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THE LIFE AND CHARACTER  
OF  
Governor Alexander Martin,

BY  
ROBERT M. DOUGLAS, A. M., LL. D.,

Greensboro, N. C.

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ADDRESS  
OF  
ROBERT M. DOUGLAS, A. M., LL. D.,  
UPON THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF  
GOVERNOR ALEXANDER MARTIN.

*Delivered at the Annual Celebration of the Battle  
of Guilford Court House, July 4, 1898.*

MR. PRESIDENT:

We meet here to-day to celebrate the anniversary of a nation's birth on a spot consecrated by the life blood of her faithful sons freely given in her defense in the weakest hour of her infancy.

It is hard to realize that only one hundred and twenty-two years have passed since that starry flag was first given to the free air of its native heaven. To-day it floats on every sea, representing a nation whose material power dominates the western hemisphere, and casts its broadening shadow across the world. Infinitely greater is the influence of the moral principles which it represents as the emblem of the most perfect union of liberty and of law that the world has ever seen.

A careful study of the birth, growth and decline of the great nations and peoples within historic times, which seem to have been regulated by some fixed laws whose nature we cannot comprehend, but whose existence we are forced to admit, plainly indicates that we are yet far from the meridian of our national life. What our future may be, no human judgment can foretell; but I have a firm conviction that the future destinies of the world are in the hands of the English speaking people. One in blood and in language, governed substantially by the same laws and moved by the same high aspirations, sep-



arated alone by the natural landmarks that define the limits of their respective influence, they will go on together in perfect harmony, in the accomplishment of their great mission, with a single purpose and perhaps to a common destiny.

Already the magnificent empire of Spain has gone to decay, and her imperial power lies with her sunken fleet in Manila Bay, both mere memories of the past. She is still keeping up a hopeless contest for dynastic reasons, but Sampson's guns are tolling the death-knell of her dominion on the great continent she once claimed by right of discovery and of conquest.

Whatever may be the results of this war as to territorial expansion, it was entered into with evident reluctance by the American people, and only from the highest sense of national duty and self defense. Once in, we know but one way out.

Terrible as war must always be, it has its compensations in the patriotism it engenders and the heroism it develops. In spite of our sorrow, we cannot but feel a mournful pride that North Carolina, ever last in the quarrel and first in the fight, offered up the first sacrifice upon the altar of our re-united land.

Our own Worth Bagley, brave as the bravest, and tender, loving and true as becomes the brave, standing at the post of duty and smiling gently in the face of danger, calmly met the embrace of death.

Nations, like individuals, have their infancy as well as their manhood; and the patriot who guards the cradle of a new born state, deserves fully as much as the hero who follows its conquering banner in the full tide of its imperial power. Rome, stern, heroic Rome, not only deified her founder; but held in the highest veneration and perpetuated in the most enduring form, the memory of the she-wolf which suckled him in his helpless infancy on the Palatine Hill.

The glorious victory of Manila, unparalleled in its com-

pleteness, was not as important in itself or in its effect upon the destinies of mankind, as the battle of Guilford Court House. Had there been no Guilford Court House, there would have been no Yorktown; and had there been no Yorktown, there would have been no Manila. The roar of Dewey's 8 inch guns was, in historic result, but the echo of the squirrel rifles fired across yonder field by the Guilford militia.

Since the devoted labors of Judge Schenck, the founder of our Association and the restorer of the battlefield, but little is left to be said about the battle itself; and so it has become usual for the annual orator to select some revolutionary personage as the subject of his address. Custom, as well as a certain degree of necessity, has generally imposed this duty upon some kinsman of the patriot dead.

As the old Romans thought the duty of eulogy rested upon the nearest surviving relative, under the idea that he was best qualified to speak of the virtues of the deceased; so it is thought that those who proudly claim their kindred blood will make the greater effort to collect from the scattered and exceedingly imperfect records of that period, the necessary facts to perpetuate the memory of our illustrious dead. Thus I am here to-day to give a brief outline of the life and character of Governor Alexander Martin.

I trust you will do me the justice to remember that this is the fourth of July, and that a long historical dissertation would wear out my welcome. Moreover, a full record of the life of one who was for so many years the directing power of the State, would be, for that period, almost the history of the state itself. Therefore the merest outline must suffice.

The founder of the family in America was Hugh Martin, a Presbyterian minister, who emigrated from County Tyrone, Ireland, in 1721, and settled in Hunterdon county, New Jersey, where his five sons were born. They

were Alexander, James, Thomas, Samuel and Robert, the Governor being the eldest and Robert, my grandfather, being the youngest. The five brothers came South shortly before the Revolution, and settled in Virginia; but all except Thomas soon afterwards removed to North Carolina.

Alexander was born in 1740, and graduated at Princeton University, then Nassau Hall, in 1756, at the age of sixteen. His scholarship must have been remarkably fine, as shown not only by the fact of his graduation at so early an age, but from the further fact that his staid old Alma Mater conferred upon him, in the midst of a busy life, the highest honor she could bestow, the degree of Doctor of Laws. (LL. D.)

In 1772 he settled at Guilford Court House, which was then situated less than a mile east from here, near the edge of the battlefield, and was subsequently named Martinsville in his honor. When the battle was fought he was a member of the Council Extraordinary. He must have become a citizen of the state before 1771, as Foote and Moore both state that he and Rev. Dr. David Caldwell were present at the battle of the Alamance, and made fruitless appeals to both sides for peace. That a young stranger should have been selected to accompany that eminent divine upon so difficult, dangerous and thankless an undertaking, was the highest tribute to his personal character, judgment and patriotism.

In 1771 he was apparently a resident of Rowan County, as his name appears among the officers of that county, signed to an agreement dated March 7, 1771, with the Committee of the Regulators to submit all matters of grievance to arbitration. What office he held does not appear from the paper; but Rumble, in his History of Rowan County, says that he lived in Salisbury until Guilford County was erected, and that he was frequently commissioned by the Crown to hold the District Court at Salis-

bury, having presided over that court as late as the first day of June, 1775.

On March 18, 1771, he and Colonel John Frohock wrote to Governor Tryon giving an account of their agreement with the Regulators, and urging a policy of justice and conciliation. The answer of Tryon was extremely sarcastic, written in the pride and insolence of power to one whom he never dreamed would, by the choice of a free people, be his successor in the glorious years to come.

In his letter of April 12, 1771, to the Earl of Hillsboro, Governor Tryon speaks of Alexander Martin as "*Colonel Martin*." So at that early age Martin was evidently a man of position and influence.

In 1774 and 1775 he was a member of the Colonial Assembly from Guilford County. He was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the Second Regiment from this State in the Continental line on September 1st, 1775, and was promoted to the Colonely of the same regiment on April 10, 1776, which he held until November 22, 1777 when he resigned.

Wheeler says that: "He, with his regiment, was in the battle of Brandywine, 11th September, 1775, where Lafayette was wounded; and was near him when he received the wound. In the attack of Washington on the British at Germantown, October 4th, 1777, he was present when his General, Francis Nash, was killed." In 1779 he was elected state senator from Guilford County, and again in 1780, 1781, 1782, 1785, 1787, and 1788. In 1780 he was elected Speaker of the Senate, and again in 1781 and 1782, as we then had no Lieutenant-Governor, an office which was not created until the Constitution of 1868.

After the terrible disasters occurring in the South during the year 1780, the Legislature meeting in September, created a Board of War "to direct and control the military of the state," and elected as its members Governor



Martin, John Penn and Oroondates Davis. Of this remarkable body, whose powers seem to have been as ample as they were undefined, Governor Martin was the Chairman and admittedly its dominating spirit.

Gov. Graham, in his admirable historical lecture delivered at New York in 1858, in speaking of this Board and its members, says that its creation "was utterly at variance with the plain precepts of the Constitution"; but that its members "undertook the task devolved upon them in the most devoted spirit of patriotism, and with a proper sense of its magnitude, and executed its duties with fearlessness, ability and eminent public benefit." Stronger commendation could not come from a higher source.

In the following year the Board of War was discontinued, and a "Council Extraordinary" created, who, with the Governor (Nash), were invested with the powers of government during the recess of the Legislature, and indefinitely if the invasion of the enemy should prevent the holding of elections and the meeting of the Assembly at the usual time. This Council was composed of Governor Martin, Governor Caswell and Mr. Bignall.

It is a sad commentary upon the condition of our early records, that I have been utterly unable to ascertain how long this truly extraordinary body remained in existence, or what it did, if anything. Wheeler makes no allusion to it whatever in his history, while Moore merely mentions its creation, and does not even include it in his index.

Our State Records are now being compiled and published, but the latest volume has not yet reached this period of our history.

I suspect the Council did nothing, but for what reason it is difficult to say. Governor Caswell, great and patriotic as he was, was a man of fixed views and strong prejudices, and for some reason was personally antagonistic to Governor Martin. It may be that Caswell, having as Major General been in command of the entire body of

State militia, expected the Council merely to register his will. If so, he found in Martin a man who not only was his equal in other respects, but possessed the advantage of a calmer judgment and a steadier temper.

It is truly unfortunate if the divergent views of these two great men prevented them from giving to the state they loved so well, the full measure of service of their great intellects and loyal hearts.

Upon the capture of Governor Burke, by Fannin in September, 1881, Governor Martin, by virtue of his office as Speaker of the Senate, succeeded to the Governorship, and became in name as well as in fact the head of the state government. Governor Burke returned the following year, and resumed his office for the remainder of his term; but was soon again succeeded by Gov. Martin, who was elected in the Fall of 1782 and again in 1783.

The Constitution of 1776 provided that: "The Senate and House of Commons jointly, at their first meeting after each annual election, shall, by ballot, elect a Governor for one year, who shall not be eligible to that office longer than three years in six successive years. This provision compelled the retirement of Governor Martin at the end of the year 1784. He was immediately re-elected as Senator from Guilford County, and was again made Speaker of that body, succeeding Governor Caswell, who had succeeded him as Governor.

In 1786 he was elected by joint ballot of the two houses of the General Assembly one of the five delegates to the Federal Convention called to meet in Philadelphia to frame the Constitution of the United States. This convention convened on Friday, May 25th, 1787, and among those present Governor Martin's name appears first among the delegates from North Carolina, on page 139 of volume 1 of Elliott's Debates. As usual with all his duties, he took an active and intelligent part in its proceedings; but for some reason both he and William R. Davie were absent when the Constitution was signed,

and hence their names do not appear to that immortal instrument in the formation of which they took so deep an interest, and the ultimate adoption of which by their own state was so largely due to their efforts. In the same year Governor Martin was again elected to the State Senate, and again became its presiding officer. At that time this position was much more important than at present, and was universally regarded as second only to the Governor in dignity and influence.

This Legislature called a Constitutional Convention to meet at Hillsborough in July 1788, to consider the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Governor Martin was a candidate for the Convention, but was defeated by his old friend Doctor David Caldwell, who was an intense Republican, as the followers of Jefferson then called themselves, and bitterly opposed to the adoption of the Constitution.

The defeat of Martin was practically the defeat of the Constitution for the time being; as the Convention by a vote of 184 to 84, more than a two-thirds majority, determined neither to adopt nor reject the Constitution, but simply to recommend a bill of rights and *twenty-six* amendments; and it then adjourned sine die to await the action of the other states.

Gov. Martin was immediately returned to the State Senate, and again elected Speaker. No stronger proof of the stern independence of the stalwart yeomanry of Guilford County could have been given than their opposition to the Federal Constitution in spite of the earnest appeals of their great countyman, whom they always loved, honored and trusted. That trust was never betrayed, and that love and confidence were never lost.

The Constitution having been adopted by a majority of the states, the government of the United States went into operation in the Spring of 1789. The fourth day of March was set for the meeting of Congress; but a quorum of the Senate was not obtained until April 6th, and General

Washington was not inaugurated as President until the 30th day of April.

Prompt action on the part of North Carolina became imperative, and a new Constitutional Convention was called. Both the Convention and the General Assembly met at Fayetteville on November 2nd, 1789.

The Federal Constitution was adopted, and Governor Johnston and Benjamin Hawkins were elected Senators. This necessitated the immediate election of Governor, an office then regarded as of greater dignity and importance than that of Senator, as he was the head of the sovereign state of which the Senator was only one of the representatives. In fact Mr. Jefferson regarded the Governors of the respective states as the only officials whose visits the President could be expected to return.

It is impossible for us to realize the extreme reluctance and grave misgivings with which this state entered the Federal Union. A republic formed by the voluntary aggregation of sovereign states, widely separated and of diverse internal interests, was an untried experiment in the history of the world. All the republics and democracies of former times had virtually been confined in their governing power to their dominating cities. The Roman republic was simply the republic of Rome. The city was the creator of the republic, and was properly called "the mistress of the world". Here the National government was the creature of pre-existing states, and to call Washington City the mistress of this country would be a pure absurdity.

North Carolina had many illustrious men from whom to choose her Chief Executive; but she felt the need of her strongest son, one not only of proved loyalty and ability, but one whose calm judgment and steady hand could be trusted to guide the infant ship of state through the stormy billows that hid the horizon. In this hour of supremest trial the heart and mind of the people turned to Alexander Martin.



He was immediately elected Governor, and the Old North State began her magnificent career as one of the United States of America under his directing hand. He was again elected Governor in 1790 and again in 1791, thus for the second time serving out the full number of terms allowed by the Constitution.

Six times Governor of this state, once by succession and *five times* by direct election, Governor Martin has left a record that has never been equalled and seldom approached. Governor Caswell was elected four times and Governor Vance three times.

Of Martin's wonderful career as Governor, Colonel Wheeler, whose extreme Jeffersonian leaning made him by no means partial to our great Federalist, simply says, on page 182 of his history: "He (Alexander Martin) conducted the affairs of the State in a troubled and perilous period with great dignity, unswerving fidelity and scrupulous integrity." Justice could say no less, and eulogy need say no more.

In 1793 Governor Martin was elected to the Senate of the United States, and served his term with his habitual ability, fidelity and distinction. While not agreeing with the extreme views of Hamilton, he was a staunch Federalist, and a devoted follower of Washington, whose personal friendship he so long enjoyed.

In the childhood of a nation its people are more impulsive and less conservative than in its more mature development. It may be the want of national experience, and perhaps to a greater extent, the disruptive influence inseparable from successful revolution. It is a realization of this fact that has lead the students of history to a more thorough appreciation of the sublime character of Washington, who was far greater in his restraining influence over the dangerous elements of the country than in his more brilliant achievements. As a successful general, and even as the founder of a mighty nation, he may be surpassed by others; but in his formative influence upon

the character of a great and noble people, he has no superior in history, and but one rival in Alfred the Great.

