The Life of William Carroll

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I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Margaret Leonard Walker entitled "The Life of William Carroll." I have examined the final electronic copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in .

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presented by Mrs. Margaret L. Walker
candidate for the degree of Master of Arts,

and hereby certify that it
is worthy of acceptance.

L. P. Hornaday
U. A. Martin
Examiners.
THE LIFE OF WILLIAM CARROLL

A THESIS

Submitted to the Graduate Committee
of the
University of Tennessee
in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

MARGARET LEONARD WALKER

August 1929
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Preface

Until recent years almost nothing had been written about William Carroll although he was governor of Tennessee for a greater length of time than any other man and is one of Tennessee's commanding figures. He participated in and was a leading figure in two of the most remarkable achievements in military history: the victory of Horseshoe Bend, and the victory of New Orleans.

Not all the interesting events of Carroll's life have yet been placed before the public; both his character and attainments have been neglected by the historians. It is in order to supply in a small measure this deficiency that this definitive biography has been written.

I wish to make acknowledgements most gratefully to the many persons to whom I am indebted for courtesies.
CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE

Immediately after the Revolutionary War -- March 3, 1788 -- there was born on a little farm near Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, of poor parents a little boy destined to hold an important place in the history of Tennessee, and, indeed, to have no small part in the affairs of the nation.

This small boy, William Carroll, had for his parents Thomas and Mary Carroll. Thomas Carroll, a young Irish aristocrat, had served in the British army with Albert Gallatin before emigrating to America. In this country he seems to have espoused the cause of freedom for he fought in the war of the Revolution and married Mary Montgomery, the daughter of the captain of his company.

Young Thomas Carroll and his wife settled for a short time in Maryland where they formed part of the family of the Carrolls of Carrollton. Later Thomas deemed it best to move to Pennsylvania and to go into business with his friend, Gallatin. The two comrades

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1 Knoxville Register, July 17, 1821.
2 Ibid., July 31, 1821.
3 Given to me by Mrs. R. H. Vance, granddaughter of Gov. Carroll.
established a nail factory on the Monongahela River in Allegheny County, about eleven miles from the present city of Pittsburg, and Thomas Carroll was able to acquire a farm, fifty-one acres of which were granted to him by the commonwealth for his services in the war.

Seven children, six sons and one daughter, were born to Thomas and Mary Carroll. Their names in order were Nathanael, William, Thomas, John, David, James, and Mary.

As to the relationship to the distinguished Carrolls of Carrollton, another granddaughter also believes the family to be the same. She bases this conviction upon "inference and assertion". Among other things she tells the story of a letter which William Carroll received from his cousin, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, inviting him to make the latter a visit.

Such a trip in those old days before the Industrial Revolution necessarily consumed much time so that when at last William Carroll, accompanied by his youngest son, Charles, arrived in November, 1832, he learned, much to his dismay and disappointment, that his cousin Charles, an older man, had been dead a

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1 Mrs. R. H. Vance.
2 Ibid.
fortnight. The two travellers were hospitably wel-
comed, however, and put up for a greatly needed rest
by a daughter of the house, Mrs. Flora Carroll McTavish.

This interesting story of the visit was re-
lated to the Tennessee Carrolls by one of the partici-
pants, Charles, when he was "old and decrepit, but still
possessed of clear mind and retentive memory".

Whether there was ever any further contact
between the Maryland Carrolls and the Tennessee Carrolls
does not appear, but in 1836 is found a note of three
sisters, daughters of Richard Caton and granddaughters
of the "late Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Maryland".
All had married English noblemen. One daughter was
Marchioness of Wellesley; a second, Marchioness of Car-
marthen; and a third, the wife of Lord Stafford.

As to education, for several reasons we are
safe in saying that William Carroll's advantages were
limited. It was a pioneer period and the boy was in
the frontier. A little one-room, one-teacher school
and that for only a few months of each year was prob-
ably the only learning available. Born in "poverty and

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1 Tucker, op. cit., 388-396.
2 Ibid.
3 Randolph Recorder, August 26, 1836.
obscenity" he could have had no opportunity for tutors from abroad even if he had lived in the older settled regions of the young nation.

The boy never studied Greek and Latin, he knew nothing of the lyric verses of Sappho nor of Greek and Roman mythology, but he had read some ancient and modern history and had studied political economy and military tactics. Yet he was possessed of a superior intellect and was thus able to overcome, to a large extent, his youthful disadvantages. A study of his state papers shows that he had a good command of language, expressed himself well -- in a clear way.

Carroll had refinement of feeling, delicacy of perception, a quick and retentive brain. He was a born statesman, possessing foresight and large constructive ability. "He had all the qualities demanded by the times" and was known as a man of extraordinary good sense. A correspondent of the day describes him as a man of "practical good sense and of a sound discriminating mind" and of democratic tendencies, giving as example that he would heartily shake the hand of a ragged fellow soldier,

1 Knoxville Register, July 17, 1821.
3 I have studied his messages and letters referred to in the bibliography.
4 Caldwell, J. W., History of Tennessee, p. 179.
6 Knoxville Register, July 17, 1821.
doing away with any distinction of rank, and praising him for the fact that when he was at the "highest pinnacle of fame", he refused to shake off his old friends and acquaintances. This same writer also admires Carroll for helping his friends in their time of need—he became their security for large sums, and was ruined by it. It is evident that he was no fair-weather friend.

In appearance Carroll was tall and of an athletic build combined with grace. His face was rather long and aristocratic with its straight nose. His hair was curly and light brown; his eyes a lovely blue.

As to his manner, he was frank, open, cordial, at ease in any situation, scarcely a genuine pioneer except for that powerful frame and superior stature. For upon his smooth countenance there was an expression of delicacy that found small favor later in the eyes of the rougher inhabitants, more truly sons of the wilderness. Yet in his young days he toiled with his own hands in his father's fields and the old farmers on the Allegheny River remembered him to have taken an active

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1 Phelan, James, History of Tennessee, p. 255.
2 Described from painting made of William Carroll at age 25.
3 Phelan, op. cit., p. 260.
4 Parton, James, Life of Andrew Jackson, I, p. 336.
5 Ibid.
part at the neighborhood reapings, log-rollings, and country weddings. He was, in other words, a mixer, usually tactful, and always fond of social life.

Carroll was an active business man. His sound good sense, clear judgment, and unusual grasp of the affairs of the time are shown by the fact that while still a very young man he was made a partner in the hardware store in Pennsylvania.

In 1810, when the young man was only twenty-two years of age, he was sent by his firm to Nashville, Tennessee, to establish a branch of the Pittsburg nail store -- the first in the west.

There is no way of ascertaining why Nashville was the place chosen. It was not then the capital of the state nor even the largest city. But boats were used wherever possible because of the lack of roads in the early days. Of these boats there were three kinds in common use on the rivers before the time of the steamboat -- the keel boat, the barge, and the flatboat. The last was large and unwieldy. They floated along with the current and could be but indifferently guided by long sweeps at each end. These boats provided the

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1 Knoxville Register, July 17, 1821.
3 Mrs. R. H. Vance.
best possible means of conveying hardware over long distances. One can only surmise, then, that the firm had heard of Nashville, its need of iron, and its easy access by water; or that Andrew Jackson had spoken favorably of the location of his adopted home to Albert Gallatin, his friend and colleague. For Albert Gallatin was congressman from Pennsylvania while Jackson represented Tennessee. Also, the two were fellowboarders in Philadelphia, then the seat of government. At any rate young William Carroll took with him to Nashville a letter of introduction from their common friend, Albert Gallatin, to Andrew Jackson.

In the year 1813, when he was twenty-five, William Carroll was married to Cecelia Bradford, a descendant of Governor William Bradford of Massachusetts. This young woman, true child of Dissenters, was a "devout Presbyterian". She was the daughter of Major Henry and Elizabeth Payne Bradford, the latter a cousin of Dolly Madison's. Years before, a branch of the Bradfords had moved from New England to Virginia where John Bradford, a great grandson of Governor William Bradford, married Mary Kingsworth (née Harr) in 1717.

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1 Mrs. R. H. Vance.
3 Ibid.
To them were born nine children, one of whom, Henry, married Elizabeth Payne and became the father of Cecelia Bradford.

Soon all of the brothers except James Carroll had followed William to Nashville. This circumstance argues that the latter was himself well thought of and that his opinions were respected by Nathanael, Thomas, John, and David. Also it seems to explain the will of Thomas Carroll, Senior, which provided that all he possessed should go at his death to his wife; his daughter, who had married William Donaldson and was living near her parents in Pennsylvania; and to his youngest son, James, who remained with his parents at the old home. To the five eldest sons was bequeathed the sum of $1 each, supposedly because each had received his share as he left home.

1 Mrs. R. H. Vance.
2 Ibid.
3 The writer has read a copy of the will of Thomas Carroll, taken from Will Book 2, Allegheny Co., Pa., p. 369.
CHAPTER II

JACKSON AND CARROLL

Although Carroll had been intended for a mercantile career and had in accordance with this plan come to Nashville and opened the nail store, he early showed a fondness for studying military tactics. In fact he showed a decided inclination toward things military and soon became a member of the state militia of which Andrew Jackson was the commanding officer.

William Carroll was entering upon a new and decisive step in his career, for his acquaintance with Jackson was destined to ripen into a life-long and almost unbroken friendship. Without doubt the letter of introduction referred to above paved the way, but Carroll's attractive appearance, brave and charming manner, noble bearing, and his interest in military tactics attracted the older man's attention, caught his fancy, and held his esteem. Carroll became "one of his most trusted lieutenants". As Jackson was born March 15, 1767, he was twenty-one years Carroll's

1 Phelan, op. cit., p. 253.
2 Allison, John, Notable Men of Tennessee, II, 82-4.
3 Andrew Jackson to Thomas H. Benton, July (28 or later), 1813, Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, ed. J. S. Bassett, I, 814.
5 Bassett, J. S., Life of Andrew Jackson, I, 5.
senior, but this seemed to be no obstacle in the way of the fast growing intimacy -- probably rather increased it.

As early as 1811 Carroll was captain of a company of infantry. Allison says that in 1812 he became captain of the Nashville Uniform Volunteers. At any rate he showed an aptitude for military affairs and Jackson, who was then Major-General of the Second Division of Tennessee Militia, appointed Carroll brigadier-inspector, first with the title of captain and a little later, with the title of major of militia. The position was not an easy one, but the duties were nonetheless well performed.

It was a troublous time in the history of the country. The Spaniards still gave concern in matters of navigation, laden schooners had to be escorted past Mobile by United States armed gunboats. The Indians were continually committing depredations, murdering and carrying away inhabitants; consequently there were

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1 Knoxville Gazette, Dec. 30, 1811.
2 Allison, John, op. cit., II, 82-84.
3 Knoxville Gazette, May 18, 1812.
4 Allison, John, passim.
5 Tucker, op. cit., passim.
6 Knoxville Gazette, Aug. 12, 1811.
always alarms in various parts of the nation. England and France were engaged in a mighty struggle, the chief result as far as Americans were concerned being their sufferings under the Berlin and the Milan Decrees and the British Orders in Council, the impressment of American seamen by the British, and vessels "fired at and brought to" by British sloops of war. Also there were continued reports of British activity in inciting Indians against the American settlers, "... the savages are preparing for hostilities; that war is the language of all the red people" warned an Indian interpreter, Mr. Laline.

"Our American connections are still in a state of painful uncertainty; war seems the most probable termination of the present unhappy differences which have so long subsisted between the two nations. . . ." appeared in an English paper on July 2nd.  

There was no hope of a speedy repeal of the British Orders in Council, and it was complained that Great Britain's conduct toward us was not "regulated even by her own sense of justice. . . ." Accordingly

1 Knoxville Gazette, Sept. 2, 1811; Aug. 26, 1811; June 15, 1812, et al.
2 Ibid., Nov. 13, 1811.
3 Ibid., Sept. 30, 1811.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid., Sept. 2, 16, 25, 1811.
6 Ibid., Aug. 26, 1811.
7 Ibid., Sept. 9, 1811.
8 Ibid., Jan. 6, 1812.
it was felt in Tennessee that our government had exercised much patience. Felix Grundy, Congressman from Tennessee, and Andrew Jackson among others early urged that stronger measures toward Great Britain be adopted and stated that the majority of Tennesseans approved of his stand.

In view of all the existing circumstances Congress declared war on Great Britain in 1812, much to the satisfaction of Tennessee. Business was forgotten; people went around shaking hands and congratulating one another because of the "manly stand" taken by the government. Volunteers were called for and Tennessee responded promptly. Jackson was able to raise about 2500 men who went under his command to aid in the defense of the southern frontier against probable invasion.

On the general staff of this expedition Andrew Jackson was major-general; William B. Lewis, assistant deputy quartermaster-general; William Carroll, brigadier inspector; James Henderson, brigade quartermaster; Colonel Thomas H. Benton, first aide; John Reid, second aide, while the cavalry was commanded

1 Knoxville Gazette, Nov. 18, 1811, and Dec. 9, 1811.
2 Ibid., July 5, 1812.
3 Ibid., July 6, 1812.
4 Bassett, op. cit., p. 78.
by Colonel John Coffee.

The expedition left Nashville on the tenth of January, 1813, mainly on flatboats along the Cumberland River to the Ohio, thence down the Mississippi. But the cavalry under Colonel Coffee traveled by land by way of the famous old Natchez Trace from Franklin through the Indian country to Natchez on the way to New Orleans.

The weather was cold, the ice had not all melted in the rivers, there was sometimes very hard frost, so much so that the men who were not accustomed to being exposed slept badly. At one time there was an alarm that a boat was sinking, whereupon Major Carroll and Mr. Hynes who were in bed, arose and went up the river about half a mile to investigate, finding that it was Quartermaster Alexander's boat. All on board were saved together with the provisions, the horses, and a part of his corn. Upon another boat religious services were being performed by the minister when the roof of the boat gave way and about a

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1 General Orders, Dec. 13, 1812, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, I, 247.
2 Journal of the Trip, Jan. 10, 1815, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, I, 256.
4 Journal of the Trip, Feb. 14, 1815, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, I, 268.
5 Ibid., 257, ff.
6 Ibid., 259.
dozen men fell through "to the great astonishment of the preacher and others". The weather changed from moderate cold to excessive. It was decided that it was dangerous to proceed along the Ohio with the ice running in great masses, accordingly a stop was made on land for several days. Having set out again the last of the month, they proceeded on the eventful journey. The boats were soon down the Mississippi below the mouth of the Ohio where the troops found the inhabitants uneducated and leading a miserable and wretched existence but little removed from savagery. Other accidents occurred.

A month was spent in idleness at Natchez; then came an order from John Armstrong, Secretary of War, commanding Jackson to dismiss the men from service since there was no longer any danger from invasion. As a great many of the men were sick and almost all of them destitute, Jackson refused to dismiss them at Natchez, taking it upon himself to start out by way of the Trace and to dismiss the men near their homes. Carroll and the other officers walked all the way home that there might be enough horses for the sick soldiers to ride.

1 Journal of the Trip, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, I, 259.  
2 John Armstrong to Andrew Jackson, Feb. 5, 1813, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, I, 215-6.  
3 Knoxville Gazette, May 10, 1813.
Before the dispersion Jackson told the men that they were all to be paid immediately, that they had been neglected temporarily in the "press of business"; and said that he deplored the privations undergone by the sick, at the same time reminding them that every sacrifice had been made for the alleviation of their distress as all the officers had been kind enough to give up their horses to the sick even though it meant the officers' walking the whole distance from Natchez to Nashville, and that Governor Holmes of Mississippi Territory had furnished them many comforts for their return march.

Carroll's position of high favor with Jackson did not make for popularity for Carroll among some of his acquaintances, for although he had acquired his promotions through his own exertions, yet he was advanced over the heads of some men "of rank and fortune". Accordingly, while Carroll was serving as major general of the militia he was unwillingly drawn into a duel with Jesse Benton.

Either on account of the unpopularity due to Jackson's favor and rapid promotion or because of a

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1 *Knoxville Gazette*, May 10, 1812.
2 *Knoxville Register*, July 17, 1821.
"certain superior air" which he wore it remains that Carroll soon found himself in difficulty with
the young men of Nashville. His only living grand-
daughter says that it was whispered, "Cherchez la
gemme", that the young Carroll with his grace and
good looks was a favorite with the ladies, a fact which
resulted in much jealous feeling, especially as he was
"from the north".

In June, 1813, Carroll was challenged by
Littleton Johnston, a young officer of the army, to
fight a duel, but Carroll for certain good reasons of
his own, declined to meet Johnston. The latter, not
satisfied with young Carroll's refusal, asked Jesse
Benton to act as his friend and to bear a second chal-
lenge. This Benton did, although he knew that Carroll
had already declined to meet Johnston. Then Carroll
told Benton that he would give him an answer the
next day. He thought that Benton was probably inclined
to make himself the principal instead of Johnston, and
accordingly determined to write Benton that he would
not fight Johnston but that if Benton would take
Johnston's place, "he should be accommodated with a
meeting". Carroll then went to Jackson, informed him

1 Hale and Merritt, History of Tennessee, II, 335.
2 Mrs. R. H. Vance.
of what had taken place, and asked as a favor that the General hand Benton the proposed note. Jackson thought the matter over and delivered as his opinion that there was no cause of quarrel between Jesse Benton and Carroll and furthermore said that he would go to Nashville the next day to bring about an amicable settlement of the affair. This Jackson did and at Carroll's request, handed the following note to Jesse Benton:

"Sir, I presume you are apprised that I would not have anything to do with Mr. Johnston in the way he requested, and your coming forward as his friend, after having this knowledge, makes it probable you have volunteered in his behalf. If so, you can explain to General Jackson your object and your wishes, and it will only rest with yourself the line of conduct you intend to pursue hereafter as no communications from Johnston will be attended by me."

