much against us – The Whigs now claim 36 majority in joint ballot– As to Gov^r. full returns are not yet in – but Grant our majority will be between 4 and 5 000¹⁰⁹ – we shall renew the battle soon now. but I cannot flatter myself with any reasonable prospect of success – there are some half dozen [*sic*] in some of our Western Counties – which give such large majorities against us – that I can't well derive any reason for according them – tho we shall try – I have my fears of New York & Ohio – through the coalition of the abolitionists and Whigs – tho' our friends in both states seem to think otherwise– but I have not much confidence in them–

You will see what was done at Charlotte as to the charge ag^t your grandfather – that in the end is to operate in our favour–

Yrs truly

Hon. J. K. Polk–

FROM WALTER F. LEAK

Rockingham Richmond County N C.

August 16th/44

James K Polk

My D Sir.

I had fully intended, soon after leaving the Baltimore Convention, to have address^d. you; giving you the assurance, that there were yet in N Carolina some old friends “of bye gone days” who are still ready to make any and every sacrifice, for the furtherance of the principles embodied in your nomination; but thus far I have been prevented, in consequence of the belief, that letters would so crowd in upon you, as to leave but little time for other engagements, under these impressions I have forborne writing untill now, I now congratulate you upon your nomination, as well as upon the cordiality and the entire unanimity, with which it was rec^d. by the Delegates in Convention and last though not least upon the strong probability of our success. For if there be such a thing as coming events casting their other shadow before them – the enthusiasm with which the nomination was hailed, the pledges given, the wounds of the party, which were cicatrized all, *all* seem to bespeak, that victory would perch upon our banner.

¹⁰⁹The August gubernatorial election returns gave Michael Hoke 39,433 votes and William A. Graham 42,586. *The North Carolina Standard*, Oct. 9, 1844.

But I have said "strong probability" for rest assured we have to contend, with an adversary so unscrupulous as to use any craft, or stratagem, which may accomplish his purpose; we have to contend with one, whose strength seems to increase in proportion to the recklessness of his course; which can be accounted for upon no other principle, than that having identified himself with the victory of 40, that pride of opinion on the part of his supporters, seems to close their eyes to those deductions, which flow from his principles and has made them like Ephraim "Joined to their Idols" and to have formed in this instance (if the expression is allowable), a Kind of Covenant with unbelief. Upon some of the most important questions, which have & do still agitate the country, Mr. Clay's course has been that of a perfect political chameleon, exhibiting all the changes of the rainbow; and yet what is most astonishing (at the South at least) that notwithstanding those charges & the *apparent* motives, under which some of them have been evidently made & of their *ruinous* consequences to the South & West; that are yet many very many among us; who still proclaim "Great is Dianna of the Ephesians." With those things starring us in the face, and of which *we* have just had a practical illustration, you need not be surprized if the contest should be a close one.

In this State, as you have seen we are beaten, but Sir, we are not dispirited; we have been overcome, but we are not discouraged, but I shall gird on our armour for the contest in November. What its results may be, time alone will determine; we have much to fear yet somewhat to animate us; from the fact that at each successive struggle, we have *dimished* the popular majority, against which we have contended, but whether we succeed or not we shall allow "I have fight." (but enough of this)

My mind is frequently carried back, in my contemplation moments, to the scenes of my boyhood, to my collegiate sports and to the companions & acquaintances thereformed and in thinking over the "long roll," reminiscences are produced, both pleasing & melancholy; many of the companions of our youth, who bid far to excell in manhood, now lie in the cold and silent grave; some lead a life checkered with vice while others bid far for future excellency, & were not without a promise of the hope which is set before them. Few, comparatively few remain & ere long both you and I will be numbered with those who have gone before us. Contemplations such as these I know you have had, and from your philosophic cast of mind I feel well assured that you have turned them to good account and allow me to say in conclusion my Friend, *that* after all *this* is the most important consideration

Your friend

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

My dear Sir

I have just completed a formal vindication of your G. Father and the Central Com will order it published to morrow – To facilitate its appearance & hasten its circulation it will be sent forthwith to our friend Blair to put in *Dollar Globe*¹¹⁰ [*sic*] so as its first appearance in our paper (a weekly one) would delay it 10 days.¹¹¹ I regret that there is not time to send you the Ms. and more that I have not had time for the essay to lay on the table to be revised– To my own mind the calumny is refuted entirely.

The delay to make the publication has proceeded from the delay of our friends in Mecklenburg to send me the proofs– Even now it goes out without a copy of Record showing that he was *sheriff* of Mecklenburg –

The Elections in N. C. are known to you– The body of talent & wealth in Fed^l. party is too strong to vanquish in *one* contest. Besides we had no organization when I got home from W. City. None at all. I enclose you a copy of a *confidential* circular that explains the *past* & the *present*

I have not associated Mr. Saunders in making the defense I regretted that the Do N. from Tenn: were sent to our *joint* address as he insisted upon using a fact before we had got all the proofs & in fact he is not a person in whose discretion I have confidence. I more than doubt if his effort to gain *eclat* by speech– making did not hurt us. And I am not alone in that opinion – as we say here he goes off “half cocked” always

I cannot flatter you with any strong expectation of carrying N. C. in Nov. But it shall be tried My whole time has been given up to organizing and shouldering our friends on the General election and I hope we may play the same game as the Feds We did in 1836– The Fed^l–majority in our Legislature cannot embarrass us at all by instructions– If they should attempt it my friends need not fear for my conduct–

I shall direct the *Globe* to send you the *Defense* of course & you can order Extra copies if you wish it or your friends in Tennessee–

I am *worked down* myself and hardly feel able to write a letter– that I have not written to you oftener is because I have been compelled to direct all my time in writing to others for Yr & *about* you and yours–¹¹²

¹¹⁰ The vindication was printed in the *Globe* (Washington, D. C.), Sept. 2, 1844.

¹¹¹ The vindication of Ezekiel Polk was printed in *The North Carolina Standard*, Sept. 18, 1844. A brief commentary on Polk's services in the American Revolution appeared in *ibid.*, Oct. 2, 1844.

¹¹² The following printed letter was enclosed by William H. Haywood, Jr.

[Confidential]

Raleigh, 15th August, 1844.

Dear Sir: The Central Committee of the Democratic Party for North Carolina, with a view to the more perfect organization of our party; address this letter to you and earnestly in-

I don't like our majority in Indiana being so small! Mr. Tyler I see has at last got out of the way— In N. Y. & Penn! & Virg^a. . This will aid our ticket— Now that Benton is thro! his conflict in Missouri I hope to see the Globe more & more violent for Texas — The rumor of a called session of Cong! in October is unfounded I *hope*. If Mr. Tyler will let us alone I think the People will elect you. Presdt. His office's aid will do more hurt than his past efforts to run himself

My very highest respects to Mrs. P. — God bless you & yours—

Raleigh 23rd Aug 1844

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

Raleigh 11 Sept 1844.