The principles of the French Revolution, for the time being, exercised a wonderful influence over the American people, in some sections endangering the existence of organized government, and even threatening the foundations of the Christian faith. No Irishman, whether Catholic or Protestant, has any toleration for infidelity; and while he may not live up to the doctrines of his Church, he is always ready to fight for them. Governor Martin from his seat in the Senate, saw the threatening dangers, and regardless of personal consequences, sternly faced the gathering storm. He may have underestimated the ultimate conservatism of the people, and doubted too much Jefferson's ability to control the dangerous elements he had aroused, but he did the right as he was given to see the right.

With his lofty patriotism, deep convictions and strong character, he could not do otherwise. He was Alexander Martin; and while the willow may bend, the oak must stand or fall. He strongly supported Adams' administration, voted for the Alien and Sedition acts, and at the end of his term retired to private life with the great party to which he belonged.

Moore's history on page 428 of volume 1, says that Jesse Franklin succeeded Bloodworth as Senator in 1798. This is a mistake. Franklin succeeded Martin, and took his seat on December 30th, 1800, as shown on page 21 of the Annals of Congress for the first session of the Sixth Congress.

About 1789 Governor Martin moved his residence to the new county of Rockingham, which was cut off from Guilford in 1785, and thereafter resided on a plantation, to which he gave the name of Danbury, situated on the south bank of Dan River, at the mouth of Jacobs' Creek. Here he lived until his death in 1807, possessing ample

means and exercising the most generous hospitality. Among his guests was General Washington, who spent several days with him on his return from his Southern trip in 1790, arriving there about the first week in June of 1791.

They had long been friends. Besides having been United States Senator during Washington's entire second term, during which he strongly supported his administration, he had served under him during the War. Upon his leaving the army General Washington presented to him a pair of silver cups. One of the cups now belongs to Colonel James Martin, of Winston, N. C., who is a lineal descendant of the gallant Colonel James Martin who commanded the Guilford militia under Greene, and who was Governor Martin's brother. This cup is now on the desk before me.

Governor Martin was always a warm friend of our State University. As Governor he earnestly recommended its support by the State. In 1790 he became one of its trustees, and remained so until his death. He was President of the Board of Trustees in 1792-3, but gave up this position upon his election to the U. S. Senate. Another proof of his wonderful popularity is shown in the action of the Legislature, which promptly struck from the map of North Carolina the names of the counties of Tryon, Bute and Dobbs, and yet retained the name of Martin County, although it had been named in honor of Josiah Martin, the Royal Governor. No one would raise his hand against a name that stood so high on the patriot roll.

Governor Martin represented Rockingham County in the Senate in 1804 and 1805. It may seem strange to some that one who had so repeatedly held such high positions should, in his old age, be willing to go again to the Legislature; but his fellow citizens knew well the incalculable benefit of being represented by one of his great ability, exalted character and long experience;

while with him the post of duty was the post of honor. That he was again elected president of the Senate showed that he retained to the last the respect and confidence of his fellow men.

Like others of our greatest men, the character of Governor Martin exhibited some apparent inconsistencies. The brave old patriot, whose life was full of heroic and successful effort, and whose distinguishing characteristic was strength,—stern, dominating, matchless strength,—in his hours of relaxation relapsed into the quiet poet-dreamer, wandering along the leafy banks of the Dan, and writing verses.

This brings us to another phase of human character which recalls a remark made by my father when I was a boy. It then made a deep impression on my mind, which has been strengthened by the observation and reflection of maturer years. He was discussing the character of General Winfield Scott in connection with his celebrated "Hasty plate of soup" dispatch, and remarked that his experience had shown that even the greatest men generally prided themselves upon the particular qualities which they did not happen to possess. Governor Martin, by the practical consensus of contemporaneous judgment, eminent as soldier, patriot, statesman and scholar, thought that he was a poet. I regret to say that the deliberate judgment of posterity is that in this view he was mistaken. His ode on the death of General Francis Nash and lines on the death of Gov. Caswell have been published in the University Magazine, and have been highly praised for their patriotism. His admiring kinsmen console themselves with the idea that his best poems must have been lost.

Upon his death in 1807, his body was placed in a vault constructed in a beautiful wooded bluff overlooking the river. Here his remains rested in peace for thirty or forty years, until a great freshet in the river caused the water to rise above the level of the vault, into which it



flowed. He was devoted to the river; and it seemed strangely pathetic that its waters should, after so many years, come as if to take once more in their fond embrace all that remained of him it loved so well, "grieving, if aught inanimate e'er grieves over the unreturning brave." As the vault was injured, his remains were moved and buried elsewhere, but at what spot no one seems to know, and it is impossible to obtain even a clue from the conflicting statements. It is a singular coincidence that he and General Greene should both sleep in unknown graves.

A contemporary, writing of Governor Martin, says that: "He was about five feet nine or ten inches in height, well formed and fine featured." I have a large photograph of him taken from an original portrait also in the possession of Colonel Martin. The head is large and well shaped, and has the poise of conscious strength. The face is strong and attractive. The nose is long and straight, with full thin nostrils. The forehead is not unusually high, but is broad and well developed. The jaw is square and massive, indicating, with the firm straight lips, extraordinary force of character, with an inflexible will and great concentration of purpose. The lips seem to be slightly compressed, which is sometimes the result of the habitual effort of self-control. The eyes, which are large and wide apart, are looking straight at you and apparently through you, from lids that are slightly closed. It is not the laughing eye of Erin, whose wrath "a word can kindle and a word assuage." It is rather the calm eye of the frontiersman, long used to danger for which it was ever watchful, but from which it never shrunk.

The entire expression is one of repose; but there is something which suggests:

"That underneath that face like summer ocean's,  
Its lip as moveless and its cheek as clear,  
Slumbers a whirlwind of the heart's emotions,  
Love, hatred—pride, hope, sorrow—all save fear."

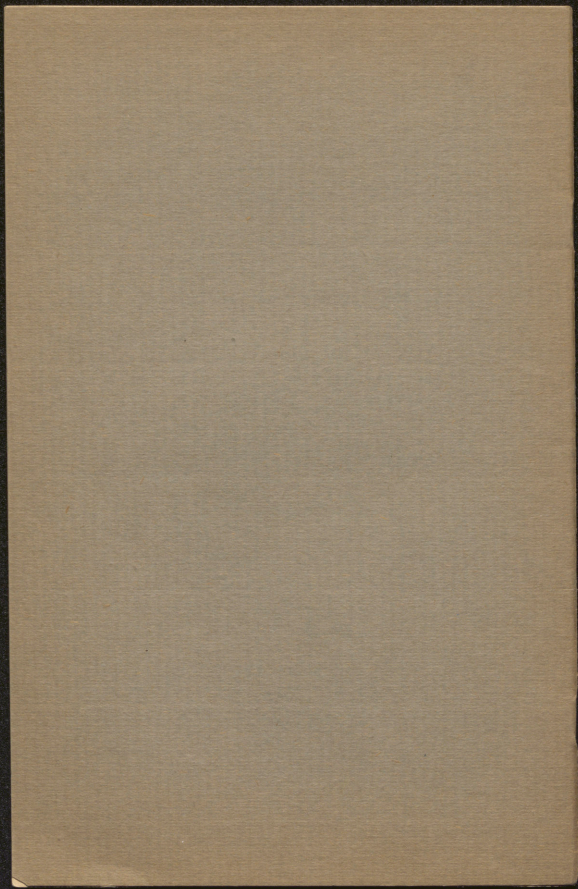
Governor Martin, like all strong men, had his enemies; but he brushed them aside with too much indifference to leave any record of his defense. He has since had detractors even among self-styled historians; but no defense or vindication is necessary of one for whom the patriots of the Revolution thought no honor too high, and in whom George Washington could find a kindred spirit.

From this cup, sanctified by the lips of the Father of his Country in the pledge of friendship to my honored kinsman, and now filled with pure water from the spring that quenched the dying thirst of the heroes who fell upon this field, I drink in the deepest reverence, to the memory of the Deathless Dead.



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INDUSTRIAL  
DEVELOPMENT  
OF  
THE SOUTH

LETTER OF  
ROBERT M. DOUGLAS, A. M., LL. D.  
TO THE MARYLAND  
BANKERS' ASSOCIATION

(REPRINTED FROM PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION)



SUPREME COURT OF NORTH CAROLINA

ROBERT M. DOUGLAS  
*Associate Justice*

RALEIGH, N. C., September 13, 1902.

Charles C. Homer, Esq.,  
President of the Maryland Bankers' Association,  
Baltimore, Md.

My Dear Sir:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the kind invitation of your Committee of Administration to deliver before the Annual Convention of your Association an address upon "The South, Its Present and Future", or some kindred subject.

Nothing would give me more pleasure, nor could I find a more congenial subject or occasion. My high appreciation of such an invitation from so responsible a source, with the promised renewal of valued friendships formed in my boyhood days, would offer every incentive for its acceptance were it within my power.

Unfortunately for me, our court is in session, and I can not be absent without neglecting matters of importance. Even if I could be present, I fear the subject you assign me would overtax my powers as well as my time.

Excluding its geographical situation, the term "South" in its industrial sense may be taken to include the seceding States, which of course were the principal slaveholding States. The institution of slavery, secession, and the extinction of slavery, were the three great incidents that created the industrial conditions existing in the South at the close of the Civil War, and for many years thereafter. Far be it from me to rake out any political question from the ashes of the troubled past, but as a native North Carolinian and a slaveholder by inheritance, I have no hesitation in saying that slavery was a curse to the large majority of the people of the South. The man owning a hundred slaves, with thousands of acres of land, could make himself comfortable with little personal effort; but his poor

white neighbor, forced unlettered and unskilled into competition with those slaves upon the equal plane of manual labor, was in a different position.

The essential features of slavery necessarily created an agricultural community. Slavery required the absolute subordination of the will of the slave to that of the master; and it was difficult to maintain this subordination if the slaves were worked together in large numbers, and especially if their occupation required the cultivation of unusual skill or intelligence.

Many of the larger planters had their own carpenters, blacksmiths, and other mechanics, who were taken from the more intelligent of their slaves and carefully trained to their respective trades. These, with the household servants, formed a distinct class in slavery, but of course bore a small proportion to the negro population. I am speaking now of general conditions, to which of course there were exceptions arising from local circumstances which necessarily differed to a considerable extent in so large an area. The South as above defined, extending from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, is an empire in itself. Stretching from the coastal plains of the Atlantic to those of the Gulf, and traversing the mountain ranges of the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies, with their intervening valleys, including that of the Mississippi, it presents such a wide range of soil, climate, and production as essentially to modify any general description. Still, as slavery was the dominant feature of the old South, the slaveholding class was its dominating element. Possessing in a very large degree its wealth and education, joined to a certain moral force that seems to spring from the acknowledged mastery of man or brute, they shaped its policies and controlled its destinies with a firm and steady hand, born alike of ability and experience. This influence necessarily varied in different localities in proportion to the number and wealth of the planters; but while less in some than in others, it was nowhere entirely unfelt.

The result was that the manufactures of the South were generally on a small scale, and such as required but little capital or skill. The fact that a few men of wealth and influence, looking beyond their environments, anticipated the possibilities of the future, merely emphasized the almost universal rule. The fact remains that in 1865 the South was not a manufacturing people, and possessed neither the capital nor the experience to become so.

Few can realize how complete was the destruction of Southern capital. Its commerce had been annihilated; its banks

ruined; and its currency destroyed. The freeing of its slaves, formerly its principal basis of credit, mattered but little compared to the total subversion of its domestic policy and the loss of so large a proportion of the best and bravest of its sons.

We are too apt to regard capital as meaning nothing but money. This is too restrictive an application, especially when applied to the industrial development of a people. Money of itself is not capable of production, and becomes so only when associated with human skill and industry. The product represents usually more of the human than the financial element. It has been said that a nail contains more iron than a watch-spring, and that the greater value of the latter represents the invested brains of the workman. In other words, in a watch-spring worth a dollar, one cent would probably represent the value of the iron, and ninety-nine cents the value of the labor. The difference in value between the spring and the nail is the result of the difference in value between the labor employed in their production. This labor represents time and skill, and the greater the skill, the greater the value of the product and the less the time required to accomplish a given result. It is this power to accomplish results that determines the value of a man's services. It may be the result of an expensive education, or long years of experience, or both. In any event, it is not a mere momentary exhibition of power, but has become a part of his nature, and, with his industry and integrity, forms his capital. Take a man earning \$15.00 a month, and capitalize him like any other business enterprise at say 6 per cent.; and he would be worth \$3,000. Deducting one-third of this amount for the average chances of death, he would still be worth \$2,000 to himself. His value to his family would be further lessened by the cost of his personal support. Take another earning \$150.00 a month, and capitalize him in the same manner. He would represent a capital of \$20,000, ten times that of the other. This is not a mere financial conceit. It is practically the rule of damages followed by the courts in cases of death by wrongful act, taking into consideration the life expectancy of the deceased. It should be the rule to be substantially followed in the education of every child. If a parent can educate a son from a \$15.00 hand to a \$150.00 hand, he has started him with a handsome capital most securely invested. If the father is unable to do it, and the State does it, is it not a profitable investment? The State recognizes it as such in its system of taxation, inasmuch as it taxes a man both upon his head in the shape of a poll tax and upon his personal



earnings in the shape of an income. By education I do not mean exclusively scholastic training. I mean such training, mental and manual, as will best fit a child for the fulfillment of those duties in life which he will be called on to perform. We of the South have long since abandoned the idea that law, medicine, and theology are the only learned professions, and are beginning to realize that in some cases applied information is better than mere abstract learning. Of course the moral element must not be lost sight of, as it is the foundation stone of every permanent structure.

To my mind, it is the realization of these facts that is the basis of the prosperity of the South, and that in the future will produce results immeasurably greater than those of the past. Many of the proud ancestral names of our State have disappeared from the professions and are prominent among our business men. This tendency is increasing.

At the close of the war the single problem that confronted the South was that of existence. Its currency and its credit had both gone down in the maelstrom of civil war, leaving it without even a representative of values or a medium of exchange.

The national currency which had been issued in the North remained in the North until something could be given in exchange. Fortunately what was left of the tobacco and cotton crops met with ready sale at high prices. Their proceeds were at that time practically the monetary capital of the South. Then followed the troubled periods of reconstruction and reversion, which were not favorable to material development. The South, therefore, had comparatively but a few years in which to adjust itself to its changed conditions. However, necessity is a thorough teacher, even if a severe taskmaster. I must confess my share in the general disappointment at the failure of Northern capital to seek earlier investment in the South. We thought we had everything needful to offer. We had inexhaustible supplies of the raw material lying near the coal beds or the rushing streams necessary for its manufacture. Our climate was healthful and mild, with less expenses of living and longer periods of outdoor work. We had the bulk of the cotton of the world. Why should it be carried across the world when it could be spun within sight of its native fields? We have one-half of the standing timber of the United States. Why should it be carried a thousand miles and brought back as furniture which could be manufactured at the edge of the

forest? But foreign capital came not, or at least in small and uncertain streams. Perhaps they knew our want of preparation better than we did ourselves.