At the same time Jackson told Benton that he was under no obligation to fight Carroll and that any experienced gentleman whom he might consult would doubtless advise him the same. Benton, however, was not satisfied after consultation with one who did give him the same advice, he therefore sent Carroll a note the next day requesting him to have the "necessary preparations made for a decisive settlement of the affair". Thereupon Jackson told Benton that Carroll would meet him and further arrangements were made.
Carroll then decided to take such measures as would place him upon an equal footing with his opponent who was known to be an excellent marksman, whereas Carroll had never shot much. For this reason he determined upon ten feet as the distance and communicated the decision to General Jackson who approved. Jackson then suggested that as Carroll had the right to select the time of meeting, he could name a date a few days ahead and spend the intervening time in learning to shoot well. After his becoming proficient, Jackson thought that there could be no especial objection to the usual distance of thirty feet. Finding that Carroll was inclined to cling to his first decision, Jackson next proposed fifteen feet as the distance, but after Carroll had practiced shooting a few times, he thought it not advisable to depart from his plan of ten feet, though it was well known that so short a distance usually meant a desperate combat.

The seconds met and drew up and signed the rules and regulations, General Jackson courteously allowing Benton to fix the time of meeting which the latter announced for six o'clock the next morning. That afternoon Jackson called on Carroll twice with the object of persuading him to extend the distance, to which requests Carroll would not consent.
On the following morning the party met at the appointed place, the pistols were loaded, and Benton and Carroll took their positions, ten feet apart, standing back to back.

"Ready?" asked the seconds.

"Yes!" answered the opponents.

"Fire!" came the word, whereupon the antagonists wheeled and fired. Benton was severely, Carroll slightly wounded. At the given signal, Carroll noticed that Benton turned with great quickness to a low, squatting position. As to this unexpected maneuver, Jackson told Carroll later that it was neither correct nor honorable but that as Benton seemed to be mortally wounded, it would be improper to say anything about it; that if he died, the disgrace of his conduct ought to die with him.

However, it developed that Benton was not hurt much. He suffered less from his wound than he did from humiliation over the laughter of Nashville.

Jackson's part in this duel led to the altercation between him and Thomas H. Benton, elder brother of Jesse, a few weeks later. This outgrowth was

1 Carroll to A. J. Donelson, Oct. 4, 1924, in note, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, I, 311-312.
2 Hale and Merritt, op. cit., II, 353-4.
3 A. Hynes to Andrew Jackson, July 16, 1815, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, I, 309-310.
regrettable, to say the least, for the two men had been friends, were together on the Natchez Expedition, and Benton had in June, 1813, been able to obtain federal reimbursement of the money which Jackson had expended on the troops dismissed so abruptly in the Natchez Expedition.

Thomas H. Benton, in Washington at the time of the Carroll-Jesse Benton duel, heard of Jackson's part in it. He proceeded to write Jackson a cool letter -- officious people did the rest. Feeling ran high, finally ending in a fight between Jackson and Thomas H. Benton when Benton returned to Nashville. In the mêlée Jackson was wounded in the shoulder by a bullet of Jesse Benton who went to the assistance of his brother. This bullet Jackson carried thereafter for twenty years.

The only seeming blot upon the long and illustrious career of William Carroll comes into the account here. In the difficulty between General Jackson and Colonel Thomas H. Benton, Jackson had asked Carroll to serve as his second, but the latter called and told the general that a matter of most delicate and tender nature compelled him to leave Nashville at dawn.

"'Go by all means!" said the testy general,

1 Summer, William G., Life of Andrew Jackson, p. 35.
2 A. Hynes to Andrew Jackson, July 16, 1813, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, I, 309.
3 Summer, op. cit., p. 56.
4 Ibid.
"I want no man to fight my battles." 1

This incident caused a coolness in the friendship of the two men, but it was of short duration.

1 Fenton, op. cit., II, 302.
CHAPTER III
THE CREEK WAR

Late in the spring of 1812 Andrew Jackson returned from Georgia to Tennessee and, among the first pieces of news, heard of the massacre of several women and children of Tennessee by some Creek Indians. He was greatly angered and declared that the massacre must not go unavenged.

In a letter to Governor Willie Blount, Jackson urged that they "strike soon", that they march to the head of the Creek nation, saying that a competent force could be raised at the shortest notice if the governor would give permission to procure the necessary provisions and munitions of war.

Tennesseans were "on fire" and 2500 brave men of the Second Division were ready for the order to march as news came that the murderous Creeks were taking along stolen horses, scalps, and a white woman prisoner through the Chickasaw country on their home-ward way.

1 Andrew Jackson to Willie Blount, June 4, 1812, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, op. cit., I, 225-226.
2 Kickville Gazette, June 15, 1812.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
In the summer of 1812 news came to Nashville that the Creeks were preparing for war in every way, that arms and ammunition were being supplied them from Pensacola, and that they had already murdered a family of eight on the Mobile River.

Governor Willie Blount in his message to the legislature on September 26, 1812, said that there had come to him letters of correspondence and copies of proceedings in relation to the "late cruel, wanton, barbarous, and unprovoked murders and depredations" committed on frontier inhabitants of Tennessee by the Creek Indians. Whereupon General John Cooke made a resolution the gist of which was that the governor be directed to order 10,000 militiamen into service on the frontiers -- 5000 on the west and 5000 on the frontier of East Tennessee -- to prevent the repetition of outrages and to punish with death the savages who dared attempt it.

This stand on the part of the legislature was in accordance with the Act of Congress of February 6, 1812, which authorized raising volunteers. These volunteers were to be called out by the governor for

1 A. Kingsley to Andrew Jackson, Aug. 31, 1812.
2 Senate and House Journal, 1812, p. 70-75.
actual service if needed, whereupon they were to re-

eceive their arms. Tennessee had received her quota

of 1000 stand which had been deposited at Nashville

at the expense of the state.

Twelve months before this William Carroll,

then a captain, had received arms for his company under

permission of the Secretary of War and had had them

brought to Nashville, advancing the money himself

to defray the expenses of carriage. Accordingly Gov-

ernor Blount asked that Carroll be reimbursed.

Tennesseans of that period seemed to think

that the Indians' friends and allies were the Spanish

and the British and that they were an auxiliary mil-

itary force in the pay of the British. But it was

a time of intense feeling especially against the Brit-

ish over the question of freedom of the seas, and it

was much more probable that the Indian uprisings were
do-chiefly to the ever continued encroachments of

the white people upon the lands which the Indians re-
garded as rightfully their own.

A confederacy was formed by the Indians of

1 Knoxville Gazette, June 29, 1812.

2 Senate and House Journal, 1812, p. 9-10.


Mag., II, 276; Andrew Jackson to Willie Blount, in

Knoxville Gazette, June 15, 1812.

4 American State Papers, Military Affairs, I, 339.

5 Knoxville Gazette, May 11, 1812.
the northern and southern tribes to attack American frontiers at the same time. Tecumseh, the brother of the Prophet and the famous chief of the Shawnees, was selected as leader.

"Tecumseh," says Moore, "lacked but little of being a great man. He was ambitious, brave, able, eloquent, bold yet crafty, knew thoroughly the ways by which Indians could be influenced, and was, above all, implacable in his hatred of the white man. . . ."

A writer of Tecumseh's own time, however, did not think so highly of him. He says that the display of talents and oratory was by no means such as the white people had been led to think, that while he displayed some art and ingenuity, his designs were but thinly veiled.

Accompanied by the "Prophet", an artful deceiver, and a band of northern warriors, Tecumseh went to his southern brethren to persuade them to take part in the concerted attack upon the frontiers.

He was successful in his mission. Soon came rumors and then more rumors of attacks upon settlers east of the Tombigbee River. And news then came to

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1 Knoxville Gazette, June 15, 1812.
2 Moore, John Trotwood, Tennessee the Volunteer State, I, 359.
3 Knoxville Gazette, Sept. 2, 1811.
4 Moore, op. cit., I, 359.
5 Knoxville Gazette, June 15, 1812.
6 Moore, op. cit., I, 359.
to Nashville of an attack, August 30, 1813, upon Fort
Nims. The garrison being overwhelmed, the inmates
were massacred.

Great was the indignation now freshly aroused.
A meeting was called and a committee appointed to
wait on Governor Blount. Governor Blount then proceed-
ed to call out 3,500 volunteers after the necessary
act of legislation.

General Jackson was still confined to his
bed by the wound inflicted by Benton. But he said,
"It is no time for a patient to be sick when his
country needs his services," assuring the anxious
that he would lead the army if he had to be borne on
a stretcher. The effect was electrical. "It rallied
to his standard the chivalry of Tennessee". William
Carroll was with Jackson throughout the Creek War --
his "trusted lieutenant", brigade inspector still and
said to be the only one in Jackson's army who thorough-
ly understood military tactics.

1 Moore, op. cit., I, 339.
2 Ibid.
3 Sumner, p. 37.
5 Moore, I, 345.
6 Andrew Jackson to William Carroll, Feb. 28, 1814,
Corres. of Andrew Jackson, I, 471-2.
7 Andrew Jackson to Thomas Pinckney, Jan. 29, 1814,
Corres. of Andrew Jackson, I, 449.
Captain Carroll soon became Major Carroll. His promotion was due to his steadfastness to duty and courage in taking the lead in fighting. General Jackson wrote Governor Blount a note asking him to "inform the ladies of East Tennessee that Major Carroll well and martially supported the flag, leading Tennesseans to victory, . . . ."  

Closely associated with Carroll in his devotion to and support of General Jackson in every crisis -- when others failed or doubted, -- was Colonel John Coffee who with his regiment of cavalry and mounted gunmen, upwards of 1300 men, had gone ahead to Huntsville, arriving there October 4, 1813.  

Jackson, who was forty-seven years old, and Carroll both date their careers from the Creek War notwithstanding the fact that it lasted only about seven months.  

The plan of campaign was to establish a base of supplies at Ditto's Landing on the Tennessee, to build a road through the rough country and on the Ten Islands on the Coosa at which point another fort was to be erected. From these forts the army would proceed,

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1 Tucker, op. cit., p. 390.
2 John Coffee to Mary Coffee, (Date not given), Tenn. Hist. Mag., II. 274.
destroying the enemy as they came upon them. In accordance with this plan arrangements were made with General Cocke for a huge amount of bread for Ditto's Landing, also Governor Blount was asked for provisions for other quarters.

Some Indian goods were used for the Black Warrior towns were found to be deserted and their "corn and other plunder" were left behind. The Tennesseans burnt these towns without seeing an Indian. Coffee predicted that the Indians would never meet the whites in actual battle, that all their fighting would be scouting parties.

The Middle Tennessee army, waiting at Ten Islands, heard that a large number of Indians were encamped at Tallushatchee about thirteen miles away on the south side of the Coosa. Accordingly, after exhorting his troops like Caesar of old, he sent forward Coffee, now a brigadier-general, to attack. The victory was sudden but complete; not a warrior escaped.

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1 Moore, T. 345.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Hale and Merritt, p. 246.
It was always a source of surprise to Coffee that the Indians met the whites in battle at all, for "they have no kind of chance," he said. Such was the importance of Tallushatchee, which Coffee modestly called a "small skirmish".

Carroll took an active part in every battle of the Creek War except Tallushatchee.

After this battle Jackson built Fort Strother at Ten Islands and used it as his base. He still had not been reinforced by the East Tennessee troops, nor had the much needed provisions arrived.

Five days after the building of the fort, on November 9, 1813, the Tennesseans went to the assistance of a friendly Indian village, Talladega, thirty miles south. The town with 154 people had been surrounded by more than a thousand foes. A chief dressed in a hog's skin had been able to make his way to Fort Strother to implore aid.

1 John Coffee to Mary Coffee, Nov. 4, 1813, Tenn. Hist. Mag., II, 277.
2 Ibid., p. 276.
3 Knoxville Register, July 31, 1821.
4 John Coffee to John Donelson, Nov. 12, 1813, American History Magazine, VI, 176-7.
5 Ibid.
6 Hale and Merritt, op. cit., p. 247.
Jackson, therefore, dispatching an urgent message to General White in command of the East Tennessee troops, to come to Fort Strother to guard it in his absence, and at the same time sending out renewed appeals for supplies, set out in all haste for Talledega.

On the morning of the 8th at about one o'clock Jackson, Carroll, and Coffee, with about 2000 men crossed the Coosa and reached Talledega the next morning.

Here the army was drawn up before the town in a crescent, the points thrown forward. Coffee's cavalry held the flanks, divided into two parts while the "brave Carroll" ordered the charge and led the advance into action. The latter had his horse shot from under him in the mêlée of battle, but continued undaunted to "encourage his men to deeds of glory".

The post of honor -- the van -- had been accorded him in this "well-fought battle".

1 Moore, I, 346.
2 John Coffee to Capt. John Donelson, Nov. 12, 1813, American Historical Magazine, VI, 176-177.
4 Andrew Jackson to Thomas Pinckney, Jan. 29, 1814, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, I. 450.
5 Nashville Whig, Feb. 21, 1825.
6 Knoxville Register, July 31, 1821.
The hard-fighting Tennesseans had the enemy almost surrounded when nearly 700 of them broke through an opening in the lines, between the cavalry and infantry. These the men pursued three or four miles.

Two hundred ninety-nine Indians were dead on the ground and it was believed most of the others were wounded. This victory ended the menace to the Tennessee settlements and the Indians were punished for the terrible butcheries at Fort Mims. In his report of the battle Jackson wrote that too much praise could not be bestowed on the advance led by Colonel Carroll for the spirited manner in which his troops conducted themselves.

As the situation began to clear in respect to the Indians themselves, the two chief difficulties were lack of supplies and insubordination of the men who were under some misapprehension as to the expiration of their term of service. The army was reduced to great distress for lack of provisions, the soldiers

1 John Coffee to Capt. John Donelson, Nov. 12, 1813, American Hist. Mag., VI. 177.
2 Ibid.
4 Knoxville Register, July 31, 1821.
5 Andrew Jackson to Thomas Pinckney, Jan. 29, 1814, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, I. 450-454.
7 Ibid., p. 251.
being forced to subsist on acorns. As a result General Jackson had to content his fiery spirit as best he might in camp at Fort Strother from December, 1813, until March, 1814. Once during this time Jackson learned that 224 head of cattle had been delivered at Fort Armstrong for his use. He was rejoiced to hear it, for these would keep off starvation for several weeks, perhaps until further supplies could be secured from the Indians or from the lower country. There was imperative need of haste especially since Jackson had learned that a large British force was before Pensacola.

As to the second serious difficulty, great was the discontent in all camps. There were desertions in all directions. It was as if each soldier kept his calendar before him and the very moment his three months expired, demanded his discharge. He was counting it from the time of enlistment; Jackson, from the time of service.

2 Andrew Jackson to William Carroll, Dec. 23, 1813, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, I. 407-3.
3 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
General Hall's brigade deserted in a body, regarding which circumstance Coffee wrote, "... We are clear of the Scotch-Irish in that quarter".

In front of his starving and mutinous army Jackson took his stand, declaring that he would shoot the first who attempted to leave. Then he said, "If one single man will stay with me, I will stay and die in the wilderness." Captain Gordon stepped to his side and said, "General, I will stay and die with you," upon hearing which one hundred nine men did likewise. Of course Carroll and Coffee stood by their general. Carroll said, "I will go back to the frontiers and say Jackson wants soldiers", while Coffee said, "I will make a captain's company and lead it, of officers whose men have left them."

According to his word Carroll left on his lonely journey through the country to Tennessee and was able to raise a new army enlisted, however, for only two months as it was so difficult to persuade the settlers to go away and leave their families unguarded.

3 Tucker, p. 390.
Jackson was well pleased with Carroll's success and declared that they would be received with open arms in that hour of need of support for the "sinking reputation of the state". In the communication he asked Carroll's aid for the necessary active work, though admitting that it was better for him to remain where he could feed his horses.

Carroll's new army then conducted to headquarters brought new life and vigor to the campaign. It was with these men that General Jackson with Coffee as Inspector General, marched into the heart of the enemy's country and fought the battles of Enochopco and Emuckfaw.

To the troops at Fort Strother Jackson made a stirring address and then set them in motion to attack the Creeks assembled between Emuckfaw and Talla-pooza, about seventy miles south, among the villages of the Oakpuskas and others. On January 21, 1814, the little army was placed in a hollow square upon the

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1 Andrew Jackson to William Carroll, Dec. 25, 1813, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, I. 107-8.
2 Ibid.
3 Knoxville Register, July 31, 1821.
heights of Emuckfaw. Here the pickets were posted, the sentinels were doubled and made ready for attack by the Indians who were, as his spies reported, about three miles away, whooping and dancing as a preparation for attack.

Being discovered at this place on the heights by the spies of the Indians, the whites were attacked about dawn with a furious assault on the left flank. This movement, however, was met with great firmness by Carroll and others, the friendly Indians joining in the pursuit. The second attack occurred at about one o'clock of the same day, the 22nd. It was in this fighting that Coffee was wounded through the right side by a ball, "but not dangerous", as he himself said.

The enemy, driven back by the charge, took refuge on the edge of a creek where they lay hidden among the reeds. Soon they emerged for yet another attack which Jackson met in person and sustained well. Then the assailants began firing from behind logs.

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1 A Citizen of Massachusetts (Charles Ewer), Life of General Jackson, pp. 99-103.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
trees, and such so that Carroll ordered a charge
and led the entire line in a most brilliant and steady
movement, continually encouraging and animating his
men. This caused the enemy to be thrown into confus-
ion whereupon they fled, being pursued with dreadful
slaughter. In such manner was Carroll "equally cour-
ageous" on the heights of Emuckfaw.

The Indians had from 800 to 1000 braves;
the Tennesseans, 1000 white men and 200 friendly In-
dians. Upwards of 200 Indians were slain while the
Tennesseans lost only 22 killed and 66 wounded, and
these due to the raw and undisciplined troops and of-

cers.

Jackson expected an attack by the Indians
while he was crossing Enotochope Creek, consequently
he chose an unusual place for fording the creek. Col-
umns were formed and both front and rear guards put
in an attitude for defense. The wounded and part of
the columns had passed over safely with the artillery

1 A Citizen of Massachusetts, op. cit., pp. 99-103.
2 Parton, I. 488.
4 Nashville Whig, Feb. 21, 1825.
5 John Coffee to Capt. John Donelson, Jan. 28, 1814,
just entering the creek when the alarm was given. The Indians made a fierce attack on the rear which returned the fire, retiring gradually.