My Dear Sir

Before this time you have seen the vindication &c and all I have to regret about it is that our distance apart and my distance from Mecklenburg prevented its being made *more conclusive*. I wanted and tried very hard to procure a copy of *Record* showing his appointment as *sheriff* so as to state it as a *fact* instead of "it is believed"— But I wrote for it until I got tired of receiving no reply—So if his Commⁿ as a "*Militia Col*: The state kept no record or list of such appointments — Being called & known as a Col is to be sure strong proof but not so strong as *Record evidence* — If that Commⁿ. . is still in the family I want a *certified copy without delay*. I apprehend there is to be a reply as it is thought *here* that Mr. Barringer is preparing one— tho: he will keep his name off of it They are a reckless party & will no doubt bring out *Col Wm Polks* declaration heretofore alluded to by me. How will the old man's *sons like that?* I have my own opinion but will not write them even to you: A confidential letter of Bishop Polk to Dr R is in my hands but of course nothing shall or ought to allow of its publication without his leave — If any thing occurs to you or is in your possession that might counteract such a statement with, loose no time in

vite your co-operation. If only one leading man in each County would lend his assistance, and be active, we believe that the vote of this State will be thrown in November for Polk and Dallas. We fought the battle in August without co-operation. You will be surprized to understand that the Central Committee did not receive a dozen letters during the campaign.

The wish of the Committee is, to have you to write to us once a week on the subject of the Election of President and the Politics of your County; and as soon as a plan of political operation is arranged here, our friends can be apprized of it through the correspondent of each County at all points, and *move together*. This letter is addressed to you, and to no one else in your County. We do not design thereby to exclude the other leading Democrats of your County, leaving them and you to co-operate; but we wish to have a particular correspondent in each County, who will write regularly and weekly to us, and you have been chosen for your County.

North Carolina can be carried for Democracy; and if our friends, who are now appealed to, will only give their aid, she shall be carried.

That the Committee may know what to rely upon, they entreat you to answer immediately.

Respectfully, &c

L. D. HENRY, *Chairman*

P. S. Address your answer to *Hon. W. H. Haywood, Jr., Raleigh, N. C.*

sending it. I want nothing sent to my address *jointly with any one else*— Please do not forget that:— I have sent to Mecklenburg for Gen^l Davie copy of Declaration and hope it will be forwarded to me— I put a great deal of time & spent some labor before publishing vindication to possess myself of *record* proof Sheriff appoint^d— and Col of militia and to get an *inspection of the Document left by Gen^l Davie*

I think it is probable that the address on vindication will be met by abuse G. P. and your *humble servant* Indeed it is so much the habit of Federalists to abuse *me* when they get frightened that I almost take hope from their *fears* this to all that North Carolina may vote for you in Nov— But I cannot *count* upon it:

I rejoice to perceive that in other sections and especially in Tennessee our friends are so full of reasonable expectations— But really it is too bad for men to be abused as political candidates are in our country:— “N’ Importe” The Raleigh paper of today has in it an address to No Caro: which will do for it *if any thing will do* — I shall send you a copy— It is mine of course For I find my reputation amongst friends as a writer for the *people can understand*, quite onerous to me— They oblige me to labour all the time & my health is indifferent enough any way.— Another will follow this address in a different shape — Not to say a *reply* to such answer as it may provoke:—

You are no doubt too much engaged however to read such things— Our friends in Tennessee I presume will attend to the circulation of the vindication— If it is approved — The Committee *here* were not able to do much that way— F. P. Blair is pleased with it and published it in Daily— Semi-weekly— and *Dollar Globe*— He wrote me that he thought it “admirable” & Conclusive.

R. M. S. you observe is not associated with me in the defense for many reasons— The chief of which (not personal) is that he had been one of *Blunders* about “*Signers*” and it was due to the subject & to the integrity of history to correct that matter and one friend here thought it better not to have his name to the exposure of an error that he had fallen into as deeply as any one before him—

The *honest* ! ! ! defamers of your Grandfather who published the copy of Declaration “*as taken from the Executive office*” when there was none there to *copy from* were not exposed because I designed to give effect to *both* by avoiding censure of any one— to put the cause of your Grandfather in no degree upon the malignity of your enemies.—

I shall be gratified to know that my efforts are not without appreciation or success but more so that I have had it in my power to show you that the affection of early youth has matured its friendship of maturer life which I hope will continue always

My warmest regards to you and to Mrs. Polk

Your friend

P. S. If by a quiet systematic organization of a party we can bring to the Polls the whole of *Hoke's vote*¹¹³ it will elect you in No Caro:- The Federalist have not yet discovered the fact that Hoke's vote falls very little below *Harrisons* in 1840 - not more than 600 or 700 behind- They are under the false impression that the Federal vote *fell off* in 1844- Not so Both sides increased their vote- We *the most* & hence our opponents within 3000 of *Grahams* vote in 1844-We are endeavoring to possess our party of the fact & not to apprise the Fed's of their mistake-If the People of N.C get an alarm about *altering the Constitution* they will *not* vote for *Clay*-

FROM WILLIAM A. COLEMAN

Forestville, N. C.

Sept. 14th 1844

My Dear Sir-

At a meeting of the Philomathesian Society of Wake Forest College,¹¹⁴ it was unanimously resolved that the Hon. James K. Polk be informed of his election to the post of Honary-membership, and also requested to furnish his name to be enrolled on its Catalogue of Honorary Members-

Permit me, Sir, in behalf of the Society, whose organ, I am to tender you our high consideration, and to presume to entertain a hope, that your zeal, for the cause of learning everywhere, and particularly in your own native State, may induce you to comply with the wishes of the Society-

With sentiments of high consideration,

I am, Yours very Respectfully

Cor. Sec Phi Soc Yo

J. K. Polk

FROM JOSEPH COMMANDER AND OTHERS

Greensboro N. C. Sept 21st, 1844

Dr Sir,

We the undersigned citizens of the town of Greensboro having always supported the Democratic party, wish to know opinion of the Tarriff,

¹¹³ Michael Holt, the Democratic candidate for governor, died September 9, 1844. *The North Carolina Standard*, Sept. 18, 1844.

¹¹⁴ The records of the Philomathesian Society, Wake Forest College, have been preserved. For a sketch of the literary societies of the college see Prichard, T. H., "The Short History of the Literary Societies," *Wake Forest Student*, I, 60 ff.

[*sic*] having lately seen a letter in the Federal Whig papers pretended to have been written by you to a M^r. Kane of — Philadelphia, in which you advocate the protective Tarriff; we wish to know the truth of the matter, knowing that you have heretofore, been opposed to Tarriff except for revenue. An early answer is respectfully— solicited from you by,

Yours & c,

Joseph Commander,
M. A. Harris &
H. Norwood.

