1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report

1898 Wilmington Race Riot Commission

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Front cover: Destruction of Manly printing press, November 10, 1898.
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Some time, we are told, when the cycle of years has rolled around, there is to be another golden age, when all men will dwell together in love and harmony, and when peace and righteousness shall prevail for a thousand years. God speed the day, and let not the shining thread of hope become so enmeshed in the web of circumstance that we lose sight of it; but give us here and there, and now and then, some little foretaste of this golden age, that we may the more patiently and hopefully await its coming!

--Charles Waddell Chesnutt, *The Wife of his Youth and Other Stories of the Color Line* (1899).

Chesnutt, a North Carolina native, was the author of *The Marrow of Tradition* (1901), based on the Wilmington events of 1898.

1898 Wilmington Race Riot Commission
FINDINGS

Political

1. The racial violence of November 10, 1898, in Wilmington precipitated an armed overthrow of the legitimately elected municipal government.

2. The organizers of the overthrow took part in a documented conspiracy. The leaders, members of the Democratic white elite in Wilmington and New Hanover County, achieved their political goals through violence and intimidation.

3. Involved in the conspiracy were men prominent in the Democratic Party, former Confederate officers, former officeholders, and newspaper editors locally and statewide rallied by Josephus Daniels of the Raleigh *News and Observer*.

4. Organizers of the coup instituted a banishment campaign, targeting political opponents, black and white, leading to the expulsion from the city of over twenty targeted individuals and a mass exodus of over 2,100 others. Consequently, the Republican power base in Wilmington was destroyed.

5. The overthrow or *coup d état* took place within the context of an ongoing statewide political campaign based on white supremacy. The Wilmington events spurred the subsequent development of statutory basis for segregation (i.e., Jim Crow) and disfranchisement legislation in North Carolina.

6. Publication of an editorial by African American editor Alex Manly in August 1898 and subsequent reprintings by the white press stimulated public debate. The burning of Manly's press and office were the flashpoint on November 10. The mob action satisfied a perceived need for the organizers of the coup. Yet, the overthrow still would have taken place irrespective of Manly's role.

7. The events of November 10 left an unknown number of dead on Wilmington's streets. The coroner performed fourteen inquests but other evidence indicates that the total number of deaths was as high as sixty.

8. Government at all levels failed to adequately respond to the violence or to reverse the political overthrow. Troops sent to Wilmington by Governor Daniel L. Russell were ineffective in quelling the violence of November 10.

Economic and Social

1. Prior to November 1898 African Americans in Wilmington were employed in all segments of the workforce, as professionals, skilled artisans, government employees, maritime crew members, industrial workers, laborers, and domestics. After 1898 the number of blacks employed as professionals (aside from ministers), as skilled artisans, and in government jobs declined while the number working in lower status jobs increased.

2. Prior to November 1898 African Americans in Wilmington benefited from a cohesive social network composed of churches, strong fraternal organizations, and other civic and benevolent groups. After 1898 the network gradually rebounded but the social structure was altered as a result of statutory segregation.

3. One result of the Wilmington diaspora (the departure of African Americans from the Port City, voluntary or otherwise) was a decline in economic opportunity for black citizens.

4. Analysis of statistical data indicates that Wilmington's black businesses and workers suffered losses after 1898 in terms of job status, income, and access to capital.

5. After 1898, black-owned businesses suffered economic decline as some businesses closed or moved from the city's business district to traditionally black neighborhoods.

6. Analysis of deeds and tax records indicates that most black property owners in Wilmington retained ownership of holdings after 1898. No evidence was found to support the thesis that seizure of black-owned property by whites was widespread after 1898.

7. Analysis of residential patterns after 1898, based on the mapping of city directory and tax data, indicates that segregated neighborhoods in Wilmington increased and that the city's center became almost exclusively white.

8. After 1898, Wilmington's black schools and teachers received significantly less funding compared to white schools and teachers, a pattern reflective of trends across North Carolina. Black literacy rates in the city dropped to rates much lower than those of whites.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Objective: ***The recommendations of the 1898 Wilmington Race Riot Commission seek to repair the moral, economic, civic and political damage wrought by the violence and discrimination resulting from a conspiracy to re-take control of city, county, and state governments by the Democratic Party's white supremacy campaign.***

Empowerment: Acknowledging that the democratic process failed in Wilmington resulting in persistent, unfavorable treatment especially to the African American community, government leadership at all levels will pursue actions that repair the wrong.

1. Acknowledge that the violence of 1898 was a conspiracy of a white elite that used intimidation and force to replace a duly elected local government; that people lost their lives, livelihoods, and were banished from their homes without due process of the law; and that governments at all levels failed to protect its citizens.
2. Establish a Restructuring & Development Authority including local leadership to supervise implementation of a strategic vision funded through an endowment, supported by federal, state, and local governments, as well as media and businesses, especially those which benefited from the consequences of 1898.
3. Support amendment of the federal Voting Rights Act to add New Hanover County.
4. Create a study commission to examine the broader impact of slavery, Jim Crow, and discrimination on the lives of African Americans.

Economic Redevelopment: Recognizing the long term economic disadvantages created by banishment, loss of civil service positions, and intimidation, funding from all sources will be directed by the Restructuring & Development Authority to improve economic development opportunities.

5. Support judicial redress to compensate heirs of victims who can prove loss and relationship to victims via intestacy statutes.
6. Provide incentives for business development of areas impacted by the Wilmington Race Riot of 1898 (e.g., establish enterprise zone; create small business incubator with tax incentives to attract minority-owned businesses).
7. Increase minority home ownership in impacted areas (e.g., use eminent domain to acquire vacant commercial properties in Brooklyn and Southside; sell properties to low income residents of those sections with guaranteed mortgages).

Education: Educational information about the events of 1898 will be made available to all ages and regions using print, audio-visual media, and the worldwide web.

8. Maintain and update the final report of the Wilmington Race Riot Commission with the North Carolina Office of Archives and History; distribute the published report to appropriate local, state, and national repositories and to individuals who contributed toward the research and development of a more complete record.

9. Incorporate the 1898 events into Department of Public Instruction curriculum learning expectations; develop appropriate grade-level curriculum materials; and provide teacher workshops for effectively integrating the materials into instruction.
10. Newspapers (*News and Observer, Charlotte Observer, Wilmington Star, Washington Post*, etc.) should acknowledge the role of media in the events of 1898 and work with the North Carolina black press association to prepare a summary of the Commission report for distribution statewide. The Commission calls upon said papers to study the effects of 1898 and impact of Jim Crow on the state's black press and to endow scholarships at the state's public universities.
11. Fund development for a documentary to be aired nationally, regionally, and locally. The documentary should be suitable for inclusion in school curriculum materials.
12. Increase support for tutoring and mentoring programs in New Hanover County, targeting at-risk youth.

Commemoration: Recognition of the documented events of 1898 will be conspicuously displayed and made available in prominent public locations.

13. Fund establishment of an 1898 exhibit at the Cape Fear Museum and creation of a traveling exhibit designed by the Museum for use statewide.
14. Provide additional funding for New Hanover County Public Library to make resources available relative to 1898 and its impact.
15. Erect plaques, markers and/or monuments to identify key participants and locations of 1898 events statewide and in Wilmington.

<u>The members of the Commission and the staff of Archives and History stand ready to assist the General Assembly in implementing these recommendations.</u>

Remarks by Commissioners:

Representative Thomas Wright, Co-Chair

"Truth is essential in helping formulate and shape one's future. What an awesome task and privilege to Co-Chair the 1898 Wilmington Race Riot Commission. It is my sincere hope and desire that this significant piece of North Carolina history and American history would be acknowledged and identified as one of America's pivotal points of change. I hope that we take the opportunity to learn from this historical fact and celebrate our diversities and our progress, thereby helping to yield better prosperity for all Americans."

Irving Joyner, Vice-Chair

"Senator Luther Jordan's vision that a complete record of the 1898 Wilmington race and political rebellion be officially recorded has been accomplished. This report represents the most exhaustive review of the events, motivations and impacts of the most extreme manifestation of white supremacy in this State since slavery. In North Carolina, November 10, 1898 was the beginning of the total political and economic disenfranchisement of this State's African-American community. The overthrow of the legitimately elected Wilmington City government and the resulting oppression of heretofore successful efforts by African-Americans to participate in the American dream was calculated as a signal to others around the State that North Carolina was to become another haven of white power and privilege and designed to reverse the loss of the Civil War. This white supremacy campaign was successful and repressed the political, social, educational and economic development and aspirations of African-Americans in this state for over ninety (90) years. Today, the State of North Carolina and other beneficiaries of this overthrow are obligated to repair the breech and the harm suffered by African-Americans during this period of repression."

Ruth Haas

"The Wilmington Race Riot Commission has worked diligently to call for relevant information; to review material that comprises the report; and to objectively assess the known facts, claims, and myths arising from the event of 1898. I am comfortable in supporting the findings and recommendations of the Commission as a result of this thorough process."

Lottie D. E. Clinton

"Prayer is the pain pill that helped me work through this challenge as a Commissioner, however, there were times when God decided to let me feel the pain and the reality of the 1898 Wilmington Race Riot. I could not believe that anyone would execute such a forceful, fatal, final deliberate act of cruelty toward a people within a Community who were unaware of their evil intent and purpose. Everyday we write our own History as we live our lives and act and interact with people. May the truth be told, may acceptance be complete,and may the healing be thorough for all the people, beginning now. "I have no greater joy than to hear that my children walk in truth." 3John 1:4"

John Haley

"We can no longer pretend that the violence in Wilmington on 10 November 1898 was a race riot. Instead, it was the culmination of a well-orchestrated statewide campaign by white supremacists to intimidate, segregate, and depoliticize African Americans."

Alfred Thomas, M.S.W.

"All the citizens of the State of North Carolina need to know the good, the bad, and the ugly relating to the 1898 race riot in Wilmington. It is now up to the state legislature to show what good can come from this incident. This final report shows the bad and the ugly."

Kever Clark

"This has been an awesome opportunity serving with so many different personalities. This was such a harmonious group. Looking for the truth in all the right places gave the instant feeling that we were doing what was right and just. Thank all of you for serving so well."

Kenneth L. Davis

"Over one hundred years after the racial violence and coup of 1898 some people still promote yesterday's deceptions as today and tomorrow's history. The future they want most to control is the continued distortion of African American contributions to Wilmington and the nation. They want to continue the myth that the cause of the racial violence that took place in Wilmington on Thursday, November 10, 1898, was caused by a corrupt government made of in large part by Negroes.

This report accurately records facts that many, over the years, were eager to obscure. The 1890's were a time when the Democratic Party, primarily made up of former confederates, were bitter because they had lost the Civil War and had been subjected to harsh occupation by Union forces during Reconstruction. They wanted to return to the master slave relationship and invoke the failed doctrine of white supremacy. What happened in November of 1898 was a breakdown in the rule of law. Alfred Moore Waddell and the leaders that orchestrated the violence should be recorded in history for what they really were, felons! The wanton destruction of property and the indiscriminant murder of innocent people cannot be justified even in the historical context of 1898.

Documenting the events of 1898 have been contentious and emotional but we had a moral obligation to correct an egregious wrong that has gone on too long without being remedied. The names of Thomas C. Miller, Alexander Manly, Arie Bryant, Robert B. Pickens, Salem J. Bell, Carter Peamon and others banished from Wilmington including those Negroes killed or wounded John Townsend, Charles Lindsey, Josh Halsey, Daniel Wright, John R. Davis, Samuel McFarland, William Lindsey, Alfred White, George Davis, George Henry Davis, George Miller, John Dow and according to the November 12, 1898 edition of The Evening Dispatch "a number killed not accounted for and who will never be accounted for." should be recognized not as rioters or criminals but as victims of an illegal racist regime.

The injustices of 1898 were more that an attack on unarmed Negroes, the silencing of the Black press and the removal of an allegedly corrupt city government; it was an attack on the constitution, the fabric the binds this nation together. We must remove the diabolical stain of racism from the fabric of freedom and democracy that still exist in Wilmington today. It exists in the gentrification of black communities, it exists in the attempt to re-segregate schools, it exists in hiring and promotions practices in the public and private sector and it exists in the distorted historical facts of the events of 1898."

Introduction

Over the years, scores of authors have written about the 1898 Wilmington Race Riot. Yet, the State of North Carolina has never formally investigated the insurrection. On the heels of Florida's investigation into the 1923 Rosewood Massacre, Oklahoma's inquiry into the 1921 Tulsa Race Riot, and the centennial of the Port City's tragic event in 1898, the General Assembly in 2000 enacted legislation calling for the creation of a commission to examine the riot and to develop a historical record. The law also called on the commission to delve into the "economic impact of the riot on African-Americans in this State."

The 1898 Wilmington Race Riot Commission bill was sponsored by two Wilmington legislators, Senator Luther H. Jordan, who died in April 2002, and Representative Thomas E. Wright. The men developed the Commission to build upon earlier work done to commemorate the centennial anniversary in 1998, when local residents of both races participated in a variety of programs that brought renewed interest to the subject. The Commission is composed of thirteen members, appointed by the legislature, the governor, mayor and city council of Wilmington, and New Hanover County Board of Commissioners. Assisting the Commission with its work have been staff members of the Department of Cultural Resources, who have provided research and administrative assistance. This report is the culmination of three years of work by Commission members and staff of the Department of Cultural Resources.

The work done in Florida and Oklahoma to study similar localized rioting based on racial divisions became a model for the Commission report. Those states developed legislation to support investigations into their riots. Their findings, a combination of scholarly research and analysis, were seen as an ideal model for North Carolina. The Rosewood Report, completed in 1993, and the Tulsa Report, completed in 2001, provided detailed explanations for the causes and effects of the riots and led to a series of recommendations for the states to address the wrongs perpetrated generations earlier.

In recent decades, authors of books, articles, theses, and dissertations have studied causes of the Wilmington riot and the subsequent event itself but few have searched to find answers to what the riot did to the city of Wilmington. This report seeks to explain the development of the African American community in Wilmington in the framework of an overall story of the city's growth from the 1860's through to the first decades of the twentieth century. To understand the context of what happened in 1898, consideration of every aspect of life in the city must be included in a study. The report follows a chronological format, beginning with the Civil War and Reconstruction and ends with analysis of the impact of the riot and the Democratic Party's campaign of 1898 on African Americans in New Hanover County. Analysis and discussion of African American life in twentieth century Wilmington ends just before the advent of World War I. Simply put, beginning with World War I, the city began to undergo a series of economic changes similar to those of the rest of state and nation that affected all citizens, regardless of race. Wartime building booms interspersed with depression and economic lulls combined with the advent of the modern civil rights movement to create new dynamics in race relations. A singular event, still remembered by many residents, was the Wilmington 10 incident in February, 1971. Mindful of their past, witnesses and participants in that episode drew connections to the 1898 riot and saw that the violence of 1971 was distinctly related to unresolved conflicts of 1898.

In researching the causes and effects of the violence, a wide variety of source materials have been used. Primary source materials, some already used heavily by previous historians, plus others uncovered in the process of this report, were consulted wherever possible. Most work in searching for primary source materials such as letters, diaries, contemporary newspaper articles, and oral history interviews has focused on learning more about the African American community, the events of the campaign and violence of 1898, and the effects of the violence. Repositories at state universities, churches, and state and private organizations house many of these materials.