The rear whose center was commanded by Colonel Carroll, was to face about and become the advance in case of an attack, while the right and left columns were to turn on their pivots so as completely to surround the enemy. To Jackson's amazement he saw the right and left columns, after a show of resistance when order was given by Carroll to halt and form, precipitately give way. This blocked the passage over which the advancing center must re-cross in order to be of any assistance and affairs began to grow serious. To make the situation worse nearly all the center followed the example of the other two columns, but the artillery company composed of spirited young men from the best families formed a defense in aid of Carroll and his few remaining men -- about 100 altogether.

With this little band, Colonel Carroll maintained the unequal contest with the greatest coolness and firmness

1 A Citizen of Massachusetts, pp. 99-103.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., I. 492.
5 A Citizen of Massachusetts, pp. 99-103.
6 Ibid.
for some time.

In the meantime General Jackson with the help of his staff had been able to restore something like order among the other troops. He formed the columns again and sent help to the hardy fighters across the creek. The enemy, seeing a strong force advancing, became alarmed and fled, leaving behind all their blankets and anything else likely to impede their flight. Detachments of the Tennessee troops pursued the fleeing Indians for about two miles.

Thus the "almost victorious foes" were repulsed and largely by the bravery of Carroll, and the conduct of the army was praised alike by General Pinckney and by the Secretary of War.

Rain and subsequent high waters retarded the army, but a number of wagons were now in the country on their way to aid in transporting provisions, enough to justify the forward movement.

The plan was to leave behind all the powder but to take lead up to 4000 pounds. The supply of

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1 A Citizen of Massachusetts, pp. 99-103.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Nashville Whig, Feb. 21, 1825.
6 Ibid.
7 Andrew Jackson to William Carroll, Feb. 28, 1814, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, I. 471-2.
1 provisions must be risked. The situation was made clear to Carroll by a letter, showing Jackson's complete trust in and dependence upon him, as well as his appreciation of the "hard work and close application that Carroll had done under the direction of his commanding general."

After the attack at Enotochespe Creek the savages gave up the policy of aggression and concentrated their efforts on defending the villagers from Oakfurkee, Oakchoya, Newyonke Hollabee, the Fish-ponds, and Eufaula collected in a bend of the Tallapoosa, Tohopeka, three miles beyond Emackfaw. This bend was like a horseshoe, hence its name by the whites -- "Horseshoe Bend". Nature had made it admirable for defense and "barbarians" had "never rendered one more secure by art". For across the narrow neck of land the Indians had erected breastworks, compact and strong, from five to eight feet high and prepared with double rows of port-holes. Furthermore, an army could not approach this

1 Andrew Jackson to William Carroll, Feb. 28, 1814, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, I. 471-2.
2 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
wall without being exposed to a double and crossfire from the enemy behind it. Such was the situation when after a three days' march the army arrived at Tohopeka on the morning of March 27, 1814.

The Indians were very numerous and had the utmost confidence in victory. Jackson, after first sending Coffee and his men across the river that none might escape, came up in front of the breastworks and soon opened a brisk artillery fire upon the center. His troops kept up a "galling fire" with musketry and rifles whenever the enemy showed himself or ventured to approach.

After about two hours of this fire, some detachments crossed over in canoes and set fire to a few buildings, after which action they advanced bravely toward the breastworks and began firing, but it was insufficient. Jackson then determined to storm the works, much to the joy of the men. There followed an "obstinate contest, muzzle to muzzle, through the port-holes", many of the enemy's balls being welded to the bayonets of the militia's muskets. The men succeeded

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1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
in gaining possession of the opposite side of the breastworks and the outcome was no longer doubtful. Most of the Indians fought bravely with utmost desperation to the last, but at length were routed and cut to pieces. "The whole margin of the river which surrounded the peninsula was strewn with the slain", wrote Jackson. Some of the Indians, running in all directions, threw themselves into the river in an attempt to swim over, but not one was successful.

Colonel Carroll, the inspector general, went into the mêlée with the foremost; "never was more bravery displayed, every officer done (sic) his duty," was Jackson's report. Carroll received a rifle ball in his side on this bloody battlefield. He sustained his reputation for skill and bravery.

The Indians lost 557 dead on the ground besides 500 that sank in the river. About 500 squaws and children were taken prisoners. Jackson lost 26 white men killed and 106 wounded besides 23 friendly

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1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
4 Nashville Whig, April 27, 1814.
5 Ibid., Feb. 1, 1815.
6 Tucker, VII, 388-396.
Indians killed and 47 wounded. The result was that the last meeting place of all the upper towns on the Tallapoosa was taken. It only remained to take possession of the forts of the river and to fight one battle to finish the Creek War.

After the battle of the Horseshoe, Carroll again crossed the mountains into Tennessee for troops and returned with another army to fight the last battle. Early in April the troops arrived at the Tallapoosa at an Indian town called Haithlewalla where they had been told that the enemy had come together with the intention of giving battle.

The Indians discovered the troops and fled in all directions, some to Pensacola, abandoning their towns. These the soldiers burned. The fighting was over. The soldiers with a number of negroes and some Indian prisoners had to proceed homeward slowly. The horses were worn out. The remaining Creeks had submitted to unconditional terms and were permitted to

2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 American State Papers, Indian Affairs, II, 111.
6 Ibid.
settle on certain tracts of land, the most valuable sections being kept as an indemnity for the expense of the war.

On May 28, 1814, General Jackson was appointed major-general of the Seventh Military District of the United States and Carroll was elected to succeed Jackson as major-general of the Second Division of Tennessee militia, a very important position, as has been shown above.

Carroll had a short respite from war during the summer and early fall. He was in Nashville and about his ordinary pursuits. In July, 1814, he was on the committee with Honorable Felix Grundy, Congressman, and Judge John McNairy of the United States Court to entertain General James Winchester while he was in Nashville. Plans were made with care to show utmost respect and a public dinner was decided upon. But these social duties and pleasures were not to continue long.

1 Ibid.
3 Tucker, VII. 390.
5 Ibid.
CHAPTER IV

THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS.

After the crushing of the Creeks of the Alabama region, affairs still further south next occupied the attention of the young nation. Jackson in the Creek country corresponding with Governor Willie Blount in August of 1814, asked that all forces allotted for defense of the Seventh Military District be held in perfect readiness to march at a moment's warning to any point required. "Dark and heavy clouds hang over us," he said, ". . . . Our rights and liberties and free constitution are threatened. This noble boon, the patrimony of our Fathers, must be defended with the last blood of our country." 1 He asked that troops be organized and equipped for active service.

Jackson made a treaty with the Creeks on August 9, 1814, and then proceeded to Mobile to look after its defenses. From this place a few days later, Jackson wrote again to Governor Blount that he

1 Andrew Jackson to Gov. Willie Blount, Aug. 5, 1814, Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, II, 234.
2 Ibid.
had just had fresh news of the British military operations at Pensacola, that Havana papers stated that 25,000 of Lord Wellington's army had arrived at Bermuda, and that it was commonly reported in Pensacola that the Emperor of Russia had offered 50,000 of his choicest troops to his "Britannic Majesty" for the conquest of Louisiana.

Jackson felt the necessity for being on the alert, prepared for any situation. He asked that the governor have the whole quota of Tennessee militia organized, equipped, and brought to the south without delay, further suggesting that all arms within reach be procured for the troops.

The following day Jackson wrote to Colonel Robert Butler, "The watchword is victory or death, or America will be apportioned amongst the powers of Europe." Jackson and his staff proceeded to New Orleans by way of Tchefuncta.

In a skilfully worded appeal of September 21, 1814, he insured the help of the French in Louisiana against the British; and, appealing to the pride

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1 Andrew Jackson to Willie Blount, Aug. 27, 1814, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, II, 334.
2 Ibid.
3 Andrew Jackson to Col. Robert Butler, Aug. 28, 1814, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, II, 345.
and patriotism of the people of New Orleans, asked their aid in defending Louisiana against the British.

The people of Tennessee were "pursuing their peaceful avocations in the enjoyment of domestic comfort" in November, 1814, when in accordance with events noted above, they were summoned to arms by Major-General William Carroll. In less than thirty days they were before New Orleans, a distance of more than 1500 miles, "breasting the storm of war, and protecting 'beauty and booty'".

By the governor's order the men were to come armed and furnished as far as practicable. Carroll announced that their uniform was to be dark blue or brown, of homespun or not, with hunting shirts or coats, with pantaloons and dark colored socks. White pantaloons, vests and such might be worn upon parade.

The day for assembling was the coldest known at Nashville for many years. A deep snow was on the ground. But the volunteers were enthusiastic in spite of the cold, and Carroll was well pleased.

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1 Andrew Jackson's Proclamation to Louisianians, Sept. 21, 1814, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, II, 57-8.
2 Knoxville Intelligencer, August 13, 1822.
3 General Orders, November 23, 1812, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, I, 242-3.
over that fact, but disturbed as to warm quarters for the men, as Nashville was still not much more than a large village. Quartermaster Major William B. Lewis had provided 1000 cords of wood which amount was supposed to last until embarkation, but they had to burn every stick of it that first night to keep the men from freezing.

Notwithstanding the difficulties, however, in eight days Carroll set out with his men on board flatboats en route for New Orleans.

Flatboats were huge, unwieldy vessels that floated with the current and could be but indifferently guided by long sweeps at either end. They often carried whole families. Sometimes cattle, hogs, sheep, and goats were carried in pens on one end of the boat. When the destination was reached, the boats were taken to pieces, and the lumber used for other purposes. Any return trip was made overland.

As to General Coffee, one-half of his brigade had been placed under Major Blue and ordered to proceed against those of the Creeks who continued

2 Ibid.
3 A Citizen of Massachusetts, op. cit., p. 201.
hostile, while General Coffee with the rest of his forces had been ordered to Baton Rouge to hold himself in readiness to march on shortest notice to whatever point he was most needed.

It was learned that the enemy was on the southern coast, and that hordes of spies and British emissaries lurked in New Orleans. Jackson thought best to declare the city under martial law and to call on all the Louisiana militia to report for service. Expresses were dispatched to Generals Carroll and Coffee to urge their speedy arrival. Kentucky militiamen were also expected, but as late as the middle of December, 1814, neither Tennessee nor Kentucky troops had reached Jackson.

Jackson was busily going forward with his preparations -- completing the defense of the river, calling on the militia of Louisiana for the task. He was troubled by the lack of arms, for as he wrote

1 Andrew Jackson to Secretary Monroe, Feb. 13, 1815, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, II. 165.
2 Andrew Jackson to Secretary Monroe, Dec. 16, 1814, Ibid., II. 116.
3 Andrew Jackson to Secretary Monroe, Feb. 13, 1815, Ibid., II. 166.
4 A Citizen of Massachusetts, p. 201-2.
5 John Coffee to Andrew Jackson, Dec. 15, 1814, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, II. 115.
Secretary of War, Monroe, "without arms a defense cannot be made".

On the voyage down the river, Carroll, who had only one gun to ten men, took the responsibility of intercepting 1,100 stands on a boat-load sent by government order from Fort LaFayette near Pittsburg on route for New Orleans. For Monroe, at last aroused to the necessity for action, had ordered the commandant at the above named fort to send a sufficient supply of arms to New Orleans immediately. In obedience to this order, on November 9th, 5000 stands were sent by sailboats with the expectation that they would arrive in twenty days. This gave plenty of time but the captains in charge loitered on the way to trade, with the result that only one boat-load overtook Carroll. It was well that he had the initiative to take what he needed for the rest of the boats did not arrive at New Orleans until after the battle was over. But even after this good fortune, Carroll was ill supplied as he then had only 1600 stand of arms and those

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2 *Moore*, *op. cit.*, I, 364.
3 Bassett, *op. cit.*, I, 206.
4 *Ibid*.
5 *Ibid*.
Much credit should be given Carroll for the effort he spent in drilling the men on the trip. The men were exceptionally brave, but they were inexperienced and lacking in discipline as well as poorly armed. It was difficult to drill them while they were floating down the river, but Carroll's anxiety to have them ready in case they were needed for immediate action upon their arrival led him to push forward the drilling.

The river was high so that after a voyage of only eighteen days, Carroll and his men arrived at Natchez at ten o'clock on December 13, 1814. As he did not yet know his destination he sent Colonel Hines to General Jackson to find out.

His troops, very tired from incessant duty and the confinement of the boats, required some relaxation and an opportunity of washing their clothes, Carroll thought. Some of the men were sick and, as he said, required every possible care and attention,

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1 Andrew Jackson to Secretary Monroe, Feb. 13, 1815, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, II, 167.
2 A Citizen of Massachusetts, pp. 201-2.
4 Ibid.
accordingly he established a hospital and left them at Natchez.

Carroll's intention was to remain at Natchez one or two days and then "fall down to Baton Rouge" where he understood that General Coffee was stationed. There he proposed to await the return of Colonel Hines with definite orders from Jackson.

On December 16th, Jackson wrote Carroll that all the gunboats had fallen into the hands of the British and that the lakes were therefore open to the approach of the enemy, but that he was prepared to meet the foe and to "die in the last ditch before he shall reach the City". He added, "Your presence and your brave companions in arms are much wanted here."

Coffee wrote Jackson that Carroll and his men must soon arrive as the river was so high, in answer to Jackson's anxious inquiry, "What has become of Carroll?" Incidentally, he had been writing Coffee also of the danger of the enemy's approach by the lake, saying, however, that if they landed "one Tennessean could run down ten sailors and worn-out

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1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
General Coffee with his men had arrived on December 9th at the mouth of Sandy Creek, twenty miles above Baton Rouge. It was a "favorable spot to forage the horses." This place Coffee left on December 17th, and by forced marches of sixty miles a day, was able to reach his place of encampment four miles north of the city with "his front" in three days, the rear hastening on as fast as possible for the condition of the horses, the great fall of rain, and bad roads. Many of his guns were out of order which misfortune diminished his fighting strength considerably, his entire effective armed force being 800 men.

General Carroll arrived a few hours later and went into camp with Coffee. Thus Carroll brought timely aid into action which "ordinary men could not have so rapidly executed". All the troops of the two generals, Carroll and Coffee, were in good health and

2 Ibid.
3 Andrew Jackson to Secretary Monroe, Feb. 13, 1815, Corr. of Andrew Jackson, II, 128.
5 Ibid.
7 Note 4, Ibid., 117.
8 Nashville Whig, Feb. 21, 1825.
high spirits and Jackson was depending especially on them to check the British in case they effected a landing at any point.

Things seemed to be moving on well. Two days before the arrival of Carroll and Coffee, Jackson had reviewed the militia of the city, the battalion under Major Planche, and a part of the regiment of colored men. With tones as martial as any Roman general of old, he had made a stirring address urging each one to his best effort and encouraging the troops. He praised the colored soldiers saying, "You have surpassed my hopes. . . . the enemy is near; his sails cover the lakes; but the brave are united."

News was soon brought that the British had landed a large force on the left bank of the Mississippi about seven miles below the city. Orders were given to prepare to meet the enemy -- all the way was an open, level, cultivated field.

Jackson had only about 600 regulars and 200 militia of New Orleans but, notwithstanding the inferiority of his forces, he was convinced of the importance

1 Andrew Jackson to Col. Robert Hays, Dec. 25, 1814, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, II. 123.
2 Jackson's Address to the Militia in New Orleans, Dec. 18, 1814, Ibid., II. 118-9.
3 Andrew Jackson to Secretary Monroe, Feb. 13, 1815, Ibid., II., 167.
of impressing the enemy with a spirited resistance.  
It was a fine moonlight night. Coffee with his 800 
armed men had reached the city itself and had joined 
Jackson, but Carroll had not arrived. Yet there was 
no time to be lost, the enemy were to be checked or 
they would soon be in New Orleans. 

The Americans had a gun vessel that went 
down the river with the troops and which, a little be-
fore the action was begun by them, opened fire on the 
British with grape and canister shot that drove them 
back away from the river bank about three or four 
hundred yards. General Carroll had arrived sometime 
during the night, but the Americans were still far 
in inferior in numbers. 

Then followed the battle of two and one-half 
hours with action general as Jackson had brought on 
the engagement by attacking several places at one time; 
and the firing was heavy. The enemy was everywhere 
repulsed. They took shelter under the levees while the

1 Andrew Jackson to Secretary Monroe, Feb. 13, 1815, 
Corres. of Andrew Jackson, II, 167. 
2 John Coffee to (?), Jan. 25, 1815, Amer. Hist. Mag., 
VI, 185-6. 
3 Ibid. 
4 Ibid. 
5 Ibid. 
6 Andrew Jackson to Secretary Monroe, Feb. 13, 1815, 
Corres. of Andrew Jackson, II, 167. 
7 Ibid.
Tennesseans and others dropped back about one-half mile in the open field, reconnoitered the ground of battle, and carried off the wounded. The British received reinforcements, whereupon the Americans, seeing this, fell back about a mile and took a strong position.

It was found that Jackson had lost about 25 killed, about 40 wounded, and 70 prisoners, while the British had lost 400 killed and wounded, and the Americans had taken upwards of 100 prisoners. From these prisoners they learned that the enemy in the beginning of the battle was more than double Jackson's number, and that they were reinforced from their boats by 2000 men during the engagement.

The next morning the Americans formed a line from the river to an impassable marshy ground on the left. An entrenchment three-fourths of a mile long was thrown up along the level and open ground, beginning the erection of those breastworks that the men so stubbornly held until the end.

1 John Coffee to (?), Jan. 25, 1815, Amer. Hist. Mag., VI. 186.
2 Ibid.
3 Andrew Jackson to Secretary Monroe, Feb. 13, 1815, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, II. 167.
7 Trousdale, J. N., op. cit., II, 128.
From the twenty-third of December there was almost continuous battle for twenty-eight days. "Not one day passed without attacks of pickets on the line, a continued cannonade and bombardment," wrote General Coffee. Also there was skirmishing every day while the Americans planted their artillery, and on the twenty-fifth of December, a feint to dislodge the Americans.