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

Raleigh 26 Sep 1844.

My Dear Sir

I snatch a moments time to send you the enclosed— Written I have no doubt by *Geo E. Badger*— The same who wrote the address of 1828 charging Clay with a corrupt bargain & coalition with J. Q. A. Your kinsman by one marriage— mine by another — It makes it prudent to circulate the vindication more extensively — We have had the vindication inscribed in Standard & hope our friends elsewhere have circulated it

I have rec'd to day the most positive assurance that N. York & Penn^a. are both *safe* — The letters are confidential & therefore more to be relied on than newspaper correspondents — If it were allowable to part with confidential letters I would send them to you — But suffice it to say that they come from the best qualified judges in N. York — Our good old Mother (N. C.) cannot be *counted* on but we are struggling to effect — quiet organization & though we do not *count* on her *I hope* — If the October election in Penn^a. & N. Jersey should be favorable it must operate in Tenn^{ee}. & *here* greatly in your favor— After your admⁿ. commences I have no doubt N. C. will come to its support.

Judge Cheves' letter is *ill-timed* & therefore *selfish* because it is likely to give countenance to the idea that Demo^s. will go for Disunion:— I am against it *out & out*— now and always— in the details & the aggregate — I am opposed to a self constituted Southern convention— opposed to resistance *any where* but the Ballot Box. How ridiculous to talk of dissolving our union because we are afraid the abolitionists *may* do it. To cut our throats to keep from dying— May heaven bless you & yours

Your friend

Hon J. K. Polk.

FROM ALEXANDER I. MCKNIGHT¹¹⁵ AND WILLIAM J. COOPER¹¹⁶

Davidson College No Ca 28th Sept. 1844.

Hon^e. James K. Polk

Honorable Sir

We a committee from the Eumenean Society of Davidson College are hereby authorized to inform you that you have been honourably and duly elected an honorary member of said society and hope you will confer an immediate acceptance of the same through the medium of the committee

Committee

FROM TIPPEO BROWNLAW

Halifax Cty: N. C. Oct: 25th: 1844

Hon James K. Polk

Sir

No doubt but what you will be much surprised to receive an application for office from one whom you can have no recollection & of course know nothing of (I was introduced to you by the Hon: Jesse A. Bynum at Mr: Van Buren's inauguration)- I expect you will think at any rate that I am not of sane mind to apply to you for office before you are elected but sir I am of a sanguine temperament [*sic*] & from your first nomination I have thought that it would not only rally but would consolidate all the old republican party, should that be the case & every day brings proofs of the fact there can be no doubt of your election - It is the first application for office I ever made to any administration either by myself or friends, but Sir necessity has no law & I am poor therefore I have taken the liberty of applying to you thinking it best always to apply to those who is to grant the favor & have no third person in the matter- Now Sir should there be any office clerkship or anything else worth from \$2500 or \$3000 a year which you can conscientiously give me without interfering with the right of others I shall feel much indebted to you; should you fail to grant my request I shall think you have good reasons for it, & although shall be much disappointed

¹¹⁵ Alexander Isaac McKnight of Williamsburg, South Carolina, graduated from Davidson College in 1846 and received his M.A. degree in 1850. He was a member of the house of commons of South Carolina and was the orator at the laying of the corner stone of the present capitol in Columbia, South Carolina. He practiced law in Kingstree. Lingle, Thomas W., and others, eds., *Alumni Catalogue of Davidson College*, p. 52.

¹¹⁶ William J. Cooper graduated at Davidson College in 1846. He returned to his alma mater in 1872 to do graduate work. He was a prominent farmer at Indiantown, South Carolina. Lingle, *Alumni Catalogue*, p. 52.

shall still have the same high opinion of you as at this time, for I am not one of those who think they should be preferred to all others – possibly you may know something of my general character but would respectfully refer you to the Hon: J. R. J. Daniel¹¹⁷ Hon R. M. Saunders Hon A. Arrington¹¹⁸ Hon W. H. Haywood of N. C & to the Hon George C. Droomgole of VA.– I have named these gentlemen because they are all members of the present Congress – although I should be highly gratified to hear from you, still it is more than I can ask knowing how much business you have on your hands of so much more importance –

with the greatest Respect

Yr: Hble: Sert:

We are doing all we can to give you the old North State but I am afraid that Whigism is too deeply rooted to break it this election although there is a great many of your most inteligent friends who think there is a good chance for it – I rec'd: a letter from Oneida County N. York to day my friend writes me that the right spirit prevails there & they have full confidence of giving you a handsome majority –

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

Raleigh 8 Octo 1844¹¹⁹

My Dear Sir

According to the fears I had expressed to you before hand our good old Mother has no doubt cast her vote for the Feds. The returns come in slowly but enough to make it almost quite certain that *we are beaten* – The other States I hope & believe have elected you Pres^t. and it is some satisfaction, in respect to No Caro that her Delegation in Congress to be elected next August will be *Democratic* – Our majority in the District is 1000. 800 more than Saunders present number polled.

¹¹⁷ John R. J. Daniel (Jan. 13, 1802-June 22, 1868) was born near Halifax, North Carolina; graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1821; studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1823; was a member of the North Carolina house of commons, 1832-1834; was elected attorney general of the State in 1834; was member of the House of Representatives of Congress, March 4, 1841 to March 3, 1853; resumed the practice of law; and moved to Shreveport, Louisiana, in 1860, where he lived until his death. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 878.

¹¹⁸ Archibald H. Arrington (Nov. 13, 1809-July 20, 1872) was born near Nashville, North Carolina; was educated at Louisburg College; studied law; served in the House of Representatives of Congress from March 4, 1841, to March 3, 1845; was an unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1844; was a member of the state constitutional convention of 1861; and delegate to the Union National Convention at Philadelphia in 1866; and held various offices in Nash County. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 650.

¹¹⁹ The context of the letter as well as the post mark "Raleigh Nov. 8" indicate that this letter was written on November 8, 1844, instead of October 8.

- In Daniels¹²⁰ District 1200 - being 1000 more than Daniel polled - In McKay's¹²¹ district 2600.- In Reid's District probably 500 - 200 more than Reid¹²² polled. In Arrington's 600 to 800 - In Rayner's¹²³ District the Federalists have beat us 750 at least - In the Mecklenburg District (represented in Congress by Barringer Fed) there is no doubt we can carry the Election in August for next Congress if our friends select the right sort of candidate.- No news from that District yet as to Pres^t. vote.

The News from *Penna* is *conclusive* - all for Polk

From Virginia the returns rec'd show *the same thing*-

To-morrow we shall hear from N. York & if she has done her duty there is no need to reckon more- If not and Indiana With Tennessee does right alls well without N. York- We shall hear from the *City* of N. York to day and if the mail comes in before the western mail does I'll attach the report to this letter though I expect you will get the intelligence directly before this letter reaches you.