Finding that outsiders would not cut our grain, like the farmer in the fable, we made up our minds to cut it ourselves. Our first efforts were on a small scale, and perhaps crude, but we gradually improved. It was then we began to realize the wisdom of those far-seeing pioneers of enterprise whose works remained to become the inspiration and the models in the industrial regeneration of their people. Such names as Holt, Hoke, Fries, and Morehead connect the prophetic dreams of the past with the fullest realization of the present.

Realizing that successful competition with older fields of enterprise required the co-ordinate education of brain and hand, many of our people began sending their sons to technical schools in the North where they could obtain such theoretical and manual training as was especially adapted to the particular branch of industry they intended to follow.

Comparatively few could incur the expense of such an education, and yet, as its necessity became more apparent, the greater became the demand, until the State rightfully deemed it its duty to supply the want. This led to the establishment in 1889 of the Agricultural and Mechanical College, a State institution situated at Raleigh. This is the natural complement of the State University at Chapel Hill, which was established in 1789, and has been for more than a hundred years the pride of our people. It must not be supposed because we are awakening to the necessity of technical training, that we are losing interest in other forms of education. On the contrary, never have our colleges and schools been more successful or more largely attended, and never before have we been making such persistent efforts for the elementary education of the masses. We realize the fact that the development of but one set of muscles makes a one-sided man; and that no State can become great that depends upon a single class of industries, or that ignores the rights and needs of any portion of its people.

The Agricultural and Mechanical College, filling an acknowledged want, has been wonderfully successful. In addition to thorough courses in agriculture and mechanics, it provides a military training, so that its graduates may be fitted to defend their country in time of need. But it is upon other fields that their battles must be fought. These young men, the West Pointers of industry, are sent forth to drill and lead

the grand army of workers upon a fair field of equal rights, where every struggle is to build up and not destroy, and every effort will result in the advancement of their country and the betterment of its people. This school is in no sense a charity. While controlled and largely supported by the State, with the assistance of the National Government, it is not entirely free, but brings a practical education within the reach of the average citizen. Its attendance is limited only by its capacity. It has now over four hundred students, while large numbers have been turned away for want of room. A similar institution has been established at Greensboro, for the colored race, and is meeting with deserved success under its able and prudent management. The result of this earnest and sustained effort at practical education will be a large and constantly increasing addition to the skilled labor of the State, resulting in higher and more profitable forms of manufacture, not in one staple alone, but throughout the entire range of production made possible by the vast and varied nature of our natural resources.

I have thus briefly reviewed the industrial progress of the State as it has appeared to me, to show the difficulties of its attainment and the solid basis of its results. Such are the conditions of every rock foundation. Already the thrift, industry, and increasing skill of our manufacturers have accumulated a large and growing capital. Success invites assistance, and we have of late been aided by Northern capital, but I am informed to an amount much less than the aggregate investment of our own people. I am further assured that, with a few exceptions, all the great manufacturing interests of the State are practically under the control of Southern men.

With increase of capital will come increase of power; but whoever would rightly reckon with the industrial forces of the South in the coming years must not overlook the human equation. Even in a material sense, the best capital a State can ever have, the noblest in its nature, and the most permanent and productive in its results, consists in the educated manhood of its people.

Again thanking you for your flattering invitation, and regretting my inability to accept, or to respond in fitting words, I remain, with best wishes,

Most sincerely yours,

ROBERT M. DOUGLAS.

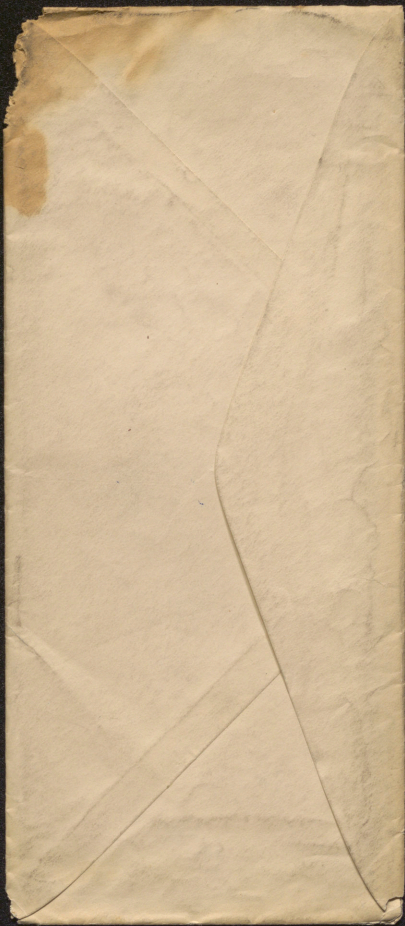


Address to  
Law Class  
1904.

\* NOT CALLED FOR INTER DAYS. RETURN TO

Supreme Court,  
Raleigh, N. C.

ROBERT M. DOUGLAS, ASSOCIATE JUSTICE





ADDRESS OF JUSTICE DOUGLAS TO THE LAW CLASS OF AUGUST, 1904.

Gentlemen,

Whom I hope soon to be able to address as gentlemen of the bar; the Chief Justice has requested me to say a few words to you upon the nature of the examination before you. It is a duty imposed upon us by law to ascertain your fitness to perform the high and responsible duties of an attorney of this Court. This is the sole purpose of this examination. The questions are all taken from the text-books prescribed by the published rules of this Court, and are intended simply to ascertain your knowledge of the law. If you do not understand the meaning of a question, you may ask the presiding Justice; but remember that he can do nothing further than explain the question; and cannot, and will not, give the slightest indication of its proper answer. It would give us pleasure to grant license to all of you, and we hope that you will all prove yourselves entitled thereto; but we owe an imperative duty to the public and our profession which we cannot ignore. Matters of vital importance are necessarily placed in the hands of an attorney. Questions of life or death may rest upon your knowledge and fidelity in the management of a case, and upon your advice even may depend the independence or poverty of a helpless widow or an orphan child. To such we owe a duty at least equal to that which we owe to you. In order to avoid the possibility even of unconscious bias, a rule has been made and consistently followed that all examination papers will be numbered by the Clerk before they are issued, and must bear no other mark of identification. We pass upon the paper itself, and not upon the individual, and have





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Pardon a few words of advice. If you succeed, do not think that this is the end of your legal studies. It is but the beginning. A thorough knowledge of the law is the work of a life time; and even ~~then~~ then, in this age of legal as well as material development, you may not be sure of the accuracy of your information. Your client is entitled to the benefit, not simply of what you may know, but of all that you can learn by diligent investigation. Above all, remember that it is no part of your duty to stir up strife or litigation. Treat your client with perfect candor, and tell him plainly if he has no case, or if its prosecution would be no benefit to him. As the relation of attorney is that of the highest trust, it involves equally the highest moral responsibility.

On the other hand, if you should fail to pass, do not consider

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# RAILROAD RATES AND TAXATION

An Open Letter to the People of North Carolina by Robert  
M. Douglas, Candidate for Corporation Commissioner.

To the People of North Carolina.

Having been nominated by acclamation by the late Republican state convention for the office of corporation commissioner, I take this method of informing you of my views upon the duties of the position. This I shall do with entire frankness, as I believe the people are entitled to such a statement from those who ask their votes for such an office. I adopt this method, because I shall not make any stump speeches, believing, as I do, that the duties of so important a position should not be affected by mere political bias or prejudice. In fact, the office of corporation commissioner is now becoming to be regarded as nonpolitical. The recent act of congress, known as the Rate Bill, which gives to the interstate commerce commission the power to regulate passenger and freight rates, provides that: "Not more than four commissioners shall be appointed from the same political party." This gives the Democrats three commissioners out of seven. My election would carry out this principle without changing the political complexion of the state corporation commission, two of whom would remain Democrats. I would have no patronage whatever, and no one except my opponent would lose his place.

But it may be asked what power I would have to carry out my views? The power of investigation and publicity, the two most powerful means of effecting a reform. I could also present to my associates such facts and arguments as I am sure would meet with their careful and favorable consideration. Moreover, in view of my known record and opinions, my election by the people would be the strongest and most unequivocal assertion of their just demands. I have no doubt whatever that my election would be followed by a proper reduction of both passenger and freight rates. I do not wish to be mis-

understood. I am in favor of a reduction in rates, not simply because the people demand it, but because the returns made by the railroads themselves show that the people have a right to demand it.

I am sure the people will neither ask nor expect me to do the slightest injustice to any one; but of one thing my fellow citizens may rest assured—the office of corporation commissioner will never fall into "innocuous desuetude" in my hands.

I presume that personal integrity will be readily conceded both to my opponent and myself; but it is evident that our views differ greatly as to the duties of a corporation commissioner. My views I will state frankly and fully, leaving his views to be stated by him or inferred from his official acts during the seven years that he has held the important position which he now holds, and to which he seeks a reelection.

In May, 1898, while on the supreme court, and when I certainly had no idea of ever being a candidate for corporation commissioner, I filed a dissenting opinion in the case of *State vs. Railway* (122 N. C., 1068), in which I stated my views of the duties of the commission as follows: "It was the imperative duty of the commission, without any outside suggestion, to make all just rules necessary for carrying out all the provisions of the act, the proper enforcement of which was the sole object of their official existence. . . . It is their duty to actively enforce the law, and to prevent, and, if necessary, prosecute, all violations thereof that may come to their knowledge in any manner. They are the active instruments of its enforcement, and are not merely required to construe it upon a sworn complaint. For the purposes of their creative act, they are the grand inquest of the state, and should diligently inquire and true presentment make of all its violations.

Any other construction of their powers and duties would destroy their usefulness and make the commission a mere exercise upon the judicial system of the state. As a court their powers are very limited; but, as a commission, they are charged with grave and responsible duties of the state, and are clothed with ample powers for their performance. While they may be compelled to appeal to the courts for the ultimate enforcement of their decisions, they possess powers beyond the jurisdiction of any court, and which, if properly exercised, may be made of invaluable aid to the people. The mere fact of thorough investigation, and consequent publicity, of existing abuses will strongly tend to their correction." I fully concurred with the court that free passes were unlawful; but held that it was the duty of the commission to notify the railroads not to issue them.

It cannot be denied that there is a general feeling of disappointment at the failure of the commission to accomplish more substantial results. This feeling has found its fullest expression from Democratic sources, as is especially shown by the learned and able addresses of Chief Justice Clark through a number of years, and recently by the forceful letters of Mr. Jacob A. Long and the eloquent and incisive speeches made in the late Democratic state convention. The full significance of these speeches is shown by the following clause of the Democratic platform, where it says: "Passenger and freight rates in North Carolina are too high, and should be materially and substantially reduced; and we demand such action by the legislature and corporation commission as will accomplish such reduction." The fact that such a demand was deemed necessary to satisfy the people after both the legislature and the corporation commission had been absolutely under Democratic control for seven years is equivalent to an admission that the just demands of the people have been ignored.

The corporation commission already has ample powers to regulate freight and passenger rates in Chapter 20, Vol. 1, of Revisal of 1905. Section 1699 specifically provides that:

"The commission shall make reasonable and just rates—

"1. Of freight, passenger and express tariffs for railroads, street railways, steamboats, canal and express companies or corporations, and all other transportation companies or corporations engaged in the carriage of freight, express or passengers.

"2. For the through transportation of freight, express or passengers.

"3. Of charges for the transportation of packages by any express company or corporation.

"4. Of charges for the use of railroad cars carrying freight or passengers."

This section has been in force since 1899, and was amended in 1903.

Passenger and freight rates can be adjusted at any time, and as often as the commission may see fit.

#### Rate Reduction Vital.

The most vital question now before the people is the reduction of freight and passenger rates. There is a general demand for a passenger rate of two cents per mile; and it appears upon the face of the returns made by the railroads themselves that such a rate would be reasonable. The railroad companies cannot be heard to deny the truth of their own returns. They should not blow hot and cold in the same breath. The discrepancy between the value of their property as assessed for taxation, and the productive value of the same property as shown by their net income, proves that the fares are too high or the taxes too low. One thing is certain: They charge too much or they pay too little. An examination of the rates in the report made to the corporation commission for the year 1905 shows the following facts.

We find that the total tax valuation of all the railroads in this state was \$9,573,334. The gross earnings of all the railroads were \$22,441,705. Their net earnings amounted to \$8,470,483, being but 12 per cent. on the assessed value of their property. The receipts from passenger fares from the three great companies, the Atlantic Coast Line, the Seaboard Air Line and the Southern Railway, amounted to \$5,384,903. I cannot ascertain from the report the amount of passenger earnings from the other railroads, but I do not think they can possibly increase the gross amount to over \$6,000,000. The report states that the average amount received

per passenger per mile by the three great companies was less than two and a half cents.

I cannot imagine how it was reduced so low unless they counted in passes and other free transportation. This does not mean that the people generally had the benefit of any such rates; but that the average amount was brought down by the free transportation given to the favored classes.

#### 10 Per Cent. on a Cent Basis.

Assuming that the smaller roads would have increased the average to two and a half cents, it follows that if an average rate of two cents a mile had been in force in 1905, the total railroad receipts from passenger fares would have been one-fifth less than it was, provided there had been no increase of business resulting from the cheapening of the cost of travel. Therefore, excluding any such increase, and deducting one-fifth of the total passenger fares (\$1,200,000) from their actual net earnings, the railroads would still have had \$7,270,483 of net earnings. In other words, if an average passenger rate of two cents per mile had been in force during 1905, the aggregate net earnings of all the railroads in the state, as well as all, would still have been more than 10 per cent. of the value of their property as assessed for taxation. And yet they resist this reasonable demand and cling to their exorbitant earnings. Shall this be permitted to continue? And yet it has continued for the past nine years. On July 13, 1897, Judge Walter Clark, at the request of the members of the commission, wrote to them an open letter calling their attention to similar facts. I have reproduced for only one or two extracts. Judge Clark says: "The very act of assembly to which you owe your existence expressly confers upon you the power to fix rates for passengers and freights, and for telegraph and telephone messages. Unless your commission is a nullity you have the power and you were created to exercise it. The public demand for a reduction of railroad charges must have been strong indeed, which in spite of the well-known influence of these corporations and their long experience in defeating legislation could force through the act which created your commission. It was not established to compliment

three gentlemen with office, nor to add to our taxation an expense of some \$12,300 annually, but the commission was created because the public was overwhelmingly convinced far back—certainly prior to 1891—that the railroad charges were excessive and oppressive, and that relief could not be had from the voluntary reduction of them by the receiving railroad incomes, but must be ordered by the people, in right of their sovereign power to fix the rates of common carriers." Again he says: "That is to say property invested of \$20,000,000 (but costing present owners far less) is allowed rates high enough to earn nearly \$3,000,000 net, or 15 per cent. interest annually out of the people of North Carolina." It seems singular that such words from so distinguished a Democrat should have been so entirely unheeded by a Democratic commission.