Secondary source materials have been used to supplement the history of the city during Reconstruction and the years leading up to the 1890's in addition to providing insight into the overall history of the state and nation. Controversial sources have been cited in the document where appropriate. Most modern historians acknowledge that early histories of Reconstruction, those written by students under the influence of Professor William A. Dunning of Columbia University – what has become known as the "Dunning School" – generated a great deal of literature after the turn of the twentieth century on the history of the South and Reconstruction. These histories reflected their belief systems on race grounded in the concepts of second class status for African Americans and the inherent supremacy of the white race. Therefore, when leading North Carolina scholars such as J.G. deRoulhac Hamilton, R. D. W. Connor, and Samuel A. Ashe wrote state histories, the narratives were laced with pre-suppositions about the "rights" of white citizens, the supposed failures of Reconstruction, and the drawbacks of universal suffrage.

Many local historians have repeated the narrative developed by participants, witnesses and beneficiaries of the 1898 campaign such as Alfred Moore Waddell, James Sprunt, and William Lord de Rosset. These men repeated the story of the riot and its causes as a response of white citizens to a corrupt municipal government unable to reduce crime or facilitate economic improvements for residents. A counter-narrative that contradicted this story was less widely circulated and was not widely accepted by readership. Not until the publication of *The Negro in Fusion Politics* in 1951 by African American scholar Helen Edmonds did the counter-narrative receive scholarly attention. Edmonds was vilified by leading Wilmingtonians at the time her work was published and not until later publications, specifically *We Have Taken a City* by Leon Prather in 1984, did the counter-narrative receive equal footing with the nearly 100 year old story perpetuated by Waddell and contemporaries. Subsequent study has focused on various aspects of the riot, its causes and its participants and has incorporated both the "necessary evil" narrative of white leaders and the African American perspective. This report seeks to bridge the gap between what the white leaders said and did before and after November, 1898 and the facts of the status, lives, and contributions of the African American community. Although white leaders attempted to justify their actions in every word and deed after November 10th, the truth of what happened lies within their clouded narratives.

One of the most helpful white narratives of the event was written by Harry Hayden, a local Wilmington newspaperman. Hayden, a native of the city, first wrote a booklet called *The Story of the Wilmington Rebellion* in 1936 and later wrote a history of the Wilmington Light Infantry in 1954, which included specific details about the riot. For both works, Hayden

interviewed riot witnesses and participants, having been only a child at the time of the riot. Hayden's work is infused with the narrative developed by the white leadership regarding the perceived necessity of their actions but contains details of conspiracy, murder and intrigue not found in other contemporary sources. Corroboration of portions of his work has been possible and the documents have been treated as resting somewhere between primary and secondary source materials. Hayden generated multiple versions of his work in the process of creating the two well-known documents from 1936 and 1954. His work, in whole or partial form, can be found in repositories in Wilmington, Raleigh, Durham, and Chapel Hill. J. Allan Taylor's personal copy of the *Story of the Wilmington Rebellion* is located in the North Carolina Collection in Chapel Hill. Taylor, a member of the "Secret Nine," the influential body of white businessmen who led the campaign that resulted in the violence and overthrow of municipal government, scribbled commentary in the margins of the booklet. His most revealing notation was "masterful duplicity."

The "masterful duplicity" described by Taylor referred to the ability of white leadership in Wilmington to develop long-range plans for instigating violence, a strategy to quell that violence and their subsequent ability to call the affair a riot – implying a sudden break in peacefulness rather than reveal its true character, that of a planned insurrection. The ultimate goal for Taylor and other leaders was the resurgence of white rule of the city and state for a handful of men through whatever means necessary. Many familiar with the history of the city and the events of November 10 will be quick to tell you that the coup d'etat—the overthrow of democratically elected officials—of the afternoon of November 10 is just as important to understand as are the murders and banishment campaign. The change in government on November 10th fully ended black participation in city and county government until the advent of the civil rights era. Furthermore, the 1898 campaign capped by violence in Wilmington proved to be a catalyst for the state—Jim Crow legislation and subjugation of African Americans resulted statewide. Because Wilmington rioters were able to murder blacks in daylight and overthrow a legitimately elected Republican government without penalty or federal intervention, everyone in the state, regardless of race, knew that the white supremacy campaign was victorious on all fronts.

The impact of the riot—the economic, cultural and physical changes to the Wilmington landscape—is complicated to document. As will be seen in the report, some changes happened immediately and others developed over time. Black entrepreneurship and employment were dramatically reduced, cultural institutions were diminished, and educational opportunities decreased. The destruction of the Alexander Manly newspaper office on the morning of November 10 silenced the black press in the city for over a decade. Not until the development of the *Cape Fear Journal* in 1927 did the city have another regular African American newspaper.

To understand the economics of the riot, outside contributors have been consulted and brought into the project. The work on the economic impact of the riot has been done by an economics graduate student, Tod Hamilton, in conjunction with the Institute for African American Research led by Dr. William Darity at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Tod's work has been vital to the statistical survey of the changes wrought to the African American financial scene. As of the release of the report, Tod's work is ongoing and his preliminary findings have been incorporated and appended to this report.

This report should show that the riot was not an isolated, spontaneous, incident but was the result of a series of events that were directed and planned by upper class white businessmen in order to regain control of government and that Wilmington should not be viewed as existing in a vacuum—it was part of a larger campaign to take over state government in 1898—Democratic Party strategists thrust the city into the spotlight as an example of Republican corruption and bad government because of the participation of African Americans in local politics. The report will not answer the question of how many people died as a result of the violence. Extant records and physical evidence cannot completely answer the question. The report will challenge the claims of wholesale property seizure—no evidence was found to prove that whites seized black property or forced blacks to sell at deflated prices right after the riot—unethical behavior by some whites in the years after the riot did not translate into city-wide property transitions. Furthermore, the report has demonstrated that the violence and campaign impacted all aspects of African American life—churches, cultural celebrations such as Emancipation Day and Jonkonnu, business development, and schools.

This long term project has had the assistance of many helpful and supportive people over the years. Proper acknowledgement of all who contributed to the project will be difficult but I will make a humble attempt. Thanks to members of the Commission who volunteered their time to assist with research and read drafts of the report—Lottie Clinton, Kenneth Davis, Harper Peterson, Helyn Lofton, Ruth Haas, Alfred Thomas, Irv Joyner and John Haley—for they led the way. Special thanks should go to Beverly Tetterton of the New Hanover County Public Library for her depth of knowledge about Wilmington history and willingness to answer my incessant questions—without Beverly's help in locating resources, particularly those of the late Bill Reaves, the work would be less complete. The staff of the Research Branch, the Office of Archives and History, and the State Library deserve compliment for their understanding and helpfulness in facilitating this report—Michael Hill, Vivian McDuffie, Ansley Wegner, Mark Moore, Dennis Daniels, Lisa Keenum, Dr. Jeffrey Crow, Dr. David Brook, Matt Burton, Denise Craig, Jo Ann Williford, Fay Henderson, Earl Ijames, Sion H. Harrington III, Chris Meekins, Cheryl McLean, Steve Case, Katherine Beery, Chris Graham, Hilary Kanupp, Mary Ajiboye, Ron Vestal, Kay Tillotson, Joy Heitman, Tom Vincent, Pam Toms, Debbie Blake, Claudia Brown, Chandrea Burch, Cynthia Jones, Dick Lankford, Steve Claggett, Judy Easley, Gwen Mays, Steve Massengill, Lisa Coombes, Bonnie Spiers, Joyce Throckmorton, Alan Westmoreland, among others.

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LeRae Umfleet
May 31, 2006

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Chapter 1: Into Reconstruction and Out Again

- Wilmington was a profitable port town that was kept open for blockade traffic during the Civil War until it was occupied by federal troops in February 1865. After occupation, thousands of white and black refugees flooded the city. The city was in financial ruin after the war. Combined efforts of the military and businessmen, both native and carpetbagger, resulted in a quick rebound for the city's economy, leading to small booms in the 1870s.

- Wilmington featured a hierarchal society both before and after the Civil War. From the top down the prewar pyramid was established planter gentry characterized by inherited status; businessmen, including an immigrant population (people who arrived in the city within a generation); white working class, typified by native and immigrant non-slaveholding laborers; free blacks, many of them employed as artisans; and, lastly, urban slaves. The hierarchy survived the Civil War, but the planter class and business class merged and maintained control of political affairs amid a large black and immigrant population. After Emancipation, the native black population of Wilmington established itself with a stronger footing than that of blacks recently arrived in the city.

- Reconstruction began in Wilmington with Federal occupation and control of government by military leaders. The Freedmen's Bureau and benevolent organizations sent workers to assist freedmen in land acquisition, labor disputes, educational advancement, and political development.

- Reconstruction can be divided into Presidential and Congressional, or Radical, phases. Presidential Reconstruction resulted in a return to power of the Conservative ruling elite. Radical Reconstruction began with a Republican electoral victory in 1868 and lasted until 1877 when Conservative elements regained control of state and local government.

- Union Leagues and the Ku Klux Klan both drew members in Wilmington. The Klan faded from public view in Wilmington in 1868, and the Union League disappeared by 1870. Both organizations sponsored vigilante violence and political activism.

- During Reconstruction, Republican and Conservative elements vied for power in state and local affairs. Wilmington, because of a large, well-organized black Republican population, was unusual in state politics, and, although Conservatives regained power, Republicans and blacks were able to maintain a presence. Carpetbaggers played a role in Wilmington's postwar development.

- Wilmington's African American population developed a complex society in the 1870s and 1880s, witnessing cultural, social, educational, civic, business, and political advances that would form the foundation for development in the 1890s.

Chapter 1: Into Reconstruction and Out Again

One of the earliest areas settled in southeastern North Carolina, Wilmington, initially known as Newton, was incorporated in 1739 on the banks of the Cape Fear River.[1] During the antebellum years, Wilmington emerged as North Carolina's largest city.[2] Surrounded by vast acreages of timber and rice plantations, Wilmington boasted an economy fed by naval stores and agricultural interests. The city dominated New Hanover County with most of the county's residents living or working in Wilmington. The port was the state's largest and most active as a result of enterprising railroad construction and the booming turpentine industry.[3] Wilmington's importance in the state and region was unmistakable, and, as a result, its interests were in the mainstream and forefront of state social and political affairs.[4]

The End of the Civil War in Wilmington

During the Civil War, Wilmington was a vital link in the Confederacy's supply line. The port, under the powerful guns of Fort Fisher, remained open to blockade running traffic for all but the last weeks of the conflict. The fort fell to Union forces in January 1865 after an immense bombardment campaign. The city soon fell when Union forces marched into town on February 22, 1865, leading to a long period of occupation marked by social and economic upheaval.[5]

The occupation of the city was carried out in a relatively smooth transition. The federal commander, General John Schofield, promised that the military would not interfere with local affairs as long as citizens respected U. S. rule. Locals gave Union troops mixed receptions. Some upper-class planters had left the city for inland protection while other former Confederates watched the occupation from behind closed doors. Yet other residents, white and black, welcomed the troops. One observer noted that the "aristocrats" for the most part were quiet as the troops marched in whereas the "commoners" were excited to see the Federal forces. African American residents saw the soldiers as harbingers of good fortune and freedom and eagerly cheered the incoming forces, including approximately 4,000 African American troops.[6] An officer recalled, "[T]he march

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[1] The chapter title has been borrowed from Andrew Howell, *The Book of Wilmington* (Wilmington, N.C.: by the author, 1930), 150; James Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River, 1660-1916* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1916), 45-46.

[2] The populations of North Carolina's largest towns in 1860 were Wilmington (6,522), New Bern (5,432), Fayetteville (4,790), Raleigh (4,780), Salisbury (2,420), and Charlotte (2,265).

[3] The Wilmington and Weldon Railroad, completed in 1840, was the longest in the world at 162 miles between the two destinations. For more on the importance of Wilmington as a port, see Alan D. Watson, *Wilmington, Port of North Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992). Robert B. Outland III, *Tapping the Pines: The Naval Stores Industry in the American South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004), 52-54; Tony P. Wren, *Wilmington, North Carolina: An Architectural and Historical Portrait* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1984), 3.

[4] William McKee Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails: Reconstruction on the Lower Cape Fear* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 239.

[5] The city became the most important port to the Confederacy after the siege of Charleston began in 1863. Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails,* 7; Chris Fonvielle, Jr., *The Wilmington Campaign: Last Rays of Departing Hope*, (Campbell, CA: Savas Publishing Company, 1997), 18.

[6] Before the war, the city was divided almost equally among pro-Union and secessionist groups. The pro-Union arguments were grounded in both political and economic reasons since merchants didn't want to jeopardize their northern shipping contacts. Fonvielle, *Wilmington Campaign,* 439-441, 459.

of the Union army through Wilmington will live forever in the memory of the colored people" as black troops marched proudly past jubilant spectators who danced in the street and exclaimed that their salvation had arrived. [7]

The Civil War ended a few months after the fall of Wilmington with the surrender of the Confederacy in April 1865. North Carolina was left in upheaval as former soldiers returned to war-damaged homes, some still occupied by federal troops. White men and women from all economic backgrounds faced rebuilding their homes and farms, and plantation owners faced a workforce shortage with the loss of slave labor.[8] For the newly freed African American population, emancipation brought a life of hope mixed with uncertainty. Most owned no land, and many were displaced from family and homes they knew before the war. Thousands migrated to other parts of the state to find work and stability in their freedom. Many whites sought to preserve the prewar norms of white leadership and black subservience. Others believed that only through the intervention of federal authorities—a process that has become known as Reconstruction—would safety and equality for freed slaves be assured.[9]

Wilmington's Social and Class Structure

In 1860, there were many distinct types of people living and working in Wilmington based upon a time honored system of social hierarchy and wealth. The individual groups survived the ravages of the war albeit with redefined positions within Wilmington's civic and social life. By the late antebellum period, the largest and most prosperous plantations were owned by men who had inherited their property and wealth from long lines of Cape Fear planters. These men and women inherited wealth and an intricate philosophy of life—a worldview that placed them at the top of the socioeconomic pyramid.[10] This "stable, hereditary, cultivated gentry" was involved closely with politics and the social life of the state.[11] At the top of the pyramid was the traditional elite, whose living was based on plantation slavery and inherited status. The elite members of Wilmington society maintained their connections to inland plantations and often intermarried. As a result, by the time of the first shots at Fort Sumter, these men and women were closely connected and supportive of each other.[12] Within the gentry class were planters, men who owned 20 or more slaves.

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[7] Noah A. Trudeau, *Like Men of War: Black troops in the Civil War, 1862-1865*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1998), 363-365.

[8] Paul Escott, "White Republicanism and Ku Klux Klan Terror: The North Carolina Piedmont During Reconstruction," in Jeffrey Crow, Paul Escott, and Charles Flynn, Jr., *Race, Class, and Politics in Southern History: Essays in Honor of Robert F. Durden* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 15-17.