My best respects to Mrs. Polk

Your friend

In this State the Senator of Johnston (Whig) died since Aug:¹²⁴ and we have elected a Democrat in his place and thereby we have destroyed the Fed: majority in our *State Senate*. The Fed: party leaders are chagrined at this, as they designed to instruct the Senators and re-district No Caro so as to give Mr Clay dominion here if possible. The Federal party refused to take issue in *No Caro* on the Texas question - ditto the veto. -

¹²⁰ Daniels represented the second Congressional district of North Carolina.

¹²¹ James I. McKay (1793-Sept. 4, 1853) was born near Elizabethtown, North Carolina; was appointed United States attorney for the district of North Carolina on March 6, 1817; served in the North Carolina senate in 1815, 1819, 1822, 1826, and 1830; and served in the House of Representatives of Congress from March 4, 1831, to March 3, 1849. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 1265.

¹²² David S. Reid (April 19, 1813-June 19, 1891) was born near Reidsville, North Carolina; was admitted to the bar in 1833; was a member of the state senate from 1835 to 1842; served as a member of the United States House of Representatives from March 4, 1843, to March 3, 1847; was elected governor of the State in 1850 and 1852; was elected to the United States Senate to fill a vacancy in the term commencing March 4, 1853, created by the failure of the legislature to elect a senator, and served from December 6, 1854, until March 3, 1859; was a delegate to the peace convention held in Washington in 1861; and served as a member of the North Carolina constitutional convention of 1875. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 1452.

¹²³ Kenneth Rayner (June 20, 1808-March 4, 1884) was a member of the North Carolina constitution convention of 1835; served in the house of commons in 1835, 1836, 1846, 1848, and 1850; was elected as a Whig to the United States House of Representatives and served from March 4, 1839, to March 3, 1845; was a member of the state senate in 1854; was appointed by President Grant as a court commissioner of the *Alabama* claims and served until the claims were settled; and was appointed solicitor of the United States Treasury in 1877 and served until his death. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, p. 1447.

¹²⁴ Several members of the legislature died before the November election. Among these were Charles Brummel of Davidson County; James Harper of Greene; Dr. Levi Walker of Caswell; Owen B. Cox of Jones; Ransom Saunders of Johnston; and Kedar Whitley of Johnston. For the senate James Tomlinson won over his opponent John McLeod in the November election in Johnston. *The North Carolina Standard*, Sept. 11, Nov. 6, 1844.

FROM JAMES W. JEFFREYS¹²⁵

Red House N C

Nov. 11th 1844.

My Dear Friend

Since I wrote you on the 8th I have received additional information So as to have no doubt that Virginia and New York cast their vote for you. I Received intelligence that the city of New York and county had given a majority of 1700 for Polk & Dallas I Received intelligence from Lynchburg on Saturday that the upper counties of Virginia had given you a majority of 2200 so far as heard from

There is one gratifying circumstance attending the State of Virginia is this with few exceptions. The Whig counties show a large decrease of Whig votes whereas the Democratic Counties exhibit a very large increase—

I have been informed that Mr. Clay was very sagacious of carrying the State of Virginia— He will now be convinced that him or no other Federalist can get the vote of Virginia— The Whigs for aid now have given up the country— In fact they never had no confidence in the election of Clay—

Nov 13th 1844

I cannot express my feelings at the glorious news that the Empire State has cast her vote for Polk by Maj from 10 to 12,000 — that Georgia by the last Acets from there was a maj in your favour of near 6000 votes. and the old antiunified commonwealth of Virginia will give a maj. of near 6,000. —

I know this information will be very acceptable to you—

I have endeavoured as far as my limited information would extend to impress it upon the minds of the people of Caswell. of your inflexible principals and that if you were called by the American people to the Presidency the government would be administered according to your best ability for the interest and welfare of the people— that you would not be partial to any faction but all would be treated with equal justice— It was truly lamentable to see such ignorance which was manifested by the people. of your character as a statesman and as a man of stern inflexible principals —

In the heat of party zeal and malignity the Whigs used every humbug they could invent to prevent your election— That you treated old Col Polk of Raleigh when he visited Tennessee[sic.] during the pending of the Gubernatorial election with disrespect. and that you were a

¹²⁵ James W. Jeffreys was a student at the University of North Carolina in 1817. After leaving school he engaged in manufacturing and farming. He died about 1848. Grant, *Alumni History*, p. 317.

very profane man— Myself and your friends gave the lie to those base calumnies and put them to the proof to show by any respectable man that those things were true— But they were soon made ashamed of their baseness — and the tables were completely turned on them— as by the vote [of] this county, show a considerable increase of the Democratic vote—

I am truly mortified that your native state would not cast her vote¹²⁶ for you as I wished this and many accts. as to the report of your Grandfather no person of common intelligence places the least confidence in such a crude humbug. They must be truly hard pressed to drag the bodies of our forefathers from their graves to carry out and answer their nefarious purposes.

With sentiments of highest regard

FROM WILLIAM H. HAYWOOD, JR.

Raleigh, N. C.

19 Nov 1844.

My Dear Sir

I heartily congratulate you. May God keep you to “begin continue & end” your admⁿ. of the affairs of this great country with honour to yourself & benefit to the Nation & the Union. Do me the honour if you please to express my congratulations likewise to Mr^s. President Polk. I need not say that I regret the inability of our party friends to carry N. Carolina but the honour of *supporting* her son whom others have *elected* to preside may be in store for her & for you—

Your time & attention are no doubt absorbed and I will not be so selfish as to write you a long letter as I shall probably have the honour to meet with you at Washington City before long (for I believe it is customary for the Pres^t elect to visit the Metropolis before 4 March) I would be pleased to know at an early day whether you expect to be there before N. Carolina Legislature adjourns (to wit say 15 Jany) and whether your route to Washington will carry you through N. Carolina. With my personal friends I never play the diplomatist and therefore I frankly admit that the purpose of this enquiry is to stop you at Raleigh a single day.

The Democratic representatives of our State would like to do honour to *you* & your new station by a special invitation to that effect but I shall repress it until I learn your route lest a refusal might do hurt to the cause it is hoped to advance — This intimation is unknown to any

¹²⁶ The election returns for North Carolina gave Clay 43,232 and Polk 39,287, thus giving Clay a majority of 3,945 votes. *The North Carolina Standard*, Nov. 20, 1844.

& all of them & so shall be your reply – But if you could make our State a part of your route it would give me great pleasure to meet you in Raleigh on such an occasion – At the same time I know how annoying such invitations are when they cannot be accepted & therefore this hint & this time upon your time to answer me–

I am your most ob^t. S.

FROM JAMES W. JEFFREYS

Red House N C

Nov. 25th 1844.

My Dr Sir.

Permit me to offer you my sincere and hearty congratulations, that you have been elevated to the Presidency of the United States.