#### Analysis of Statistics.

Let us examine these statistics for the year 1905 a little more closely. We must assume \$9,573,334 to be the value of all railroad property in the state because the commission has so fixed it, and the railroads complained that it was too high. The railroads admittedly are \$8,470,483. If we allow the railroads four per cent. net earnings on the value of their property, they would have \$2,722,533.26, which would leave a surplus of net earnings of \$5,687,549.04 for one year alone. Deducting from this surplus the amount necessary to reduce passenger fares to a rate of two cents per mile, we still have a surplus of \$4,487,549.04 to be applied to a reduction of freight rates.

This question of freight rates, while apparently not attracting as much public attention as passenger fares, is of equal importance as they enter into the price of every pound of sugar and coffee used by our people, as well as into the profit of every pound of cotton or other products sold by our people. Freight rates are too high, and must be readjusted on a just and reasonable basis. Great injustice in freight rates is done by unlawful discrimination, while by the "piggyback" system of reclassification, the actual cost of shipping certain goods can be increased without any apparent increase in rates. Shippers can also be favored by a special



classification of their goods. What reductions should be made in rates can be ascertained only after a careful and impartial investigation. All that I shall ask is that the railroads be entirely candid with the commission and with the people. Let them render full, fair and truthful statements of all necessary facts; and then let us have a square deal all around. But there must be no attempt at shuffling or evasion. We all know how the assets of life insurance companies have been juggled by gentlemen deeply interested in southern railroad rates.

#### Four Per Cent. Enough.

It may be said that four per cent. is too little to allow on railroad property. This may be so; but why is railroad money worth more than anybody else's money? It is well known that small amounts of money can be loaned to much greater advantage than large sums. This is so universally recognized that all life insurance companies calculate their re-insurance reserve on a basis of from three to four per cent. and collect premiums accordingly. That is, they recognize the fact that they cannot rely upon obtaining a greater average rate of interest upon their investments. In the north, this reserve is usually calculated upon a basis of 3 per cent. interest. Our savings banks pay only 4 per cent. interest, with millions on deposit. Our state bonds bearing 4 per cent. interest are above par, with apparently none for sale. United States 4 per cent. bonds are quoted at 120, while the Panama Canal bonds, bearing only 2 per cent. interest, recently sold for about 104. None sold lower than 103.872 according to the treasury statement. It may be said that these bonds are nontaxable; but all railroad bonds are liable to taxation. The bonds of the Atlantic Coast Line, bearing 4 per cent. interest, are quoted above par; while the 5 per cent. bonds of the Southern Railway Company are quoted at 115½. A singular fact is that the aggregate assessed value of the three great railroad systems in this state is slightly less than their bonded indebtedness. The report of the commission for 1905, and all my calculations are based on that report, states that the Atlantic Coast Line is assessed at \$94,172,55 per mile and bonded for \$17,935 per mile;

the Seaboard Air Line is assessed at \$104,630 per mile and bonded for \$22,744.61 per mile; the Southern Railway is assessed at \$24,712.35 per mile and bonded for \$3,512 per mile. I must confess I cannot understand why a mile of the Southern Railway, carrying over thirty-one thousand dollars in bonds, selling in the open market at 115½, should be worth only \$24,712 for purposes of taxation. Is the stock utterly worthless? It does not seem so from the prices at which it is selling; but for purposes of taxation it seems to be non-existent. Further comment on that matter is unnecessary.

#### Assessment of Private Property.

I know it is said that private property is not assessed at its full value. That may be true; but what do you call its full value? If you take its productive capacity, I doubt if the average farm in North Carolina would pay 6 per cent. net on its assessed value if its owner were to deduct a fair salary for himself and family, as well as all expenses incurred in buying horses and tools and otherwise cultivating and keeping up the place. How many farms are standing next to a 6 per cent. net over and above all expenses and repairs on their assessed value? And yet the net earnings of a railroad company are its earnings over and above all expenses of every kind, including injuries to persons, law expenses, salaries and improvements. Among other items included in "operating expenses" of the three great systems, I find more than a million dollars charged for rents of "tracks," "buildings and land," and nearly half a million for "law expenses." I presume that the amount of net earnings are reported by the railroads to the commission, and might be considerably increased by a careful scrutiny of the items included under the head of "operating expenses." The supreme court of the United States in *Railway vs. Wellman*, 143 U. S., 239, uses the following significant language on page 345: "Of what do these operating expenses consist? Are they made up partially of extravagant salaries; fifty to one hundred thousand dollars to the president, and in like proportion to subordinate officers? Is that an unjust tribunal have in mind the salaries

paid to be paid to the presidents of some of our southern railroads?

Again, the same court in *Dow vs. Beidelman*, 125 U. S., 680, refuses to enjoin the execution of a statute that would reduce the net income to 2 per cent. upon the bonds alone, and says on page 690: "But there is no evidence whatever as to how much money the bonds cost, or as to the amount of the capital stock of the corporation as reorganized, or as to the sum paid for the road by that corporation or its trustees. It certainly cannot be presumed that the price paid at the sale under the decree of foreclosure equaled the original cost of the road, or the amount of outstanding bonded debt." The full significance of these comments is shown by the fact that the Northwestern N. C. railroad, running from Greensboro (or rather Pomona) to North Wilkesboro, one hundred miles in length, was bought by the representatives of the Southern Railway, at a foreclosure sale of the first mortgage bonds under a decree of the Federal court, for two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, being at the rate of twenty-five hundred dollars per mile. And yet this road appears now among the "owned lines" of the Southern Railway, at a rate of 83,347 per mile of stock and \$3,512 per mile of bonds.

#### A Comparison of Rates.

Let us briefly examine the relative rates of taxes paid by the railroads and the people. In the year 1905 the entire amount of taxes, including state, county and city taxes paid by all the railroads in the state amounted to \$641,356, which is less than one per cent. of the assessed value of their property, and about 7 1/2 per cent. of their net earnings. On the other hand, if a resident of Greensboro loans his money at 6 per cent., the highest rate of interest allowed by law, he pays taxes at the rate of two 9/100 (2.90) per cent., which is more than two per cent. on his capital and more than 30 per cent. of his net interest. Is this fair? It may be said that real estate pays more. It may pay more in gross; but whether its net earnings are greater, is another question, as it is subjected to the additional burden of deterioration, repairs, insurance, water and sewer charges, paying assessments, and the like.

As next year a new assessment of railroad property is to be made, let us see what would be a fair valuation based on present earnings. There are two ways of ascertaining the value of railroads. One is by taking the aggregate market value of all their stocks and bonds, as explained in my dissenting opinion in the case of *Jackson vs. Corporation Commission*, 130 N. C., 404. Another method of ascertaining the value of property is by its productive capacity. For instance, if a house rents regularly and uniformly for enough to net the owner \$300 over and above all expenses, such as the railroads include in their so-called "operating expenses," that house may be said to be worth \$5,000, because \$300 is 6 per cent. on \$5,000. On this plan, taking their net earnings for the year 1905, the railroad properties in this state would be worth, on a 4 per cent. basis, two hundred and eleven millions of dollars (\$211,762,075). On a 6 per cent. basis they would be worth one hundred and forty-one millions (\$141,174,716). Taking the figures given in the last report of the corporation commission, it can be conclusively shown that on the basis of the net earnings for the year 1905, the commission can add thirty millions of dollars more to the value of railroad property, reduce passenger fares to an average of 2 cents a mile, reduce freight rates nearly thirteen hundred thousand dollars a mile, and then leave the railroads more than 6 per cent. of net earnings on the increased assessment of one hundred millions. Its demonstration is a mere question of arithmetic. We have seen that it would take not more than \$1,200,000 to reduce passenger fares to a rate of 2 cents per mile; take \$1,270,000 as a reduction on freight rates; take 6 per cent. on \$100,000,000, which is \$6,000,000; add the three together, and we have \$8,470,000, which is less than the net earnings of \$8,470,483. On a 4 per cent. basis the reductions could be made correspondingly greater.

#### Other Matters Need Attention.

While the questions of rates and taxation are the principal subjects demanding attention of the commission, there are other matters which should not be ignored. The investigation of wrecks should be made thoroughly, but without

either passion or prejudice. Of course if they are due to the criminal negligence of an employee, he should bear the responsibility like anyone else; but there is another element of responsibility that we must not forget. If that employee has been kept on duty for so long a time as to render him, through no fault of his own, physically and mentally unfit to perform the duties required of him, then his negligence is the crime of the man that kept him there. Justice will not be satisfied with putting some poor brakeman upon the public roads because exhausted nature gave way.

Whenever there is a wreck, the railroad company ought to promptly furnish full and accurate information as to those who are injured, so that those who have relatives among the injured may make the proper arrangements; and those who have not may be relieved of anxiety.

There is another matter in which I think the railroads needlessly ignore the rights and convenience of the public. I see no reason why a man should be kept at the depot sometimes for two or three hours, by marking up a late train every fifteen or twenty minutes, when, if he knew the truth, he could profitably spend that time in some other way. If they know the train is two hours late, why not say so?

Much is said of the great benefits conferred upon the people by the railroads building up the country. That is true, but even to a greater extent the people build up the railroads. The people did manage to live somehow before the railroads were built; but the railroads could not live a day without the people; as every delay they suffer comes from the pockets of the people in the shape of freights and fares. The fact is, they are mutually dependent, and should frankly recognize each other's rights. Small roads, which pay but little, and yet are a great convenience to the people, should be dealt with in perfect fairness, and allowed a reasonable compensation for the cost and value of the service rendered.

#### To Work Together.

If elected, there is one matter to which I shall devote my most earnest endeavors. That is, to bring the state corporation commission and the interstate commerce commission into the most harmonious relation.

The latter is an able commission, and now possessed of ample powers. If a complaint is made to us, I do not think we should dismiss it simply because it involves some question of interstate commerce. If meritorious, I think it should be certified to the interstate commerce commission for its action. I do not see why this cannot be done without any special act, but such an act could very easily be passed by our senators and members. In view of the fact that many of our complainants are poor men, it might be well to have an act of congress permitting the state commissions to hear and determine minor cases, with a right of appeal to the interstate commission. In the large majority of cases the mere investigation would settle the matter. Interstate commerce is just as much under the control of congress as national banks which may be sued in state courts; and, in fact, the United States has no constitutional courts outside of the supreme court.

Another section of the rate bill which will assist in the reduction of rates, as it will greatly add to the net passenger earnings, is the absolute prohibition of passes except to certain specified classes, with the further provision that the penalty prescribed shall apply not only to the railroad or person issuing the pass, but equally so to the person receiving the pass or other free transportation.

The distinguished delegate who placed me in nomination kindly stated that my "record was a platform in itself." I hope I may be pardoned for citing a few of my public utterances in showing that the compliment was not entirely undeserved. I have an inherited disposition to stand for individual rights, as against corporate aggression. In 1896 my father, Stephen A. Douglas, then a member of the legislature of Illinois, moved to insert in each charter granted a clause "reserving the right to alter, amend or repeal this act whenever the public good shall require it." Again, in 1881, while in the senate of the United States, he insisted that the grant of lands that secured the building of the Illinois Central Railroad should be paid directly to the state of Illinois. He then had them given by the state to the Illinois Central Railroad upon

condition that the road should pay forever to the state seven per cent. of its gross receipts, in lieu of taxes upon its original line. I am informed that under this agreement the company has for several years paid to the state of Illinois an average of over one million dollars a year. For the year ending April 30, 1906, it paid \$1,143,997.46.

#### Capitalization and Taxation.

In December, 1890, nearly sixteen years ago, I wrote a letter to the legislative committee on railroad taxation, calling attention to the great disparity between the capitalization of the railroads of the state and their assessed valuation for taxation. The following is an extract therefrom: "The Western North Carolina Railroad is assessed for taxation at \$1,589,375, and is reported as capitalized at \$15,735,000, nearly ten times its tax valuation, and fifty per cent. greater than the tax valuation of all the railroads in this state, which is given at \$10,003,082.05." I also suggested therein the creation of a railroad commission with the following duties and powers: "All questions of railroad taxation should be referred to it, with an appeal to the courts." "The commission should have the power to elect its own chairman; to sit at different places in the state when necessary; to summon witnesses and send for books and papers, and to require such reports from all railroads as it may deem proper. In all contested cases the state, as well as any county or railroad interested, should have the right to appear by counsel. While such a commission would be created primarily to secure a just and uniform rate of railroad taxation, yet the scope of its powers could from time to time be indefinitely extended, so as ultimately to include, if deemed advisable, all the vexed questions of railroad control." A printed copy of this letter was sent to every member of the legislature. At that time we had no railroad or corporation commission. In September, 1899, nearly thirteen years ago, I delivered an address in Chicago upon "Trade Combinations and Strikes," in which I advocated strict governmental supervision of quasi public corporations and trusts. This was also published. Want of space prevents any extended quotations; but the following brief extracts will give some idea of its tenor: "So far from abolishing corporations, I wish to add to their usefulness and stability by controlling their dangerous powers and correcting their acknowledged abuses." "This fictitious capitalization is not only a fraud upon the investing public, but furnishes the strongest inducement and most plausible excuse for oppression and extortion. Rates are raised so as to absorb the profits of legitimate industries, while wages are cut down to the point of starvation." "All corporate privileges should be held at the will of the sovereign grantor." "Each state should have a department or bureau of corporations, with visitatorial powers to which all corporations should report at stated times." "Treat all alike and require from all a strict observance of the law. Trade combination and strikes are not private affairs concerning only employer and employed; but usually injuriously affect a large number of innocent people, and become public misdeeds of the highest order." "The investigations should extend not simply to overt acts, but to all causes of complaint, including the rates of wages; whether paid promptly and in cash or orders; the hours of labor; whether the employees live in houses belonging to the company, and if so whether the rental is fair, so as to determine whether on the whole the employees receive sufficient remuneration for their labor. Wages apparently fair can easily be largely misappropriated by high rents and store accounts, where the store and tenement houses belong to the company." "The dividend declared upon the stock does not always represent the profits, as large amounts may be carried to the surplus fund, expended in improvements or paid to the principal owners in the shape of salaries." "Such an inquiry, besides enabling legislators to provide suitable remedies, would be of incalculable benefit by serving to mold a just public opinion, which by its mere moral weight would bear down the offending party." "Hence so many remedial laws, plausible upon their face, are found singularly defective in practical operation. Trusts and corporations employ the ablest lawyers to be found, and those who seek



remedial legislation should have their bills drafted by men equally skillful." \* \* \* "The poor farmer plowing a brindled steer upon a barren hillside, pays taxes upon his steer as well as upon his own head. He has fair cause for complaint if the railroad magnate, rolling by in his private car, shirks any part of the just burdens of government."