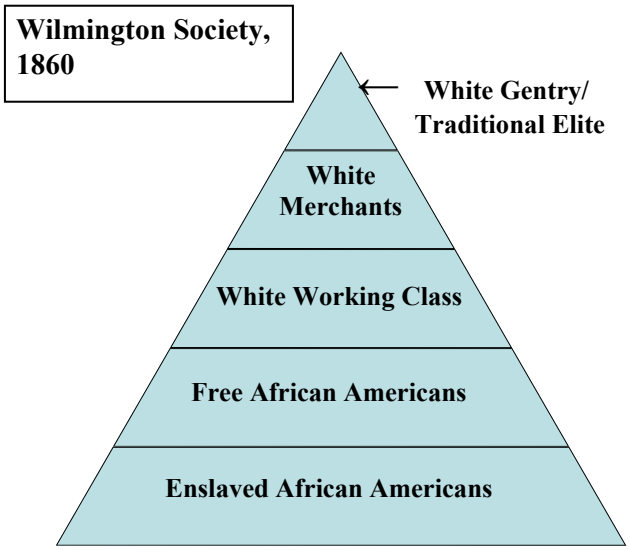
[9] An overview of the destruction wrought by the Civil War on North Carolina's economy, physical environment and citizens can be found in John G. Barrett, *The Civil War in North Carolina* and *North Carolina as a Civil War Battleground*; Watford, Christopher M., *The Civil War in North Carolina: Soldiers' and Civilians' Letters and Diaries, 1861-1865*; and Laura F. Edwards, *Scarlett Doesn't Live Here Anymore: Southern Women in the Civil War Era*.

[10] For reading on antebellum upper class elite mindsets, see Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), Kenneth Greenberg, *Masters and Statesmen: The Political Culture of American Slavery*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985) and John B. Boles, ed., *A Companion to the American South*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004).

[11] Jerome McDuffie, *Politics in Wilmington and New Hanover County, North Carolina, 1865-1900 The Genesis of a Race Riot* PhD. Dissertation, Kent State University (1979) 31-32. Many of the state's political leaders could trace their family roots to the Cape Fear region.

[12] Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails,* 9.

Few of New Hanover's slaveholders fell into the category. Of the 938 slaveholders in the county in 1860, only 145 owned 25 or more slaves whereas 593 owned fewer than 10 slaves. New Hanover's slave population was the tenth largest in the state with a total of 7,103 slaves whereas the state's average county slave population was around 3,800.[13]



Next on the socioeconomic scale were the merchants and businessmen of the city. Before the Civil War, some of Wilmington's white businessmen were more financially secure than their counterparts in the traditional planter class.[14] Some of the wealthiest merchants were recent immigrants to the city from New England or abroad.[15] In addition to the successful businesses that served the needs of the Wilmington area, wholesale businesses prospered because goods arriving on ships could quickly be delivered inland by rail or inland shipping lines. Commission merchants prospered as they traded with interests in other markets nationally and internationally to sell naval stores, cotton, and rice on behalf of planters.[16] The merchants owned property in town and the countryside with slaves to work for them. Although many were as wealthy as the traditional aristocracy, the two groups were often at odds with each other socially, politically, and economically.[17] Some of the leading businessmen were immigrants who worked in retail trades. Wilmington historians have noted that these successful immigrant businessmen were mostly of German background and that their success was due to their ability to adapt to changes

[13] Slave populations of the ten largest slaveholding counties in 1860 were Granville 11,086; Wake 10,733; Warren 10,401; Halifax 10,349; Edgecombe 10,108; Caswell 9,355; Pitt 8,473; Bertie 8,185; Duplin 7,124; and New Hanover 7,103. Regarding New Hanover slaveholding patterns in 1860, most slaveholders owned only a few slaves: of the 938 slaveholders in New Hanover, 593 owned fewer than 10 slaves, equaling 2,431 of the county's total slave population. Historical Census Browser. Retrieved 1/5/2005, from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center: http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html.

[14] Merchant wealth was tied to assets that could be liquidated whereas planter wealth was tied to seasonal crop production and to the ownership of land and slaves. Planters and farmers were also indebted to merchants who would extend credit for purchases until crops were sold. Roger Ransom and Richard Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 106-109, 117-123; Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear*, 167-168.

[15] A survey of the 1860 census reveals that many of the city's merchants were born in northern states such as Rhode Island, Vermont, New York, Massachusetts, or Pennsylvania. These merchants were financially secure; as a representative example, one merchant from New York reported that his real estate was valued at $35,000 and his personal property was valued at $45,000.

[16] According to one business directory, there were approximately 30 major commission merchants working in Wilmington in 1854. Fonvielle, *Wilmington Campaign*, 14; *The Southern Business Directory and General Commercial Advertiser* (Charleston: Walker and James, 1854), 397-399.

[17] Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails,* 122-23.

in the economy.[18] Wilmington's immigrant population was the highest in the state throughout the nineteenth century due to a constant influx of foreign immigrants. With a relatively large immigrant population, many who arrived in Wilmington formed their own social frameworks for sharing and maintaining their European cultural roots.[19]

In descending order, the next class to be found in the city was the white working class. This level of white society was multifaceted but shared a common bond of being excluded from the highest levels of society because they lacked wealth or status. Some working-class whites in Wilmington could earn a comfortable living for their families whereas others lived at the poverty level. Before the war, white laborers competed with African Americans, both slave and free.[20] Because of limited options in town, men supplemented their incomes through rural hunting, fishing, and tapping pine trees to send tar, pitch, and turpentine into the city for shipment. The working class formed the largest group of whites in the city, and the category included all types of workers, from skilled artisans to unskilled day laborers. These men reflected the larger view of the South in that they harbored contempt towards blacks, slave and free, based on the economics of the labor system in which they lived.[21] It was reported in September 1865 by a northern journalist that white North Carolinians, regardless of class or political slant, "unaffectedly and heartily do despise the negro." [22] It was observed by the upper class elites that some whites refused to work as carpenters and masons, professions traditionally dominated by enslaved and free black artisans in Wilmington, because they believed the work to be beneath them.[23]

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[18] Elizabeth B. McKoy, *Wilmington Block by Block*, 134-135.

[19] Primary among social organizations for German immigrants were local churches. For example because of the large number of German immigrants who arrived in Wilmington in the 1840s and 50s, the North Carolina Lutheran Synod established a mission there in 1858. A significant number of Jewish residents of German origin also lived in the city and helped to organize the state's first synagogue. Wrenn, *Wilmington, NC,* 117-119, 217-218; Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails,* 123.

[20] Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails,* 21.

[21] One facet of racial disgust came to the fore when, during the early phases of Reconstruction, blacks made use of agricultural farmland or timber properties that they did not own. Upper- and lower-class whites, whose traditions were grounded in respect of each other's property rights, disliked what they perceived as disrespect for white property. However, most blacks emerging from slavery were propertyless and did not possess the same concepts of ownership. Since slaves had no such property-owning traditions, they were simply practicing the same sort of agricultural dependence known to them before slavery's end, and some even harbored ideas that the property they worked on their old masters' farms belonged to them. Furthermore, John Hope Franklin points out that free artisans and skilled workers were often targets of organized action, to the point of using the courts to prevent other whites from hiring free black artisans. Railroads were among the larger slaveholding entities in North Carolina prior to the war. Most of the North Carolina Railroad's employees were enslaved, removing potentially lucrative and stable jobs from the white workers' market. White railroad laborers were paid low wages, had little job security and were the first employees to be laid off. Further, historian John Haley concluded that "the contempt whites had for blacks manifested itself in negative attitudes" regarding black "efficiency, character, and intelligence." Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails*, 53-54, 74; Dylan Penningroth, *The Claims of Kinfolk: African American Property and Community in the Nineteenth Century South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 130-161; Franklin, *Free Negro in North Carolina*, 136-141; Allen Trealease, *The North Carolina Railroad, 1849-1871, and the Modernization of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 62-69; John Haley, *Charles N. Hunter and Race Relations in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 4.

[22] Haley, *Charles N. Hunter,* 4, 12.

[23] Bellamy, *Memoirs of an Octogenarian*, 8. Bellamy's view of white artisans is somewhat skewed since modern research has shown that many whites in the city were working in building trades.

One aspect of the intrinsic nature of the system of slavery for working whites was less demand for paid labor.[24] Further exacerbating the problems of poor whites was their inability to participate in government; few were literate and could spare the time to run for political office. In the city, the margin of wealth between the upper-class and lower-class whites was wide. Evidence of this was the contrast between simple immigrant dwellings on the outskirts of town and magnificent homes in downtown. Although the economic situation of poor whites was tenuous, those working in wage-earning jobs earned slightly more annually than did their counterparts in other areas of the state.[25] Of the white population in the city, only a small fraction was employed in the wage-earning jobs while others worked in trades, shipping, retail, or railroad jobs.[26] Their economic worries and marginalized position within government placed white workers at odds with the next class of Wilmington occupants—free blacks—both before and after the Civil War.[27]

Just before the Civil War, New Hanover's free black population ranked fourteenth largest in the state with 573 of the county's 672 free blacks living in the city.[28] Many of the free blacks were employed as carpenters, masons, and laundresses.[29] Free black families flourished in the decades before the Civil War, amassing small savings, buying property, and establishing a network of connections within the white community that would transcend slavery and politics well into the twentieth century. The process by which slaves became free was a tangled web. Freedom could be purchased or granted by an owner, but both paths were fraught with danger.[30] Once free, men and women worked to purchase and free other family members as well as to establish a financial foothold for future generations. Men such as Alfred and Anthony Howe and Elvin Artis are examples of free blacks living and working in Wilmington who forged a life for their families in otherwise hostile environments. Another man, James D. Sampson, was freed by his white planter father. Sampson worked in Wilmington as a carpenter, and according to the 1860 census, he was the wealthiest freedman in the city, owning real estate valued at $26,000, personal property valued at $10,000, and 25 slaves. Sampson's children were educated in northern cities and one of his sons

For information on the history of architects and builders in Wilmington and North Carolina, see Catherine Bishir, *Architects and Builders in North Carolina* and Bishir, *The Bellamy Mansion*.

[24] Joel Williamson, *Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Reconstruction,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 33-34. Williamson posits that working whites often were more helpless and dependent on the generosity of the white ruling elite than were free blacks in efforts to succeed.

[25] In 1860, New Hanover's wage earners of all classes earned an average of $226.50 per year whereas the statewide average was $189.17. Historical Census Browser. Retrieved 1/5/2005, from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center: http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html.

[26] Of the 2,624 white males over the age of 14 working in Wilmington, in 1860only 695 were employed in manufacturing industries. Very few women worked in manufacturing jobs throughout the period. Historical Census Browser Retrieved 1/5/2005, from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center.

[27] McDuffie, *Politics in Wilmington*, 32-34.

[28] Historical Census Browser. Retrieved 1/5/2005, from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center; John Hope Franklin, *The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943), 18.

[29] 1860 United States Census; Bellamy, *Memoirs,* 8.

[30] For more information on legal pathways to freedom for slaves and the difficulties in maintaining freedom, see chapter one in Franklin, *Free Negro in North Carolina*.

returned to Wilmington to work with the Freedmen's Bureau after the Civil War.[31]

The last group of Wilmington residents, the bottom rung on the socioeconomic ladder, was the enslaved population (or, postwar, called freedmen). In 1860, there were 7,103 slaves in New Hanover with 3,777 living inside the city.[32] Many urban slaves, such as the nine men, women, and children who worked for the Bellamy family, were associated with households or were employed by their masters as artisans or in shipping operations.[33] The slaveholders with the largest concentrations of ownership in the city were the railroads, followed by those who owned steam mills and turpentine distilleries.[34] A large number of slaves worked in maritime trades as pilots or boatmen ferrying people and supplies up and down the river.[35] A traveler to Wilmington in 1830 noted the large number of slaves on the waterfront waiting to transport freight between ships and the shore. [36]

Wilmington's artisan slaves occupied a unique position among the slave workforce since they were able to learn a valuable trade and gain experience in business dealings and handling money. Some, such as brick mason Abraham Galloway, were able to broker their own lives because they were able to hire themselves out and keep the profits of their work as long as they paid their masters for the privilege. After slavery, such skills enabled artisans to establish financial footholds more easily than less skilled freedmen.[37]

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[31] For more information on the lives of the Howes and other African American families, see Appendix A. Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 460-461.

[32] New Hanover was the third largest county in numbers of slaveholders in 1860, following top-ranked Wake and Granville Counties. Although it had one of the highest concentrations of slaveholders, New Hanover did not rank among the highest in concentrations of slaves. The counties in northeastern sections of the state held more slaves than did New Hanover by a wide margin. Historical Census Browser. Retrieved 1/6/2005, from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center

[33] For a detailed analysis of the role of urban slaves in the Bellamy family, see Catherine Bishir, *The Bellamy Mansion, Wilmington, North Carolina: An Antebellum Architectural Treasure and Its People* (Raleigh: Historic Preservation Foundation of North Carolina, 2004).

[34] In 1860, the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad owned 25 slaves outright and its officers and directors were among the larger slaveholders in the county. The slaves owned by the railroad were all males ranging in age from 21 to 45. Most enslaved railroad workers held unskilled positions, but some worked in higher-status positions such as mechanics, firemen, and brakemen. Other slaves held by businessmen worked in sawmills and turpentine distilleries. Of 74 Wilmington slaves whose occupation records as insured property have been revealed by modern insurance companies working in Illinois and California, most were categorized as laborers. Review of both the names owner names and slave occupations shows that the primary occupation for insured slaves within this record group was working in either a saw mill or turpentine distillery. A small number were listed as domestic servants, and others were listed as artisan slaves, working as brick masons, carpenters, or boot and shoemakers. 1860 Census and Slave Schedules; Trelease, *North Carolina Railroad*, 62; "California Slavery Era Insurance Registry," http://www.insurance.ca.gov/0100-consumers/0300-public-programs/0200-slavery-era-insur/ and Illinois Slavery Era Insurance Registries," http://www.ins.state.il.us/Consumer/SlaveryReporting.nsf/.

[35] For informative discussions of the roles of maritime trades in antebellum slave life, see David Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song*.

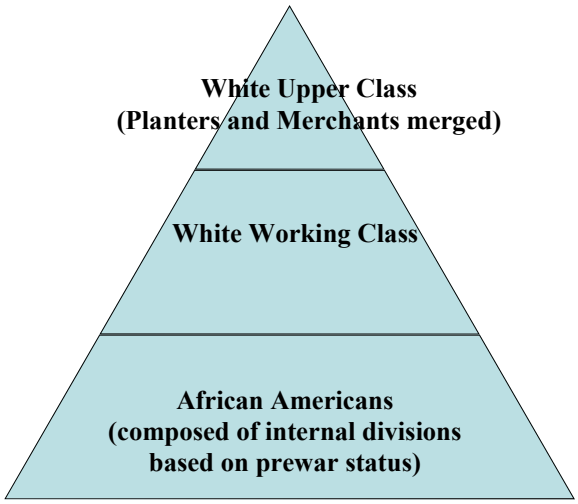
[36] David Cecelski, " The Shores of Freedom" *NCHR*, April 1994, 193-194.

[37] Analysis of the lives of several prominent African American Wilmington families reveals that many of their progenitors were skilled artisans before the Civil War. See Appendix A for biographies of the Sampson, Sadgwar, and Cutlar families. Additionally, recent study has indicated that many who were enslaved before the Civil War in maritime or urban environments had a better understanding of political and economic issues facing the state and nation than previously thought. Franklin, *Free Negro*

Furthermore, Wilmington's slaves lived and worked in an intricate network of secrecy. They operated a hidden economy, trading goods, either stolen or personally made, in order to accumulate money to buy their freedom or to assist in an escape attempt. Wilmington was a destination point for escaped slaves were hoping for assistance in their northward flight through the city's underground abolitionist network. Many of the white merchants and sailors who assisted these escaped slaves were newly relocated to Wilmington from northern ports because of the naval stores and cotton booms that led to the city's growth.[38]

"Fugitive slaves escaping to the protection of our army at Wilmington--scene on the Cape Fear River." 1865. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* June 17, 1865. *Image Courtesy of North Carolina Collection, UNC-CH*

Wilmington Society, 1870



After the Civil War, Wilmington society underwent a series of changes that resulted in the uneasy merger of the primary interests of the former planter gentry and the successful merchants. Working-class whites who worked as artisans, clerks, and railroad employees occupied the upper levels of their category, while a good number of laboring whites at the lower levels of this category could be found in mills and transient jobs. African Americans separated into two basic categories immediately following emancipation based on their prewar status as either slaves or free blacks and also according to their prewar occupations—artisans such as builders and tradesmen were more secure than those who had previously only worked as unskilled laborers on plantations.[39]

in North Carolina, 142; Cecelski, "Abraham Galloway" in *Democracy Betrayed*, 45-48.