The mantle of the venerated sage of the Hermitage could not have fallen on a more worthy nor more consistant Republican than James K. Polk.

The Federal Faction will not do you justice. You could not have accepted it at their hand – The Vote that you have received is a very honorable one– and must be cheer your heart very much. The vote much larger than your most sanguined friends anticipated–

I am truly gratified at the result for two reasons. 1st – Is that I believe the most desperate faction that ever disgraced any country and headed by a man of the ambitious designs, has been rebuked, silenced, and compleatly [*sic*] put down– forever 2– I believe that a person has been put into the Presidential Chair who is of stern inflexible principal who has been uniform and consistent. and whose administration will prove a blessing to the country.

I have been advocating your claim to the Presidency for many years and have often remarked *that you* were one of the few honest men of the country, that was left that could and would administer the government fairly, ably – and satisfactorily to the American people– at Least to the Democratic portion of it–

The only feature in the whole matter which I truly regret, is to the vote of North Carolina– I was perfectly at a loss to acct. for the vote in the State I am convinced that N. C is Democratic–

Look at the Legislature of 1842. The Democratic party had a very large margin on both branches of Legislature –

Gen Saunders used all his talents, and he neither spared time nor expense in endeavouring to turn the scale– but without success – many of your friends were greatly industrious but all availed nothing

I hope she will come again in the Democratic fold in 1846—

I shall do myself the pleasure in visiting Washington City to see my long cherished friend inaugurated, and made President of the United States, and conducted to the White House by your Democratic friends—

Accept the assurance of my high regard—

FROM WILLIAM J. ALEXANDER AND OTHERS

Charlotte, N. C. Decr. 2, 1844.

Sir

The undersigned have been appointed a Committee, by the Democratic Association of Mecklenburg County, to congratulate you upon the brilliant victory just achieved by the Democracy of the Union in your elevation to the office of President of the United States. The pleasure, Sir, we take in discharging this duty, can only be equalled by the firm satisfaction with which you must view the merited tribute recently paid to your true political virtue and patriotism by the American people at the ballot-boxes.

We are also instructed to invite you to visit your native County on your passage to Washington, and partake of a public dinner, at the hands of our Democracy. Pressing your acceptance of this invitation, we subscribe ourselves

Most respectfully yours

Wm. J. Alexander

G. W. Caldwell

W. F. Strange

J^o. W. Hampton

B. Morrow

J. B. Kerr

To Hon. J. K. Polk

FROM JAMES B. SHEPARD AND OTHERS

Raleigh N C 3^d Dec '44

The undersigned, members of the Senate and House of Commons of your native State beg leave to recommend to your attention the name of our fellow distinguished citizen the Hon^l. R. M. Saunders, for such appointment as in your judgment his exemplary virtues and acknowledged ability may justly entitle him.

It is true that North Carolina failed by a few votes in swelling that triumphant majority by which you are ushered into the highest office on earth, but there was no portion of the republic where you had warmer friends, or more unflinching advocates – and none more active than the subject of this recommendation – far from the banks of the Roanoke [*sic.*] to the Hills of Catawba he declared with ability unsurpassed, and matchless eloquence the great fundamental truths of Democracy, and the purity & talents of our nominees. The State would feel deeply gratified from one extreme to the other, at your selecting to be near you our distinguished friend – and it would strengthen us much among our people, and the great cause of truth and be one great lever to bring back your native state to her natural and original position in the great Democratic ranks.

We beg leave to tender you our sincere congratulations of joy that for the first time North Carolina beholds her native son in the chair honored by Washington Jefferson and Jackson, and pray that like them, your career may be as glorious and auspicious to the cause of Liberty & the common good of our beloved country.

We have the Honor to be with great respect & regard

Your Excellency's

faithful fellow citizens

Hon Jas. K. Polk

Columbia Ten

James B. Shepard
 Tho. N. Cameron
John Parker
 John Kirk from Mecklenburg
 Robt. P. Williamson
 Larkin Stowe
 Robert Lemmond
 James A. Dunn
 James H. White
 Richard Rankin
 C. Etheridge
John W. Ellis
 Franklin D. Rinehardt
 George W. Thompson
 R. Gatling
 Whit Stallings
 Robert H. Hester
 Jno. B. Jones
 James Collins
 James H. Hammerick

J. M. Stone
 W. K. Martin
 Geo. C. Eaton
 W. A. Jeffreys
 Wm Emmett
 John Exum
 C. H. Brogden
 Edward C. Garvin
 J. R. Beaman
 Robert Wilson
 D. McIntyre
 Jas. G. Dickson
 John H. Drake, Jr.
 William D. Harrison
James Tomlinson
 L. Richardson
 Nathan L. Williamson
 Dickerson Taliaferro
 Sam^l Flemming
 Neill Regan
 John McNeill
 Peter Scales
 L. A. Gwinn
 Gas. H. Wilder
 Benj. F. Atkins
 Calvin Graves
 Geo. D. Boyd
Duncan Shaw
 James M. Mangum
 James K. Lea
 J. H. Hawkins

FROM JAMES K. HILL

Raleigh Dec^r. 14th 1844.

Hon James K. Polk

Sir, You will pardon the liberty I taken in addressing you upon a subject perhaps you may not feel any interest in but to me it will afford a source of satisfaction I had some years past a Brother who lived in Columbia his name was William A. Hill to whom I have written three letters within the last eighteen months and not receiving a answer to either of them I was inducued to believe from his last letter that he had left Tennessee for the Texas believing so some three months past I ad-

dressed a note to the post master (Columbia) requesting of him to give me the information sought for to which I have not received a answer and fealing [*sic*] (as is natural) a great wish to learn where he is and not having the pleasure of an acquaintance or even knowing the name of any one Gentleman in Columbia is the cause of my trespassing upon you should you Sir have it in your power to give me the information asked you will place me under lasting obligations

I have the honor to be

respectfully

Yours

[*To be continued*]

BOOK REVIEWS

THE HISTORY OF NURSING IN NORTH CAROLINA. By Mary Lewis Wyche. Edited by Edna L. Heinzerling. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press: 1938. Pp. xii, 151. \$3.00.)

An interesting chapter in social history is the story of the development of nursing into a respectable profession for trained women. In medieval times respectable nursing was in the hands of the religious orders. It was not until centuries later that the social philosophy of the time permitted a grudging recognition of women in the profession. When Florence Nightingale founded the St. Thomas School of Nursing in London after the Crimean War and when Dorothea Dix built up in the Union base hospitals during the Civil War, the first trained nursing service in the United States, both women were acting in opposition to the prevailing pattern of the time which disapproved of training women for any existing profession, much less a new one.