For eight years I was an associate justice of the supreme court, and upon the expiration of my term, I felt that I had fulfilled my pledge, and returned to the people the great office they had given me unimpaired in its integrity, its dignity or its power. My opinions are public records, and speak for themselves. It is needless to say that they were the result of sincere conviction, and delivered at a time when I had no personal benefit to gain by their expression. One of them has recently been much discussed. Mr. Jacob A. Long, who received a large vote for corporation commissioner in the last Democratic convention, says that my dissenting opinion in *Jackson vs. Corporation Commission*, 130 North Carolina, 404, would have saved the state \$400,000 in taxes if it had been adopted by the court. The keynote of that opinion was that the people and the railroads should be placed on an equality as to taxation. The land of the people is assessed every four years; therefore the real estate of the railroads should be assessed

every four years. The personal property of the people is assessed every year; therefore the personal property of the railroads should be assessed every year. I saw no reason why the railroads alone should be relieved from personal taxes for two years, thus throwing an additional burden upon the people. I am not reflecting in the slightest degree upon anyone; but am simply explaining my own position.

Another case of far-reaching importance was *Greenlee vs. Railroad*, 122 North Carolina, 977, in which it was held by a divided court that the railroads owed a legal duty to their employees of providing self-couplers on all freight and passenger trains; and that their failure to do so was negligence per se, which entitled any employee injured to recover damages in spite of his own contributory negligence. In that case, my casting vote made Judge Clark's opinion the opinion of the court.

I am sure that this expression of my views will tend to arouse the people to a realization of the extent of their burdens and a knowledge of their rights; and if I am elected, they may rest assured that as far as depends upon me, there is no one so rich and powerful as to be beyond the avenging arm of the law, and none so poor and humble as to be beneath its completest protection.

ROBERT M. DOUGLAS.

September 1st, 1906.

N. B.—After reading this letter, please hand it to your neighbor.

# Demands a Square Deal

## A Second Open Letter by Robt. M. Douglas, Candidate for Corporation Commissioner

To the People of North Carolina:

In accepting the nomination for corporation commissioner, tendered me by acclamation by the Republican state convention, I deemed it proper to state fully and frankly my views as to the duties of the office as well as the general principles that would influence my action in its administration. Of course the application of those principles to individual cases would depend upon the intrinsic merits of each case. This year the only officers to be elected by the state at large are a corporation commissioner and some of the superior court judges, the latter being nominated by their respective districts. Thus by force of circumstances my opponent and I are the heads of our respective party tickets, while the duties that one or the other of us will be called on to perform embrace the vital questions of the age, and those questions alone. With the general political administration of the state we will have nothing to do.

### Inconsistency of Democratic Press.

The leading Democratic papers of the state have been ringing with repeated demands that all candidates for office should tell the people where they stand. Have I not done so? Moreover, the Democratic press and politicians have persistently denounced the Republicans for refusing in some instances to have a joint discussion on the ground that the people had a right to hear both sides. Has the Democratic press permitted my side of this all-important question to be heard? Did I not have a right to expect, after such demands for publicity and protestations of fairness and frankness, that they would give at least some notice to my open letter of acceptance?

Day after day, columns after columns have been filled with denials, explanations and arguments seeking to prove that some state office cost a thousand or so dollars less under a Democratic than it did under a Republican administration; and yet they cannot spare a single line for the question whether millions

of dollars shall continue to be taken by the railroads every year from the pockets of the people by unjust freight and passenger charges, and those who are seeking to build up the industries of the state be ruined or driven out by unlawful discrimination.

The Democratic press and speakers who are denouncing those Republicans who refuse a joint discussion accuse them of "taking to the bushes." That would seem to be the only place to find a Democratic politician if you wish to discuss the most important issue of the campaign. He will spend an hour arguing who shall be coroner or constable, but cannot spare a minute in discussing who shall be corporation commissioner.

Gentlemen, my letter is not copyrighted, and is at your disposal to quote or criticize as you see fit; but I am sure the people would be glad to know how you stand upon those questions. As far as I can learn, but two Democratic papers have alluded to my open letter, and those only briefly and incidentally. A leading Democratic daily referred to it as "Judge Douglas' private platform." What was meant by the distinguished editor, who is one of the official spokesmen of his party, I do not know, unless he intended to emphasize his repudiation of my platform and to express his disapprobation of the principles and measures advocated therein. Surely he cannot mean that I am the only man that believes in those principles. If so, he must have forgotten the rate bill recently passed at the suggestion of a Republican president, by a Republican congress, with the full concurrence of leading Democratic senators and members. He should also remember that for the enforcement of this law, three Democrats of national reputation accepted appointments at the hands of a Republican president on a nonpartisan commission.

### President Roosevelt.

The other paper in question was a Democratic weekly which, after accusing the Republican party of being controlled by corporations, simply says:



"It is true that they have nominated Judge Douglas for corporation commissioner, but he, like Mr. Roosevelt, finds no moral support in his own party, and would find himself bound hand and foot should his party carry the legislature." Aside from the absurdity of such statements, I feel highly complimented by being compared with one in whose great qualities of heart and brain the people throughout this broad land recognize the incarnate spirit of Americanism. It is not too much to say the railroad rate act, the pure food act, the employers' liability act, and the meat inspection act, four of the most important and beneficial laws that have ever been passed, owe their initiative to Mr. Roosevelt. That a man who had already attained the summit of human ambition, with no pledges to fulfill and nothing to gain, should throw all the weight of his matchless personality and splendid popularity into the scale of individual right, is the surest guarantee of the stability of American institutions.

#### Employers' Liability Act.

The employers' liability act is worthy of special attention. It provides that common carriers shall be liable to their employees or, in case of death, to their personal representatives, "for all damages which may result from the negligence of any of its officers, agents or employees, or by reason of any defect or insufficiency due to its negligence in its cars, engines, appliances, machinery, track, roadbed, ways or works." Section 2 provides that the injured employee's contributory negligence, unless greater than that of the defendant, shall not bar a recovery; and concludes with the following significant mandate: "All questions of negligence and contributory negligence shall be for the jury."

#### Not Opposed to Rate Bill.

There is no warrant for the statement that the Republican party in North Carolina is opposed to the principles of the rate bill. It is true it is not specifically indorsed in the platform, but Colonel Skinner in placing me in nomination, plainly and distinctly stated that my record was a platform in itself, and showed that I had always been in entire sympathy with Mr. Roosevelt's views as to the rate bill and other railroad and corporate regulations. My immediate nomination by acclamation,

without a dissenting vote, was as much a ratification of those principles as if they had been set out in the platform itself. As my letter was written after my nomination, I of course am responsible for the proposed method of their application; but no one can say that the principles themselves are in any degree antagonistic to anything contained in either the Republican state or national platform.

#### Mr. Bryan's Principles.

But it has been said that these principles have been stolen from Mr. Bryan, the colossal figure that bestrides the Democratic party from ocean to ocean, and whose slightest words, even when borne by the wandering winds from far beyond the seas, come to waiting Democratic ears with all the sanctity of an oracle. If these are Democratic principles, why should any true and patriotic Democrat refuse to indorse them, if he believes they are just and necessary to the welfare of the state? The Commoner, in its issue of September 28, says: "But the election of a Democratic house means that Mr. Roosevelt will be sustained whenever he moves along reform lines or upon any other action which seeks to protect the public interests from the special interests." It would seem that those who profess to be the followers of Mr. Bryan might imitate in some degree the magnanimity of the great Nebraskan.

My letter is not addressed to Republicans alone, but to all the people of North Carolina who are true to the old state to which I belong not only by residence, but by birth and kindred blood. All that I ask is that they will read my letter and discuss it with their neighbors regardless of politics. Then they should do as they think right. My one election is of no importance compared to the success of the principles I advocate; and if the people think that those principles can be better carried out, and their just demands better secured, by the election of my opponent, no one will bow more cheerfully than I to their final decision.

ROBERT M. DOUGLAS.

October 17, 1906.

J. M. Reece & Co., Greensboro, N. C.

## STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS' ATTITUDE TOWARD SLAVERY

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A letter written by his son, Judge Robert M. Douglas,  
in reply to an invitation to attend the semi-  
centennial celebration of the Lin-  
coln-Douglas debates.

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GREENSBORO, N. C., October 14, 1908.

HON. E. M. BOWMAN,

Chairman Executive Committee Lincoln-Douglas Cele-  
bration, Alton Ill.

*My dear Sir:*—Your very kind letter inviting me to attend the semi-Centennial Celebration of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates, has been received. It is deeply appreciated, not only for the invitation itself, but for the cordial and appreciative tone of your letter.

As the elder, and now the only surviving son of Senator Douglas, it would give me very great pleasure to attend the Celebration and show my respect, not only for my Father's memory, but also for that of his great rival, whom subsequent events, perhaps beginning with these debates, have placed among the greatest men in the ages.

Denied the pleasure of a personal attendance, it seems to me that one or two instances illustrating my Father's character would not be out of place.

Judge Taft, in his address at Galesburg, has tersely and correctly stated the real issues then discussed by Mr. Lincoln



and Judge Douglas. He rightly says that "neither speaker represented the extreme view of some of his party. The controversy related to the status of slavery in the territories of the United States, and its succeeding status in the states to be formed out of that territory."

He further says: "Mr. Lincoln, therefore, while he deplored the existence of slavery, believed that as a sworn legislator it was his duty to vote to provide a fugitive slave law, and such other protection to slave property as was required by the Constitution."

To this extent Mr. Lincoln and Judge Douglas agreed; but Judge Douglas insisted that the question of slavery in the territories and future states should be settled by the people themselves inhabiting such territories and states. In his opinion this would reduce the question of slavery from a national to a local issue; and would thus not only recognize the great doctrine of home rule, but would prevent future legislation which he thought would endanger the very existence of the Union. I am merely stating his position; but deem it simple justice to his memory to recall the fact that he was personally opposed to slavery. He showed the sincerity of his convictions by refusing a gift of slave property offered by his father-in-law in the contingency of a failure of heirs to his wife, which would have been worth from \$100,000 to \$125,000. He never owned or accepted a slave or the proceeds of a slave, directly or indirectly; nor would he permit himself to be placed in a position where the ownership of slave property might be cast upon him by operation of law. My Mother, who was the only child of Colonel Robert Martin, of Rockingham County, North Carolina, met my Father in Washington City through her first cousin, Governor David S. Reid, who was a colleague of Judge Douglas both in the House of Representatives and in the Senate. My Grandfather, Colonel Martin, died in 1848, after my Mother's marriage, but before my birth.

In his will, recorded both in this State and Mississippi, appears the following paragraph: "In giving to my dear

daughter full and complete control over my slaves in Mississippi (his slaves in North Carolina having been left to his wife in fee simple) I make to her one dying request instead of endeavoring to reach the case in this will. That is, that if she leaves no children, to make provisions before she dies to have all these negroes, together with their increase, sent to Liberia or some other colony in Africa. By giving them the net proceeds of the last crop they may make would fit them out for the trip, and probably leave a large surplus to aid them in commencing planting in that country. In this request I would remind my dear Daughter that her husband does not desire to own this kind of property, and most of our collateral connection already have more of that kind of property than is of advantage to them.

"I trust in Providence, however, she will have children; and if so, I wish these negroes to belong to them, as nearly every head of a family among them have expressed to me a desire to belong to you and your children rather than to go to Africa; and to set them free where they are would entail on them a greater curse, far greater in my opinion as well as most of the intelligent among themselves, than to serve a humane master whose duty it would be to see that they were properly protected in such rights as yet belong to them, and have them properly provided for in sickness as well as in health."

Under his oath as executor of Colonel Martin, it was the duty of Senator Douglas to protect the property belonging to his children; but it is evident from the above provision that he was never willing to own personally a slave or the proceeds of a slave.

There is another phase of my Father's character which, in the all absorbing question of slavery with its possible results, does not seem to have been sufficiently recognized. It is admirably expressed in the following quotation from a letter to me of Chief Justice Fuller. The Chief Justice says: "I knew your lamented Father very well. Popular as he was, it has nevertheless seemed to me that the extraordinary

abilities he possessed have never been fully appreciated. The slavery question compelled his attention, and so the comprehensive grasp of his mind did not get full opportunity for expression in other directions. But as time goes on I think the impression of his real greatness deepens."

His constant care for the individual welfare of his own State and its intellectual and material advancement, should not be overlooked. His establishment of the University of Chicago, not only by the use of his influence, but by a donation large for a man of his limited means, attests his interests in the higher education of the people. On the other hand, the building of the Illinois Central Railroad, and his early efforts to place all charters under legislative control, show his regard for the material interest of his State and his prophetic view of the necessity of corporate control.

In 1836, although only twenty-three years of age, Judge Douglas, then a member of the Legislature of Illinois, moved to insert in each charter granted a clause "reserving the right to alter, amend or repeal this act whenever the public good shall require it." Again, in 1851, while in the Senate of the United States, he insisted that the grant of lands that secured the building of the Illinois Central Railroad should be made directly to the State of Illinois. He then had them given by the State to the Illinois Central Railroad upon condition that the road should pay forever to the State seven per cent. of its gross receipts, in lieu of taxes upon its original line. I am informed that under this agreement the company has for several years paid to the State of Illinois an average of over one million dollars a year. For the year ending April 30, 1906, it paid \$1,143,097.46.

With kindest greetings to all who feel an interest in the name and blood I bear, and with best wishes for the success of your Celebration, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT M. DOUGLAS.



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ADDRESSES

BY

ROBERT M. DOUGLAS, A. M., LL. D.,

OF

GREENSBORO, N. C.

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JOS. J. STONE, PRINTER, GREENSBORO.

Compliments of  
R. M. Douglas

ADDRESSES

BY

ROBERT M. DOUGLAS, A. M., LL. D.,

OF

GREENSBORO, N. C.



## THE ANNUAL ADDRESS

At the Banquet of the Society of Alumni, of Georgetown University, at Washington, D. C., in January, 1894.

*Fellow Alumni:*

It is indeed pleasant to meet again, after so many years, the friends of our earlier and better days. But it is long since I left old Georgetown; and with the warm grasp of a living hand comes up the recollection of those who have left us. One by one their shadowy forms appear, called up by memory's fondest dream, until the heart re-echoes the poet's song: "Oh, for the touch of a vanished hand, and the sound of a voice that is still." Among them rises one of heroic mould—the teacher and friend of my boyhood, the admiration and inspiration of my maturer years—Father Charles P. Bahan.