[38] Such an example can be seen in enslaved plasterer George W. Price, who worked on construction of the Bellamy Mansion and later escaped from the city in 1862 to join the U.S. Navy. Price returned to Wilmington after the war to become a prominent member of the new black upper class that emerged by 1898. Cecelski, "Shores of Freedom," 174, 184-185, 192; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 449-451; Bishir, *Bellamy Mansion,* 27, 39, 55.

[39] Economists Ransom and Sutch, through study of several Southern cities, determined that artisan slaves did not benefit greatly from their skills after freedom but, instead, met with hostility when they migrated to cities and became competition to white artisans. However, within Wilmington, it can be seen that many pre-war artisans such as the Howes, Sadgwars,

Despite emancipation, the gentry weathered the Civil War with their social framework largely intact. To be sure, their financial foothold was slippery due to a declining demand for agricultural products, the collapse of the credit system on which they relied, property seizure by federal forces, and the prospect of paying a workforce.[40] In 1868, after a national bankruptcy act had been passed the previous year, 65 people declared their inability to pay their debts. The common explanations were that some debts were contracted for people using slaves as collateral or that property values had depreciated and affected debtors' abilities to pay. Many of Wilmington's gentry looked toward professions in law and medicine to supplement their traditional agricultural incomes. However, as Reconstruction continued into the 1870s, the old gentry class, once comprised solely of planters, slowly adapted as these men and women—also known as "bloods" in Wilmington slang—associated more with the merchant class whose wealth was derived from business interests and less from agriculture. Thus, the combined interests of the native gentry and the wealthy business class grew together despite cultural differences, the result of which was a powerful Conservative political element that ran city affairs. [41]

During the Civil War, the merchant class boomed in Wilmington, boosted by an influx of goods running through the blockade and into the port. Most of the cargo ferried into Wilmington was bound northward on the Wilmington and Weldon railroad line to supply Robert E. Lee's Confederate army. Other supplies also arrived for the starving consumer market. Spurred by a large flood of shipping interests eager to make their way in the South, the merchant/businessman's class grew.[42] The boom continued after the war, and the growth of the business class was boosted by the development of more and more railroad and shipping interests in the city.[43] As a result of railroad investments over the decades following the war, the Seaboard Air Line, the Atlantic Coast Line, the Carolina Central Railroad and the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad would terminate at Wilmington's port, with the Seaboard Air Line and the Atlantic Coast Line constructing major offices and repair facilities in Wilmington.[44] Manufacturing

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and Sampsons were able to almost immediately begin to participate in government, acquire property and compete with whites in business. The Wilmington 1865 tax list contained the names of 14 African Americans who paid property taxes that year. Among the owners paying taxes were Elvin Artis, Alfred Howe, James Galley, and William Kellogg, all carpenters. Therefore, Ransom and Sutch's broad generalization does not fully apply to Wilmington's free and enslaved populations after emancipation. Ransom and Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom,* 35-39, 147-8, 346; Delmas Haskett and Bill Reaves, *New Hanover County 1865 Tax List,* (Wilmington: New Hanover County Public Library, 1990); 1860 and 1870 United States Census, New Hanover County, Wilmington Township.

[40] Ranson and Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom,* 80, 87-88

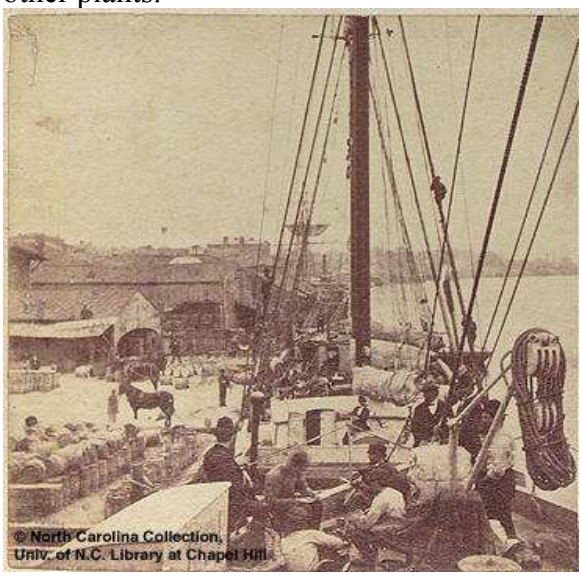
[41] Many of these families produced men who figure prominently in Wilmington's history fall into this category: Waddell, Moore, Meares, deRossett, Taylor, McRae. Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails,* 36-37, 57-58, 122-125, 213; Ruark, "Some Phases of Reconstruction," 102-103.

[42] To feed the wartime cotton boom, local compresses worked to produce as many bales for export as they could. Over 30,000 bales were shipped in the first 9 months of 1863 alone. Wrenn, *Wilmington,* 5. Fonvielle, *Wilmington Campaign,* 7; Watson, *Wilmington, Port of NC*, 93-94.

[43] In addition to the rail lines, regular steamship schedules between New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and inland destinations further opened the city's port trade. Howell, *Book of Wilmington,* 156.

[44] Over its long history as a primary railroad depot, Wilmington featured four major and three minor railroad operations. Many small, early railroad operations were consolidated into the larger operations as the city grew. For more information on

in the city boomed with the development of factories for processing the region's abundant natural resources such as wood products including lumber and naval stores, rice, cotton, and grains. Although beginning to slip in importance in the face of increased cotton production and less demand by the 1880s, naval stores still provided much of the surplus income to merchants, shippers, and distillers. Rice production began to fall by the wayside as the remainder of the nineteenth century progressed. Industrial manufacturing of fertilizer from imported guano prospered at nearby Navassa and other plants.[45]



Wilmington wharf about 1870
Image Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, UNC-CH

After the Civil War, the working white population grew at a rate similar to that of the merchant class, mostly due to the influx of new residents from the North, overseas, and the surrounding countryside, all seeking employment. Wilmington employers encouraged migration to the city through the Southern Immigration Society. To entice immigrants, the society opened an agency in Wilmington during 1867 and 1868 and helped to fix wages of immigrants and extended credit to assist with relocation. One employer, F. W. Foster and Company, opened an office in Wilmington in 1865 and brought 37 German laborers to the city.[46] Just as laboring whites competed with free blacks before the war, similar competition remained after occupation ended. Wilmington experienced a small boom by 1870, fueled by profitable shipping and commerce in naval stores and cotton. The city's wage earners brought home much more money than they did in 1860 even though there was more competition from new residents of the city. By 1870, only about 15 percent of Wilmington's wage earners were employed in well-paying manufacturing jobs.[47] The other poor white workers were in a difficult position since they had to compete with a large free black population that included a large number of skilled workers. A distinct area within Wilmington developed to accommodate the poor whites and immigrants. Called "Dry Pond" by residents because of low-lying areas, the section was in the southern part of town and was characterized by small homes

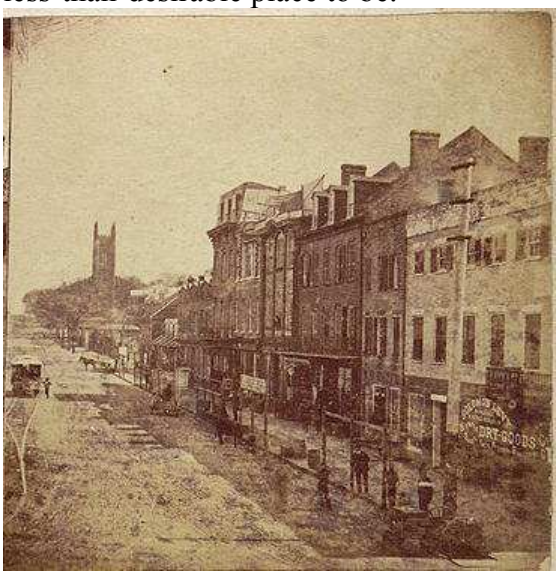
the railroads of Wilmington, see Charles Kernan, *Rails to Weeds*, (Wilmington: Wilmington Railroad Museum, 1988), 3-15, and Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails,* 185-192.

[45] Timber and naval stores interests also began to feel the effects of deforestation as the pine forests disappeared. For more information on Wilmington's economy before and after the Civil War, see Alan D. Watson, *Wilmington Port of North Carolina,* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992). *Directory of the City of Wilmington, North Carolina, 1889* (Julius A. Bonitz Publisher: Wilmington, NC, 1889) For information on the naval stores and timber industries, see Outland, *Tapping the Pines.*

[46] Ruark, "Some Phases of Reconstruction," 103-104.

[47] In 1870, New Hanover led the state for high wages since its wage earners were paid an average of $445.68 annually whereas statewide, the wages for this class dropped to $161.19, lower than the prewar level. Of the 5,292 males over the ages of 18 of all races in New Hanover, only 822 were employed in manufacturing trades. Historical Census Browser Retrieved 1/5/2005, from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center.

and was seen by upper-class residents as a less-than-desirable place to be.[48]



Wilmington business district about 1870
Image Courtesy of the North Carolina Collection, UNC-CH

As Reconstruction gave way to the booming 1880s, this group of workers prospered along with the city. Fueling their growth was the Wilmington Cotton Mills. Opened in 1874, the textile mill was in the southern end of town and employed most of the workers in that section.[49] Following a statewide trend, wages for working-class residents of Wilmington dropped substantially by the 1880 census, reflecting changes in the county's size and reduction in the importance of naval stores, but remained well above the state average. [50]

Once Wilmington fell to Union occupation in 1865, newly freed blacks filtered into the city. A northern journalist wrote that the "native Negroes of Wilmington . . . are doing well. They are of a much higher order of intelligence than those from the country; are generally in comfortable circumstances, and already find time to look into politics. They have a Union League formed among themselves, the object of which is to stimulate industry and education, and to secure combined effort for suffrage, without which they will soon be practically enslaved again." [51] Many of Wilmington's native freedmen remained and became important in the city's economic, cultural, and political development. The leading African American owned businesses were those of artisans who were free blacks or slaves in the city before the war. These men had knowledge of financial matters, working relationships with many of the most powerful whites, and were instilled with a desire to improve their lot for future generations.[52]

[48] The location of Dry Pond was discussed by resident Henry B. McKoy as being a moving line because others in Wilmington viewed Dry Pond as being near Sixth and Castle, his father recalled that the area was south of Ann and West of Third in the 1860s and, during McKoy's childhood, it was beyond Castle. McKoy's sister, Elizabeth McKoy, wrote that the area known as Dry Pond was a moving target since it became known as a marginalized area of development that moved southward as the city grew. Both of these descriptions indicate that Dry Pond was more of a socio-economic label than a geographic one. Henry B. McKoy, *Wilmington, Do You Remember When?* (Henry B. McKoy: Greenville, South Carolina, 1957), 19-20; Elizabeth F. McKoy, *Early Wilmington Block by Block* (Edwards & Broughton: Raleigh, North Carolina, 1967), 127-128.

[49] The 1884 Sanborn Map of Wilmington indicates the 125 hands were employed by the Mills at the time the map was drawn. Howell, *Book of Wilmington,* 158.

[50] New Hanover was divided to create Pender County in 1875, leaving only the southern third of the county intact. The section that created Pender was predominantly rural and agricultural in nature with additional income provided by the naval stores industry. Historical Census Browser Retrieved 1/5/2005, from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center; Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails,* 167.

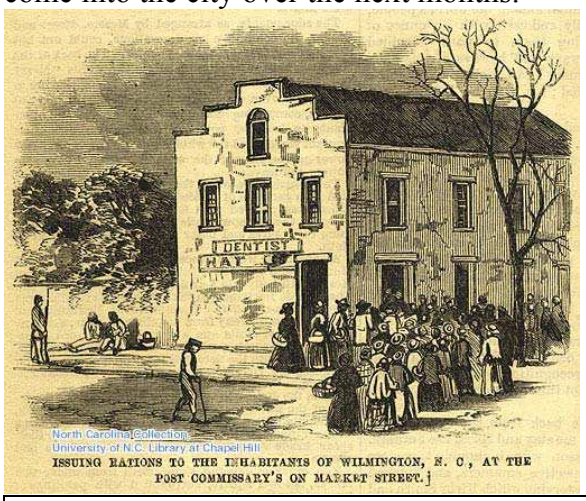
[51] Whitelaw Reid, *After the War: A Tour of the Southern States, 1865-1866* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965, originally published in 1866) as quoted in Bishir, *Bellamy Mansion*, 47.

[52] For more on the connections between freedmen and slave artisan entrepreneurship before and after the Civil War, see Robert Kenzer, *Enterprising*

The groups of Wilmington residents—upper class whites, working class whites, free blacks, and freed slaves—all emerged from the Civil War living and working in Wilmington in a network turned on its ear, a circumstance caused primarily by the freedom granted to former slaves and the promise of equality for them within society. The men, women, and children created a new Wilmington, ready to face the challenges and rewards they hoped would quickly emerge from the ashes of the war. The reality of Wilmington after the war, however, was fraught with conflict between the races, often muted, as African Americans asserted themselves in their new roles, and whites became increasingly fearful of losing not only their status but their control of life in the port.[53] Reconstruction, as a long drawn-out process, did not alleviate the troubles of rebuilding after the war as many hoped but, instead, drew sharper definitions for many underlying problems facing Wilmington and the South.[54]

Occupied Wilmington

Wilmington's location and dependency on the commercial import/export trade forced her citizens to face the end of the war and ensuing Reconstruction with a much different attitude than other areas of the state. Furthermore, its prewar pro-Unionist reputation reemerged as a factor in its recovery. Once Federal forces occupied Wilmington, a force of approximately 15,000 soldiers spread out across town. Refugees from outside the city began to stretch its resources to the breaking point as they filed in on a daily basis. The city's downtown businesses were in ruin because of fires set by retreating Confederates and looting by both Union and Confederate factions. The economy was shattered because military authorities prevented merchants from reopening trade, and supplies from inland were cut off, effectively ending the influx of provisions to the city. Therefore, in the months after the initial occupation, the city faced severe shortages of food, fuel and supplies for its citizens, as well as for the many who would come into the city over the next months. [55]



"Issuing rations to the inhabitants of Wilmington N.C." 1865. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* April 1, 1865
Image courtesy of North Carolina Collection, UNC-CH.

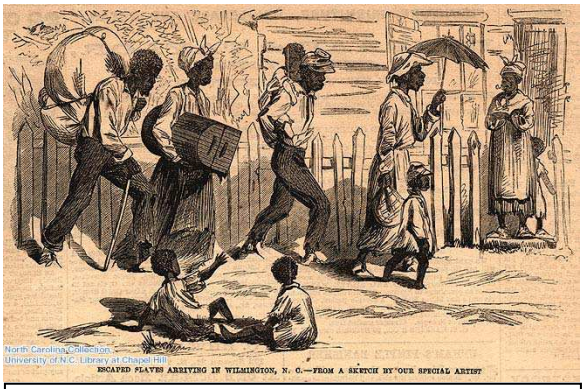
Southerners: Black Economic Success in North Carolina, 1865-1915, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997), 43-47.