In colonial, revolutionary, and ante-bellum North Carolina respectable nursing was, as elsewhere in the United States, in the hands of the medical profession. Each doctor was his own nurse, and, in cases of surgery or of severe illness, the doctor either stayed at the patient's home or took the patient home with him. Nursing was thought to be a "gift," without need of training, and thus it happened that in almost every neighborhood there was such a gifted one, usually known as the midwife, who offered services to the sick for a consideration. Just as the movement to license physicians was a long struggle between the trained practitioner and the folk doctor, so was the movement to register nurses a struggle between the trained woman and the "practical" one.

No hint of the social forces back of the movement is given in Miss Wyche's brief *History of Nursing in North Carolina*. The author was herself the leader in the movement to train, organize, and license the nursing profession in the State. In the later years of her life she gathered materials for this book, and, after her death, Miss Edna L. Heinzerling completed the work.

After cursory remarks concerning early nursing and military nursing, the book proceeds to brief mention of the largest hos-

pitals and schools for nursing in the State, and to an outline of the organization of the profession and its regulation by law.

GUION GRIFFIS JOHNSON.

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE,
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

IN MEMORIAM WILLIAM KENNETH BOYD, JANUARY 10, 1879-JANUARY 19, 1938.
HISTORICAL PAPERS OF THE TRINITY COLLEGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. (Durham,
N. C.: Duke University Press. 1938. Pp. vii, 97.)

This little book is a collection of the addresses delivered at the memorial services in honor of Professor Boyd held at Duke University, April 10, 1938. Professor W. T. Laprade spoke for his colleagues; Mr. Julian P. Boyd for his former students; Professor Bennett H. Branscomb, his successor as director of the library, told of his work in building up the library of the new university; Professor R. H. Woody told of the development of the George Washington Flowers Collection of Southern Americana, and appends an impressive list of the more important items, secured chiefly through his efforts; Doctor R. D. W. Connor, Archivist of the United States, spoke of his influence upon historical writing in the State and in the South, and of his connection with the North Carolina Historical Commission. Mr. William Baskerville Hamilton has compiled what must be an almost complete list of Professor Boyd's own writings.

The composite picture thus presented will interest all students of American history and will surprise many who thought they knew Professor Boyd well. He was so modest that he seldom, or never, spoke to anyone of more than one phase of his work at a time, and then only briefly. No man was ever less given to self-advertisement. As here presented, the diversity of his activities, as well as both the bulk and the quality of his accomplishment, is little short of amazing.

It is difficult to say which portion is most important. One must deeply regret that he did not have another decade in which to put into permanent form more of what he had learned of Southern history, and also the conclusions to which he had come. He did, however, make it necessary for any future student of the history of the South to visit the collections which he made

at Duke University. The George Washington Flowers Collection now contains more than 25,000 books, 83,000 newspapers, and 300,000 manuscripts, and the greater part of these have been collected since 1930.

One could wish that more were told of him as a person, as distinguished from his work as author, teacher, editor, critic, and collector. One would like to know more of his early life, of the influences which helped to shape the man, but this seems impossible. Professor Laprade, and others in their addresses, mention his reticence on such matters. The writer, who was already at Columbia when he came to that institution in 1900, who saw him frequently afterward, and who was proud to call him a friend until his death, can add very little to what is here given.

HOLLAND THOMPSON.

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK,
NEW YORK, N. Y.

CHRONICLES OF OLD BERKELEY: A NARRATIVE HISTORY OF A VIRGINIA COUNTY FROM ITS BEGINNINGS TO 1926. By Mabel Henshaw Gardiner and Ann Henshaw Gardiner. (Durham, N. C.: The Seeman Press, 1938. 323 pp.)

Berkeley County was created by act of the Virginia legislature in 1772 and was named after Norbonne Berkeley, Baron de Botetourt, governor of Virginia from 1760 to 1770. It became a part of the newly formed state of West Virginia in 1863 and is the oldest county in the eastern panhandle of that state. Its chief town and county seat is Martinsburg. Harpers Ferry is one of the best known among the numerous small towns in the county.

Following a chronological plan, the authors have attempted to trace the county's economic and political development, to portray its social, institutional, and cultural life, and to present short biographical sketches of those individuals whose leadership made its progress and colorful history possible. Although there is a chapter on the Civil War, military history does not receive the over-emphasis so characteristic of most county histories. The authors have likewise refrained from writing a history of the leading families of the county. This volume represents an unusual amount of research in local records of various

kinds, Virginia laws, newspapers, and many other sources, including several very interesting unpublished diaries.

Chapter one traces the background and formation of the county, with particular emphasis on geographic factors, the Indian problem, and frontier conditions. All of the land in the present county was claimed at one time by Lord Fairfax. The authors give the names of early settlers, location of early land grants, stockades, villages, mills, churches, and schools. They give a vivid description of life on the frontier, where it was "no uncommon thing for families to live several months without a mouthful of bread." There are many citations from early court records, and it is interesting to note that "divulgers of false reports" were fined 2,000 pounds of tobacco and persons who refused to have their children baptized were assessed 200 pounds of tobacco. Slandering persons were fined 500 pounds of the same commodity.

Chapter two presents the history of the various towns of the county, and here one finds extracts from early rental rolls; accounts of tax rates at various times; references to the establishment of markets, ferries, post offices, newspapers, and schools; and many other facts relating to the towns. Chapters three and four deal with the institutional and industrial life of the people and trace the evolution of county and town governments, political parties, slavery, education, churches, leading industries, newspapers, the postal system, transportation and communication facilities, medical practice, and many other things. The first newspaper printed in the present state of West Virginia was in Berkeley County.

The Civil War found "brother arrayed against brother" in Berkeley County. Those who adopted a policy of neutrality were looked upon with suspicion and suffered most by loss of property. Long extracts from two unpublished diaries, in possession of the families of the authors, throw much light on conditions in the county during the four years of civil strife. The war caused the suspension of all business in Martinsburg, resulting in the lack of the necessities of life. Many buildings were damaged, but the damage was not as great as might have been expected since either one or the other army was in posses-

sion of the town during most of the war period. Four hundred railroad cars were destroyed, rails were removed and cross-ties were burned. "Rails were found made into corkscrews by heating the center of the rail and wrapping them around trees."

The book has entirely too little on the period since 1865, for only one chapter is devoted to "Reconstruction Days and Later Development." In a separate chapter there are some thirty-one sketches of prominent figures in Berkeley County history, among them Horatio Gates, Daniel Morgan, and Charles Lee of Revolutionary fame, and James Rumsey, early inventor of the steamboat. There are four appendices, two of which are extremely interesting: one, a diary written by Captain Levi Henshaw describing his journey to Kentucky, November 10, 1828, to March 25, 1829; the other, a diary written by Captain Hiram Henshaw describing his journey to Kentucky, January 4, 1830, to May 15, 1830. A bibliography and an index complete the volume.

HUGH T. LEFLER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES, VOLUME VI, THE TERRITORY OF MISSISSIPPI, 1809-1817. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1938. Pp. 893. \$1.50.)