On the twenty-eighth the British charged their opponents in line, but they were unsuccessful. They therefore contented themselves with sending cannon shot, bombs, rockets, and the like, and then formed their line parallel with Jackson's -- about a mile in front.

Next they began entrenching and planting cannon nearer and by morning of the first of January, they had three batteries mounting twenty-four large cannon within 600 yards of Jackson's line. They opened fire which lasted several hours, but in an hour's time the Americans' cannon had silenced half their guns. The British then made another charge, being repulsed

1 John Coffee to Mary Coffee, Jan. 20, 1815, Tenn. Hist. Mag., II. 290.
2 Bassett, J. S., Note in Corres. of Andrew Jackson, II. 169.
as before. The American loss was small "considering the constancy of the British firing," wrote General Carroll two days later.

By artillery and rockets the British attempted to frighten or drive the Americans from their positions. This proving impossible, they resorted to the "desperate expedient" of a storm on the eighth of January.

By January, 1815, General Carroll's division consisted of 2531 men and Jackson had received a reinforcement of Kentucky troops. With these Carroll hoped to repel the invasion although it was thought that the enemy, said to be commanded by Lieutenant-General Pakenham and Major-Generals Gay and Kean, was seven or eight thousand strong.

As late as January third the arms so long expected had not arrived and Jackson was anxious and uneasy. In a letter to Monroe he complained bitterly of the "supineness, negligence, and criminality" in government agents, and said that if not corrected "the

1 Ibid.
3 Andrew Jackson to Secretary Monroe, Feb. 13, 1815, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, II, 168.
4 Ibid., 189.
situation must finally lead to defeat of our armies and to the disgrace of those who superintend them. He had protected the city of New Orleans for ten days by "indefatigable exertion" and maintained his position before an enemy greatly exceeding the Americans in number, in discipline, and in all the preparation for war. He further said, "Every reliance may be placed on the bravery of my men; but without arms it is impossible they can effect much."

The British were in their same position, strengthening it daily; the Americans were employed in the same way, and in exchanging long shot with them.

Having spent the two days of January sixth and seventh actively employed in making preparations for a storm in addition to the customary skirmishing and cannonading, the British early on the morning of the eighth, after throwing a heavy shower of bombs and Congreve rockets, advanced in two strong columns, solid, with superior numbers and in great order to

1 Andrew Jackson to Secretary Monroe, Jan. 3, 1815, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, II, 130-1.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
5 Andrew Jackson to Secretary Monroe, Jan. 9, 1815, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, II, 137.
6 The Chevalier de Tousard to Andrew Jackson, Jan. 18, 1815, Ibid., II, 147.
story the American entrenchments. These entrenchments were a strong bank of earth twelve feet thick and as high as a man's shoulder and a ditch filled with water on the other side.

The Americans were ready for them, indeed had long been awaiting such attack. For some time Jackson had had one-half or one-third of the troops immediately on the lines under arms both night and day; likewise there was chosen from these a detail for guard and fatigue duty.

On January fifth, General Adair had been ordered to detail all the Kentuckians who had arms fit for service and all those for whom arms could be procured, and to march them to Jackson's line of defense, encamp them in the rear of General Carroll's division, and in the event of an alarm or attack, "to cover and support him (General Carroll)".

General Carroll's division occupied in actual space about 350 yards; the territory from a certain distance from the river to a half moon in the breastworks was covered by his left. Thus his was a

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1 John Coffee to Mary Coffee, Tenn. Hist. Mag., II. 292.
2 Andrew Jackson to Secretary Monroe, Jan. 13, 1815, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, II. 145.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Andrew Jackson to Col. Robert Butler, May 7, 1817, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, II. 293-4.
position near the extreme left.

On the morning of the eighth, the Kentucky detachment marched in line to the breastworks, their right covering General Carroll's division, their left extending about one-third of the length of General Carroll's line. "Little did the enemy expect in this invasion of New Orleans to meet the forces of such distant states assembled in its defense," wrote Jackson to Secretary of War Monroe. In fact, Pakenham utterly despised Jackson and threw aside through disdain the caution of an experienced officer, in the opinion of Bassett.

The 32-pound battery was on the left of the 44th and to the right of General Carroll's brigade, while the 9½-inch howitzer was placed so as to defend the margin of the swamps. As the British advanced on the eighth, the tune of "Yankee Doodle" was beat along the whole line, which, as Jackson said, would be ever remembered by the British nation, and always "hailed by every true American".

1 Ibid.
2 Feb. 5, 1815, Ibid., II, 159.
4 Andrew Jackson to Edward Livingston, June 12, 1815, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, II, 209.
5 Andrew Jackson to Col. Robert Bays, Feb. 9, 1815, Ibid., Ibid., 162.
Carroll's center was selected by the British for the main attack as they understood that his force was undisciplined militia. Consequently that was where the greatest casualties occurred on this day when the entire British force was hurled against the little army. The repulse given by Carroll's columns really decided the issue, and Carroll distinguished himself in this battle as he had already done by his "valour and skill in training and exercising troops".

But let Jackson himself tell the story of the battle:

"They were received with a firmness which it seems they little expected and which defeated all their hopes. My men, undisturbed by their approach, which indeed they had long anxiously wished for, opened upon them a fire so deliberate and certain as rendered their scaling ladders and fascines, as well as their more direct implements of warfare, perfectly useless.

"For upwards of an hour it was continued with a briskness of which there have been but few instances, perhaps, in any country. In justice to the enemy it must be said they withstood it as long as could have been expected from the most determined bravery."

And in another letter to Monroe:

"I cannot speak sufficiently in praise of the firmness and deliberation with which the
whole line received their approach -- more could not have been expected from veterans inured to war. . . . for an hour the fire of the small arms was as incessant and even as can be imagined. The artillery, too, directed by officers who displayed equal skill and courage, did great execution. Yet the columns of the enemy continued to advance with a firmness which reflects upon the greatest credit. Twice the columns which approached me on my left was (sic) repulsed by the troops of General Carroll, those of General Coffee, and a division of the Kentucky militia, and twice they formed again and renewed the assault. At length, however, cut to pieces, they fled in confusion from the field, leaving it covered with their dead and wounded.

"The loss which the enemy sustained on this occasion cannot be estimated at less than 1500 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. . . . My loss has not exceeded and, I believe, has not amounted to 10 killed and as many wounded. . . ."

". . . . the entire destruction of the enemy's army was now inevitable had it not been for an unfortunate occurrence which at this moment took place on the other side of the river."

The last part referred to events as follows:

It seems that the British simultaneously with the advance against Carroll, Coffee, and the Kentuckians, had sent over in boats no inconsiderable force to the other side of the river. They were hardly strong enough to advance against the works of General Morgan, but, strange to say, at the very moment when the observers across the river were waiting to see the certain repulse of the British attackers, the Kentucky reinforcements ingloriously fled, drawing after them by their example
the rest of the forces, thus yielding to the enemy that good position. The gunners who had done such good service for many days first spiked their batteries, then abandoned them.

These actions changed the situation, for the British were then in a position to annoy the Americans and to defeat, in a large measure, the effects of the victory on the other side of the river. Therefore preparations were made to dislodge the enemy as quickly as possible.

Meanwhile there came negotiations of terms for temporary suspension of fighting to enable the British to bury their dead and look after their wounded. Jackson cleverly stipulated that hostilities should cease on his side of the river until twelve o'clock of January 9th, yet it was not so arranged that they were to cease on the other side. Major-General Lambert of the British army begged time to consider and in the meantime recrossed his troops. Jackson with eagerness immediately regained possession of the position which Lambert had thus hastily left.

Both armies reoccupied their former positions -- the British still able to show a formidable force although Commanding General Sir Edward Pakenham was killed, Major-Generals Kean and Gibbs badly

1 Ibid.
wounded, and all their most important officers -- all of Lord Wellington's valuable field officers -- were wounded. After the British had lost upwards of 4000 men they left. The American loss in the entire affair was about 50 killed, 120 wounded, and about 110 prisoners. These last were later exchanged.

In such manner was it proved that the raw American recruits were the match of the British veterans.

To Governor Holmes at New Orleans Jackson wrote: "The repulse which the enemy met with on the 8th, has, I believe, proved fatal to their hopes. . . . their army is at present conducted by Major-General Lambert, who, if I mistake not, finds himself in a very great perplexity. To advance he cannot; to retreat is shameful."

At first no one knew just what the British might do, but Jackson considered Louisiana saved, especially as it was reported that Major-General Lambert had lost his mind, leaving only a colonel to command.

1 Andrew Jackson to Secretary Monroe, Jan. 13, 1815, Ibid., II, 144.
3 Ibid.
4 Andrew Jackson to Governor Holmes, Jan. 18, 1815, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, II, 145.
6 Andrew Jackson to Brig.-Gen. James Winchester, Jan. 19, 1815, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, II, 150.
In another report to Secretary Monroe, Jackson praised the bravery of the militia. He considered them worthy of the high confidence he had reposed in them and said that they had proved "inferior to no troops in the world". And the troops were praised by the newspapers of the day; one writer asking pertinent-ly: "Where are the resolutions and the swords that com-memorate their deeds of patriotism, unexampled exertion, and glory?"

Jackson and his suite were accorded a great reception upon their entry into the city. There was a triumphal arch adorned with wreaths, supported by eighteen pillars (one for each state) and there were eighteen of the fairest of the city's young women, each bearing a motto emblematic of the state she represented. An open avenue was arranged through which the General and his suite passed. Jackson was crowned with laurels and his path strewed with flowers by the girls. The vic-tors were then conducted to the church, spacious and richly adorned, where the Te Deum was sung for several hours. This closed the program. 'Did history afford any record of any such victory ever having been obtained

1Andrew Jackson to Secretary Monroe, Jan. 25, 1815, Ibid., 152.
2Knoxville Intelligencer, Aug. 13, 1822.
before?

The men were somewhat sickly from the excessive cold they had caught during the battles as well as from lying out on the ground, marshy and often covered with six inches of water.

It was February. Mrs. Jackson was expected to arrive as General Jackson was still in New Orleans and in poor health. His friends hoped that he would return home with his wife when she went.

The British prisoners were given up on February 23rd. Four schooners left New Orleans loaded with them to be delivered to the British at the mouth of the Mississippi, whereupon the British were expected to withdraw from the coast. It was a time for rejoicing, accordingly a great ball was planned and was held on Washington's birthday. Mrs. Jackson and the ladies with her who had arrived in time for the celebration, attended and enjoyed the splendid affair very much.

On March 13, 1815, the glad news of peace arrived. There was great joy in the city -- illuminations and rejoicing generally by all classes of people.

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On the 27th and 28th of March, respectively, the time of General Carroll's division expired. The sick he had already sent on to Natchez in the steamboat, and it may be supposed that all finally set out for home by the familiar way of the Natchez Trail.

The war was over.

The heroes were welcomed home, the legislature itself passing a vote of thanks to them, and General Jackson was presented with a gold medal while later Generals Coffee and Carroll were each given a valuable sword.

General Carroll's sword was very elegant, engraved with the names of the battles in which he had taken part: "New Orleans, Jany. 8, 1815, Talladega, Emuckfaw, Enotachopco and Tohopeka"; on the other side: "Presented by the State of Tennessee to Major-General William Carroll as a testimony of high respect for his public services."

1 Andrew Jackson to Secretary Monroe, Feb. 18, 1815, Corres. of Andrew Jackson, II, 174.
2 Tucker, op. cit.
3 Mrs. R. H. Vance.
CHAPTER V

THE Gubernatorial Campaign of 1821

Carroll found, as was only to be expected, that his affairs had suffered greatly during his long absence from home in the service of his country. He began to try to pick up the loose ends of his neglected business. In the early fall of 1815 he was away on an extended business trip to points in Kentucky, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

It is interesting to note how both Jackson's and Carroll's prestige had increased since the Creek War and the battle of New Orleans. While Carroll was on the business tour he met and talked with many of the leading characters in those states. Most of them expressed themselves as wishing to see Jackson become the presidential candidate and asked Carroll if Jackson would permit his name to be used. But as Carroll had heard nothing from Jackson as to the matter, he could give them no definite answer.

The citizens of Pittsburg were anxious for Jackson to come that way so that they might have the

1 Nashville Whig, February 21, 1825.
opportunity to express their gratitude to him for
the services rendered the country. Carroll wrote
Jackson to learn how he felt about accepting a nomin-
ation for president. But nothing further developed
at that particular time. Carroll returned home and
pursued plans for a more extended business.

In 1818 appeared the first steamboat ever
registered at Nashville. It was a venture of William
Carroll's and was named the "Andrew Jackson", a fit-
ting tribute to his old friend and comrade in arms.
William Carroll's brother, Nathanael, was placed in
charge of the newly enlarged business and probably
the brothers would have made a success but that about
this time William Carroll felt obliged to endorse
some notes for some of his friends. Unfortunately
it was just before the period of the first great fin-
ancial depression in the state. The price of cotton
suddenly dropped, money was scarce, and William Car-
roll was forced to close out the hardware store in
order to meet the notes of his friends.

1 William Carroll to Andrew Jackson, Oct. 4, 1815, Corres.
   of Andrew Jackson, II. 217-8.
2 Allison, op. cit., II. 82-4.
3 Mrs. R. H. Vance.
4 Abernethy, T. P., "The Early Development of Commerce and
   Banking in Tennessee", Miss. Valley Hist. Review, XIV.
   319.
5 Mrs. R. H. Vance.
Carroll was said to be "broke". He turned to politics and on Wednesday, August 9, 1820, this notice appeared in the paper, "We are authorized to announce General William Carroll as a candidate for governor of this state at the next election."

The gubernatorial campaign was on -- Carroll against Edward Ward. It was waged largely by the newspapers, the first time that they had taken part in any local election. The "Nashville Whig" was for Carroll; the "Clarion" for Ward.

Mr. Ward in his circular of May, 1821, declared himself in favor of furthering the interests of the country by relieving the prevailing economic distress. He warned against the effects of the wars in Europe, saying that it meant higher prices as America met their needs. He was declaring himself against extravagance and prodigality and against increased issuance of paper currency. He was "no great advocate for banking institutions of any sort". Next, he mentioned forming a wise system of education, internal improvements, a penitentiary, reform of the judiciary

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1 Knoxville Register, July 17, 1821.
2 Nashville Whig, August 9, 1820.
and reforms along other lines. Finally, he asked the voters not to let "personal attachment" govern them in their choice of public characters.

An amusing letter signed "Cato" appeared in the same paper with Mr. Ward's circular. It gave "a few reasons why Mr. Ward should not be governor", going on to say that Mr. Ward did not tell how he became a candidate, that he should have stated that "overpowered by the solicitations of his numerous friends (meaning his overseer and two neighbors) he reluctantly offers". And the letter humorously suggested that Mr. Ward would seem to be "in favor of restoring the age of gold and silver".

In an address of June 25, 1821; General Carroll tactfully quoted "the immortal Washington" in insisting upon preparedness for war. His chief hope was the militia. He mentioned the banks, saying, "I am no friend of banks, . . . . I think in all probability we would have done better if we had never seen one in the state." He favored resumption of specie payments as soon as circumstances permitted.

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1 Knoxville Register, June 19, 1821.
2 Ibid.
As to education, he was enthusiastically democratic in the plan for the general education of the people, saying, "to the citizens of America this is peculiarly important. . . . in America all have equal rights — all may aspire to the first offices — neither family connection nor high birth nor wealth are (sic) requisite, nor aught but integrity, talents, and industry." He spoke of a desirable caution as to the exercise of the pardoning power while admitting that the prisons and the penal code needed attention. He said, "Imprisonment under the present system is no cure for vice; it is rather a school for it." As a remedy he suggested solitary confinement and hard labor. Internal improvements and many other topics were not neglected but the main issue was the reform of the constitution of the state. Carroll promised that this would be done. He closed his address by reminding the people that he had been their fellow citizen for almost twelve years.

A few days after the appearance of Carroll's circular a writer commented upon it as follows: "Many good and honest persons will pause before they vote

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1 Knoxville Register, July 3, 1821.
for a military chief holding the opinions expressed in Carroll's letter."

In answer to this markedly unfavorable criticism of the hero, another writer, a "Voter", came to the rescue, and in a letter ironical throughout called Carroll "an upstart arrogant fellow" and said that while it was true he had the title of General, yet he had never done one act in his life to merit such distinction. Then he continued, "This fellow Carroll has had the impudence to suggest a plan of general education; to extend its benefits to the poor as well as to the rich. He is of opinion that education in this country should place the sons of poor men on a perfect equality with the sons of the rich men. . . . such doctrines are intolerable to the Voter and his associates." This writer further said that the rebels were compelled to select such commanders as Washington, a surveyor; Greene, a blacksmith; Wayne, a tanner; and Morgan, a waggoner. He closed his letter with this stirring appeal: "People of Tennessee, read the argument of a 'Voter' before the election and be convinced or Carroll will put arms into your hands and learn (sic) you the use of them and in some future

1 Knoxville Register, July 10, 1821.
war a surveyor, a blacksmith, a tanner, or a waggoner may be appointed your general to the exclusion of some gentleman who may have been educated for the express purpose!

In the same paper "A Big Fish" wrote in behalf of Carroll's candidacy in a similar style which seemed at that period to appeal especially to the people and so to obtain the wished-for result. He said, "I hate him because he has risen into high military renown notwithstanding he fought bravely to obtain it, and this military renown he has acquired through his own exertions and without relying on wealth and powerful friends, thus stepping over the heads of men of rank and fortune, without craving their permission which was cursed rude in an upstart. It was well enough for lowborn loons like him to fight the battles of their country but the nobility ought to have the honors and rewards..." "A Big Fish" also managed to convey to the masses that Carroll was accustomed to shake heartily the hand of a ragged fellow soldier, and that at the highest pinnacle of his fame he would not turn away from his old friends and acquaintances.