[53] A psychological change took place among freed slaves who sought to re-define themselves as free people. Among Wilmington natives, black and white, this change was subtle and detectable only to themselves since many outsiders visited and could not identify how local whites feared black "insolence" as the attitude change came to be called. Evans *Ballots and Fence Rails,* 78-79.

[54] Some native whites and occupying white soldiers intermingled socially and united to insure that blacks remained submissive, particularly during Presidential Reconstruction. Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails*, 65.

[55] Historian William McKee Evans has observed that the period from January 15, 1865 until June 20, 1865, was pivotal in the Wilmington area since the region was at the mercy of the Federal military while the President and Congress wrangled over how to handle Reconstruction. Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails,* 249-251; Fonvielle, *Wilmington Campaign*, 444.

The first set of wartime migrants into the city were prisoners of war released from Confederate prisons in March 1865. The freed prisoners, totaling over 10,000 in the months following the city's occupation, were released from Salisbury and other Confederate prisons of the Carolinas in various states of health and sickness. Wilmington residents opened their homes to assist in caring for these men, but, being strapped themselves, they did not have much to offer other than shelter. Another set of immigrants were the approximately 8,000 to 10,000 refugees who were sent to the city by General William T. Sherman after he paused his march in Fayetteville.[56] The men, women, and children were freed or escaped slaves who had been following Sherman's march through the South. Encumbered by their numbers, Sherman sent them to the city, planning for their eventual removal northward. The refugees first arrived in March and suffered greatly from the lack of provisions for their welfare. One of the worst problems posed by the deluge of deprived and malnourished people was the outbreak of typhoid and other diseases. Doctors recalled that between twenty and fifty people died daily in the city. Most of the refugees were relocated to rural areas around the Cape Fear region by April, relieving some of the city's burden. Others who remained received supplies from the American Missionary Association and the federal government in return for work, particularly that of cleaning the city's streets and wharves, thereby assisting in the economic recovery of the city. By the time military authorities had the catastrophic situation in Wilmington under control, the war was officially over.[57]



"Escaped slaves arriving in Wilmington, N.C." 1865. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* April 29, 1865.
Image Courtesy of North Carolina Collection, UNC-CH

[56] J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1914), 148.

[57] In 1860, Wilmington's population was just under 10,000 people, including slaves. In the months leading up to the city's capture by Union forces, many families that could afford to leave fled the city to interior locations and some slaves escaped to find safety behind Union lines. The city's population tripled in March and April 1865 with the addition of approximately 15,000 Federal troops, 10,000 released prisoners of war, and 10,000 refugees. Fonvielle, *Wilmington Campaign*, 449-452.

Chronology of Reconstruction

1863
Lincoln's **Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction**—states may be readmitted provided that 10% of the 1860 electorate takes an oath of loyalty to the Union and the state agrees to emancipation; Congress refused to recognize the plan.

1864
Congress passed the **Wade-Davis Bill**, more restrictive than Lincoln's plan; Lincoln vetoed the bill.

1865

March 3:	**Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands** established. Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company chartered.
April	Lincoln assassinated and Johnson became President.
Summer:	Johnson organized provisional governments and called on them to amend constitutions, abolish slavery, nullify secession, repudiate war debt and enfranchise blacks voluntarily.
December:	Johnson announced that the Union has been "restored."
	Congress refused to endorse Johnson's Reconstruction. Radical Republicans angered by Southern attempts to legislate second-class citizen status for blacks through Black Codes – the harshest codes effectively recreated slavery.
	The **13th Amendment**, abolishing slavery, was proclaimed in effect after ratification by 27 states.

1866

March:	**Civil Rights Act** – the Act gave the same rights to all persons born in the U.S. and affirmed freedmen's rights to make contracts, sue, give evidence, buy, lease, and convey personal and real property but excluded any state statutes on segregation and did not provide for full public accommodations, so separate but equal implicit. Johnson vetoed it on the grounds that it was illegal because passed in the absence of southern congressmen and was unconstitutional.
June:	The **14th Amendment,** granting rights of citizenship, was passed by Congress because of fear of unconstitutionality of the Civil Rights Act. Ratification was eventually made a condition for readmission to Union by southern states.
June:	The **Southern Homestead Act** granted 44 million acres of land (80 acres per family) for freedmen, mostly plots of poor soil quality.
Fall:	Congressional Elections: Republicans won overwhelming victory with a 43-11 majority in Senate and 143-49 in the House. With veto override, Radicals control Reconstruction.

1867
Congressional Reconstruction. Radicals determined to crush the old southern ruling class. Southerners refused to cooperate. Reconstruction Acts did not go as far as radicals wanted to go. Johnson fought Reconstruction acts by appointing governors who refused to fully comply.

March 2. **1st Reconstruction Act**
Provisions: South divided into five military districts; existing state governments declared provisional only; governors required to call constitutional conventions with full manhood suffrage; blacks eligible to register to vote; states must ratify the new constitutions and 14th Amendment before representatives would be admitted to Congress.

March 23 through March 1868: **Supplementary Reconstruction Acts** close loopholes in original act and enforce provisions through authority of military governors.

1867-68
Military Reconstruction. During Military Reconstruction, federal troops occupied southern states and Johnson's provisional governments were replaced by military commanders. Small group of southern Unionists formed the core of the southern Republican Party and blacks joined en masse. The black/white coalition featured freedmen, Southern loyalists (called "Scalawags") and Northern Republicans in the South (called "Carpetbaggers").

1868
Impeachment of Andrew Johnson. When Johnson sabotaged Radical Reconstruction by the way he administered it, Congress tried to remove him from office but fell short of the two-thirds Senate vote for conviction. Popular opinion began to turn against the Radical Republicans, who seemed willing to subvert the Constitution to accomplish what they want.

1869
Congress passed the **Fifteenth Amendment** to force southern states into providing the right to vote to blacks.

1870-71
Several "Ku Klux Klan Acts" passed to enforce 15th Amendment, known as the "**Force Bills,**" which allowed the president to use military force to quell insurrections.

1875
Sumner **Civil Rights Act** passed – called for equal rights in public places and conveyances; blacks could not be excluded from jury duty.

1876 - 1877
Many, North and South, were tired of Reconstruction. The winter of 1876-77 was one of sectional strife. The election was marked by fraud, and from Election Day, November 2, until Inauguration Day, no one knew for sure who would be president.
Hayes-Tilden Compromise of 1877 ended the conflict over the Presidential election and marked end of Reconstruction. Hayes became President in exchange for an end to Military Reconstruction (removal of troops from southern states), placement of a Southerner in the Cabinet, and internal improvement dollars for the South.

Reconstruction in North Carolina

Reconstruction in North Carolina began as soon as General Joseph Johnston surrendered his Confederate army to General William T. Sherman in April 1865. While preparing to leave the state after accepting Johnston's surrender, Sherman placed General John Schofield in charge of the state to maintain law and order and provide for the betterment of conditions for freed slaves. Andrew Johnson, who had become president on April 14, 1865 after Lincoln's death, chose to implement a plan to quickly incorporate the southern states back into the Union through a series of peaceful programs aimed at mending the breaks between southern and northern states. Johnson's first act was to pardon former Confederate soldiers with the exception of primary Confederate political and military leaders. He then established a Provisional government in the state, appointing William W. Holden as governor. Although Holden had been a states' rights activist before the war, he openly criticized the Confederate government, and, for this criticism, it is believed he was rewarded by Republicans with an appointment by Johnson.[58]

Holden's first priority as governor was to call a convention to restructure state government with the assistance of the military authorities so that the state could rejoin the Union as quickly as possible. Voters who were eligible to vote prior to the war and who had received a pardon elected delegates to the convention. The regulations to establish eligibility for voters effectively blocked African Americans from providing

[58] Richard Zuber, *North Carolina During Reconstruction*, (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1975), 1-3; Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 107-109.

a voice to advocate for their needs at the convention.[59]

As white men secured pardons and prepared for the constitutional convention, African Americans prepared for their own convention to be held in Raleigh at the same time. Leading the call for a "Freedman's Convention" were some of the state's first black leaders, drawn mainly from former slaves who had escaped northward before the war. The convention, which met in Raleigh in September 1865 at the African Methodist Church, drew approximately 120 men from forty counties. Far from a homogeneous group, the representatives came from various backgrounds. Some, such as Wilmington's John P. Sampson, were well-educated and financially secure whereas others were poor and illiterate. United by a common cause—the overall betterment of their race—the men met to discuss ways to achieve, as stated by convention president the Reverend James Walker Hood, "equal rights before the law." Most of the convention's resolutions focused on legal provisions to protect of black welfare in the courts, labor contracts and education and, to a lesser degree, suffrage rights. The resolutions were couched in deferential language designed not to intimidate. The white men writing the new constitution paid little heed to their content and completely disregarded the resolutions. The end result of the Freedman's Convention was the creation of a statewide organizational network of black leaders who would lay the groundwork for future political struggles.[60]

John P. Sampson
Image: Eric Foner, *Freedom's Lawmakers.*

[59] Zuber, *North Carolina During Reconstruction,* 4. Once the delegation met in Raleigh, it was expected to repeal the secession ordinance of 1861, remove laws protecting slavery in order to abolish the institution, ratify the Thirteenth Amendment, and repudiate, or cancel, the state's debts related to the Confederate war effort. Additionally, the convention was expected to plan for regular statewide elections for governor and representatives at the state and national levels. The Thirteenth Amendment passed by Congress in January 1865, abolished slavery in states that were still members of the United States. Re-entry into the Union by southern states was contingent, among other things, on ratification of the amendment. New Hanover's delegates to the convention were Hanson F. Murphy and William Wright. Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1988), 66-67, 199; John L. Cheney, Jr., ed., *North Carolina Government, 1585-1979: A Narrative and Statistical History* (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State, 1981), 832; Hamilton, *Reconstruction,* 109, 111.

[60] Hamilton, *Reconstruction,* 150; Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails*, 86-94, 110-112; For the quotation from Rev. James W. Hood and more on the convention, see Roberta Sue Alexander, *North Carolina Faces the Freedmen: Race Relations During Presidential Reconstruction,* 1865-1867, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985), 17 -31; David Cecelski, "Abraham Galloway: Wilmington's Lost Prophet and the Rise of Black Radicalism in the American South" *Democracy Betrayed: The Wilmington Race Riot of 1898 and Its Legacy*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998) 56.

After much debate, Holden and the convention eventually accomplished their tasks and called for an election in November 1865. In the statewide balloting, Jonathan Worth defeated Holden for the governor's office, but Holden's supporters won a majority in the legislature.[61] Most significantly, the proposed constitution was rejected. [62] Pro-Union men from the Democratic Party were elected by the General Assembly to serve as representatives in Washington, D. C. However, Radical Republicans in Washington controlled the Congress, and, contrary to President Johnson's wishes, wanted to prevent southern states, and Conservatives, from rejoining the Union until more conditions were met regarding the reunification of the Union. The Radicals wanted more protection for freed blacks, including providing them the right to vote for representatives. As a result, they refused to recognize the newly elected delegates from the South. Thus, North Carolina was without representation in Congress for approximately two years as Reconstruction efforts were removed from the President's hands by a strong Congress by 1867.[63]

Reconstruction in North Carolina lasted until 1877 and the intervening twelve years were full of strife as Congress, military leaders, and elected officials struggled to implement new laws designed to guarantee freedom and equality for African Americans. The passage of the Thirteenth Amendment forever freed from slavery about 350,000 African Americans in North Carolina.[64] Questions then arose as to the legal status of freed slaves. Based on conclusions from a research commission organized by Holden on the "negro question," a "Black Code" was established by the legislature in 1866 to provide basic legal building blocks for African Americans, including recognition of their marriages and protection of their rights in business contracts and in court. The Black Code, similar to those passed in other southern states, however, did not protect rights for black men. The code lacked a provision guaranteeing the right to vote and testify in court. [65] The codes were revised several

[61] Prior to his election as governor, Worth lamented the defeat of the Confederacy and the advent of the Republican Party to colleagues. Worth considered blacks to be inferior and claimed it was "supreme nonsense" to make the equal to whites. Jonathan Worth as quoted by John Haley in *Charles N. Hunter,* 3.

[62] New Hanover's representatives in the General Assembly were Edward D. Hall in the Senate and Robert H. Cowan and John R. Hawes in the House. Cheney, *North Carolina Government,* 332-333; Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 120-133, 139.

[63] The political organization that grew into what became known as the Democratic Party first was known as the Conservative Party after the Civil War. It was not until 1876 that the party officially adopted the name "Democrat." Those same men are also referred to as "Bourbon" Democrats because, as the state emerged from Reconstruction in the 1880's, they, much as former French monarchs with the same name, tied themselves to the past instead of seeking progressive reforms in government. Zuber, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 4-6, 50; Hamilton, *Reconstruction,* 144; Powell, *North Carolina Through Four Centuries,* 422. *For* more information on early Reconstruction efforts in North Carolina, see Roberta Sue Alexander, *North Carolina Faces the Freedmen: Race Relations During Presidential Reconstruction, 1865-1867* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985).

[64] The Thirteenth Amendment was passed by Congress in January 1865 by representatives of states still in the Union. The amendment was not ratified, or made into law, until December 1865 when the last of the southern states ratified it, including North Carolina, as the next to the last ratifying state, on December 4, 1865. The amendment's text reads: Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction. Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

[65] A new constitution was also drafted in 1866 to accommodate attempts for the state to rejoin the Union, but it was rejected by voters. Zuber, *North Carolina During Reconstruction,* 6; William S.

times and the result was a loosely worded rulebook for segregating and limiting blacks in all aspects of political, legal, and social life.

One of the first actions of Congress to provide for the needs of newly freed slaves was to establish the Freedmen's Bureau in 1865, for the period of one year to ease the transition from slavery to citizenship. The Freedmen's Bureau followed on the heels of other efforts by the U.S. government to see to the needs of slaves during the war beginning in 1863. In a new move, the Freedmen's Bureau was created as part of the War Department, and its job was to manage abandoned lands and all issues related to refugees and freedmen using supplies issued by the War Department. Seen as vital to the continued transition, the Bureau's work was extended by Congress. The Freedmen's Bureau established itself in July 1865 in North Carolina where its work lasted until the end of 1868. The bureau assisted with immediate needs of food and housing and also provided health care and educational benefits for future betterment. An advocate for African Americans, the bureau also helped with negotiating labor contracts between blacks and whites, provided loans for land purchases, formed military courts to hear complaints, established banks for blacks to learn fiscal responsibility, and trained blacks to work among themselves as teachers, nurses, and other professionals. Much of the Freedmen's Bureau work was done by concerned northerners, both male and female, who traveled to southern states to work for little pay in sometimes hostile environments, and by occupying soldiers who distributed food and clothing.[66] Assisting the bureau were many benevolent organizations such as the American Missionary Association, which helped primarily with educational advancement. Contemporary whites saw the Freedmen's Bureau schools as a center of political organization since the Union League held meetings in the schoolhouses and membership in the League was encouraged by bureau agents. As a result, many schools were burned for their participation in political activity. An early historian of Reconstruction explained that, overall, the Bureau created problems for the freed slaves because through such activities, proactive agents generated a great deal of friction between the races by provoking white hostilities.[67]

During Jonathan Worth's terms as governor (1865-1868), Holden was working himself into a position to run for the governor's office by helping fuel the growth of the fledgling statewide Republican Party, which emerged as a strong force as Congress took over Reconstruction. During his tenure, Worth took steps to return North

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Powell, *North Carolina Through Four Centuries*, 383; Alexander, *North Carolina Faces the Freedmen,* 49-52; Hamilton, *Reconstruction,* 174-76.