Father Bahan was born July 9, 1835, entered Georgetown College May 6, 1850, and left it September 4, 1854, after having taken the medal in the class of poetry at the preceding commencement. He entered the Society of Jesus two days later, on September 6, 1854, and died at Woodstock College, in 1882, of heart disease.

As a boy and man he was the product of Georgetown; and surely a fairer life was never grafted on a nobler stem. To the strongest and sternest qualities of manhood he joined the gentleness of a woman and the purity of a child.

Born in Louisiana, of French extraction, his physical and mental characteristics indicated Norman rather than Gallie blood. Simple and unpretentious in speech and manner, in him lightly slumbered the spirit of the sea kings of old. Of medium height and but little more than medium weight, he possessed a quickness and activity seemingly inconsistent with his almost super-

human strength. This mere physical strength was greatly intensified by his power of instant and desperate exertion. Physically, mentally, and morally he was an athlete. Every muscle of his powerful frame, every faculty of his strong and active mind, every thought and feeling, was under the domination of a will of iron, a heart of gold. Fitted to lead his fellowmen in any condition of life, whether in sunshine or in storm, he might have become, even among the wildest desperadoes of the west, the terror of the mountain, or the pride of the plain. Leading the peaceful life of a priest of God, no one possessed an humbler Christian spirit, a purer Christian heart. The hand, the grasp of whose single finger could bend a ten-penny nail, was ever ready, with a woman's tenderness, to soothe the fevered brow, to raise the fallen, and to lead the wayward.

In him the teacher never degenerated into the pedagogue, the prefect never sank into the detective, for throughout the very warp and woof of his nature ran the golden threads of heroic manhood. Strict and firm, but never technical, he possessed the rare faculty of distinguishing the essence from the mere wording of the rule. As a prefect he seemed to have the unaccountable faculty of always being in the right place; and while seeing more that ought to have been seen, could be more absolutely unconscious of what he did not wish to see than anyone I ever saw. He neither required, nor had occasion to require, the personal respect which others might demand in vain. To him it was freely given, as the voluntary tribute of youth to the highest and noblest qualities of manhood. He frequently mingled in the sports of the boys, and won their love and admiration not only by his splendid physical qualities, but more by his frank recognition of equality and generous withholding of superior strength.

It is the possession of power and not its mere assertion that commands our respect and admiration. Infinite as are the attributes of God, inconceivable as are the glories of heaven, to my mind the sublimest sight eternity can ever know is the death upon the cross. We read that myriads of angels were waiting to rescue the Divine Victim, but their assistance was neither desired nor needed. We know that that poor, mangled, bleeding body was animated by a pure and eternal spirit, infinite in the very essence of His being, whose omnipotent power was inherent and inalienable. At any moment He could have terminated His sufferings; and without external help, or even any bodily exertion, have swept from existence by a mere act of His will the world which He had created. Every moment was a renewed sacrifice, a continued self-immolation. That a sinless being should voluntarily suffer such torments for our sins, that the Creator should become the atoning sacrifice of the creature, commands the supremest adoration of heart and mind.

At the dawn of manhood Father Bahan laid his life on the altar of God. As a religious, professing to give up the world with all its pomps and vanities, he chose the path that led towards Calvary. He did not seem to think that his sacred calling conferred upon him any peculiar personal privileges or exemptions, but rather imposed additional duties and obligations. He believed in the noble maxim of his ancestral tongue, "Noblesse oblige," and applied it to himself. And yet he could sympathize with a weakness he did not possess and could pardon a fault that was not his own.

His features were too strong and rugged to be handsome. His swarthy complexion was rendered darker, even when closely shaved, by a beard black and unusually heavy. His nose was large, and his lips thick, but

firm and straight, were usually closed with an aspect of stern determination, perhaps the result of habitual self-control. However stern in repose, his face lighted up with the kindest of smiles. Kindling in the eye, it was a smile of the heart, and not of the lips. His eye was his handsomest and most striking feature, and the only one whose expression he could not control. It was deep set and very dark, but rather the darkness of the shadow than any distinct color. Usually cast down, when raised it sought the object of its scrutiny with a glance almost startling in its quickness, at once reading your thoughts and expressing his own. His features, though large, were neither coarse nor sensual. Hard and sinewy, their every line indicated the strength of his body and the force and elevation of his mind.

The distinguishing trait of his character was the active and constant predominance of the moral qualities. What must have been the strength of the moral nature which could exercise such complete control over physical powers and passions that in their intensity seemed the survival of some remote and warlike age. With a Viking's frame he inherited a Viking's temper; but from it he suffered alone. I saw him once when deeply angered. With gleaming eye and reddening cheek, he turned upon the offender; then pressing his hand to his corded brow, he bowed his head a moment, perhaps in silent prayer, and resumed the lesson. Yet he was not irritable, and was utterly ignorant of the art of quarreling. What he might have been in the world without the restraints of religion, I dread to think; what he was I can never hope to be. With passions warm as the climate of his native state, deep and strong as the mighty river that rushes by his boyhood's home, he must have been subjected to unusual temptations. What they were we can never know, but surely they be-



came but the stepping-stones to a higher and purer life.

His greatest, I might say his only, fault, was self-distrust. Secluded from childhood, reared within the walls of the College, from which he went to the novitiate, he was always embarrassed in the presence of ladies. It was only in the later years of his life that he could be induced to preach. But what to him were spoken words? His example was a sermon; his life a prayer.

He could not be called brilliant. Brilliancy is nearly always the abnormal development of some one quality at the expense of others.

The electric light is brilliant only in the surrounding darkness, and fades in the light of day. With him the circling virtues made the glorious whole. Innately honest, truthful, and brave, to the manly attributes of strength, gentleness, and purity, he added the priestly virtues of charity, humility, and devotion.

His seemingly untimely death was a fitting end to such a life. Our latest recollections of him are the brightest. No pitying finger could point to what he once had been. With mind undimmed by age, and body untouched by sickness or by sin, he died in the fullest flower of a fairest manhood.

## ADDRESS

Accepting the Portrait of William Hooper, on behalf of the Guilford Battle Ground Company, delivered July 4th, 1895.

*Ladies and Gentlemen:*

The Directors of the Guilford Battle Ground Company have imposed upon me the honorable and pleasant duty of accepting this handsome portrait of William Hooper, painted and presented by our distinguished friend and benefactor, Mr. David L. Clark.

This portrait, great as are its intrinsic merits, is even more valued on account of the heroic qualities it calls to mind, and the generous sentiments expressed by the gifted donor.

Mr. Clark is too well-known to you by his work and too gratefully remembered by his former benefactions, to require any eulogy from me; and after the magnificent oration on the life and character of William Hooper, delivered here a year ago, by the learned and eloquent Alderman, any further attempt of mine would seem commonplace. Every nation has illustrated the period of its greatest development by perpetuating in marble and in bronze the fame and forms of its illustrious dead; not so much to honor them, as to recall their virtues and impress upon the rising generation the lesson of their heroic lives.

Such has been the one constant object of the stockholders of this Company. The legal title to this battle ground belongs to the Company; but its beneficial ownership, with all its priceless memories and associations, is vested in every true North Carolinian, and in every patriotic American whose grateful heart recalls the labors and sacrifices of the founders of the Republic.

Here we can all meet with one universal feeling of gratitude and of pride. Here there is no North and no South; no wail for kindred dead; no pang of regret for a lost cause rendered doubly dear by the priceless lives so freely given in its defense.

Here the vanquished were all alien enemies, the victors were all Americans. With them many of us can proudly boast our kindred blood; but we are all the common heirs of their glory and the heritage of liberty they bequeathed to our native land.

Next to a nation's heroes come those whose life's labor of love it has been to record their services and transmit their memory to succeeding generations. Hector and Achilles and the other petty chieftains of Greece and of Troy, who fought and died before the walls of Ilium, over three thousands years ago, would long since have been forgotten did they not live and breathe and act again on Homer's immortal page.

And now in conclusion permit me to say a few words, the heartfelt utterance of a tongue never tuned to flattery.

We all know that this lovely field, as it now exists, is the offspring of the heart and brain of the President of this association; and I wish to say to Judge Schenck that his labors are fully appreciated, and will be as long as a stone remains to mark the spot.

Of great ability and an energy ever restless, and almost resistless, his has been a life of sunshine and of storm, filling a large part of the public gaze for more than a generation. Whatever antagonisms he may have created are forgotten here. On this sacred spot he may ever rest, secure from the slightest touch of envy or detraction, surrounded by these monuments, the noblest ramparts of his fame, and guarded by the kindred spirits of the heroic dead.

## REPLY TO THE TOAST "GREENSBORO"

At the Banquet of the Raleigh Chamber of Commerce, on April 29, 1890.

*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Chamber of Commerce:*

You cannot but join me in regretting that the President of our Chamber, who is so well fitted to respond to this toast, is unable to attend. Myself, a conscripted substitute, I did not come here to make a speech, but simply to bring to you the kindly greeting of an honest, industrious and unpretentious people, the worthy descendants of the heroes of Guilford Court House, who, like the fabled wrestler of old, receive from their mother Earth, the very ground they tread, the inspiration of a brave and generous patriotism. Responding to the toast of Greensboro, I presume you expect me to say something about Greensboro, and perhaps of her so-called boom. That is quickly said. She has no boom and wants none. All she asks or desires is the legitimate results of her magnificent natural advantages, and the full reward of her honest efforts. This she is rapidly attaining by the steady growth of her population and the healthy development of her varied industries.

Greensboro has a conservative as well as a progressive people, clinging to whatever is good of the past, welcoming whatever is best in the ever changing present. Always the centre of political activity, and frequently of political control, politics never enter into her business or social relations. Nearly all her children are churchmen, and cling with devoted fidelity to the faith of their fathers or the creed of their adoption; but her dogmas alone are confined to her churches. Her charity is as broad as the suffering circle of humanity—the charity of the heart as well as of the hand.



She has no race conflicts or antagonisms. The generous recognition and assistance of the one race, is met by the respectful and self respecting service of the other. We have neither millionaires nor paupers. We cannot boast of the lordly mansions of our rich; but we do point with pride to the homes of our laboring classes; the bone and sinew of every land. Nowhere else that I have ever seen do so many men, white and black, own the houses in which they live. The best citizen on earth is he that owns his home; and every little flower planted by the contented hand of a freeman, is a stronger prop of a free country than a bayonet. Of the Greensboro woman, and I use this term in its highest sense, whether as daughter, wife or mother, I can only say in the words of the poet, she is "a thing of beauty" and "a joy forever." Whether her tresses wear the golden tinge of the dawn, or the silvery shades of evening, she bears

"Within her heart the dew of youth,  
And on her lips the smile of truth."

The history of Greensboro is the history of our country. At old Guilford Court House was fought the most important battle of the Revolution; and near there the curtain went down on the last act of the sad drama of the civil war.

Now the old flag waves over a reunited land, whose "air is too pure to be the breath of a slave"

But there is a slavery that is not personal, a servitude of the community and not of the individual; and now, that the war for the commercial independence of the South has been begun, Guilford Court House has again been selected as the battlefield.

Almost within sight of the spot where the squirrel rifles of the Guilford militia withstood the bayonets of England, will rise the first Bessemer steel furnace of the South, to prove to the world in no spirit of animosity,

but with the broadest feeling of patriotism and the highest instinct of self-preservation, that North Carolinians can, and will, support themselves.

Mr. Chairman, in conclusion, permit me to thank you for your kind attention, and assure you of our grateful appreciation and brotherly feeling. Raleigh has obtained some things for which we earnestly contended; but no word of complaint or disparagement has been heard from us. Whatever your Chamber may undertake for this proud Capital of our State or the welfare of its noble people, rest assured you will have the warmest sympathy and heartiest co-operation of our own fair City of Flowers and of Cottage Homes.

#### ALFRED MOORE SCALES.

Remarks at the meeting of the Bar of Greensboro,  
N. C., held upon the death of Governor Scales.

A commemoration of the virtues of the honored dead is eminently fitting, as a just tribute to them; a proper expression of our own feelings; and a useful lesson to our children. Few men present a more rounded life, one fuller of honest effort and substantial success, than Alfred M. Scales. He early attained distinction at the Bar; and was elected to Congress before the war. Believing in the political autonomy of the individual states, he advocated a separation of the Union as the only means of perpetuating Southern institutions; and upon this issue he freely staked the hazard of his life.

Volunteering as a private, he served throughout the war, and at its close surrendered in good faith, wearing alike the stars of a Brigadier General and the scars of a gallant soldier.

He again devoted his attention to the Law; was for twelve years a member of Congress, for four years Governor of this State; and at his death was President of the Piedmont Bank. It was a pathetic scene at the last election of Directors and officers of that Bank to see every vote cast for the dying man. No more solemn assurance could have been given by that corporation of its continued confidence in its founder and its head, and its unaltered determination that their relations should be severed by death alone.

He was successful as a lawyer, a soldier, a politician and a financier. It cannot be denied that he was excelled in each of these qualities; but it was the rare combination of them all, joined with the kindest of feelings and the purest of morals, that made his life equally singular and admirable.

I will not attempt an extended eulogy; but will simply speak of the man as I knew him, and of the qualities which especially attracted my attention and commanded my respect. These were his integrity of purpose, his kindness of feeling and simplicity of life.

There was no pretense about him. His military titles were all won where the sword alone could win them; they were worn where it was danger's self to wear them. Amid the splendor of Washington society, an honored member of Congress, he lived the simple and decent life befitting a Tribune of the People, one whose political income was absolutely limited to his lawful salary. He was singularly free from bitterness. Of strong political convictions, and open and bold in their expression, he yet could separate political sentiment from the individual, and respect the one while he antagonized the other. With him the war was over when his sword was sheathed, and he laid aside all strife with the lost flag he followed. Even in his last days, when his active mind, worn out

by honest toil, gave way, there were no scenes of violence or of strife. His mind wandered over to his old home at Wentworth. The house he built, the trees he planted, the friends of early manhood, loved scenes of bygone days, called up by memory's fondest dream, came back to bid him farewell.

Radically differing upon the essential principles of government, we were of necessity widely apart upon nearly all political matters; but we have long been friends. He had kindly words for me when kindly words were wanted; and I but do justice to my own feelings in offering this last heart-felt tribute to his memory.

He was honest, truthful and brave: brave on the field of battle, in the crash of contending hosts; truthful even in politics, honest amid all the temptations of high official position.

Well done! thou good and faithful public servant. Farewell, thou model of Christian manhood.