1 Knoxville Register, July 17, 1821.
2 Ibid.
These letters evidently helped much to decide matters in Carroll's favor, because Colonel Ward was known to be dignified, restrained, austere, and unbending. He was wealthy and lived sumptuously whereas Carroll was said to have toiled in the fields, to have assisted the old Allegheny farmers at reapings and log rollings and to have done "other coarse things". And in Tennessee he could join in and enjoy a country dance or merry making, with the rest. This might account for a great deal of the popular sentiment, but to many thoughtful persons Carroll's promise of reforming the constitution carried more weight.

The Constitution of 1796 was undemocratic and unjust and had begun to work a hardship. For example, it provided that all lands should be taxed "equal and uniform", that no 100 acres should be taxed higher than any other except town lots which were to be taxed not higher than 200 acres each. Most of the best lands were in the hands of a few men. "It was an entail law in disguise."

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1 Phelan, op. cit., p. 253.
2 Knoxville Register, July 17, 1821.
3 Phelan, op. cit., p. 261.
4 Ibid., p. 260.
5 Ibid., p. 253.
Another abuse was that autocratic power was placed in the Legislature, whose members must be property owners. All judges, state attorneys, and justices of the peace were chosen by that body. As the justices composed the county court which in its turn elected all the county officers, the people had no direct control of their state and county officers and the result was a machine system of politics. "It surpassed the Athens of the kings. It put to shame the rotten borough system of England," says Phelan.

Ward was supported by those who wished the bureaucracy to continue because they profited by it; Carroll, by those who opposed it.

Much was made of the fact that Ward was a farmer, a man of plain dignity and worth, with an excellent education, of decent property, a man of venerable age and much experience; whereas Carroll was said to be too young and inexperienced -- only thirty-three years of age, and he was "admittedly inferior in what some might call education."

Carroll was elected by a flatteringly large majority. "General Carroll's majority for Governor,

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1 Knoxville Register, July 31, 1821.
2 Ibid., July 17, 1821.
when correctly ascertained, will be about 31,000 votes," predicted one of the newspapers. It was a true prophecy, while Ward received only 11,200. It was a great victory for democracy, for progress in Tennessee.

Carroll was inaugurated at Murfreesboro, the capital, on October 1, 1821. His first legislature met on September 17, 1821. Sterling Brewer was chosen Speaker of the Senate; James K. Polk, clerk.

It seemed well to write somewhat in detail about this first gubernatorial campaign because Carroll's platform of reform, democracy, progress as well as his tremendous popularity was typical of his other five terms.

1 Knoxville Register, Sept. 4, 1821.
2 Phelan, pp. 253-262.
3 Senate and House Journal, 1821, p. 6.
4 Knoxville Register, Sept. 25, 1821.
CHAPTER VI

THE VISIT OF LAFAYETTE

While Carroll was governor much interest of the people of Tennessee centered around the heroic Lafayette. His possessions and those of the Marquise had been confiscated by the French government and he was left almost entirely without resources. Through the efforts of Jefferson, at that time envoy to the French court, valuable lands were given him by the United States government for his services during the Revolution. With the proceeds of these saleable lands, he purchased back a part of his wife's patrimonial estate, the chateau of La Grange Blessneau. Here he lived for years in semi-exile; he dearly loved a farm.

Lafayette had been a member of the Chamber of Deputies and a controlling influence in the opposition. Royalists had made determined efforts to keep him out of the House, but greatly to their chagrin, he was elected from two departments at the same time.

1 Crow M. F. Lafayette, pp. 194-5.
Such a man appealed to the imagination of the volunteers of Tennessee. One Tennessee paper said: "Lafayette has stood like a monument consecrated to political virtue which all have been afraid to violate, or rather like an immovable rock around which revolutionary tempests have raged in vain, their billows fallen harmless at his feet. Napoleon himself could not seduce him from his integrity and he did not dare destroy him."

Soon there came a letter dated April 25, 1821, to the Knoxville paper telling of a visit to Lafayette. The writer found him "distinguished for his kindness and courtly affability". And although he was nearing three-score and ten, his gait and motions had the "sprightliness and agility of a man of thirty", with the exception of a slight lameness in one hip, occasioned by a fall. The description continued, "He is quite tall, being full six feet... large, but not corpulent. His upright figure, broad shoulders, and prompt manner shew that there is still something of the soldier left. He has fine hazel eyes, to appearance entirely unimpaired by age, alternately

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1 Knoxville Register, Mar. 20, 1821.
flashing with the fire of intelligence or softening into the mild expression of kindness -- projecting eyebrows, a high long nose bordering upon aquiline and yet rather fleshy -- very fine teeth and a healthy countenance."

The Marquis had manifested interest in America: the Constitution of the United States was set in a plain frame on one side of the reception room door, similarly framed was a fine print of Canova's statue of Washington. He had a bas relief of Washington -- gold upon the lid of his snuff box -- and said that he considered it the best likeness he had ever seen of the "General".

Tennesseans were more than ever interested in this beloved friend of their country, the "Boy" Cornwallis could not catch, the man Napoleon could not intimidate.

On July 15, 1822, Lafayette himself wrote to Colonel Marques Willet of New York:

"May it be in my power before I join our departed companions to visit such of them as are still inhabitants of the United States, and to tell you personally, my dear Willet, how affectionately I am your sincere friend, Lafayette."

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid., Nov. 20, 1821.
3 Crew, op. cit., p. 201.
4 Knoxville Intelligencer, Oct. 15, 1822.
There were still several of these Revolutionary companions in Tennessee and the governor could remember his soldier father's stories of Washington and Lafayette. But Lafayette was at this time the only general surviving officer of the Revolution.

In the summer of 1824 Captain Francis Allyn of New London met Lafayette and his son, George Washington Lafayette, and placed his ship, Cadmus, at Lafayette's disposal. This generous offer was accepted as Congress had invited Lafayette to come and be the nation's guest. Lafayette, his son, and his secretary, Auguste Levasseur, embarked immediately for New York.

There was indeed some need of haste and some measure of secrecy for Lafayette was unpopular with the then royal government of France, and his visit to the republic in behalf of whose liberty he had "fought so bravely nearly half a century before" would surely have been frowned upon.

At this time the veteran was sixty-seven years of age. He had paid one other visit to the United States in 1784 during the lifetime of Washington whom he regarded almost as a father.

1 Knoxville Intelligencer, Oct. 15, 1822.
George Washington Lafayette also was eager to return to America. Born during the American Revolution, he was at this time over forty-five years of age. While his father was in prison in France, his mother smuggled him, a boy about thirteen, out of the country and sent him to America to George Washington. Here he had lived for a year.

The Cadmus entered New York harbor January 15, 1824. Lafayette was received with the greatest acclaim.

After a fatiguing journey of twenty-seven days on the road, Lafayette reached Washington. General Jackson was at that time a senator and a candidate for president, boarding in the same house with the nation's guest.

Mrs. Jackson was delighted with Lafayette. She wrote a friend, "All the attention... never appears to have any effect on him. In fact, he is an extraordinary man; he has the happy talent of knowing those he has once seen... At Charlestown General Jackson saw him on the field of battle -- the one a boy of twelve, the marquis twenty-three. He wears a wig and is a little inclined to corpulency. He is

very healthy, eats heartly, goes to every party, and that is every night."

Lafayette visited Jefferson and Madison and spent considerable time as the guest of President Monroe.

Gifts and honors were heaped upon him. Universities conferred degrees, organizations elected him to honorary membership, and military bodies presented him with swords. Congress determined to "do something for Lafayette of a substantial nature", knowing that his property had been swept away by the French Revolution. Accordingly on Christmas Eve, 1824, Congress voted him $200,000 in money and a township of government land near Tallahassee, Florida -- a "graceful, if somewhat tardy token of America's appreciation of Lafayette's services to the cause of independence."

Governor Carroll decided to invite Lafayette to visit Nashville, believing that it would do honor to Tennessee to show properly gratitude to the nation's benefactor. Accordingly in September in his message

1 Golyar, op. cit., pp. 103-4.  
3 Ibid.
to the legislature he submitted the propriety of adopting some measures that would express the feelings of Tennessee towards "that distinguished individual". A correspondence then ensued between Governor Carroll and General Lafayette, and on October 1, 1824, Carroll forwarded to Lafayette the resolutions of the assembly and invited him officially to visit Tennessee. About three months later Carroll forwarded another copy of the resolutions to be presented by Jackson. In this communication he asked if Lafayette would not visit Tennessee and at what date. In a letter of reply from Jackson to Carroll he said that "Lafayette, the Guest of the Nation", will visit in Tennessee. Also Lafayette himself replied graciously, telling of his pleasure at the resolutions and asking Carroll to express his gratitude to the citizens and to say that he was eager to visit them.

The joyful people of Nashville then convened to determine how to entertain the noted visitor. Governor Carroll planned an elaborate and detailed program.

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1 Senate Journal, 1824, pp. 7-9.
2 Nashville Whig, March 7, 1825.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., Feb. 9, 1825.
5 Ibid., Mar. 7, 1825.
of entertainment. All officers and soldiers of the Revolution were to join in the reception, the mayor and aldermen of Nashville having appropriated funds to pay their expenses. Resolutions were passed that citizens should suspend work, close shops and offices, and join in the festivities proposed in order to do proper honor to Lafayette. But Lafayette wrote Governor Carroll in April that he would go first to St. Louis in a boat provided by the State of Louisiana -- he would visit Nashville later.

The people were disappointed, Governor Carroll had gone so far as to send a small steamboat for Lafayette as a larger one could not come further than the mouth of the Cumberland.

In the meantime General Jackson had returned to Nashville. A great reception was given in his honor, a special toast being drunk to Governor Carroll: "The adopted son of Tennessee whom she is proud to acknowledge."

At last the eventful day of Lafayette's arrival came. On Wednesday, May 4th, at eight o'clock in the morning, the ringing of bells and firing of
cannon announced the approach of the "Nation's Guest". Marie Paul Roche Yves Gilbert du Motier, the Marquis de la Fayette, "one of the high families of the feudal order dating back nearly a thousand years to the crusading days" (for Pons Motier, Seigneur de la Fayette, was at the siege of Acre with Philip Augustus in 1250) was at last coming to Nashville, Tennessee.

The steamboat was seen at a distance by the crowds of spectators lining the river banks. As the boat landed there were repeated discharges of artillery and loud cheers which were acknowledged by Lafayette. General Jackson met him and the two entered the waiting carriage, drawn by four "elegant gray horses". Thence they proceeded to town under escort of a troop of cavalry, accompanied by George Washington Lafayette, M. le Vasseur, M. de Seyon, several gentlemen from Missouri and Illinois, the Governor's staff, and the committee on arrangements.

Large flags hung from the residences and other houses. Every window was crowded and even housetops held spectators. Lafayette bowed graciously again and again.

The arch over Market Street was decorated with evergreens and the inscription, "Welcome, Lafayette,

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1 Morgan, The True Lafayette, pp. 15, 21.
the Friend of Liberty." Over the keystone in the center was a carved eagle carrying in his beak the words, "Welcome, Lafayette", the whole surrounded by a wreath of flowers. An American flag was on either side of the eagle, the cap of liberty was over his head.

Upon arriving at the arch, Lafayette alighted and ascended a platform where he was met and welcomed by the governor, who made a brief and dignified but joyous address, expressing the state's gratitude to Lafayette.

The few remaining Revolutionary heroes next gave Lafayette a warm welcome. It was an occasion to be remembered by them.

Lafayette in his reply thanked all for his cordial welcome, said he was interested in visiting Tennessee, "once a wilderness, but now an important link in the Union," congratulated the Revolutionary veterans, and offered general tributes of acknowledgement. At this point the Revolutionary officers and soldiers stepped forward and saluted. One especially who had travelled one hundred miles to see Lafayette with whom he had emigrated to this country in the same ship in 1777, was overcome by the interview.
Lafayette, accompanied by Governor Carroll, proceeded to the residence of Doctor McMairy which was turned over to the committee for the accommodation of Lafayette and his suite. At the door the company was met and addressed by the mayor according to the previously made plan. Lafayette replied graciously. He then availed himself of a short interval before dinner to pay a visit to Mrs. Jackson and to Mrs. Littlefield, the latter a daughter of his old companion and friend, General Greene. After this visit, Lafayette went to the Masonic Hall where representatives of Tennessee's womanhood extended welcome. At four o'clock he was escorted to the Nashville Inn for dinner. General Jackson officiated as president of the feast. There were toasts to Lafayette and liberty. After dinner Lafayette repaired to the Masonic Hall again where he spent about two hours with the fraternity.

In front of this hall there had been erected a representation of Fame holding a medallion on which was a likeness of Lafayette and under it the following lines:

"Thy name so illustriously recorded by Fame Shall glow in our tablets in letters of flame."

1 Nashville Whig, May 7, 1825.
After leaving the lodge, Lafayette paid a visit to Governor Carroll at his residence.

Early the following morning he went to the camp at South Field. There he greeted the soldiers and reviewed them. He earned their everlasting devotion by taking each one by the hand and by breakfasting with them.

The distinguished guest then went to the Female Academy where nearly a hundred young girls welcomed him. There was a speech by John Erwin in behalf of the trustees of the Academy. Lafayette expressed himself as delighted. In the Academy Miss Grundy made an address to which Lafayette responded. From this visit Lafayette proceeded to Cumberland College where he was greeted by President Lindsley.

The General then embarked on a steamboat and went up river to General Jackson's residence where he was entertained at dinner, returning in the afternoon to take tea with Mr. Currey, the mayor.

About ten o'clock the company again went to the Masonic Hall to attend a great ball. About three hundred ladies were present. There was dancing until supper when Lafayette, the Governor, and some of the ladies and gentlemen proceeded to the supper room.
Lafayette gave a toast to

"Tennessee Beauty -- equal to Tennessee valour."

About twelve o'clock he left the ball, made his preparations to leave the city, and was conducted to the boat, "Mechanic", which was to take him away. Early the following morning -- Friday -- he left Nashville, accompanied by Governor Carroll and one or two of his staff, en route to Louisville.

The steamboat struck a snag, but no lives were lost. When the accident occurred, Governor Carroll aroused General Lafayette. By the orders and exertions of the former a yawl was detained by the boat until Lafayette was safely in. During this time George Washington Lafayette, having heard his father lamenting the loss of a keepsake -- his snuff-box with Washington's best portrait -- ran back in water waist deep to recover it, "but otherwise the shipwreck was not thrilling". The steamboat, "Paragon", bound upstream, rescued everybody.

Captain Hall of the "Mechanic" was downcast. "Never will my fellow citizens pardon me," he said, "for the perils to which Lafayette was exposed last night." But both Governor Carroll and Lafayette

1 Ibid., May 23, 1825.
2 Morgan, op. cit., pp. 33-5.
issued a statement that the accident was in no way the fault of the captain.

The journey proceeded with no further misfortune and in due time Louisville was reached. Here Lafayette and Governor Carroll took occasion to pay a visit to the Misses Wright, "celebrated female writers," travelling the country in Lafayette's wake.

The duties of Governor Carroll and suite had ceased on his delivering the "Nation's Guest" into the hands of the people of Kentucky, but invitations from Kentucky induced him to continue with Lafayette. He was also invited to visit Ohio in like manner, but declined, taking leave of his distinguished friend at Lexington.

The Kentuckians had received Carroll with the utmost respect and cordiality. Upon his departure from Lexington, a carriage and four horses were provided for his journey and he was escorted a mile by Captain Pike's artillery.

Everything had proceeded nicely. The editors praised their Governor in strong terms for the active, energetic, and efficient part that he had taken.

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1 Nashville Whig, May 21, 1825.
2 Ibid., May 28, 1825.
in making the two-days' visit of so distinguished a personage a success. This seemed to call forth further comment upon his zeal, discretion, and talents, both as a civil and a military officer. Tennessee was proud of her chief executive.

Carroll himself was well pleased with the way his plans for Lafayette's reception had been carried out. In his message of the next September, he expressed his gratification. He had, however, expected no less than perfection for the resolution to entertain Lafayette had been adopted by a unanimous vote. He was particularly impressed with the response to call of the uniform volunteers. He said, "To sustain the military character of the state in the presence of an individual so distinguished throughout the world, the attendance of the uniform volunteers from Davidson and the neighboring countries was requested, and I state, with great pleasure, that they complied with the utmost alacrity, having spared no expense in equipping themselves in the most beautiful style."  

1 Ibid., May 7, 1825.  
3 Ibid.
also praised the orderly conduct of the men the
twelve days during which they were encamped in Nash-
ville.

At first it was stated that the amount ex-
pended on the entertainment was $5452.87½, a sum
which the governor considered a small one. The small-
ness was due, he pointed out, to the liberality of
the citizens of Nashville. Some of the commission
merchants had voluntarily furnished large amounts of
sugar, coffee, and other necessary articles for the
volunteers and many other contributions had been made.
Carroll was pleased that each individual seemed to
wish to do all that he could to bring about the suc-
cess so necessary for that extraordinary occasion.
Later it was discovered that the cost of the Lafayette
entertainment was much more than the figures first
given out. 1 A year afterward Governor Carroll was
still trying to wind up all payments. In the fall of
1826 he went before the legislature assembled and
asked them to authorize payment of $150 still due
Captain Hall for carrying Lafayette.

1 Ibid.
2 Nashville Whig, June 4, 1825.
3 Message to Legislature, Nov. 20, 1826, State Papers.
Carroll's messages to the Legislature are to be found
in the manuscript collection of Carroll Papers, State
Archives, Nashville; and also usually in the printed
collections of the Acts of the Assembly of the respec-
tive sessions.
In the meantime the kindly, gracious visitor had returned East in time to assist in laying the cornerstone of the Bunker Hill Monument on June 17, 1825, the fiftieth anniversary of the battle.  

1 Dale, p. 1.
CHAPTER VII

CARROLL'S WORK AS GOVERNOR

Tennessee will be forever indebted to William Carroll for the progressive work for which he was responsible during the long time he was governor; for he was re-elected in 1823, again in 1825, was re-elected in 1829, in 1831, and again in 1833, making six terms in all.