The papers in this volume, the second and final one on the Mississippi Territory, relate to the three administrations of Governor Holmes and to that of acting Governor Daingerfield. The preceding volume (number five of the entire series) covering the period 1798-1809, was reviewed in the July, 1938, number of this quarterly. Since much that was said in reference to that volume is pertinent to the one at hand, a paragraph summarizing that review will, perhaps, not be out of place.

The Territory was remote from the seat of the national government and the mail service, though constantly being improved, left much to be desired. There was still the problem of relations with an area administered by a foreign power, Spain, a problem which reached a crisis with the West Florida Revolution of 1810. The land-hungry immigrant was more than ever in evi-

dence and there was still much confusion over land titles, some of which dated back to the period of English occupation. There was continued difficulty over encroachments on land reserved to the Indians. Intrigue and rivalry among local officials still flourished. The efforts of the editor to identify characters mentioned, to locate papers referred to, and to list documents not included, add greatly to the value of the volume and give it the nature of a guide to official documents relating to the Mississippi Territory. A brief introduction, summarizing the history of the area, would have added to the interest of the work to the general reader. This reviewer, as in the case of the preceding volume, regrets that contemporary maps have not been included.

The numerous documents relating to land, including petitions from inhabitants, letters from officials, and memorials from the legislature, emphasize its importance and give the impression that the territory was a bee-hive of eager immigrants, each striving to get for himself and to hold desirable tracts. In this connection it is interesting to note that there is still great interest in public land in Mississippi. In a recent press-release the land commissioner states that his office is considering 4,000 applications for the purchase of public land—now of course owned by the State rather than by the federal government.

Even a casual examination of the papers of this volume gives the atmosphere of the restless frontier with its impatience at conventions which were already being outmoded and its demands for political democracy to match the primitive conditions of existence. A "Convention of the representatives of the people residing East of the Pearl River," held apparently some time in 1809, asked Congress for a more popular government. A memorial from the territorial house of representatives in 1814 urges that "all free white males of Twenty-One years of Age and upwards who shall have resided in the Territory twelve months; or who may have been assessed at least three months previous to the Election" be allowed to vote. The same document lists six reasons why the act of Congress that required ownership of land for suffrage should be amended as suggested above. Numerous petitions, copiously signed, indicate the activity of the inhabitants in attempting to get their rights and

to have their grievances redressed; they will also furnish interesting material for the genealogist and the family historian.

The West Florida Revolution of 1810, it will be gathered, was by no means a surprise to the people living in the Mississippi Territory. Though a number of documents relating rather incidentally to this uprising are in the present volume, the editor states that the main body will be included when the papers of the Orleans Territory are published.

Students interested in various phases of frontier and Mississippi history, and in the process by which a territory evolved into a state, will be indebted to the painstaking efforts and competent editorial skill of Professor Carter, of which these volumes give abundant evidence.

CECIL JOHNSON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

THE COLONIAL PERIOD OF AMERICAN HISTORY. VOLUME IV: ENGLAND'S COMMERCIAL AND COLONIAL POLICIES. By Charles M. Andrews. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1938. Pp. xi, 477. \$4.00)

During the course of the seventeenth century Englishmen had developed in America through varied means many groups of settlements, each different in origin and more dependent upon the mother country than upon its fellows. These settlements have been the theme of the previous three volumes of Professor Andrews's monumental work, part of the legacy of his fifty years of research, writing, and teaching. This fourth volume begins the story of another phase of colonial history—the story of the developing interest of England in the methods and means of rendering these settlements more useful and valuable in the attainment of her national aspirations. Hence there is more English than American history in this volume, if indeed one can make the distinction in regard to the colonial period. In fact, one of Professor Andrews's most effective contributions is to be found in his point of view that only by considering the American colonies in their relationship to an expanding England can we understand them at all.

England's interest in these colonies was commercial, not political, and the mother country was guided by a philosophy of

self-interest known as mercantilism. Professor Andrews is rightly insistent that mercantilism cannot be rigidly defined. He says in one place (pp. 2-3) that it "was not a theory but a condition, an expression in practical form of the experience of those concerned directly with trade and commerce" and indirectly with all else that had to do with the life of the realm. This definition has the disadvantage of giving the author such a wide range of interests to cover that he is compelled to treat some of them—agriculture, coinage, banks, for example—quite incidentally.

The contents of this volume may be divided into four parts, (1) the evolution of England's commercial policy (including in Chapter X a brilliant essay on the historical development of mercantilism), (2) its translation into legislation, (3) the development of instruments designed to make it effective, and (4) a final essay (Chapter XI) on the relation between England's colonial policy (as distinguished from commercial policy) and her attempt to enforce it. This final essay is clearly a sort of introduction to a fifth volume in the series dealing with colonial ideas and institutions which, clashing with the English system, precipitated the Revolution.

The main outlines of England's commercial system have long been clearly defined—by none more clearly than by Professor Andrews himself—a fact which makes the freshness of this new presentation remarkable. It is therefore in details rather than in the main outline that most of the novelty of the story here told is to be found. But the material on the instruments of enforcement breaks comparatively new ground in a field wherein Professor Andrews himself has done much of the prospecting. "The Customs Service in the Colonies" is a model brief history of that agency. The chapter on the courts of vice-admiralty continues a subject upon which the author has written extensively in another place. The somewhat acrimonious dispute (pp. 222-223 note) with Professor Goebel of Columbia may enliven the chapter for some readers but it might better have appeared in the pages of the *American Historical Review*, where the review by Mr. Goebel to which Mr. Andrews takes exception was originally printed. Mr. Andrews might well have taken an

Olympian attitude in a volume designed to stand the test of time. The Board of Trade, which is the third agency of enforcement discussed by the author, has been the theme of several books and articles but again the treatment of the subject in this volume is new.

Professor Andrews takes vigorous exception to those writers who, starting from mercantilism, interpret the American Revolution in simple terms of class struggle and clash of economic interest, quoting with approval J. M. Keynes's generalization, "The view that the economic ideal is the sole respectable purpose of the community as a whole is the most dreadful heresy which has ever gained the ear of a civilized people." This is a clear warning that this volume with its emphasis on the economic factor should not be misinterpreted. Evidently the next volume of the series will have more to say on the subject of the causes of the Revolution.

The high standard of scholarship which has won wide recognition for the first three volumes is continued. There is the same stately style, unhurried and judicious. The apparatus of the critical historian everywhere evident in the book does not as a rule encumber the text with forced interruptions so that the reader may read the notes in order that he may understand the author's meaning. These volumes will never become popular reading, this fourth one even less than the preceding ones, but they have already become the standard for the field, and will probably be so for years to come.

ROBERT E. MOODY.

BOSTON UNIVERSITY,
BOSTON, MASS.