[66] The Freedmen's Savings Bank was developed with a branch in Wilmington. Due to mismanagement, political shortcomings and other problems, the Freedman's Bank failed statewide and returned only a portion of its deposits to members. Hamilton felt that, as a result of the losses sustained by African Americans who invested in the bank, they were less eager to make use of other banks in the future. Alexander, *North Carolina Faces the Freedmen*, 99-100; Hamilton, *Reconstruction,* 299, 304-308, 313-314.

[67] J.G. Hamilton's history of Reconstruction in North Carolina is reflective of the stance adopted by white historians after the entrenchment of the white supremacy campaign in the early twentieth century. A valuable resource for the history of Reconstruction in the state, Hamilton's history is, nonetheless, clouded with a biased view of what he considered the wrongs of Reconstruction. Alexander, *North Carolina Faces the Freedmen*, 99-103, 159; Zuber, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 6; Maxine Jones, *"A Glorious Work:" The American Missionary Association and Black North Carolinians, 1863-1880* (PhD dissertation, Florida State University, 1982), 123; Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 295-6, 318-325.

Carolina to the Union despite efforts of Radical Republicans in Congress who sought to remove Reconstruction from the White House and place it in their own hands. Their efforts to reconstruct the South were realized when, in March 1867, Congress passed a series of laws that effectively bypassed the president's office and reorganized "un-reconstructed" states into five military districts managed by military officers. Furthermore, actions by Congress returned the existing state governments to provisional status, subject to changes by the federal government. Another requirement of this new Congressional Reconstruction was the creation of a completely new state constitution wholly in compliance with the federal Constitution, and delegates to the new constitutional convention had to be elected by all resident male citizens over the age of 21, regardless of race or previous condition; exception was granted to remove voting rights from men disfranchised due to participation in the Civil War and for felony convictions.[68]

White North Carolinians viewed the Reconstruction Acts of Congress with skepticism and, seeing no recourse, resigned themselves to the actions of Congress. In 1866, North Carolina fell into the Second Military District along with South Carolina and was under the military command of Major General Daniel Sickles, a New York attorney who had defended the rights of southern states to secede before the war.[69] Because of Sickles' sympathetic views, coupled with efforts contrary to Congressional plans, he was replaced in August 1867 by General E. R. S. Canby. Canby used the Reconstruction Acts liberally and with forcefulness, effectively reducing the governor's office and the legislature to symbolic posts with no real power over the state's affairs. The end result of Canby's micromanagement of statewide and local affairs was to stir racial strife and create tensions within the Democratic Party.[70] Holden did not give up aspirations to serve as governor and began to work towards that end. He organized groups of men dissatisfied with Worth's actions as governor, particularly his perceived actions to stall efforts to have North Carolina rejoin the Union. Bolstered by his support, Holden spurred the formation of the Republican Party in the spring of 1867. Supported by the national Republican Party and Union League, Holden openly supported the military commanders and Congress in Radical Reconstruction.[71]

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[68] Hamilton, *Reconstruction,* 216-219; Haley, *Charles N. Hunter,* 17.

[69] Powell, *North Carolina Through Four Centuries,* 386-387; Hamilton, *Reconstruction,* 221.

[70] Hamilton, *Reconstruction,* 233-240.

[71] Union Leagues were first established in 1862 in Northern states such as Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York. The Leagues sought to increase loyalty to the Union and members sought to provide physical and mental support to Federal soldiers by providing supplies. Additionally, the Leagues enlisted African American troops at their own expense, sent teachers southward to educate freed slaves, provided care to blacks in camps and in the North, and, after the war, lobbied for black suffrage. Also called the Loyal League, Union Leagues were organized in areas with high concentrations of blacks in order to coordinate voting campaigns. Most historians agree that the Union League was brought to North Carolina by carpetbagger Albion Tourgee, who introduced the League in Guilford County in 1866 and who served as the statewide organization's first president. Despite Tourgee's traditional status as League founder, two Union League units were in place in Wilmington by April 1865 when they participated in a Lincoln memorial procession. Perhaps formed by native escaped slave Abraham Galloway, these League chapters were well organized by July 1865, as they pressed for municipal appointments for Wilmington blacks. Tourgee was succeeded by Holden in 1867 and membership grew to include not only black males but also white carpetbaggers and native Republicans. The rise of the Union League, and the national support it represented, assisted Holden in the development of the Republican Party. By April 1867, the League was so well organized that

Abraham Galloway
Image: Bill Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*

When, in November 1867, Canby called for a new constitutional convention, approximately 10 percent of whites were disfranchised by Congress because of previous Confederate service, and other whites, disgusted with Reconstruction practices, failed to register to vote for delegates to the new convention. [72] Therefore, blacks, eager to exercise their new voting rights, registered in great numbers, and the resulting convention delegation featured 107 Republicans, 15 of whom were black, including Abraham Galloway of New Hanover, James H. Harris of Wake, and James W. Hood of Cumberland.[73] Also elected to serve in the delegation were a handful of relocated northerners, most notably Albion Tourgee, who worked themselves into prominent positions within the conventions, serving as

approximately 90 percent of black voters could be counted upon to vote according to League dictates. A stringent organization with secret codes and initiation practices, the League did not tolerate dissension and carried out several of its many threats of violence against both black and white members. Additionally, the League formed, equipped, and drilled militia companies, creating much distress within the white communities where they held public parades. The Union League flourished for a while in North Carolina but disappeared by 1870 under the immense pressures exerted by the Ku Klux Klan during Holden's governorship. For more information on Holden and the Union League, see Walter Fleming, ed., "Union League Documents" in *Documents Relating to Reconstruction* (Morgantown, West Virginia, 1904); Edgar E. Folk and Bynum Shaw, *W.W. Holden, A Politcal Biography* (John Blair, Publisher: Winston-Salem, 1982) 203-204; Horace Raper, *William W. Holden : North Carolina's Political Enigma* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1985), 95; William C. Harris, *William Woods Holden: Firebrand of North Carolina Politics* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 223; Trelease, *White Terror*, 225; Hamilton, *Reconstruction,* 158, 244, 328-342; Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails,* 86; Cecelski, "Abraham Galloway," 58.

[72] Before the election, Canby ordered all municipal offices in Wilmington closed on May 1, 1867. A new set of officers were appointed by the military authority with Mayor J. H. Neff, a native white Republican, presiding over a board containing three blacks, William Teller, G. H. Jackson, G. W. Price; native white Republicans James Wilson, Silas Martin; and carpetbaggers E. R. Brink, L. G. Estes. The appointed commissioners ruled for less than two months before a new election in July 1868 placed Republican carpetbaggers and scalawags in office. Bryant Whitlock Ruark, "Some Phases of Reconstruction in Wilmington and the County of New Hanover," *Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society,* (Durham, 1915), 98-99; Hamilton, *Reconstruction,* 252.

[73] Other representatives from New Hanover to the 1868 Constitutional Convention were Joseph C. Abbott and Samuel S. Ashley. New Hanover's Republican delegates and 1868 legislative candidates were repeatedly maligned by the Conservative Party. Most of the derogatory comments were based on observations that the men had never paid taxes in Wilmington, where the minority white population owned the majority of the wealth. Blacks joined the Republican Party because it was seen as their only option – to ally with the party that elected Lincoln and gave them their freedom. Seventy-three percent of Wilmington's black electorate turned out to vote. Blacks comprised 63 percent of the total electorate at the time of the 1868 election. Review of the election returns statewide showed Wilmington to be one of nineteen counties that had a black voting majority. Cheney, 845-46; Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 285; Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails*, 96; Ruark, "Some Phases of Reconstruction," 109; Haley, *Charles N. Hunter*, 15.

committee chairs.[74] The new constitution, completed by March 1868, was highly criticized in newspapers but remained in place with revisions through subsequent legislatures. The main tenets of the new constitution affected all levels of state and local government, including provisions for universal manhood suffrage, and, overall, made the state more democratic in voting and office holding. Critics of the new constitution, including the previous ruling elite mostly still disfranchised from their actions during the war, feared that the ability of blacks to vote and hold office would result in the subjugation of the traditional ruling elite to the control of poorer classes of both races. [75]

The new constitution was placed before voters for ratification at the same time that a new election for state and county officials was held in April 1868. The resulting pre-election debates were bitterly fought with both the Union League and the Ku Klux Klan, out of state organizations imported to the state as a result of Reconstruction, bringing their agendas to bear. Whereas the Union League sought methods to ensure that blacks would remain loyal to the Republican Party, the Ku Klux Klan established itself in North Carolina by 1868 as an organization that quickly became a tool for the Democratic Party. Although possibly in place prior to the 1868 election, the Klan's first organized public appearances in North Carolina began during the election when members sought to prevent blacks from voting or having a role in government.[76] Despite the Klan's efforts to intimidate black and poor white voters, Republicans carried a majority of counties, the constitution was ratified, and Holden was elected governor.[77] The new General Assembly, thoroughly dominated by the Republicans, promptly ratified the Fourteenth Amendment and elected two Republicans to the United States Senate.[78] Congress accepted the newly elected Republican representatives and senators from North Carolina in July 1868, thus

[74] The term, "carpetbagger" was developed by Conservative southerners to define men who relocated to the South from the North after the war. "Scalawags" was the derogatory term developed by Conservatives to refer to native southerners who supported the Republican Party. Charles R. Wilson and William Ferris, eds., *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 1193.

[75] Powell, *North Carolina Through Four Centuries,* 394; Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 266-69, 273-78.

[76] Prior to the appearance of the Klan in Wilmington, another group, called Regulators, formed in early 1867 to raid and damage farms and homes of African Americans. The white community didn't respond to stop the raids despite outcry from white Republicans and the Freedmen's Bureau. Zuber, *Reconstruction*, 25; Trelease, *White Terror*, 69; Hamilton, *Reconstruction,* 284-5; Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails*, 131.

[77] New Hanover's population was 58% "colored" at election time and 62% of the votes case in the county were Republican. Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails*, 102.

[78] New Hanover's representatives in the General Assembly of 1868-69 were Senator Abraham Galloway and Representatives Joseph C. Abbott (resigned, July 16, 1868), Llewellyn G. Estes, George W. Price and George Z. French (replaced Abbott and took seat after special election, November, 16, 1868). George French worked as a supplier for the U.S. Army and arrived with the occupation army equipped with items to sell soldiers. By the end of the war, French was selling items in the retail market and also worked as a commission merchant in naval stores and cotton. French also purchased a plantation near town where he tried to instruct locals on farming methods and developed the area's first fertilizer industry. Also involved in politics, French secured the votes of blacks through persuasive speechmaking. New Hanover's representatives in the Assembly of 1869-70 were Senator Abraham Galloway and Representatives Llewellyn G. Estes, George Z. French, George W. Price, Jr. and John S.W. Eagles, a black man who replaced Estes after his resignation. Cheney, 449-450; Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails*, 152.Cheny 447-448, 558; Hamilton, *Reconstruction, 286;* Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails,* 114-118.

allowing the state to re-enter the Union.[79] Despite the state's new status as a member of the Union, occupying federal troops remained in the state although overt military interference with government ceased. The new Republican government only lasted for two years because, while in power, it provided enough fodder for the Democratic Party's propaganda machine to ensure defeat in the next election.[80]

The state's ragged economy and mutilated infrastructure, still suffering from the ravages of the Civil War and federal occupation, were problems faced by the new Republican legislature and governor. As a result, the new legislature sought to repair the economy by issuing a large volume of railroad bonds, which drove the state deeper into debt instead of remedying the situation. Corruption and fraudulent activities were rampant in Raleigh, with unethical activity by numerous legislators, some of whom became rich as a result of their positions in government. Conservative Democratic newspaper editors picked up stories of fraud and bribery, calling the new government oppressive, brutal and corrupt. Primary among their targets were carpetbaggers and African Americans in the legislature.[81]

Another problem for the Republican administration was the Ku Klux Klan. Although first seen in the state during the 1868 election, the Klan became more organized and sought to reverse the power and influence of the Union League on African American voters. One of the state's first manifestations of the Klan occurred in Wilmington in March 1868, when Colonel Roger Moore led Klan members on organized regular "rides" of mounted men dressed as apparitions through black sections of the city to intimidate the residents. The actions of the Klan were publicized by state Klan leader and Wilmington native William L. Saunders in his capacity as editor of the Wilmington *Journal*. Moore's ploy failed since local Wilmington blacks organized their own armed patrols to combat the intimidation, and after four nights of activity just prior to the election, Republicans carried the city.[82] Although Klan supporters effectively silenced Wilmington's white editor and U.S. Senator Joseph Abbott in 1869, the organization never grew into a powerful force in the city because of the large, well-organized black population in Wilmington. As a result, the Klan's intimidation techniques failed to facilitate a Democratic victory there. After the election, Klan activity in the city decreased, although, a few months after the election, Governor Holden received a report that guns were being imported to North Carolina Klansmen in Wilmington, New Bern, and Charlotte. Because of a large Republican majority in Wilmington that was organized and able to resist Klan intimidation, residents experienced a political calm when others in the state were seeing violent Klan action. Both political parties were able to host public debate and organize nonviolent demonstrations.[83]

Whereas the Klan diminished in strength in Wilmington, it grew in intensity in parts of the state with rural black populations. The continuous pressure

[79] Also important for the state to be allowed back into the Union was the implementation of several changes to the state's government by the legislature as dictated by Congress. Hamilton, *Reconstruction,* 288-292.

[80] Zuber, *North Carolina During Reconstruction*, 19-23; Powell, *NC Through Four Centuries*, 396-397; Hamilton, *Reconstruction,* 292, 412-416.

[81] Zuber, *North Carolina During Reconstruction,* 19-23; Powell, *NC Through Four Centuries,* 395-396; Hamilton, *Reconstruction,* 287.

[82] Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails,* 98-102; Trelease, *White Terror,* 70.

[83] Hamilton, *Reconstruction,* 396, 465; Trelease, *White Terror,* 114; Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails,* 255.

exerted by Klan organizations in Piedmont counties throughout Holden's tenure as governor aggravated his efforts to reinstate peace and bring the Republican Party together. Forced into action as the 1870 election neared, Holden called out troops, providing Klan members and Democratic papers with a campaign issue—that of military occupation and abuses of civil liberties by the governor. Through an effective use of newspapers throughout the state, and despite Holden's efforts to stop Klan violence, the Democratic Party was able to regain control of the legislature and effect changes to the state through legal avenues. [84]

Conservatives in Wilmington stepped up efforts to curtail both black and white Republican participation in government and politics. One argument that gained popularity during the 1868 campaign, recalled in later elections, centered on property ownership and taxes. Business minded political pundits pointed out that, of the 3,500 voters in the city, 2,000 were employed by Conservatives. Furthermore, they argued that taxpayers and those with businesses interests should dictate the city's future. Conservatives also overtly threatened the livelihood of black office seekers by identifying them and their businesses so as to encourage consumers to shop elsewhere and employers to hire like-minded, i.e., Conservative, employees.[85] Hampered by Conservative activity and internal strife, the New Hanover Republican Party had trouble maintaining its organizational control. Key to the Republican Party's internal strife was its inability to reconcile the agendas of its white and black members.[86]

The Legislature, dominated by the Democratic Party, met in November 1870 and determined that Holden's efforts to rein in the Klan constituted enough of a miscarriage of justice and inappropriate use of his office that they sought to impeach him. [87] Klan members featured prominently

[84] Commonly called the Kirk-Holden War, Governor Holden's efforts to stop the actions of the Klan in Piedmont counties resulted in occupation of Caswell and Alamance by forces under the command of Colonel George Kirk of Tennessee. The Klan's activities in those areas had become exceedingly violent, and Holden sought to end the violence before the election. Kirk's forces occupied the counties, arresting around 100 suspected Klan members from a list provided by the governor. The result was that several members who had favored ending Klan terrorism came forward and renounced their membership in the group. Holden hoped to hold military trials for the arrested men, but, legal maneuvers by Democrats meant most of the men never went to trial and were eventually released from jail. Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails*, 146-149; Trelease, *White Terror*, 216-223; Hamilton, *Reconstruction,* 496-533.