He was a practical, hard-headed man of business; "his administration was conducted on the same high business principles which characterized his own business affairs". In addition, his tact, sympathy, moderation, and comprehensive outlook enabled him to carry out the ideas which his practical good sense suggested. As one historian aptly phrases it, "Carroll was a statesman possessing foresight and large constructive ability, and had all the qualities demanded by the times and by the position to which he was so often elected. . . ."

In 1821 the new governor in a lengthy message to the legislature took up the questions of the

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1 Garrett and Goodpasture, op. cit., p. 175.
2 Caldwell, op. cit., p. 195.
day: the guarding of the fiscal concerns of the state; banks and banking, noting with pleasure that the demand for foreign goods was daily diminishing; reports from surveyors of the newly acquired Chickasaw lands; the progress made by the people of the "Western District"; imprisonment for debt, mentioning the "impositions daily practiced", and suggesting reform; education; the judiciary; militia laws; the swords for Generals Jackson and Gaines; and some other matters.

In the course of the message he stated that in January he had brought before the notice of the United States government the practicability of connecting the waters of the Holston and the Tennessee with the waters of the Mobile by a canal, adding that this had occurred to him sixteen or seventeen years before when he travelled through that country as a commissioner for opening a road between Tennessee and Georgia. The people, he said, were interested in a free navigation through Muscle Shoals and this led him to urge the matter upon the notice of the government. To this end he had been writing to William Terry, a civil engineer in employ of North Carolina and Alabama.

1 Senate and House Journal of Tennessee, 1821, pp. 6-27.
This first message is important in helping one to understand Carroll's statesmanship, not only because of the many excellent ideas contained therein, but also because it foreshadowed all his later messages. The other principal measures which Carroll advocated in later messages were a change in the constitution, a penitentiary, a hospital for insane people, and a state capitol.

His legislature showed their appreciation of such efficient leadership by acting promptly, for the most part, upon all his suggestions. The following incident is one example of this fact: The people were gradually recovering from the severe financial troubles of the preceding years. Carroll urged them to proceed carefully and not to rely too greatly upon any relief measures of the government. And in order to please Carroll, a resolution was adopted by the legislature of 1823 that the members of the next general assembly attend dressed in clothing entirely of home manufacture and urged the people of the state to accept the innovation as their example.

1 Hale and Merritt, op. cit., II. 300.
It may be well to consider separately the chief phases of his administrations.

Militia

As we have seen above Carroll promised improvements in the militia, much more important in the early period of Tennessee history when the troops were looked to for the defense of the state. Accordingly in the first year of his administration the governor asked the legislature for appropriation for the previous storage of public arms. He wished the arms placed in the hands of volunteer companies for future storage.

He promised to render out of his own experience any aid needed if the General Assembly would take up the subject of better discipline of the companies, stating as his reason that the men were inefficient unless well disciplined, and reminding the legislature that a "very celebrated military writer" had observed "with peculiar propriety" that an army without discipline is a mob in disguise, more dangerous to itself than to the enemy. Carroll added: "We need only refer to the scenes of the late war in which the militia were engaged for a practical illustration.

of this remark."

Before his first series of administrations had expired, Governor Carroll had a definite plan which he proposed to the legislature. He wished to form three classes of militia; men from eighteen to twenty-five; the first, to parade monthly and to encamp annually for ten days or two weeks; the second and third, to meet twice a year except in time of war.

Carroll determined to see that the militia-men were better provided with arms, no doubt with grim memories of the lack during the war with Great Britain to urge him on. The United States government listened to his plea and prepared to send extra arms for the men. Carroll was asked to furnish information to Major Churchill, Commanding the U. S. arsenal, as to the different kinds of arms desired and the place of delivery.

An act to divide the militia of the state into companies, battalions, regiments, brigades, and divisions, and to prescribe the times and manner of electing officers and filling vacancies was passed

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1 Senate Journal, 1825, p. 14.
2 Message to Legislature, Sept. 19, 1825, Carroll Papers.
3 Lt.-Col. G. Bromfield to Carroll, Sept. 1, 1827, Carroll Papers.
February 20, 1836. Although Carroll was no longer governor at that time, his good work for the militia had borne fruit.

Education

Education was a subject very near to Carroll’s heart as shown by his campaign utterances and also by his repeated insistence as to the matter throughout his six terms of administration.

In the beginning of his leadership in the state there was no public school system, no general system of any description, and no records kept. There seems to have been teaching carried on in the homes of those not too poor to employ tutors, or not lacking in sufficient education to do the instructing themselves. Also there were private schools maintained by the fees paid for tuition.

Much of the land which had been set aside for schools in Tennessee by the United States government by the famous Compact of 1806 had been already taken up by settlers; more of it was sold to private

2 Garrett and Goodpasture, p. 291.
individuals at very small cost; and as to the land taken by squatters, such squatters as were on their claims in the end obtained them for practically nothing. For these reasons the project proved large in anticipation, but small in fulfillment. As Phelan says, "The history of the common schools is, in the main, the history of the public lands in Tennessee, and the history of the public lands in this state is the history of confusion."

A few were awake to the needs of more and better education in the state and in 1815 the legislature levied the first tax for educational purposes. On account of the unfortunate wording of the act, these schools were known as "pauper schools". It stated that the tax was to educate "those poor orphans who have no property. . . . and whose fathers were killed or have died in the service of their country in the late war". As this measure applied only to orphans it cannot properly be considered the first tax for any general system of state education.

3 Ibid.
In 1817 an act was passed providing for commissioners to rent the school lands, to collect the rents, and with the money thus obtained, to build school houses on the land and to employ a suitable teacher of English to instruct all the children who came to the school. Little came of it.

Such, briefly told, was the situation when Carroll became governor in 1821. He was far from satisfied with what was being done. Yet he knew that any progress in the matter would necessarily take time and he held on with unflagging energy and singleness of purpose to provide an adequate general system of public education as is shown by his messages to the legislatures of the different periods.

In his address to the legislature on September 16, 1823, Carroll told them that education's claims to the "fostering care of the legislature cannot be too strongly urged," and that "we should not be dependent upon the literary institutions of our sister states for the education of our sons. We have the means. . . . Tennessee will soon be as distinguished for her literary attainments as she has been for the defense of her rights. . . . then talent will be brought from obscurity. . . ."

1 Senate Journal, 1823, p. 13.
Whereupon the legislature in accordance with the wishes of Carroll, the animating spirit in the movement, passed an act which shows a sincere effort to improve conditions and to provide an adequate public school system. It provided for the establishment of a perpetual school fund, the interest of which was to be used for the common schools in different ways: by establishing "poor schools" for the poor in each county, by buying books for the poor children, or by paying their tuition at other schools. A board of five commissioners was to be elected by the County Court in each county to carry out the provisions mentioned in the foregoing. This was an important step forward in education, but it was unfortunate that the idea of pauper schools continued because the most of the people in moderate circumstances and actually needing aid in educating their children would hesitate to send them to schools so signally marked as "pauper".

Some little advance was made in 1825; then in 1827 the fund was increased by legislative action;

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1 Public Acts, 1825, Ch. XLIX; Senate Journal, 1825, p. 13.
2 Graham to Carroll, Oct. 6, 1825, Carroll Papers.
and in 1829, the very same year that Carroll returned to the governor's chair, Tennessee's first definite plan was formulated and carried out.

Under this act the County Courts were to lay out the school districts and to register the heads of families. This done, an election was to be held for the purpose of selecting five trustees as a board in each, the chairmen to meet at the county seat in the courthouse on the first Saturday in June to choose school commissioners, one for each county, whose duty was to transact all the business for the schools, a record of which was kept and a report made. The amount of money from the school fund for each district was based on the number of school children of school age in that district. The schools were to be for rich and poor, which advance Carroll had urged in his messages. This measure of 1829 is, therefore, the beginning from which our present public school system has grown.

During Governor Carroll's last term the Constitution of 1835 was drawn up. This document wrote into fundamental as well as statute law the

1 Public Acts, 1829, p. 87.
The permanency of the public school fund.

In Article XI, Sec. 10, we find:

"Knowledge, learning, and virtue being essential to the preservation of republican institutions, and the diffusion of the opportunities and advantages of education throughout the different portions of the state being highly conducive to this end, it shall be the duty of the General Assembly in all future periods of this government to cherish literature and science. And the fund called the "Common School Fund" and all the lands and proceeds thereof, dividends, stocks, and other property of every description whatever, heretofore by law appropriated by the General Assembly of this state for the use of common schools, and all such as shall hereafter be appropriated, shall remain a perpetual fund, the principal of which shall never be diminished by legislative appropriation, and the interest thereof shall be inviolably appropriated to the support and encouragement of common schools throughout the state, and for the equal benefit of all the people thereof; and no law shall be made authorizing said fund, or any part thereof, to be diverted to any other use than the support and encouragement of common schools; and it shall be the duty of the General Assembly to appoint a Board of Commissioners for such term of time as they may think proper, who shall have the general superintendence of said fund, and who shall make a report of conditions of the same from time to time under such rules, regulations, and restrictions as may be required by law. Provided, that if at any time hereafter a division of the public lands of the United States or of the money arising from the sales of such lands shall be made among the individual states and part of such lands or money coming to this state shall be devoted to the purposes of education and internal improvement and shall never be applied to any other purpose."

Carroll's time of office was a period of growth in educational matters and it will scarcely be going too far to say that Carroll was mainly responsible for every step.

Internal Improvements

The question of internal improvements was a particularly important one in the state because Tennessee had no seaport -- was inland -- and as the Tennessee River was hardly navigable all the way, the state was greatly in need of easier access to the market centers.

There were three possible means of internal improvement: first, to develop the use of the water systems by clearing the rivers of obstructions and by building canals; second, to construct turnpikes; and third, to build railroads.

Such a momentous question was one which no progressive governor could overlook; in fact, Carroll as a good business man had long been interested. He therefore began to make systematic endeavors to secure the proper action. In 1821 in his message to the legislature he asked that the rivers of Tennessee be
made navigable in all seasons. In 1823 a standing committee on internal improvements was appointed by the legislature, but at that early date the difficulties in the way of any real work were great. Two years later Carroll was in correspondence with Israel Perkins, governor of Alabama, regarding a joint plan for the two states evidently, for Governor Perkins replied in a letter in which he agreed that canals were important, but said that he was at that time waiting for reports of engineers.

During the same year a resolution was passed by the legislature urging congressmen to attempt "to procure a survey of the route between the Hiawassee and Coosa Rivers by civil engineers of the United States appointed to survey and lay out a road from Washington to New Orleans, and to report whether it is practicable to unite the waters of the Hiawassee and Coosa Rivers by a canal."

In 1826 he appointed a commissioner to aid the United States engineers in making a survey for the

1 Message to Legislature, Oct. 2, 1821, Carroll Papers.
2 Moore, I. 443.
3 Perkins to Carroll, Oct. 6, 1825, Carroll Papers.
4 Message to Legislature, Oct. 8, 1825, Carroll Papers.
great national road to be constructed from Washington to New Orleans as well as two commissioners to confer with a committee from Alabama on "the practicability of removing the obstructions occasioned by the Muscle Shoals in the Tennessee River by improving its bed or by a canal on the north side of the river." As to the Great National Road from Washington, Tennesseans were particularly interested because the committee reporting recommended the line that would pass through the center of the state to Memphis, the rest of the journey to New Orleans to be made by water.

In his message of 1827, Governor Carroll told of progress being made in other states and asked for roads and connecting canals. He recommended that a state commissioner be appointed to look into the matter of internal improvements.

In 1829 the legislature chartered the Franklin Turnpike Company to build a turnpike from Nashville to Franklin. And during the same year was passed an act providing for the first systematic plan for internal improvements in the history of the state.

2 Phelan, p. 250.  
3 Message to Legislature, Sept. 17, 1827, Carroll Papers.  
4 Public Acts, 1829, 103.
for this reason it has been called by some writers
"The Plan of 1829".

This plan provided for six commissioners
and a sum of money to the amount of $150,000 to be
apportioned as follows: $60,000 each for Middle and
East Tennessee; $30,000 for West Tennessee. The
governor was the ex-officio president of the board.
The next legislature added another man to the board
by an act which was "to establish and incorporate a
board of Internal Improvements in that part of the
State east of the Cumberland Mountains". Work was
to be let out to the lowest bidder; the approipa-
tion was $60,000 for work on the rivers, Tennessee
and Holston, and their tributaries, to remove obstruc-
tions to steamboat navigation as far as practicable
east of the Cumberland Mountains.

An act was passed also to compel the owners
of turnpike roads and toll bridges to keep same in
repair,—for early in Tennessee the legislature had
encouraged the building of turnpikes by private cap-
ital, and it had become a profitable business.

1 Phelan, p. 281; Moore, I., 443.
2 Public Acts, 1829, p. 103.
4 Ibid., pp. 61-2.
A board of internal improvements was provided for the "Mountain District", one for Caney Fork and one for Obed's River, while county courts in those counties west of the Tennessee River were each to appoint three residents as a board of county commissioners of internal improvement.

All such forward looking legislation was due to the efforts of the governor who not only continued to urge the need for internal improvements in his messages, but who was so interested that he himself visited Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, trying to procure the services of an engineer. For the country was so aroused to the importance of the subject that good engineers out of work were scarce. Carroll failed to find one, but he met a Mr. McIlwaine who agreed to meet the board of internal improvements at Nashville later on and thus held out hope that his services could be secured.

The constitution of 1835 encouraged internal improvements by the following significant paragraph:

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3 Public Acts, 1835-6, Const. of 1835, Art. XI, p. 15.
"A well regulated system of internal improvements is calculated to develop the resources of the State, and promote the happiness and prosperity of her citizens; therefore it ought to be encouraged by the General Assembly."

Much more could be written about the details of the movement in Tennessee during this period, but the instances named above seem representative of the whole and thus serve to show the progressive stand which Carroll took.

In answer to probable criticism that no great undertaking was carried out under his leadership we should say that the foundation work was done and that this in itself was a great thing.

**Banks**

Tennessee, in common with other parts of the Union, had gone through with so rapid a development and such extensive speculation that when the inevitable crash followed in 1819 great numbers of men of small means were ruined.

A new state bank chartered in 1820 was part of the relief scheme. Its capital was to be furnished entirely by the state, directors to be elected by the legislature, and loans to be apportioned among the counties according to taxes paid in each.

A "stay law" had been passed to the effect that creditors had to accept notes of the state bank or

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1 Knoxville Register, Aug. 8, 1820.
wait two years to collect their claims in any other form. The plan had proved a great disappointment, for its loans were not adequate to the demand.

This seems to explain why Carroll came out with the flat declaration, "I am no friend to banks". He was progressive and democratic but as a merchant he could not be expected to favor relief legislation that placed the debtors in the saddle throughout the state. "His election marked the beginning of the end for the debtor class." His messages throughout his years as governor repeatedly insisted upon habits of industry and economy with more attention to agriculture and domestic manufacture rather than any reliance upon artificial schemes for relief, as did his first message in 1821.

That year the Supreme Court of Tennessee held that the stay law of 1820 was unconstitutional. Carroll discouraged the continued issuance of paper money by the banks to pay the debts.

2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
7 House Journal, 1821, 113-4.
In the same year he expressed himself as opposed to consolidation of the several banks for three reasons: first, unsound parts would never make a sound whole; second, the wealth of the state should not be in the hands of one set of directors; third, the banks as they were acted as a check upon one another. His suggestion instead was to examine the banks and if they were found to merit the confidence of the people, to name a distant date for settlement in specie; this would enable the banks to be ready to meet their contracts.

The situation seemed not to have changed much two years later. Governor Carroll reminded the legislators that the banks had suspended specie payment in 1819, and that it was a matter of surprise to the people that such a condition still existed. He further said that at the session of 1821, a law had been passed that required the banks to begin redemption of their notes on the "first Monday of April next", and that it could only mean distress if the law were rigidly adhered to.

Yet Carroll did not favor repealing the law because he felt that to do so would be against the best interests of the state and also that it would
reflect upon the character of the state.

He reminded the people that emission of bank paper always had driven precious metals from circulation, ending with the advice to practice economy and industry, using goods of domestic manufacture, their expenditures not exceeding their profits.

In September 1825, the banks began again the payment of specie which pleased Carroll greatly. He was relieved at the restoration of sound currency and rejoiced that it would make for the future happiness and prosperity of the state, would sustain credit abroad, give a permanent and settled value to property, and cause every dollar to circulate freely. This brighter outlook was not to continue. Conditions became worse. It was charged that some of the banks actually sold their coined money at a premium of 30% while their own bank notes were at a 40% discount. In 1828 the notes of two of the banks were worth only 25 cents on the dollar. And in 1829 Carroll urged the winding up of the business of the state bank of 1820.

1 Senate Journal, 1823, 9-11.
2 House Journal, 1826, 11; Message to Legislature, Oct. 16, 1826, Carroll Papers.
3 Senate Journal, 1829, 94-104.
Carroll had ordered an examination of the state bank, as he was convinced that some of its officers had defaulted. A large sum was involved -- $200,000 from cashier and clerk. Part of this sum would have to be counted as lost, especially in West Tennessee. There was no report from East Tennessee. Carroll wanted the bank closed immediately.

But banks were needed for more extensive credit operations and in 1831 the Third Bank of Tennessee was chartered with capital not to exceed $2,000,000; fifteen directors to manage its affairs; pay of the president and directors to be reasonable; statement of general accounts to be issued annually; offices to be located, one in East Tennessee and one in the "Western District"; corporation not to suspend or refuse payment of specie; statements to be furnished the legislature; other fundamental rules were laid down; and any violation of the charter was to be punished. The movement failed.

These grave conditions led, in 1832, to the establishment of the Union Bank with the state a large stockholder; $500,000 out of $3,000,000.

1 Carroll to Legislature, Sept. 19, 1831, State Archives.
2 Public Acts, 1831-1836, 4-10.
The following year the Planters' Bank of Nashville was chartered much like the Union Bank. Its stock was $2,000,000, and it was to continue until January, 1863, and no longer. Every feature was strictly provided for and a branch was established at Athens in McMinn County at the same time and under the same rules.