Leaving behind thee the useful lesson of thy well-spent life, thou takest with thee on thy last journey, the grateful recollection of thy native State, the respect and love of thy fellowmen.



## ADDRESS OF WELCOME

Delivered before the State Medical Society at its  
Annual Meeting at Greensboro on May 15th, 1894.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Medical Society:*

I trust you will not judge of the warmth of your welcome by my feeble words. Trained in the dry and concise language of the law, and lacking equally the eloquence of the orator, the imagination of the poet and the flowers of the rhetorician, I cannot but feel my incapacity for such an occasion. Feeling highly honored by the invitation to address you, but not knowing on what subject to speak, as usual I sought the advice of my family physician. I first suggested a history of medical science, beginning with a panegyric upon Aesculapius. He diplomatically informed me that he had several times heard of Aesculapius, and thought the Medical Society of North Carolina knew more about medical science than I did. He further gently intimated that, in legal parlance, "time was not of the essence of the contract;" and that I might make my address just as short as I pleased. My next idea was to astonish you with my learning, as evidenced by words of classical origin and sesquipedalian length. In this mood, I happened to open the proceedings of your 39th annual session; when my eye lighted upon these words on page 23: "Learnedly discourse on le petit mal intellectuel, the movements en manège and the prodromal pre-epileptic syncopie vertigénous paroxysms; emphasize the importance of micro-organisms, autogenetic and heterogenetic, and bacteriological cultures, pathogenic and saprophytic, etc., etc."

I closed the book in despitir. I had read Tongiorgi and Liberatori on logic, metaphysics and ethics, includ-

ing ontology, cosmology and psychology. I had afterwards studied law, and had become somewhat acquainted with its most ponderous phrases; but in the wildest flight of my imagination I had never dreamed of words like these. What was left for me? Nothing, save to welcome you in the plainest, but sincerest of English. You are indeed welcome. No body of men would be more welcome to us, and none stand higher in our estimation and esteem. The fact that you are members in good standing of the Medical Society of North Carolina is a sufficient introduction to us, and will be so received wherever your society is known. Next to the priest comes the family physician. Standing at the cradle and the bier, he welcomes the coming, and soothes the parting spirit. His character and attainments should correspond with the exalted dignity and tremendous responsibilities of his position. Natural ability he must have, joined with a sincere devotion to his profession, and a full realization of its requirements. He cannot expect to reach its head, as may happen in other professions, by one brilliant and heroic effort; but must work his way upward "through long days of labor and nights devoid of ease." Learned but not pedantic, progressive but not experimental, prudent but not timid, cool but not indifferent, he should unite the tenderest sympathy of a woman with the utmost strength of manhood. The warmest of human sympathies should spring direct from the heart, but never reach to the nerves. His should be a gentle and soothing hand, whose velvet touch has an iron grasp. Necessarily knowing many family matters that the world should not know, his professional secrets should be secured in his own breast with the lock of conscience and the key of honor. Of course his instincts would make him a gentleman; and beneath all and supporting all, should rest the solid foundation

of a pure Christian character. This is no mere fancy sketch. Many such have I known among your noble profession, and while I do not wish to be invidious, I cannot refrain from saying that, as I utter these words, rises the honored shade of Burke Haywood.

There is one tendency of your profession which meets the unqualified approval of all thinking people; and that is towards preventive treatment. I cannot explain to you the difference between aseptic, antiseptic and other septic remedies, as you know them and I do not; but the principle is well enunciated in the old adage of our grandmothers that "An ounce of preventive is worth a pound of cure." This leads me to commend in the highest terms the services of your State Board of Health, whose faithful, zealous and intelligent efforts are worthy of the fostering care of the Legislature, and the earnest co-operation of all classes of our people. In welcoming you to Greensboro it is perhaps proper to add that we think well of our beautiful city. While not occupying the exact geographical position of the garden of Eden, we are undoubtedly on the same isothermal line. We have all to make life pleasant; and think we can show you much of interest except in the way of sickness. Nobody wants to get sick or die here. Why should anyone wish to leave Greensboro? We have the purest of water and the freshest of air, the best of doctors and the loveliest of women. With such surroundings it is difficult for us to shuffle off this mortal coil. The Greensboro woman, in health fresh and sparkling as the dew-drop that nestles on the rose, is in sickness tender, patient and loving. Her smile would win back the weary sufferer almost from the "gates ajar," while her tear would stay the fatal hand of Azrael himself.

We will endeavor to make your visit here a pleasant one. We will listen to your eloquent orations and

applaud your well-rounded periods; and the further you get beyond our comprehension, the louder will be our applause. When your sittings are over, we shall take pleasure in showing you the sights of our town. We have our mineral springs; our graded schools; our churches; our Agricultural and Mechanical College for the colored race; Bennett College for the same race; our old and excellent Greensboro Female College; and last but not least, our State Normal College, the pride of our hearts as it contains the flower of our homes. Six miles northwest of us lies the historic battle field of Guilford Court House, the birthplace of patriotism as it was the deathbed of valor; while in our northern suburb rises a magnificent group of ornamental statuary known as the Steel and Iron Furnace.

In conclusion I can only say welcome! thrice welcome! to our city and to our homes; and may you be as much pleased with your visit as we feel honored at your coming.

### "THE BAR."

Address at the Banquet to the North Carolina Press Association at Greensboro, N. C., July 18, 1895, in response to the toast of "The Bar."

*Mr. Toastmaster and Gentlemen:*

A great Judge in a great address has recently said that "the Bar and the Press are the great safeguards of liberty." No truer utterance was ever made; and it is with just pride that I feel that the two noble professions to which we belong are so worthy of their high mission, their splendid antecedents, and the great state whose destinies we control.

The enormous power of the Press is well understood;



but few appreciate the powers and responsibilities of the Bar. The rights, the liberties and the lives of our citizens are in the keeping of the Bar; for the Bench is but the extension of the Bar, and the Judge can never rise higher than the Bar from which he has come. There is an unfortunate prejudice against lawyers; but nothing could be more unjust.

Our profession has many of the purest as well as ablest men on earth; who are always ready to defend the poor and humble, and be satisfied with the fee of an approving conscience. What nobler work could a Christian lawyer do than to defend the defenceless; what higher fee could be asked than to have his name borne above to the Throne of Grace in the tearful supplication of a mother's grateful heart, and the lisping prayer of childhood?

The practical lawyer has the best trained mind on earth. In addition to the varied experience acquired from contact with all classes of people and the management of all kinds of suits, he alone is brought into constant and direct personal rivalry and antagonism with members of his own profession. The proprieties of the medical profession forbid mutual criticism. Preachers and editors may fire at each other; but it is at long range and from a rest. Lawyers alone must be ever prepared to attack or to defend at a moment's notice as the exigencies of the occasion may require.

History will show that lawyers have ever been the most consistent defenders of the rights of the people; and in resisting the encroachments of arbitrary power, have shown as true courage as any soldier that ever trod the field of battle.

Leonidas at Thermopylae was no nobler than was Demosthenes in his Phillipics in the Athenian Forum.

The charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava was no braver than the assault of Erskine upon the assumed

prerogatives of the British Crown in the halls of Westminster.

The patriots at Bunker Hill incurred no greater risk than those who pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor to the Declaration of Independence.

The battle of Waterloo, changing the face of Europe, and affecting the destinies of mankind, was not as important to England and the millions of English speaking people throughout the world, as Runnymede.

Grand as is the historic figure of the Iron Duke, it is no grander than that of Robert Fitz Walter and the Norman Barons who stood by his side for the rights of man.

On that bright June morning, whose sunshine still lights the path of liberty, as the anxious glance of King John passed along the line of the armed barons of England, whose hearts of flame and hands of steel had almost made this world their own, it finally rested upon the priestly figure of an old and unarmed man.

Father of Magna Charta, first witness on its immortal scroll, and until his death its guardian spirit, the name of STEPHEN LANGTON, hero, saint and sage, will not only blaze forever upon the topmost arch of fame, but will live forever in the grateful heart of every freeman through countless ages yet to come.

Let us then remember our great powers and responsibilities as members of the Press and of the Bar of North Carolina.

Let us pledge our mother-State that we will bravely face those responsibilities and faithfully use those powers.

Let us promise her that come what may, our warmest love shall be hers; our highest pride her honor; and our most earnest efforts spent in promoting her prosperity, supporting her laws, and defending the rights and liberties of her people.

## ADDRESS

In presenting the copies of the Constitution to the Graduating Class of the State Normal College at Greensboro, N. C., at its Commencement in May, 1896.

*Young Ladies:*

I am sure your distinguished President could not have known the pleasure he gave me in asking me to present to you these copies of the Constitution of the United States.

This Constitution is associated with the dearest ties of my life, and recalls the most hallowed associations of the past.

My father, worn out by his fruitless but devoted efforts to preserve the Union and avert the horrors of civil war, died in Chicago in June, 1861, at the age of 48.

The last day came; and as the shades of night gathered around the room, keeping time with the ebbing sands of life, and heralding the near approach of night and death, the devoted wife bent over the dying man, and asked him what message he wished to leave for his absent sons.

From his heart and lips came the historic words: "Tell them to obey and support the Constitution and the laws of the United States."

It is but natural then that this Constitution should seem to me not only my birthright as an American citizen, but as a personal inheritance; and that my allegiance to it should appear a filial duty.

You will be presented to-day with a copy of the Constitution and of the Bible. Take them both, and keep them in letter and in spirit.

"Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." This Constitution

is Caesar. It is to every American citizen the highest rule of civil conduct. It is the essence of the Union; the bond that binds together seventy millions of freemen into a power that can defy the world, and yet that protects the individual rights of the humblest citizen.

It is the Constitution. Every article and line has been construed and upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States; and when a large portion of our countrymen, dissatisfied with some of its provisions, took the last appeal allowed to mortal man, the appeal to God on the field of battle, it was held in a decision written in the heart's-blood of the brave, that it is the Constitution.

As a native North Carolinian, bound to our own fair Southland by ties of birth and kindred blood, I can say with just and heartfelt pride that none have accepted that decision more completely than those who invoked it; and that this Constitution has now no better friends and more faithful defenders than those who live beneath the Southern cross, and fought beneath the stars and bars.

It may seem strange that this book should be given to young ladies; but remember you are going forth as the teachers of North Carolina; and that law is the foundation of all society, as this is the foundation of all our civil law. In your hands will be placed our children; and you will be largely responsible for what they will become.

Men may rule the world; but woman makes the man. It is the law of nature that women have greater influence over boys than is ever possessed by men. Her gentle hand, her kindly word, her pleading look, will do more to check the wayward boy than the utmost severity of boasted manhood, which frequently simply arouses the demon spirit in a stronger and perhaps a nobler nature.

Teach them then the rule of love and law, the law of



love and the love of law. You may do nothing heroic; but yours is a noble profession, and its results of incalculable importance, sometimes far beyond your fondest anticipations.

When your patience is most sorely tried, you may be developing a character that will leave its impress upon the history of your country, and even upon the destinies of mankind. Such has been, and such may be.

Take then this book; keep and teach the law; to your own selves be true; and in the coming years, grateful hearts will repeat of you: "*Minuisti eam paulo minus ab angelis.*"

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STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA,  
SUPREME COURT,  
RALEIGH, April 17, 1897.

Hon. W. L. Strong,  
Mayor and Chairman Municipal Grant  
Monument Committee,  
New York City.

SIR:—I have the honor to acknowledge your courteous letter of the 14th instant, inviting me to be present at the ceremonies attending the dedication of the Grant Monument on the 27th instant, and requesting an early response.

Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to bear this slight testimony of affectionate admiration were it within my power. My friendship with General Grant began in 1865, immediately after the war, when the admiration naturally felt by a boy of sixteen for the successful hero was softened and intensified by the grateful appreciation of his kindly attention shown me on my

Father's account; but it was in the intimate relation of his Private Secretary that I knew the man.

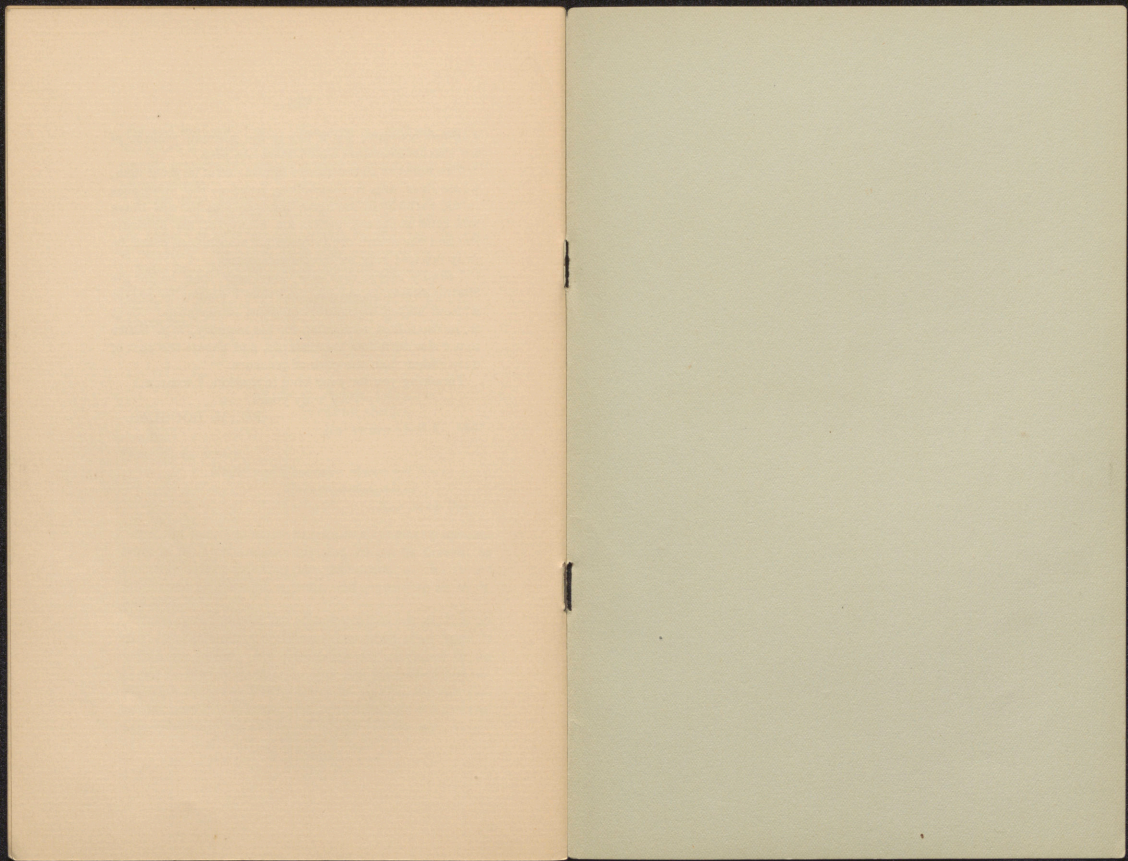
The world of course knows him as one of its great men, whose lives, eras in themselves, stand as the milestones in the pathway of the ages; but gentle as he was brave and good as he was great, the beauty of his domestic life and the charm of his personal association, could be fully realized only by the closest contact.