[85] Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails*, 158-159.

[86] The Republican Party established a practice of using wealthy white Republicans to sponsor popular blacks as politicians, resulting in factionalism among publicly visible Republicans who vied for sponsorships. Such an organizational structure existed in Wilmington and the leading whites came to be known as "the Ring." Approximately 2,000 black and 100 – 150 white Republicans were in Wilmington at the time and all were managed by 15 to 20 white Republican businessmen. Of those men in the Ring, about six were first- and second-generation New Englanders in the city before the war and others had Union Army connections. Native members of the Ring included Edward Cantwell, the Russell family, and black members of the Sampson and Howe families. Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails,* 153-155, 162- 165.

[87] New Hanover's representatives in the General Assembly of 1870-72 were Senators Charles W. McClammy and George W. Price, Jr. and Representatives Samuel A. Ashe (resigned March 1, 1872, and no new election held for his replacement), George Z. French (resigned July 1, 1871), George L. Mabson, and James A. Heaton (replaced French on November 21, 1871, after special election). Alfred Moore Waddell assumed his first political office after the Civil War when he was selected to represent the third district of North Carolina in the U.S. House of Representatives and served for three terms from 1871-1879. Cheney, 451, 453, 559, 695; Hamilton, *Reconstruction,* 537-557; *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, 1/13/2005,

in the new legislature, with some boasting of their membership in the organization to fellow legislators. Holden's impeachment trial lasted until March 22, 1871, when he was convicted on six out of eight charges. He was succeeded by Lieutenant Governor Tod R. Caldwell, who was powerless to curtail the actions of the new legislature as it reversed Holden's actions on almost every front.[88]

After the Democrats regained control of state government, the Klan was no longer needed as a political tool. Still, Klan violence escalated in western sections of the state, and, as a consequence, Republicans successfully lobbied the federal government for assistance. The ensuing investigations by a congressional committee resulted in the passage of several laws, most specifically the Ku Klux Klan Act, which defined traditional Klan actions and assigned penalties to those actions. The act also allowed the federal government to declare Klan-affected areas in rebellion in order to use federal forces to restore order. Following the passage of the act, federal troops were sent into the state, effecting hundreds of arrests and as many as 1,400 indictments. The trials that followed effectively turned Klan members against each other through testimony and confessions in the courts. Thus, because Democratic control over the legislature ended the need for overt Klan actions and federal intervention silenced the remainder, the Klan disappeared in North Carolina by late 1872 and did not become a major factor in state politics again until the 1920s.[89]

The presence of federal forces reinforced the position of the Republican Party somewhat, enabling Caldwell to win the 1872 gubernatorial election over the Democratic candidate. Even though a Republican was elected governor, Conservative Democrats still maintained control of the General Assembly. They made changes to the constitution in 1873 and 1875, effectively developing a mechanism for the Democratic Party to control as much of state and local government as possible from Raleigh, removing the ability of local blacks and Republicans to hold county offices. The Democrats' changes to the constitution also drew sharper lines between races, instituting stipulations that whites and blacks could not attend school together or intermarry.[90]

Conservatives employed many methods to minimize the impact of Republican dominance in the Cape Fear. They first lopped off the northern two-thirds of New Hanover County to create Pender County. Another effort involved redrafting Wilmington's charter to provide Conservatives in the city with a guaranteed majority in city government.[91] Both the

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http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=W000002.

[88] Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails*, 223-225; Zuber, *North Carolina During Reconstruction*, 41-44.

[89] Hamilton indicated that the Klan applied "illegal force which overthrew Reconstruction and ultimately restored political power to the white race" as a result of its actions in securing Democratic victory. Hamilton further explained that Klan action was usually carefully planned but, as the organization grew, control over camps broke down and discipline of members relaxed. By the end of its lifetime during Reconstruction, Hamilton explained that "it had clearly outlived any usefulness it may have had." Hamilton, *Reconstruction,*453-480, 572-581; Zuber, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 44-47; Trelease, *White Terror*, 348.

[90] Conservatives sought every change to challenge or nullify the demands of Congressional Reconstruction. North Carolina became a model for southern oppositions to Reconstruction as it legislated resistance to Washington. Southern politicians felt that North Carolina's lead would compel other states to follow suit and slowly overturn federal Reconstruction policies. Zuber, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 48-49; Hamilton *Reconstruction*, 592, 594, 595-604; Haley, *Charles N. Hunter*, 22.

[91] Conservatives felt that if they could chop New Hanover's rural population away from the city's influence, their interests could dominate the rural

Democratic and Republican Parties used newspapers as mouthpieces, but, in 1875, the Democratic Party began a more effective use of the papers to achieve electoral victory. The Wilmington *Journal* under editor W. L. Saunders emerged as a leading Democratic organ for the state at this time.[92]

Thus, the Democrats "redeemed" the state as they secured the governor's office in 1876 with the re-election of wartime Governor Zebulon Vance. Seen as a watershed year for the Democratic Party, 1876 marked the end of Republican control of state politics.[93] Such strongly Democratic historians as R. D. W. Connor and Samuel A. Ashe described party victories in 1876 as sweeping victories.[94] Another early twentieth century historian, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, noted that, if not for the "crime" of Reconstruction, control of North Carolina politics would have remained in the hands of the Republican Party.[95]

Legacy of Reconstruction

Reconstruction effectively ended in North Carolina in 1877 as the newly elected Democrats took control of all aspects of state and local governments.[96] The

black sharecroppers. The result was that New Hanover's representation in the House was reduced to two representatives from three. Pender did not follow Conservative plans because, in the first county election, Republicans won all seats. The effort to give Conservatives control of the city government was accomplished by gerrymandering the city's voting districts. Three wards were created in the city based on equivalents of property values. The result was that wards one and two were located in the city's center with about 21 % of the population represented there. The other 79% of the population – mostly poor whites and blacks – were lumped into the third ward. Republican boycott of the municipal elections based on the new charter resulted in Conservative elections. The incumbent Republican Board of Aldermen declared the new charter unconstitutional, the election invalid, and refused to turn over control of the city. Conservatives, in the face of a majority of Republicans in the city, had to sue in court over the issue. After four months of litigation and municipal limbo, the Republican Supreme Court declared the gerrymandered wards unconstitutional and the Conservative election void. Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails,* 167 – 171.

[92] The *Journal* was founded in 1844 and was the first regular daily paper in the city. Hamilton, *Reconstruction,* 605-6; Andrew J. Howell, *The Book of Wilmington*, (Wilmington, 1930) 151.

[93] The "negro question" became a real factor in the 1876 election because Democratic candidates developed their first cohesive rebuttals to the Republican party and did not attempt to "placate" black voters in their platforms. The 1876 election was also one of the first campaigns in which the Democratic Party encouraged its candidates to visit voters throughout their constituencies and "stump" for votes throughout the campaign. Haley, *Charles N. Hunter,* 40, 42; Hamilton *Reconstruction,* 648-9.

[94] R. D. W. Connor, in *North Carolina: Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth* described the 1876 election as the "greatest political contest in the history of North Carolina." Connor further stated that the election "marked the beginning of a new era in NC" and that the "administration of the state government passed into the hands of the party that best represented the intelligence, the property, and the patriotism of North Carolina." Samuel A. Ashe, in his *History of North Carolina,* explained that, after the 1876 election, the "skies were bright; apparently the storm was over and a rainbow arched the heavens" because "Conservatives under the lead of the patriots in 1861-65 had addressed themselves to the duty of rescuing the people of the state from the domination of the carpetbaggers and Africans." R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina: Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth, Volume II* (Chicago: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1929), 351-2; Samuel A. Ashe, *History of North Carolina, Volume II* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Company, 1925), 1166-67.

[95] R.D.W. Connor and J.G. de Roulhac Hamilton were principals at Wilmington High School, formerly Tileston, early in their careers and were intimately familiar with the city's history and leaders. Hamilton, *Reconstruction,* 654, 662.

[96] To insure control over Wilmington, Conservatives again amended the city's charter in 1877 with the revisions similar to those in the 1875 version. The city was instead divided into five wards with two aldermen chosen to represent each ward. The city's center was represented by wards one, two and three with four and five representing Dry Pond to the south, typically made up of lower income whites, and

Reconstruction era had seen advancements in education, transportation, industry, and agriculture and had enabled North Carolina's population to develop beyond prewar standards. Growth was staggered amongst the various groups, however. Farmers suffered from high taxes, a lack of capital, and saw the rise of sharecropping as an alternative to slave labor. Sharecroppers enabled large plantation owners to retain ownership of their land but placed the tenants, both white and black, into a quagmire of poverty that could not be easily overcome. Industry, however, prospered through the growth of tobacco and textile products created in mills, paving the way for future growth in the 1880s. Fueling the growth of the state into the 1880s was the development of railroads connecting all parts of the state's backcountry with the coast and other states for trade and transportation.[97]

Both blacks and whites made gains were made during Reconstruction. The Republicans sought to revive public education in the 1868 constitution through a series of laws. Progress, however, was slow, and, by the end of Reconstruction, most children still did not benefit from a basic education. The Freedmen's Bureau, the American Missionary Association and private donors sought to establish schools for freed blacks. They were successful in creating a number of schools and colleges designed specifically to allow African Americans to obtain a quality education—such as the development of Shaw University in Raleigh and Gregory Normal School in Wilmington.[98]

In response to losses on all fronts as white Democrats legislated Reconstruction acts into ineffectiveness, black leaders organized themselves to combat inequalities in education and business. One of the most successful challenges to Democratic efforts to minimize black interests was related to education. Wilmington's white Republican leaders encouraged local blacks to fight for their rights through consistent protests and action against Conservative Democrats in the legislature. These leaders were successful in forcing the State Board of Education to use unbiased textbooks. However, their greatest achievement was an organized campaign to suppress the Dortch Act. The act, proposed in 1883, would have allowed appropriation of tax dollars to schools based on racial divisions. Taxes collected from blacks would support black schools and vice versa for whites—creating a fear that black schools would be severely under funded. Because of a consistent lobbying campaign by black leaders, the Dortch Act was never fully enacted and was annulled by the state Supreme Court in 1886. However, Conservatives were quick to remind blacks that the promise of the act's main tenets could re-emerge in other legislation.[99]

Reconstruction in Wilmington

Wilmington's experiences during Reconstruction reflected its position as the state's primary port and largest city. Soon

Brooklyn to the north, a majority black section. Wards one through three were predominantly Conservative and constituted 1,150 white voters whereas wards four and five, predominantly Republican, contained 2,300 black and white voters. Therefore, the Republican voting strength of the city was controlled with a planned Republican minority in city government. Republicans would always be in a four to six minority on the Board of Aldermen. Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails,* 172-173.

[97] Watson, *Wilmington, Port of North Carolina,* 115-117.

[98] W.N. Hartshorn and George Penniman, eds., *An Era of Progress and Promise, 1863-1910: The Religious, Moral, and Educational Development of the American Negro Since His Emancipation* (Boston: Priscilla Publishing Company, 1910), 87-92, 160.

[99] Haley, *Charles N. Hunter,* 60-61.

after the city fell, Union forces began to work to restore the city's infrastructure and economic base. Before citizens could rebuild their city, they had to accommodate the demands of the occupying forces that were seizing provisions for distribution to refugees and released prisoners in addition to commandeering homes and churches for troop housing and hospitals. On February 27, 1865, General Schofield issued orders that allowed people who came forward voluntarily to swear an oath of allegiance to the United States and regain citizenship status. This move was one of many attempts by the military to improve the city's economy in the face of severe shortages. Those who were successful in appeals for citizenship were allowed to participate in commerce again, and the military sought to employ local labor in building projects. Many businessmen felt immense pressure to take the oath simply to maintain their businesses and keep them financially afloat. Additionally, Union soldiers represented practically the only group in the city with any purchasing power. To accommodate soldiers' needs, the military allowed certain merchants to import goods into the port through the blockade and purchased privately owned products such as cotton from locals.[100]

As the city slowly began to recover from the physical effects of war and occupation, her citizens sought to protect themselves politically. Radical Reconstruction under the auspices of Congress did not begin in earnest nationwide until 1867. However, because of the Radical Republican nature of Wilmington's local occupying authority, North Carolina native Brigadier General Joseph Hawley, the city's Confederates faced a strong hand early in Reconstruction while the downtrodden poor whites and blacks were given a hand up.[101]

In March 1865, while searching for the city's best path under occupation, incumbent mayor John Dawson called a "Grand Rally of the People" at City Hall/Thalian Hall, which was attended by around 1,000 of the city's residents. Federal soldiers were barred from attending the pro-Union rally, which was promoted as a meeting for the city's citizens to plan for her future. Amidst United States flags and pro-Union speeches, Mayor Dawson called for those attending to "live for the future resolving that henceforth it shall be our aim and object to secure peace, promote prosperity and add to the glory and grandeur of our common country." [102] A committee was appointed to draw up eight resolutions, which were signed by those present explaining that the people of the city claimed to be citizens of the United States and advocated for the cessation of hostilities nationwide. Copies of the resolutions and signatures were sent to President Lincoln and Governor Vance. Wilmington was then ridiculed in Confederate papers and by other North Carolinians who felt the city had sold itself to ease its suffering even as men were still dying on the battlefield. Furthermore, the signers were maligned as being from one of three groups: foreigners, transplanted Yankees, or Confederate deserters. The names of eight "highly respectable gentlemen" found in the signatures presented the Confederacy with a conundrum, particularly since some of them had sons and brothers still fighting.[103]

Despite an active Radical Republican element in place in Wilmington before the

[100] Fonvielle, *Wilmington Campaign*, 445, 452; Howell, *Book of Wilmington,* 147.

[101] Hawley seized Cape Fear plantations and re-distributed properties to former slaves and gave job-seeking blacks and whites assistance. Fonvielle, *Wilmington Campaign*, 456.

[102] Mayor Dawson as quoted in Fonvielle, *Wilmington Campaign,* 457.