HISTORICAL NEWS

A state historical highway marker pointing the way to "Buck Shoals," the home of Edgar W. ("Bill") Nye, was unveiled on March 12 at Fletcher, Henderson County. Mr. Clarence W. Griffin of Forest City was the principal speaker.

The centennial celebration of Duke University, in Durham, was held on April 21-23. Delegates from leading educational institutions in the United States and foreign countries were present, and there were addresses by a number of distinguished scholars and educators.

The Greensboro Historical Museum in its new quarters at 220 Church Street was opened to the public with a formal celebration on Saturday evening, April 29.

A celebration of the one-hundred-seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the New Bern Academy was held on May 4 at New Bern. Governor Clyde R. Hoey and others addressed a gathering in the afternoon, and at night there was a historical pageant.

History teachers of a number of North Carolina colleges and universities, together with certain members of the staff of the Historical Commission, attended a dinner at State College on Saturday evening, May 13.

On June 7 a celebration was held at the old Dickson house, near Hillsboro, which has recently been restored. This house is thought to have been the headquarters of General Joseph E. Johnston at the time when he surrendered to Sherman at the Bennett house, a few miles distant, in April, 1865.

The Daughters of the American Revolution on June 9 dedicated markers at the graves of Lieutenant Dempsey Powell and Colonel Ransom Sutherland, both near Wake Forest.

Dr. A. R. Newsome, of the University of North Carolina, has published *The Presidential Election of 1824 in North Carolina*.

This 202-page monograph, published by the University of North Carolina Press, is the first number of the revived and reorganized publication, *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*, which will be issued twice each year under the direction of the Department of History and the Department of Political Science of the University.

The Duke University Press announces the appointment of Dr. John Tate Lanning, a member of the Department of History of the University, as managing editor of *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, to succeed Dr. James Alexander Robertson, deceased. Dr. Alan K. Manchester, of the same department, has been appointed associate managing editor.

Miss Katherine Strateman and Miss Jane Lohrer have resigned as instructors in the Department of History of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina. Miss Josephine Hege and Miss Christiana McFadyen have been appointed in their places. Both Miss Hege and Miss McFadyen received their bachelor of arts degrees from the Woman's College. Miss Hege has spent a year in graduate work at Yale University and a year at the University of Virginia. Miss McFadyen has done two years of graduate work at Columbia University.

Miss Elizabeth Cometti, a recent doctor of philosophy from the University of Virginia, is offering courses in history at the summer session of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina.

Dr. William A. Mabry, who has been since 1930 instructor in history at Duke University, has resigned to accept a position as associate professor and chairman of the Department of History at Mount Union College, Alliance, Ohio.

Dr. Arthur Ferguson, who was awarded the degree of doctor of philosophy by Cornell University in June, has been appointed instructor in history at Duke University.

During the centennial year of Duke University, 1938-39, the Duke University Press has published nearly thirty full-length volumes, in addition to periodical publications. The volumes include the following: Jerome Dowd, *The Life of Braxton Craven*; Paul N. Garber, *John Carlisle Kilgo: President of Trinity College, 1894-1910*; John Franklin Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College*; *In Memoriam: William Kenneth Boyd*; Charles S. Sydnor, *A Gentleman of the Old Natchez Region: Benjamin L. C. Wailes*; Luther L. Gobbel, *Church-State Relationships in Education in North Carolina since 1776*; and Joseph Clark Robert, *The Tobacco Kingdom—Plantation, Market, and Factory in Virginia and North Carolina, 1800-1860*.

Books received include: Gardner Weld Allen, editor, *Papers of John Davis Long, 1897-1904. Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. LXXVIII (The Massachusetts Historical Society. 1939); John Fraser Ramsey, *Anglo-French Relations, 1763-1770: A Study of Choiseul's Foreign Policy. University of California Publications in History*, Vol. XVII, No. 3 (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1939); Jerome Dowd, *The Life of Braxton Craven* (Durham: Duke University Press. 1939); Douglas C. McMurtrie, *Eighteenth Century North Carolina Imprints* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1939); John Berry McFerrin, *Caldwell and Company: A Southern Financial Empire* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1939); Albert Ray Newsome, *The Presidential Election of 1824 in North Carolina. The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1939); John Franklin Crowell, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College, North Carolina, 1887-1894* (Durham: Duke University Press. 1939).

The historical highway marker program, conducted by the Department of Conservation and Development, the Highway and Public Works Commission, and the Historical Commission, is proceeding satisfactorily. An illustrated booklet giving the inscriptions and locations of the more than 200 markers erected

through April 1 has been published and may be had by applying to either the Department of Conservation and Development or the Historical Commission.

The General Assembly of North Carolina at its regular biennial session early in 1939 enacted the following bill:

AN ACT RELATING TO THE DISPOSITION OF ARCHIVES, NEWSPAPER FILES, PRINTED BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS ON FILE WITH THE VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS, INSTITUTIONS, OR POLITICAL SUB-DIVISIONS OF THE STATE.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That Section six thousand one hundred forty-five of the Consolidated Statutes of North Carolina be, and the same is, hereby amended by adding after the last sentence in said section the following: "*Provided*, that any State archives, records, books, documents, original papers, newspaper files, printed books, or manuscripts which have no significance, importance, or value, may, upon the advice and recommendation of the custodian in charge of said archives, records, books, documents, original papers, newspaper files, printed books, and manuscripts, and upon the further advice and recommendation of the North Carolina Historical Commission, be authorized by the Council of State of the State of North Carolina to be destroyed or otherwise disposed of; and, *provided also*, that any county, city, town, or any other governmental agency which may have in its possession or custody any public archives, records, books, documents, original papers, newspaper files, printed books, or manuscripts which have no significance, importance, or value, may, upon the advice and recommendation of the custodian in charge of said public archives, records, books, documents, original papers, newspaper files, printed books, and manuscripts, and upon the further advice and recommendation of the North Carolina Historical Commission, be authorized by the governing bodies of said county, city, town, or other governmental agency to be destroyed or otherwise disposed of. The North Carolina Historical Commission is hereby authorized and empowered to make such orders, rules and regulations as may be necessary and proper to carry the provisions of this section into effect."

SEC. 2. That all laws and clauses of laws in conflict with this Act are hereby repealed.

SEC. 3. That this Act shall be in full force and effect from and after its ratification.

In the General Assembly read three times and ratified this the 30th day of March, 1939.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Mr. William Omer Foster is pursuing graduate work in American history in the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dr. David Alexander Lockmiller is an associate professor of history and political science in the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering of the University of North Carolina, Raleigh, N. C.

Mr. Francis Grave Morris is a lecturer in geography at King's College, Newcastle on Tyne, England.

Mrs. Phyllis Mary Morris was formerly a lecturer in geography at King's College, Newcastle on Tyne, England.

Miss Elizabeth Gregory McPherson is an assistant in the Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