About the same time an act was passed to charter the Farmers and Merchants' Bank of Memphis, a smaller corporation whose stock was not to exceed $600,000. Similar care was taken by the legislature to prevent mismanagement.

At a called session of the legislature in 1832, Carroll had again urged that the affairs of the state bank be wound up and any money left over deposited in the new Union Bank. Accordingly an act was passed in 1833 to close the concerns and agents were appointed to wind up the business, the cashier to hand over the books.

In order to pay for its stock in the Union Bank, the state in January, 1833, issued five hundred 5% bonds of $100 each -- the first issuance of bonds in Tennessee.

1 Public Acts, 1833, 30-42.
2 Ibid., 1833, 60-66.
3 Ibid., 1833, p. 92, and Moore, I. 455.
4 Public Acts, 1833, pp. 78-82.
Carroll was not able to make any further improvement in the banking situation in Tennessee. In 1836 he was out of his position of leadership and in 1837 the entire nation was in the midst of a panic, partly due to unwise banking all over the country.

The Judiciary

We have seen that as gubernatorial candidate Carroll had brought up the subject of judiciary reform. Again in the spring of 1822 he took up the matter. In his circular calling the legislature to meet in special session on July 22, 1822, he stated:

"It is a matter so generally admitted, perhaps no person will now attempt to controvert the fact, that some change in the judiciary is necessary, at least in the higher branches of it, and as it is a subject of the very first importance to the people, they are referred to by the governor as the proper source to direct the remedy."

In an earlier message he had said in regard to the courts:

"Innovation is dreaded by some. It is true that too frequent changes are productive of injury and inconvenience and it is oftentimes better to submit to some abuses in an old system than to be constantly adopting new plans. But it should be recollected that the varying habits, manners, and improvements in society must be kept in the view of and provided for by the legislature of a country."

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1 Knoxville Register, June 11, 1822.
2 Ibid., Oct. 9, 1821.
These words show the conservatism of William Carroll upon a subject as profound as that of the judiciary.

He early called attention to the crowded condition, and the drudgery of the supreme court judges, suggesting as a remedy that the supreme court of errors and appeal be made an appellate court with no original jurisdiction and that the judges be freed from undergoing the drudgery of every day practice in a court of chancery. Therefore he insisted upon separate chancery courts composed of single judges for the respective circuits.

In his next message to the special session of the legislature the governor said that "it would seem indispensable that some change in our judiciary should take place", and again he insisted that separate chancery courts would "facilitate the dispatch of business and essentially conduce to the real interests of society". He thought that next to a correct administration of justice, nothing was more important than that the remedy should be speedy and certain, because it inspired confidence.

1 Knoxville Register, Oct. 9, 1821.
2 Knoxville Intelligencer, July 30, 1822.
3 Ibid.
About three weeks later Samuel Powel and Hugh L. White refused to serve on the supreme bench any longer; and some months later Judge Will L. Brown resigned from office of Judge of Court of Appeals, saying that it was of no use to give reasons, but that if the legislature would determine to make a fourth judge, many would be willing to serve. These incidents were points for Carroll's argument for reform, as he correctly interpreted them as reluctance of men of high qualifications to remain on the bench under the then existing circumstances.

Carroll never did cease his efforts to obtain the much needed reforms. In 1824 he said that the burden upon the judges of the supreme court was too great and that the delay of justice was injurious to the people. He suggested that the supreme court be held in only two places and mentioned again his plan that separate courts of chancery be established in suitable districts. He considered that it would be better for courts to grant new trials rather than issue appeals always.

2 Ibid., Sept. 20, 1824; Senate Journal, 1824, pp. 5-6.
3 Ibid.
In 1825 the governor strengthened his plea, referring again to the evils of the system in use, and offered a plan in three parts most of which were adopted by the legislature. They were as follows:

one court only to try jury cases; a final court having no original jurisdiction to sit in very few places; and a separate Court of Equity. This, he argued, would be less expensive as well as a great improvement along the lines already considered.

The following year Carroll reminded the legislature of his first message in 1821, and stated that his ideas had not changed. The Supreme Court was becoming still more crowded, he said, and asked them flatly for a remedy for the delay caused, demanding that this court be so organized that it should never adjourn until it had gone through every case on the docket; that they lessen the judges' travels and their duties by not requiring them to hold inferior courts.

In 1831 the patient persistence of the "reform governor" began to have its reward. The legislature passed an act to amend the judiciary system. A chief justice was to be elected at that

1 Senate Journal, 1825, 10.
2 House Journal, 1826, pp. 8-10.
session to serve with the other three judges. He was to have the same salary, the same duties, and like jurisdiction. Also an act was passed to provide for holding chancery court in Overton and Giles counties.

The constitutional convention met in 1834 and proceeded to make provision in fundamental law for many of the judicial reforms for which Carroll had striven for almost twelve years. Especially noteworthy is Article VI, Sec. I: "The judicial power of this State shall be vested in one supreme court and in such other courts as the legislature shall from time to time ordain and establish in the judges thereof and the justices of the peace. The legislature may also vest such jurisdiction in corporate courts as may be deemed necessary."

Accordingly in addition to the supreme court held one each in East, Middle, and West Tennessee, the legislature in 1835 established circuits having a judge in each; chancery courts with three chancellors, one in each division; county courts with

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1 Public Acts, 1831. Chaps. LII, and LVII.
provision for their records and other duties; and finally, it prescribed the duties and defined the jurisdiction of the justices of the peace.

Although these last named acts were passed after Carroll's term of office had expired, yet it was due to Carroll and to no other that the state was extricated from the confusing old system of concurrent jurisdiction.

Reform of Criminal Laws

Carroll had long made every effort at prison reform. He especially urged the erection of a penitentiary and the abolition of cruel and barbarous punishments.

It was undeniable that the penal laws of Tennessee at that time were unduly severe. The gallows, the whipping-post, the pillory, stocks, the branding iron, and the county jail were the only means of meting punishment to an offender. A punishment might thus be too light, or, and as usually was the case, it was too severe and out of all proportion to the offense committed. For example, the stealing or carrying away of a horse was punishable

by death "without benefit of clergy" -- a very
terrible threat indeed, it seems, to most people
in that day.

The key to Carroll's ideas on the sub-
ject may be found in his message to the legislature
on September 16, 1823, when he said:

"To secure conviction of notorious of-
fenders justice must be speedy and certain.
To be certain, it must be lenient."

Then he went on to say that the scale of
punishment must be graduated.

That Carroll took a deep interest in the
matter of a penitentiary is shown by the many let-
ters which he wrote to the governors of other states
asking for plans and other information that they
might give about penitentiaries. "What is the size
of your penitentiary? What did it cost? How long
in use? How high and thick are its walls and of
what are they made?" were some of the questions
asked.

Among many others, Governor John Tyler re-
plied from Richmond, Virginia, giving as his opinion

1 Senate Journal, 1823, 14-15.
2 House Journal, 1826, 141-151.
that "penitentiaries afford the best means of attain-
ing the great ends of justice." 

In October, 1829, the repeated recommenda-
tions of Governor Carroll produced their effect and
an act was passed to erect a penitentiary. Also
about the same time a new, graduated scale of pun-
ishments for criminals went into effect. Only first
degree murder was punishable by death and felonies
below first degree were punishable by hard labor
in the penitentiary, the barbarous methods being
done away with forever.

In 1831 imprisonment for debt was abol-
ished except in cases of fraud, as was also imprison-
ment for women in civil cases. And the following
year the legislature passed an act for the establish-
ment of a hospital for lunatics.

Carroll's excellent and progressive work
along all these lines was a part of the general ten-
dency to more humane conduct. In England, for ex-
ample, during the same period enlightened thinkers
had long made efforts to secure reforms, especially

1 Tyler to Carroll, Aug. 10, 1826, State Archives.
2 Phelan, p. 302; Garrett and Goodpasture, p. 179.
4 Ibid., p. 45-46.
in the matter of reducing punishment for small offenses and of obtaining better living conditions within the jails; they could hardly have been any worse.

In England in 1800 two hundred different offenses were punishable by death, but in 1808 some reforms were made; imprisonment for debt was abolished in 1813, the public whipping of women in 1820; and in 1824 Peel, Canning, and others induced Parliament to abolish the death penalty for a great many more offenses.

Was Governor Carroll influenced by such progress in England? It would be hard to say, yet we know that the newspapers of his day were largely taken up with news from foreign countries, especially England.

The Constitutional Convention of 1834

The day of the buffalo, deer, bear, panther, wolf, Indian marauder, long hunter, or barefoot pioneer was no more. Log cabins had given place to the brick or frame house, the plow was used more than the axe --

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2 Knoxville Gazette, 1811-1814; Knoxville Register, 1821-1824, et al.
the settlements widened.

The Constitution of 1796 framed for the most part by men who were large landholders of acres bought up at a very low price or which had been obtained by speculation so common in the early days, was no longer adequate to meet the needs of the changed situation.

To William Carroll, the business governor, should be given the credit for ushering in the modern period in Tennessee. In his campaign speeches he had attacked the old hierarchy, but not until the latter part of his second series of administrations was he able to influence legislation sufficiently to take definite action upon adoption of a new constitution.

In his message to the legislature in 1833, Carroll told the members that Tennessee must pass a law providing for the election of delegates to a constitutional convention, and for the period of their assembly. Accordingly on November 27, 1833, the legislature passed an act to provide for the calling of a convention of sixty members to be

1 Guild, op. cit., p. 41.
2 Message to Legislature, Sept. 16, 1833, Carroll Papers.
elected in March, 1834, and to meet at Nashville the third Monday in May, 1834, for the purpose of "revising, amending, altering the present, or forming a new, constitution"; the necessary expenses of the convention were to be defrayed by the state.

The duly elected delegates assembled in the representative hall on Monday, May 19th, at twelve o'clock. Various committees were formed and work was begun in earnest.

The interest of the convention in education and the action of that body throws some light on conditions in Tennessee at that period. The votes taken by sections on the motions show that East Tennessee was the part of the state strongly in favor of the common schools, being the only section to favor a poll tax and fixed annual appropriation. Middle and West Tennessee were both overwhelmingly against both means of providing for the schools, West Tennessee being almost unanimous against the poll tax.

1 Public Acts, 1833, pp. 94-96.
2 Randolph Recorder, June 21, 1834.
3 Ibid., June 21, 1834.
4 Whitaker, Tenn. Hist. Mag., II. 7,8.
The judiciary was a subject of great difficulty, yet in the end there was general satisfaction over the accomplishment.

Duellists were to be deprived of citizenship, a step intended to put an end to the practice.

Work was brought to a close the first Saturday in September, 1834, -- the new constitution having been completed and signed. There remained only the offering of the document to the people for their acceptance or rejection. The session had lasted for more than three months and they the most oppressive season of the year.

In the main the new constitution provided for five changes of importance:

1. Representation in the legislature was apportioned according to the number of voters instead of the number of taxable inhabitants of each district.

2. Land was taxed according to its value, and not according to acreage as it had been before.

3. Property qualifications for governor, legislators, and electors were removed.

4. County officials were to be chosen by the voters

of the county; and justices of the peace, by the
evoters of a district. These had formerly been
chosen by the legislature.

5. The right to vote was given to all free
white men of legal age. The word, "white", had been
omitted in the old constitution.

The people of Tennessee read their new
constitution and liked it; other people read and
approved; the press generally "throughout the Union"
spoke of the forward looking piece of work in terms
of praise. Therefore it was adopted by a large
majority in the spring of 1835.

Miscellaneous

Many other matters received the earnest
attention of the governor during the years he was
chief power and guiding spirit in Tennessee.

The question of the boundary of the state
received his attention and much work was done in
the matter.

Various other matters were attended to.
Among them was the presentation of swords to Generals
Jackson and Gaines.

1 Caldwell, Constitutional History of Tennessee, pp.109-16.
2 Randolph Recorder, Nov. 7, 1834.
3 Ibid., June 5, 1835.
4 Knoxville Register, Sept. 25, 1821; and Public Acts,
pp.45-6, 53; and Carroll to Legislature, Sept. 19, 1831.
These were procured in 1822, and were presented for gallantry in the War of 1812. General Jackson was at this time territorial governor of Florida.

Effort was made to handle the liquor question as early as 1823. Acts were passed, one providing that any person treating at an election with spirituous liquors or betting on the election should be guilty of a misdemeanor; the other, to regulate the "manner of granting licenses to innkeepers, and to restrain tippling houses". Later Carroll asked the legislature to pass a law that none but honest innkeepers might sell liquor.

The governor said:

"It is a source of melancholy regret that three-fourths of the unhappy inmates of prisons acknowledge that the too-frequent use of ardent spirits was the leading source of the commission of crimes for which they were convicted. Nor is it less the subject of regret that nine-tenths of the pauperism arises from intemperance. . . ."

Carroll's last terms covered a troublous period in politics; Jackson's stormy career was in progress. South Carolina was seething with

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1 Ibid., Aug. 13, 1822.
2 Moore, I, 395.
3 Public Acts, 1823, p. 41.
4 Message to Legislature, Sept. 19, 1831, Carroll Papers.
nullification, "now inculcated by the dominant party" of the state of South Carolina.

A town was established by the legislature and named "Carrollville"; a county was constituted and named "Carroll County"; some years later a new steamboat was built at Cincinnati for Gordon, Servell and Company and named the "General Carroll" -- all in honor of the governor. Many more instances could be given to show the firm foundation upon which Carroll's popularity was based.

"The character of the chief is the character of the state," said one editor.

1 Public Acts, 1832, pp. 55-57.
2 Ibid.
3 Nashville Banner, March 17, 1826.
4 National Banner and Nashville Whig, July 15, 1826.
CHAPTER VIII

CARROLL'S DEFEAT

Carroll had never been defeated for governor after the expiration of his first term until 1835. He was twice (1823 and 1825) unanimously the choice of the people for governor, therefore in 1827 he was, according to the constitutional law, ineligible for re-election.

Sam Houston, Willie Blount, and Newton Cannon were candidates for the office, and of these Houston was elected by a large majority. For some reason Willie Blount, the "war governor", received a contemptibly small vote.

General Jackson had become president and Houston, the handsome and popular, the brave and romantic, was a friend of Jackson's. Therefore Houston decided to run for re-election in 1829. His opponent in the race was William Carroll, again ineligible under the constitution.

1 Hale and Merritt, op. cit., II, 317.
The contest promised to be very close, but Houston suffered an unhappy domestic experience which resulted in his resignation and voluntary exile a few days after the opening of the campaign. This left General Carroll without an opponent and he was accordingly elected and duly inaugurated October, 1829.

There had been very little excitement about the whole affair, sudden though it was. Carroll said: 'Poor Houston, it may be said of him as J. H. Davis of Kentucky said of Colonel Burr in his western movement, 'He rose like a rocket and fell like a _____ stick.'"

After this unusual political campaign, Carroll was re-elected twice again without opposition, but in 1835 the situation changed. Up to this time there had been no marked division in Tennessee upon the subject of national politics. There

1 Garrett and Goodpasture, op. cit., p. 175-178.
3 Garrett and Goodpasture, op. cit., p. 175-178.
was only the Democratic Party to speak of and Andrew Jackson had long dominated it.

Jackson, who had served nearly two terms, began to make plans to have his friend, Martin Van Buren, of New York, succeed him. Van Buren had been Secretary of State for two years in Jackson's first administration; then Jackson had thought it best for him to go as ambassador to England, as he said: "This will quiet the fears of conflicting aspirants and give the country some peace," for Van Buren as well as Eaton had resigned from the cabinet when he found that harmony could not be secured. Next, Van Buren was vice-president during Jackson's second administration, and always his confidential friend and advisor.

Jackson's wish as to his successor was well known in the state, but many came to oppose him. It may be said that the Whig party in Tennessee

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1 Ibid., p. 170-173.
2 Ibid.
3 Dunlap-Jackson Correspondence, Amer. Hist. Mag., IV. 94-96.
5 Garrett and Goodpasture, p. 132.
had its beginning in opposition to Jackson's wishes.

Among Jackson's friends who opposed Van Buren for president was Hugh Lawson White, the son of the founder of Knoxville, and next to Jackson himself, the most popular man in Tennessee. White had been unanimously elected to succeed Jackson to the United States Senate in 1825, and his popularity became so great that men began to speak of him as a candidate for the presidency. In 1833 he had, to use his own words, "earnestly endeavored to prevent his name from being submitted to the American people for president," but his "efforts were unavailing", and he had later given his consent. This step together with the fact that White would not agree to support Van Buren in any way whatsoever angered Jackson so much that the long-continued friendship was broken.

White's followers began to be called Whigs, and the party was directed by John Bell, a man of great intellect and political sagacity, who had been a rival of Polk in Congress and who was

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1 Ibid.
2 Moore, I. 417.
3 Garrett and Goodpasture, pp. 192-5.
4 Randolph Recoder, Nov. 6, 1835.
6 Ibid.
largely driven to the Whig side by Jackson's dislike as were Thomas H. Benton, Newton Cannon, David Crockett, Jesse Benton, and others.

According to Jackson's wish, Van Buren was nominated for president at the democratic convention which was held in Baltimore in 1835. Opposition in Tennessee was immediately felt. The convention was spoken of as the "office-seekers convention" and it was declared "impudent and insulting" that Tennessee had cast fifteen votes when she had no delegate there.

A certain Mr. Rucker admitted that he had given the votes, that he was not delegated to act in the convention, but "happened to be in Baltimore at the time" and so fell in with the suggestion that he vote for Tennessee, as it had been discovered when credentials were examined by the proper committee that there was no delegate from Tennessee.

One of the vice-presidents of the convention, a North Carolinian, rose pale and agitated and proposed a reconsideration of the previous vote.

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1 Hale and Merritt, II, 431.
2 Randolph Recorder, June 12, 1835.
for the purpose of making it necessary that a candidate should receive two-thirds of the entire vote before he could be nominated. Then some one used as an argument that unless this was done, Virginia would secede. Whereupon another said, "Damn Virginia, who cares how Virginia votes?"

The leaders of the democratic party in the state were Felix Grundy, James K. Polk, John Catron, Cave Johnson, and William Carroll.