I deeply regret that our Court will then be in the closing days of its session, and that I cannot be absent without neglecting matters of great importance. As it is, in the fullest veneration for his memory, it is better that I should follow his example, and choose the post of duty rather than the path of pleasure.

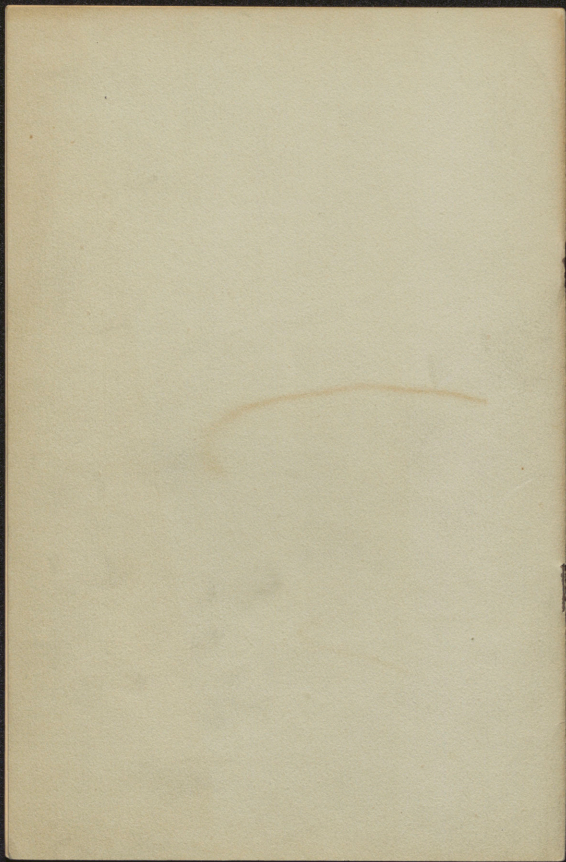
Thanking you for your kind invitation, I remain,

Very truly yours,

RO. M. DOUGLAS.



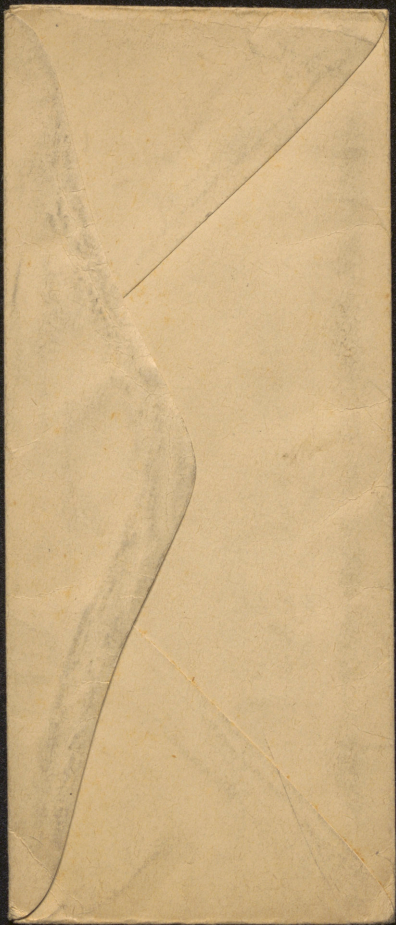




Personal.

Addresses  
& Contracts, etc.





SPEECH OF COL. ROBERT M. DOUGLAS OF  
GUILFORD COUNTY, NOMINATING COL. JAMES E. BOYD:

Mr. Chairman:-

With charity towards all and malice toward none, in no spirit of detraction of the distinguished gentlemen whose claims have been so eloquently presented to this convention, I rise to place in nomination for the high office of Governor of North Carolina, one who is the peer of them all, - James E. Boyd of Guilford County. You all know him. In form and feature, in mien and bearing, nature herself has stamped him as a man born to lead his fellow men in sunshine or in storm.

Of commanding presence and princely bearing, of splendid ability, long experience <sup>in public affairs</sup>, large and varied information, and a brave, <sup>and</sup> generous sympathetic nature, he commands the admiration and respect of all; the enmity of none; and the warmest devotion of his friends. Faults he may have; but he is never mean. His heart is always in the right place. ~~It is never in his stomach or his pocket, but in a broad and manly bosom, ever open to the kindest sympathies and the most generous acts.~~

A gallant Confederate soldier at fifteen years of age, he fought bravely in the ranks; and laid down his sabre at Appomattox.

Into its sheath with that gallant blade went all the bitterness of the past. He then devoted himself to upbuilding his native State; and found his natural place in the Republican party. As a Republican he is of lawful age. For more than twenty-one years, - yes, for a quarter of a century he has consistently supported the principles of the Republican party through good and ill repute.

*He is admittedly the foremost advocate at our Bar,*  
In geographical position he is peculiarly fortunate and - a available. Living in Greensboro, justly called the gateway of the State, whose eight different R. R. branches lead in all directions he



-: 10/1/1970, 7K

... ..

is more nearly in touch with every element of our party, than any one else can be. As goes the fifth district, so goes the State, has long been said; and Guilford County will be the decisive battle-field in this campaign, as it was in the war of the Revolution. Of the Fifth district, and of it alone, can it be said that in the last Legislature it did not have one single Democratic member in either branch. Of it, and of it alone, can it be said that its candidate for Congress, who never yet has known defeat, carried every county with three independent tickets in the field. It does not bring here one single contested or contesting delegate; and yet it does not hold a single office that does not belong to it by territorial limitation.

We ask <sup>you</sup> then as a matter of justice as well as party policy, <sup>to</sup> give to the central portion of the State recognition in the person of its favorite son.

I do not ask you to violate any pledges. I do not ask you to be untrue to your constituents or to the dictates of personal friendship; but I do ask you to remember that you come here to further the best interests of the Republican party, and to remember that a nomination is not an election.

When the ship is out on the wide sea, and the black clouds cover the skies so that not a single star can be seen; and the waves roll high, and the winds come freighted with shipwreck and death, the Captain does not steer his course by the height of the waves or the roaring of the winds; but he goes into the pilot house, and by the light of a little lamp, watches the magnetic needle that points ever true to the pole.

I ask you in this wild contention, to lay aside for a moment all factional spirit, and by the lamp of patriotism examine your own hearts; and tell me if you do not know that Jim Boyd is the second choice of nine tenths of this Convention.





Do you not know that his nomination will heal every breach, and bring out every Republican vote ? Then why not nominate him ? While his nomination might cause some feelings of disappointment, there can be none of enmity or revenge. It could not be obnoxious to his generous rivals, who have not one word of detraction, or a single ungenerous act of which to complain; it cannot be so to the great mass of the Republican Party of whose principles he has so long been a most able and stalwart defender. It cannot be so to one distinguished Senator, whose faithful supporter he has ever been. It cannot be so to our national standard-bearer, the pure, able and patriotic McKinley, whose personal friendship he has so long enjoyed.

There are a dozen reasons for his nomination, and none against it. Then why not nominate him ? Place in his gallant hands our party's banner, and waving beside our country's flag, it will be borne to certain victory on the Kalends of November.



Check  
nominating  
Ragel.

At a meeting of the Greensboro Industrial and Immigration Association, held on the 10th day of September, 1895, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, we have seen in the public Press that the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company is contemplating extending its line to Roanoke, Va., and

WHEREAS; a further extension Southward over the lines of the Roanoke and Southern and Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railway Companies, either by purchase, lease or traffic arrangement of some kind, would be to the manifest advantage of our City and section of the State, as well as to the said Railroad Companies,

RESOLVED: That this Association extend to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company a cordial invitation to extend its lines to this City, assuring it of a hearty welcome by our citizens, and the fullest measure of patronage.

~~The~~ The rapid growth of our population and unexampled development of our manufacturing interests, which would be still further stimulated and promoted by the proposed extension, furnish ample assurance that a new line could receive large amounts of freight without materially interfering with existing lines. It would naturally receive all the freight now shipped by the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railway, as well as a much greater proportion of through freights, in addition to the business hereafter created by our new manufactures.

The manufacture of cotton goods in this State has more than doubled within the past five years, and is now increasing more rapidly than ever before, the greatest percentage of such increase being in this section of the State.



At a meeting of the Greensboro Industrial and Manufacturing Association, held on the 10th day of September, 1905, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, we have seen in the Public Press that the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company is contemplating extending its line to Monroeville, Va., and

WHEREAS, a further extension southward over the line of the Monroeville and Southern and Gaps Road and Yadkin Valley Coal Company, either by purchase, lease or franchise arrangement of some kind, would be to the manifest advantage of our City and section of the State, as well as to the said Railroad Company,

RESOLVED: That this Association extend to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company a cordial invitation to extend its line to this City, assuring it of a hearty welcome by our citizens, and the fullest measure of patronage.

THE rapid growth of our population and unexampled development of our manufacturing interests, which would be still further stimulated and promoted by the proposed extension, further amply substantiate that a new line could receive large amounts of freight without materially interfering with existing lines. It would naturally receive all the freight now shipped by the Gaps Road and Yadkin Valley Railroad, as well as a much greater amount of freight than is now shipped to the business districts created by our new manufacturing. The manufacture of cotton goods in this State has more than doubled within the past five years, and is now increasing more rapidly than ever before, the greatest percentage of such increase being in this section of the State.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED ON THE 10TH DAY OF SEPTEMBER 1882

AT A MEETING OF THE GREENSBORO BOARD OF TRADE

GREENSBORO, N. C.

RESOLVED: That Robert M. Douglas, H. W. Cobb, C. H. Ireland, W. E. Stone and J. S. Hunter, be appointed a Committee; and are hereby directed to transmit to President Chas. F. Mayer and Vice-president Thos. M. King, of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, and Receiver Gill, of the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railway Company, copies of these resolutions; with full power to confer with these gentlemen, and invite them to visit our City.



RESOLVED: That Robert H. Douglass, H. W. Cobb, C. H. Lee-land, W. H. Stone and J. M. Hunter, be appointed a Committee; and are hereby directed to transmit to President Chase, E. Mayer and Vice-pres-ident Chas. M. King, of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, and President Hall, of the New York and Western Union Railway Company, copies of these resolutions; with full power to confer with these Gentlemen, and invite them to visit our City.

September 21st. 1894.

A.E. Holton, Esq.,

Chairman Republican Executive Committee,

Greensboro, N.C.

My Dear Sir:- I must confess to a feeling of great disappointment at the action of the Republican State Committee in failing to fill the vacancy in our Judicial ticket caused by the third peremptory refusal of Judge Connor. Every name on our State ticket has been dictated by the Populists, and it seemed to me that the Republican party should certainly have the privilege of naming one man, especially when that was only to fill a vacancy. While favoring co-operation on an honorable basis with all parties seeking the purity of the ballot, I have always insisted that the Republican party, in order to retain the confidence and support of its members, should nominate a ticket the majority of whom were Republicans. I fear that the action of the Committee has done us irreparable damage; and that if these Judicial nominations are hawked around much more over the State like pieces of shop-worn calico on a Bargain counter, it will be difficult to get men to accept them at all fitted for the positions. The following appears in to-day's Charlotte Observer: "The Republicans have very little to say in regard to the Connor episode; it may be that no one else will be put up. Mr. Butler says it is all in the hands of his Executive Committee. This is to meet here at call, perhaps in a fortnight. He declares that the Populists are not bothering themselves about the matter." Few Republicans of character and self-respect, however willing to accept a nomination from a Republican convention or its Executive Committee, care to be considered as a patch on the tail of a Populist ticket. I can but feel that the Republican State Committee should meet at once and fill out our ticket by placing in nomination some well-known Republican of ability and character. Leaving the vacancy to be filled by the Chairman of the <sup>two</sup> Committees, will I fear be generally construed as on the one hand submitting to the absolute dictation of the Populists, and on the other as using these exalted positions merely as party capital. Such a belief, however ill-founded, would serve to bring the Judiciary, as well as our own party into disrepute. Moreover, I do not think that under the organic law of the party, the Executive Committee can delegate to its Chairman, much less to the Chairman of an entirely distinct political organization, the duty of completing its Judicial ticket. Expressing such views, it is needless for me to say that I am not an aspirant for the nomination.

Very truly yours,





Gentlemen of the Southside Hose Company:

The pleasing and honorable duty has been imposed upon me of welcoming you tonight in the name of the matrons and young ladies of the Southside. I welcome you in the name of the young ladies; but here I am utterly incompetent for the task.

They themselves welcome you in words more eloquent than mine, and with smiles that speak far more than words. I welcome you in the name of the matrons, the dominant element of our social structure, who rule the present and <sup>would</sup> ~~rear~~ the coming generation.

We welcome you as firemen and as gentlemen. With you many of us own kindred blood; but we are all your friends, your neighbors and your admirers. There is no class of men more worthy of the respect and gratitude of the community than the volunteer firemen. Ever ready, day or night, they risk life and limb in preserving the property of others, and receive no reward save the proud sense of duty done and the just appreciation of their fellowmen. They ask no other reward.

All they ask is that the City shall furnish them the apparatus necessary for the proper performance of their self-imposed and dangerous duties. This I fear has not always been done; and yet it should be ~~as~~ done to the fullest reasonable extent. This is required not only by simple justice to the firemen, but equally so by the truest principles of economy as well as of public policy. Now that our City has ample means, I hope that it will deal justly and generously with its firemen.

In welcoming you tonight, we do not mean to make any invidious distinction~~s~~ between Greensboro firemen; but we may be pardoned for expressing our gratification that our friends and neighbors are the champions of the State, an honor so well won and so worthily borne.

You are welcome here as you are always welcome. You are welcome in the darkest hour of night when the red flame shoots across the sky, because you are ever first when the post of duty becomes the post of danger. You are welcome in ever friendly contest~~of~~ skill, where ~~xxx~~ your manly qualities of heart and head and limb are the pride of your city. You are welcome at the social gathering, because you are gentlemen in its truest sense, gentle in thought and feeling, in speech and bearing, <sup>give</sup> even under provocation which others less brave might ~~fail to~~ bear. My part is done, and I leave you now with those, or perhaps with one, whose gentle tones will soon convince you of the sincerity of our welcome.





Fudge & Mrs R. M. Douglas -  
521 Douglas st.

Greensboro, N. C.