Governor Carroll upon the advice of friends decided to offer himself for the seventh term as governor, thinking that as a new constitution had been drawn up in 1834, he was no longer constitutionally ineligible. Other candidates announced themselves for governor: Richard Dunlap, P. W. Humphreys, and most important, Newton Cannon who was put out by the opponents of Jackson.

Carroll deprecated the introduction of national politics into the state election but to no avail; the issue was squarely Van Buren versus White for president and Carroll had publicly declared his

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1 Ibid., June 19, 1835.
2 Ibid., June 5, 1835.
3 Ibid., April 17, 1835.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid., June 5, 1835.
preference for Van Buren, whereas Cannon came out openly for White.

There followed a period of partisan fury, the newspapers taking active part. Some expressed themselves as satisfied with Carroll's administration of twelve years, admitted that the governor had done well, but said that they expected him voluntarily to retire from office at the end of his term. As to his non-eligibility, the argument was that as Tennessee had "no new constitution but the same good old constitution revised and amended or changed in some parts only, the "spirit of the constitution was broken by Carroll's candidacy." It was said also that while Carroll had a right to vote for Van Buren for president if he wished, this same "determination and opinion" would defeat him at the state election the first Thursday in August, 1834.

"We know his popularity is considered to be overwhelming and invulnerable. Why is this? We grant him to be a good, common man, nothing more. True he has fought and so has General Dunlap, Colonel Cannon, and perhaps Judge Humphreys. He avows

1 Ibid., April 17, 1835; May 29, 1835.
2 Ibid., June 5, 1835.
3 Ibid., May 29, 1835; June 5, 1835.
himself a friend to Education and Internal Improvements. And who is not? . . . ." said some of Carroll's opponents. There was no doubt of Carroll's ability and popularity, but it began to be repeated that he had held office long enough. "We are opposed to 'life terms and monopolies,'" said an editor.

The democrats attempted to get up a convention for the purpose of defeating "proscribing for opinion's sake an old faithful public servant". He was an old soldier, he was literally the "author and father" of the penitentiary system, and had done more for the improvement of Tennessee than had any one else.

Cannon, the chief opponent, was criticized for having returned home when his time of enlistment expired before the conclusion of the Creek War. However, state questions were more and more overshadowed by national issues.

Van Buren was disliked first because he was the "heir apparent", therefore his career was

1 Ibid., May 29, 1835.
2 Ibid., June 19, 1835.
3 Randolph Recorder, June 19, 1835.
4 Ibid., May 22, 1835.
5 Somerville Reporter, July 6, 1839.
carefully examined to see what flaws could be found therein.

People asked whether Mr. Van Buren had supported De Witt Clinton, ultra Federalist, in preference to Madison; what his opinions were as to southerners and southern principles; and what his views were on the Missouri question. They were not surprised when they found that, according to Tennessee politics, he was on the wrong side of every one of the questions. He had boldly talked of the success that Clinton would have in expelling from the nation's councils the politicians of the South. "I call on this meeting," Van Buren had said, "to sustain the claims of New York against the untiring ambition of the South. . . ." As to the question of Missouri, he regarded the admission of new states to the south and west as "materially impairing the power and influence of the north."

It was enough. The influence of Jackson was great, his personal popularity still remarkable, but the issue became one of principle,

1 Randolph Recorder, June 13, 1835.
2 Ibid.
"whether people shall rule or be ruled by the few in power". Jackson was considered the brains; Van Buren, merely the tool, by some. And the Tennessee legislature had nominated White for president as a protest against planned succession and undue official influence.

If the people elected Carroll who was opposed to White and in favor of Van Buren, it would necessarily follow that Tennessee did not prefer White or she would never have elected to her highest office his political enemy.

In the meantime Governor Carroll was making speeches for his candidacy. He spoke well and at length in a composed and soldier-like manner. Whatever fury and frenzy was abroad in the state was assuredly not of his making. At Franklin, Tennessee, he touched upon state affairs very slightly, recognizing that the question was national. His attack upon Colonel Cannon showed that Carroll perceived him to be his strongest opponent in the race.

1 Ibid., June 5, 1835.
2 Ibid., July 27, 1835.
4 Randolph Recorder, Apr. 11, 1835.
5 Ibid., July 10, 1835.
However, notwithstanding the fact that probably every Van Buren man in the state, most of Carroll's personal friends including many opposed to Van Buren, and many who had followed him in battle voted for Carroll, he was defeated that fall at the polls. Colonel Cannon was elected.

It was his politics alone that had defeated Carroll; even his enemies admitted that and frankly recounted his excellent career as governor. His popularity was so great that he received 35,247 votes to 42,785 cast for Cannon, and 2,433 for Humphreys. Later Carroll wrote of the election: "I was only beaten by Cannon 6,000 and I was not sustained by a single candidate in the state except Cove Johnson. White was at the zenith of his popularity and many of those who are now loud in their professions of friendship to the administration had not then the moral firmness to meet the storm. Such friends may do in times of prosperity, but they are not to be relied on in times of difficulty. If a bold stand had been taken in Tennessee by the

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1 Ibid., Nov. 20, 1835.
2 Ibid., Oct. 23, 1835.
3 Ibid., Nov. 20, 1835.
professed leaders of the Democratic party, our efforts would have been crowned with success.  

Carroll, ever politically astute, had in 1833 warned Van Buren that if he wished to carry  
Tennessee he must conciliate Grundy, because Van  
Buren was identified with the friends of Eaton and Lewis, both of whom were unpopular in the state,  
and Eaton's enemies had already a formidable organization under Grundy's able leadership.  

In October, 1835, Newton Cannon took the oath of office and Ex-governor Carroll then delivered his farewell address to the representatives of the people. He "bowed to the decision against him without a murmur," then he went on to give a brief survey of the progress of the state, which was in numbers the fifth in "this great confederacy." He reviewed briefly his own career among them, from a "poor, obscure, inexperienced boy unknowing and unknown" to governor for twelve years. After expressing his gratitude to the people he closed by assuring them of his readiness to serve his country.

1 Carroll to Van Buren, Jan.23, 1840, Van Buren MSS.  
2 Ibid., Mar. 11, 1833.  
3 Bassett, op. cit., II. 717-8.
and, if necessary, to "pour out his blood" as he had done before "in support of the liberties of this glorious Union".

Carroll took his defeat gracefully, firmly maintaining the dignity of his position, "falling as an old soldier should have fallen -- with his face to the enemy."

1 Randolph Recorder, Oct. 30, 1835.
2 The Union, Dec. 10, 1837.
CHAPTER IX

IN CIVIL LIFE

During Jackson's first term as president and while Carroll was a candidate for governor for the fourth term, Jackson thought it wise to send out among the Cherokees a confidential agent with his mission kept secret. The object was to secure individual acquiescence of the Indians to removal.

General Carroll was chosen for this delicate mission. This shows that Carroll was a man of tact and resource as well as of strength, for none other would have been chosen for the work.

Again in 1831 there was some doubt as to the ratification by the Indians of the Choctaw and Cherokee treaties of removal. Carroll earnestly hoped that there would be no difficulty and he was inclined to think that all would go well because certain ones of the tribes had gone to the country west of the Mississippi to examine it for themselves and had returned entirely satisfied with the

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prospects. Carroll thought that their attitude would have much influence upon the rest of the Indians.

The question of removal was a more difficult one with the Cherokees for they were known to have a strong love for the land of their fathers and to leave it with great reluctance. Yet they could not adapt themselves enough to live under the laws of the states and for this reason Carroll thought it best for them to move.

Carroll's opinions as to the Indians were not based on hearsay; it had been his custom, busy as he was, to make investigation of such important matters himself. At one time while he was governor, he had planned a trip to the Cherokee and Creek country to last from the first part of August until the meeting of the legislature on the third Monday in September.

So well was Carroll informed upon the subject of the Indians that soon after his defeat by Cannon, he, with John F. Schermerhorn, was appointed commissioner of the United States to conclude

1 Carroll to Van Buren, Feb. 6, 1831, Van Buren Mss.
2 Ibid., Aug. 4, 1829.
the treaty of removal with the Cherokees. This was accordingly done at New Echota, Georgia, on December 29, 1835.

By this treaty the title of the Cherokees to Hiwassee District, their last possession in Tennessee, was extinguished.

Probably it was to this commission that an editor referred when he complained "... the minions of the administration are well provided for. As soon as they are rejected by the people, they are rewarded with high and responsible office by the President."

The Administration at Washington had Carroll in mind for a more important official position. As Carroll was known to be a strong advocate of the annexation of Texas, President Jackson and Secretary of State Van Buren decided to reduce the mission to the court of Columbia to a charge d'affaires and to advance the one to Mexico to that of a full minister and to give the latter to William Carroll. They wrote several letters to Carroll assuring him that the appointment would be made the moment it

1 Mourns, op. cit., p. 258.
2 Ibid., p. 258.
3 Somerville Reporter, Mar. 9, 1829.
was authorized by the condition of affairs with Mexico.

Carroll, who had not asked for the position, stated that he would be pleased to receive it immediately as it would enable him to place his family in a very independent situation. He was out of debt at last and had some money and good property worth at least $17,000 or $18,000, and he felt that if he could add this to what might be saved in two or three years' time spent in Mexico, it would place him in a position where he need not ask office again from any source. However, in another month the newspapers were recording new developments in Texas. General Cas at the head of armed troops had landed near the mouth of the Brazos River to march against the people of Texas.

The Texans, united to a man, gathered for resistance. Their slogans were "The Constitution of 1824", "Liberty or Death", and "Down with the Usurper". A battle was fought.

In 1836 the Texans in convention declared that General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna and other

1 Carroll to John Williams, Sept. 27, 1835, Van Buren
2 Randolph Recorder, Nov. 6, 1835.
military chieftains had by force of arms dissolved 1
the social compact between Texas and Mexico, and
Texas was made a republic.

Tennessee was heartily in favor of the
emancipation of Texas. Several companies of volun-
teers marched, having been equipped by contribution
of the citizens, to the aid of Texas. On February
11, 1836, Ex-governor Carroll with Governor Cannon
and members of the legislature with other citizens
of Nashville met in the largest church for a Texas
meeting. The church was crowded and "but one senti-
ment prevailed".

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Carroll, as well as Polk and other Tenn-
esseans, had long favored annexation. Carroll's argu-
ments were: first, that if Texas belonged to the
United States, its hardy sons would soon add another
state to the great "confederacy"; second, that such
a population would form a barrier against the en-
croachment of an enemy at that point of the union,
"of all others the most assailable", for such a
power as England could easily land a large force

1 Randolph Recorder, Jan. 1, 1836.
2 Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas, ed.
by Geo. P. Garrison, Amer. Hist. Assoc., Annual Report,
1907, II. 66-67.
3 Garrett and Goodpasture, op. cit., p. 196.
at Galveston and other points and in a few days "possess themselves of the Mississippi and New Orleans"; third, that it would be a proud feather in the cap of Jackson's administration; next, that the undertaking would not cost much; and finally, a judicious, energetic representation there might be able to accomplish much for his government.

Carroll, then, was not only active in the affairs of the city and state but of the nation as well. The legislature thought that he would be the best person that could be selected to head the electoral ticket in 1836, and to this plan Carroll consented. He wrote to Van Buren, "We may be defeated, but I promise you that we will fight the battle with skill and energy, and I am not without hopes of success."

In 1840 Carroll was chosen to preside over the National Democratic Convention which was to meet again at Baltimore in May. He decided to spend some days in Washington on his way. Therefore, in April, in company with Mr. Rogers and Mr.

1 Carroll to Van Buren, Feb. 6, 1831, Van Buren Mss.
2 Ibid., Feb. 27, 1856, Van Buren Mss.
Dortch, he went to Washington and put up at Gadsby's.

There Mr. Laughlin, a newspaper man and politician, Mr. Grundy, and Mr. Turney called on him, but found him on his way to see President Van Buren. Laughlin went again and was able to see Carroll and to learn at first hand of affairs in Tennessee. It seems that there was a report current that leaders in Tennessee had determined to make no nomination of vice-president at Baltimore, to let the states and people unite upon candidates, and if there were no election by the electoral colleges the Senate would have to make the choice and that choice would be sure to be Polk. This was considered dangerous for Polk's chances while it served to strengthen Van Buren.

The National Whig convention had already met at Harrisburg and had chosen Harrison and Tyler. Harrison's nomination was unexpected to the Whigs of Tennessee and they received the news with great mortification. However, they rallied from the disappointment and Carroll predicted with keen political

2 Ibid.
foresight the spectacular campaign in the state.  "I yield to no one in a correct knowledge of the sentiments of the people of Tennessee. . . . the leaders will support Harrison with the same zeal they would have supported Clay. . . .," he said.

Before leaving Washington for Baltimore, Carroll had promised Van Buren to keep him informed as to the state of political affairs. There was much to report but it was all of similar nature, -- on the part of the Whigs a brilliant campaign of slogans and emblems which was already being carried on in Baltimore itself.

On Monday, May 4th, the Whigs staged a great parade through the chief part of the city, much to the disgust of the Democrats. One bystander, a Democrat, who showed his feelings too plainly was struck by a Whig marshal with his cane on the back of the head and killed. Tennessee was represented by a little platoon in the procession. Caleb Norvell, Mr. Humes of Knox,

1 Carroll to Van Buren, Jan. 23, 1840, Van Buren MSS.
2 Ibid., Oct. 8, 1840.
and three or four others marched with a "bag in mourning" inscribed to Hugh Lawson White. Others had banners and there were log cabins drawn on wagons.

Back home again Carroll and other Democrat leaders worked hard to win support for Van Buren, partly by means of judiciously chosen electors before the adjournment of the legislature, and partly by means of political rallies and other such aids.

One such meeting was held in Nashville in January with a very large attendance, the speakers beginning at eleven o'clock in the morning and continuing until after midnight. General Carroll, who was the first to address the assemblage, confined himself for the most part to a review of General Harrison's military character and seemed to be successful in showing that the candidate had "committed errors which ought to have disgraced any subaltern in the army". Doubtless Carroll was cleverly attacking Harrison's only claim to distinction with the view of leaving him stripped of any reason for being elected.

1 Laughlin Diaries, Tenn. Hist. Mag., II. 46-55.
Other Democrat meetings were arranged for the following month and Carroll was invited to address most of them. He intended, if candidate for elector for his district, to travel over most of the state in order to "present Harrison in a true light before the people."

Carroll was enthusiastic for the cause which, as he thought, involved to such an extent the peace, prosperity, and happiness of the people, and he would allow no shadow of doubt as to the outcome to cloud his hope. He wrote Van Buren and asked for his candid opinion as to the vote of New York, saying frankly, "If that state is certain for the administration, my friends here could win a large sum of money."

Harrison, however, defeated Van Buren, the campaign was over, and Carroll began to devote more time to his business affairs. He bought plantations in Mississippi, bought a great deal of property

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1 Carroll to Van Buren, January 25, 1840, Van Buren MSS.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., October 8, 1840.
in Nashville and throughout Tennessee, using his keen business sense and his thorough knowledge of conditions to such advantage that when he died it was found that his property was easily worth $250,-

Last Days

General Carroll's health had been precarious for some time. By the fall of 1839, he was reported to be in wretched health, so much so that when the question came up of the appointment of a senator to succeed Mr. Foster in case he resigned, Polk wrote President Van Buren that it would not do to consider Carroll.

Five years later Carroll must have been greatly improved, for a Memphis paper earnestly recommended him, "the gallant and patriotic veteran" as minister to Mexico, saying that a better appointment could not be made and urging that the recommendation be signed by all the members of the legislature of Tennessee.

1 Mrs. R. H. Vance.
2 Polk to Van Buren, Nov. 11, 1839, Van Buren Mss.
3 The Appeal, Feb. 9, 1844.
In January, 1841, Carroll accepted an invitation to New Orleans to join in the celebration of the victory of New Orleans. Upon his arrival he was received with honor and treated with the greatest respect, being elected to honorary membership of the New Orleans veterans. The people of that city considered Carroll an old man, the papers referred to him as the "old soldier", although he was only middle-aged. But he had lost all his teeth and was supposed to be afflicted with Bright's disease.

His last public act was the delivery of a speech in Nashville, March 15, 1844, congratulating General Jackson and the country on the passage of the act of Congress appropriating the money to reimburse General Jackson for the amount of the fine plus the interest, that had been imposed upon Jackson by Judge Hall of New Orleans, in 1814.

Just a week later, on Tuesday night, General Carroll was seized with a severe illness, his physicians and friends entertaining no hope of his recovery. He died at eight o'clock on the

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1 Mrs. R. H. Vance.
2 Ibid.; Thomas read the framed speech in her house.
3 The Appeal, Mar. 29, 1844.
evening of Friday, March 22, 1844, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, leaving four sons: William, Charles, John, and Thomas. He had no daughter.

People and press mourned him. "Universal gloom seems to have pervaded all classes, ranks, and parties," wrote an editor. It was felt that a great man had fallen. He had lived for nearly twenty years in Nashville and was known to all. A vast concourse of people was at the cemetery on Sunday, the day of the funeral, to pay him respect.

The funeral honors were imposing and were conducted with the greatest order and propriety, first at the Presbyterian church and then at the cemetery.

General Jackson, then an old man, wrote Mr. Maxey, mayor of Nashville, that it was a source of "inexpressible regret" to him that the state of his health would not allow him to attend the funeral of one so highly esteemed by all. He said, "I have been intimate with him since his first settlement in Nashville. From an humble station in life he was raised up by his own merits to the most elevated in the gift of his countrymen, and though

1 Mrs. R. H. Vance.
2 The Appeal, March 29, 1844.
3 Ibid., Apr. 5, 1844.
often severely tested in the variety of service
to which their confidence called him, he never
failed to exhibit those traits of character which
gain for their possessor the respect and love of
his fellowman." He ended the letter by mourning Carroll as his friend and associate in arms.

There is much in William Carroll's life
which reveals his modesty, tact, tender-heartedness, humor, genius, loyalty, patriotism, and statesmanship.

1 Ibid.
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