[103] Fonvielle, *The Wilmington Campaign,* 457-458.

end of the war, Conservative elements in the city reclaimed control there during Presidential Reconstruction. Presidential Reconstruction essentially began on June 20, 1865, with the replacement of Radical Republican General Hawley with a more conservative General John W. Ames, who reversed many of Hawley's Radical actions. An aspect of Hawley's control that was especially onerous for Wilmington's Conservatives was his use of African American troops in the city. The presence of black troops instilled fear in white residents who were worried that the soldiers would incite rioting amongst the city's freedmen. For the most part, the soldiers did not instigate disturbances but, instead, provided a sense of security for freedmen who sought to exercise their newfound freedoms. Fears of black violence were largely unfounded although instances of black soldiers using their military influence and power over whites could be found during Presidential Reconstruction.[104]

There were three civil disturbances in Wilmington during Presidential Reconstruction. The first took place in August 1865 when a black mob forced the resignation of Mayor Dawson and the Conservative municipal government, including the police force staffed by Confederate veterans. The uprising was short lived since the Conservative government was reinstated by General Ames and the Union army the following day. The police force, aided by eight groups of newly organized white militia units, then sought to disarm the city's blacks. The numbers of black soldiers in the city began to decline during Ames' administration and most of the black troops were mustered out of service by the end of September 1866. The second and third disturbances happened in February 1866 and June 1868 and were a result of mobs attempting to free prisoners in the city jail. Another instance of white fears of black uprising played out in the summer of 1866 when blacks seeking city offices were refused by white leaders who argumed that office holding abilities should be tied to voter privileges which were, at the time, not granted to blacks. The Reverend L. S. Burkhead of the Front Street Methodist Church detailed instances of black soldiers attempting to advocate on behalf of freedmen in his account published in the Raleigh *Christian Advocate*. With claims based on oral tradition and the missionary work of William Meredith among Wilmington's black population in the eighteenth century, black members of Burkhead's congregation sought ownership of the church and its property after the city fell to Union control in 1865. Burkhead and the white congregation were able to maintain control of the property despite efforts of black soldiers and parishioners to petition the Union army for reconciliation.[105]

Stimulated by the sale of tar, turpentine, and cotton, coupled with increased usage of railroad lines leading from the port, Wilmington's economy began to recover by the spring of 1868. Conservative control of the city eroded with Congressional Reconstruction, which began in July 1868 and lasted until August 1870. During the period, most Republican activity sought to gain political equality for blacks and saw the rise of several black Republican militia units to enforce Republican agendas and maintain peace.[106]

Although a stronghold of Republican activity, the city followed the state as Conservatives regained control of affairs in

[104] William K. Boyd, ed., "History of the Difficulties of the Pastorate of the Front Street Methodist Church, Wilmington, N.C. for the Year 1865," *Historical Papers of Trinity College* (Durham: Trinity College Historical Society, 1908-1909), 35-118; Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails,* 250; Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 159-161.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails,* 79, 103, 141, 249.

1870.[107] Military occupation of the city by Union troops and the presence of Republican militia units waned. Facilitating the Conservatives return to power was a split in the New Hanover Republican Party in which white northerners who pushed for the election of a black man whom they could control faced off against native Republicans and black businessmen who pushed for a white candidate. Historians have explained the Republican Party's weakness in the county as being characterized by a shift away from its power base in the local black population once the party had gained control in 1868, and as a failure to seek an end to factional disputes within its ranks. [108]

The end result of Reconstruction was that after years of political strife and social upheaval following the Civil War and freedom for thousands of slaves, North Carolina's ruling political elite had "redeemed" the state—returned it to their control. Despite initial disfranchisement of former Confederates, whites were able to regain power through Klan violence, and political machinations using newspapers and propaganda, all designed to diminish the abilities of blacks to participate in local and state government. Wilmington emerged from a relatively calm Reconstruction era to find itself under fragile and often contested Conservative Democratic control. Wilmington's Reconstruction experiences were relatively calm because the city experienced less crime and better order when Republicans with a large supportive black voter majority were in control of the city's affairs than when their Conservative counterparts reigned.[109] The Republican Party of Wilmington and New Hanover was also supported by a strong military force to counter white militia and Ku Klux Klan groups.[110] The Democratic Party emerged from Reconstruction wholly solidified behind the concept of native white rule within government against the picture it painted of the Republicans as a party represented by northern carpetbaggers and illiterate former slaves.

Post Reconstruction Wilmington

By the 1880s most of Wilmington's residents were eager to put the travails of Reconstruction behind them and move into the last quarter of the nineteenth century as citizens of the state's shining example of industrialization and capitalism based on their empires of naval stores, cotton, and mercantilism. A handful of white businessmen, comfortably in control of the city's affairs as a result of gerrymandered voting districts and Democratic control over local and state government, developed immense fortunes, providing income for

[107] In 1875, Congress passed the short-lived Civil Rights Bill in an attempt to protect the equal rights of blacks. Wilmington whites reacted to the bill, and, to prevent admittance of blacks on equal standing, a few businesses closed their doors in protest when some blacks attempted to enforce the law by demanding equal service. Many of the city's African American leaders, however, resented both the actions of the white businesses as well as those of their race who sought to "create unnecessary strife." Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 236-7; Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race*: *Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1984), 112.

[108] By the end of 1868, Union troops numbered around 53 in the city. Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails,* 141, 153-161.

[109] Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails,* 255.

[110] In addition to the Union military presence, Governor Holden had reinforced Republican control through the Militia Act of 1868, creating the 22nd North Carolina militia in Wilmington. The 22nd was comprised of five companies, including many blacks. Col. George Mabson, a mulatto Union veteran , commanded the units alongside Colonel William P. Cannaday, a North Carolina Confederate veteran and a founder of the state's Republican Party. The black militia unit slowly faded from existence after Conservatives regained control and was all but gone by the 1890's. Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails,* 137-141.

both working class whites and blacks.[111] Although control of the city's affairs was in the hands of Democratic elements, Republicans and blacks still constituted the majority of the city's population, forcing Democrats to accommodate their demands. During the 1870s and 1880s, black businessmen and entrepreneurs emerged who were financially secure and who rivaled many whites in wealth. They organized themselves into support organizations such as the Masons and Odd Fellows to combat legalized discrimination and latent threats to their security.[112]

The African American population of Wilmington prospered and by the 1880s had developed a complex society. Regular celebrations of Emancipation Day and Memorial Day were spectacles with parades and speeches by both blacks and whites.[113] Like other cultural groups in the city, African Americans developed literary societies, built libraries, established benevolent organizations to provide relief for the needy, and developed baseball leagues.[114] Along with creating new traditions, Wilmington blacks continued a few traditions developed under slavery, such as the Christmas Day Jonkonnus.[115]

Central to the development of black cultural and civic life in Wilmington was the church. Several churches in the city included black congregations before the Civil War however, after the war, most of the black congregations separated from the whites and established their own churches. Some of these new churches began with the assistance of outsiders from the Freedmen's Bureau, the American Missionary

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[111] In his description of Wilmington's history, local historian Andrew Howell explained that throughout Reconstruction businessmen "kept quiet" and prospered financially through all of the political upheaval. Howell also described the 1880's in Wilmington as a "decade of substance" through a series of physical improvements to the city's infrastructure, and increases in the business world. The cotton compress, as well as the naval stores and fertilizer industries benefited from increased profits. Howell, *Book of Wilmington,* 154, 162-172.

[112] The Odd Fellows boasted a high level of participation and, by the mid 1880's, they had constructed a large three story lodge, called Ruth Hall, at 401 South Seventh Street. The Masons, the oldest black fraternal organization in the U.S., had a lodge in Wilmington in 1866. Construction began in 1871 for a building for the Giblem Lodge at the corner of Princess and Eighth Streets. William Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle: The Chronological and Historical Record of the African-American Community in Wilmington, North Carolina, 1865-1950* (Wilmington: New Hanover County Public Library, 1998), 20-24.

[113] The first formal Emancipation Day celebration was held in 1868 and well-planned future celebrations followed. Commemorations moved from a central location in town to predominantly black communities. White speakers disappeared from the podium by the turn of the twentieth century. Memorial Day observances followed a similar pattern with the first Memorial Day parade in 1868. Other observances recalled Confederate evacuation of the city in 1865 and celebrated the visit of Frederick Douglass in 1872. Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*, 3-6, 7-9.

[114] The Colored Literary Society was formed in 1870, the Benjamin Banneker Literary and Library Association was formed in 1883, the United Order of Tents (a women's benevolent society) was formed in 1875, and Love and Charity Benevolent Association was organized in 1878. As early as 1869, African American baseball teams were competing in the city and the tradition survived into the early twentieth century. Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 10-14, 39-43.

[115] A tradition filled with its African roots, Jonkonnus were celebrated in Wilmington well into the twentieth century by both blacks and whites. Dressed in bright, outrageous costumes, participants were known as kunners. Singing and dancing with drums and rattles, the kunners would move from street to street and seek donations for their performances. Exceptions to the annual celebration can be found in the record when laws created to restrict the movements of the Klan prohibited the parades and masks. For information on the changes to African American celebrations as a result of the 1898 violence, see Chapter 8. Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 34-37. For more on Jonkonnu, see Elizabeth A. Fenn, "A Perfect Equality Seemed to Reign, Slave Society and Jonkonnu," *North Carolina Historical Review,* April, 1988, 127-153.

Association, and other missionary organizations.[116] Two churches, St. Stephen A. M. E. and St. Luke A. M. E. Zion, boasted large congregations and were integral in educational and political development. Church attendance re-inforced a social stratification within the city's black population since many of the wealthier blacks attended St. Mark's Episcopal Church or Chestnut Street Presbyterian Church.

Educational development for Wilmington's African American population began in earnest with the arrival of teachers from the Freedmen's Bureau and American Missionary Association accompanied by funding from northern philanthropists. By 1868, the Freedmen's Bureau had established six schools in the city. One of the largest schools, established in 1867, became known as the Peabody School for its benefactor George Peabody. Another, Williston, began as a Freedmen's Bureau school in 1865 and was later funded by the American Missionary Association (AMA). Another AMA school, later known as Gregory Institute, began around 1866 and grew to provide training for future teachers and leaders, producing alumni who became community leaders in Wilmington and elsewhere.[117]

In community and civic affairs, the African American community fostered the overall development of Wilmington. Especially important to both blacks and whites was the development of fire companies. Initially volunteer organizations, fire companies emerged as useful social organizations as well. All-black fire companies were found in several parts of the city, and their equipment, efficiency, and camaraderie were sources of pride in the communities. The Cape Fear Steam Fire Engine Company, organized in 1871, was one of the earliest. At least 13 other black fire companies serviced the city over the last half of the nineteenth century.[118]

African Americans also participated in Wilmington politics, chiefly as members and leaders within the Republican Party. The Republican Party was their vehicle for seeking a voice in government. In 1868, there were 3,968 registered Republicans in New Hanover and black nominees were elected to office in the elections of the 1860s and 1870s. By the time Democrats recaptured control of the state in 1876, dissension in the county Republican Party resulted in fewer blacks securing election to office by the 1880s. In fact, dissent reached a critical point in the late 1880s when the "Independent Faction of the Republican Party" established itself and nominated its

[116] For more information on black churches in Wilmington, see Appendix B.

[117] Despite attempts by benevolent organizations to improve African American education, native whites hindered black education by occasionally burning schools and through legislative failures to accommodate the needs of black students. After whites acknowledged that the education of blacks was a necessity, a debate on the type of education provided to blacks emerged. Black leaders favored a segregated educational system as much as whites. Black schools would provide employment for educated blacks. Additionally, blacks felt fellow black teachers could best teach students of their own race because they possessed similar backgrounds and attitudes. Further, black leaders feared that white teachers would teach lessons of white supremacy and black inadequacy instead of providing encouragement and strength. For more information on the history of African –American education in Wilmington, see Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 144-173; Haley, *Charles N. Hunter,* 12, 36.

[118] The city assumed control of the fire departments in 1897 and began to pay black firefighters. Part of the agreement between the fire companies and the city was that the equipment that the fire companies had purchased was turned over to the city. However, after November 10, 1898, all black fire companies were replaced with white firefighters and the equipment, originally purchased by the blacks, remained city property. Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 185 -198.

own slate of candidates in 1888. The situation continued into the 1890s and contributed to the eventual downfall of the Republican Party by the turn of the century.[119] Despite discord, black office holding was a norm in the city's government, particularly for the wards represented by concentrations of African American populations.

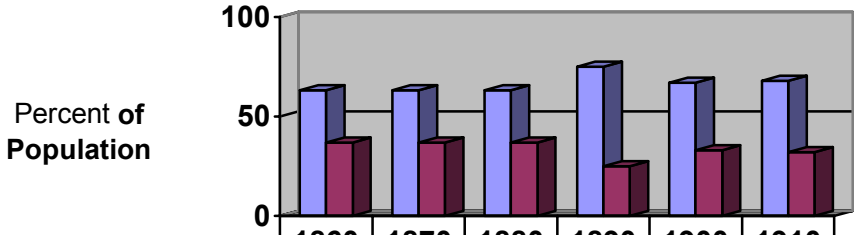
Wilmington's African American population saw some gains in political office, but the area in which they saw the greatest advance was business. Although some black residents of the city emigrated to other parts of the country and a few returned to Africa, most stayed and prospered, creating a viable entrepreneurial center. The 1866 city directory listed numerous black businesses already working in the city, including shoemakers, carpenters, painters, masons, butchers, teachers, blacksmiths, barbers, wheelwrights, mechanics, and grocers. These early businessmen, many of whom had pursued their trades in the city as slaves before the war, laid the foundation for later development so that, by the 1890s, African Americans were wealthy enough to establish corporations and building and loan institutions. Along with the rising black middle class was the majority of black workers of the 1880s, who were laborers. As early as 1865, black workers were organized enough to stage a stevedore strike. Unions were organized for various professions in the 1870s and 1880s, creating a visible presence and a strong voice to advocate for workers' rights. Particularly active in the 1880s, Wilmington's various labor unions were successful in pressuring employers to improve worker's workdays and compensation. [120]

The successes of the 1880s set the stage for political upheaval in the 1890s. The Democratic Party's foundation—based on racial issues instead of reforms—would be temporarily upset by a fusion of whites and blacks in the early stages of the next decade. Wilmington's population grew in size and wealth as businessmen and laborers experienced economic growth. The city's white and black communities, and the Democrats and Republicans, were growing and creating opportunities for wealth and prosperity, and eventual conflict, as both groups vied for political control of the city and state.

[119] For more information on the Republican Party in Wilmington and North Carolina, see Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 232-248 and Helen Edmonds, *The Negro and Fusion Politics in North Carolina, 1894 – 1901,* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1951), 14 -20.

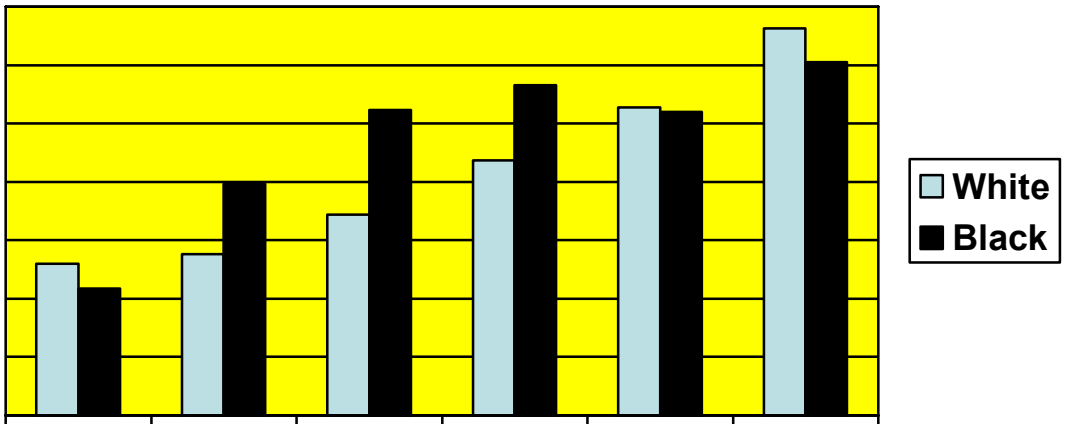
[120] Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 288-308, 325 – 237.

North Carolina Population by Race



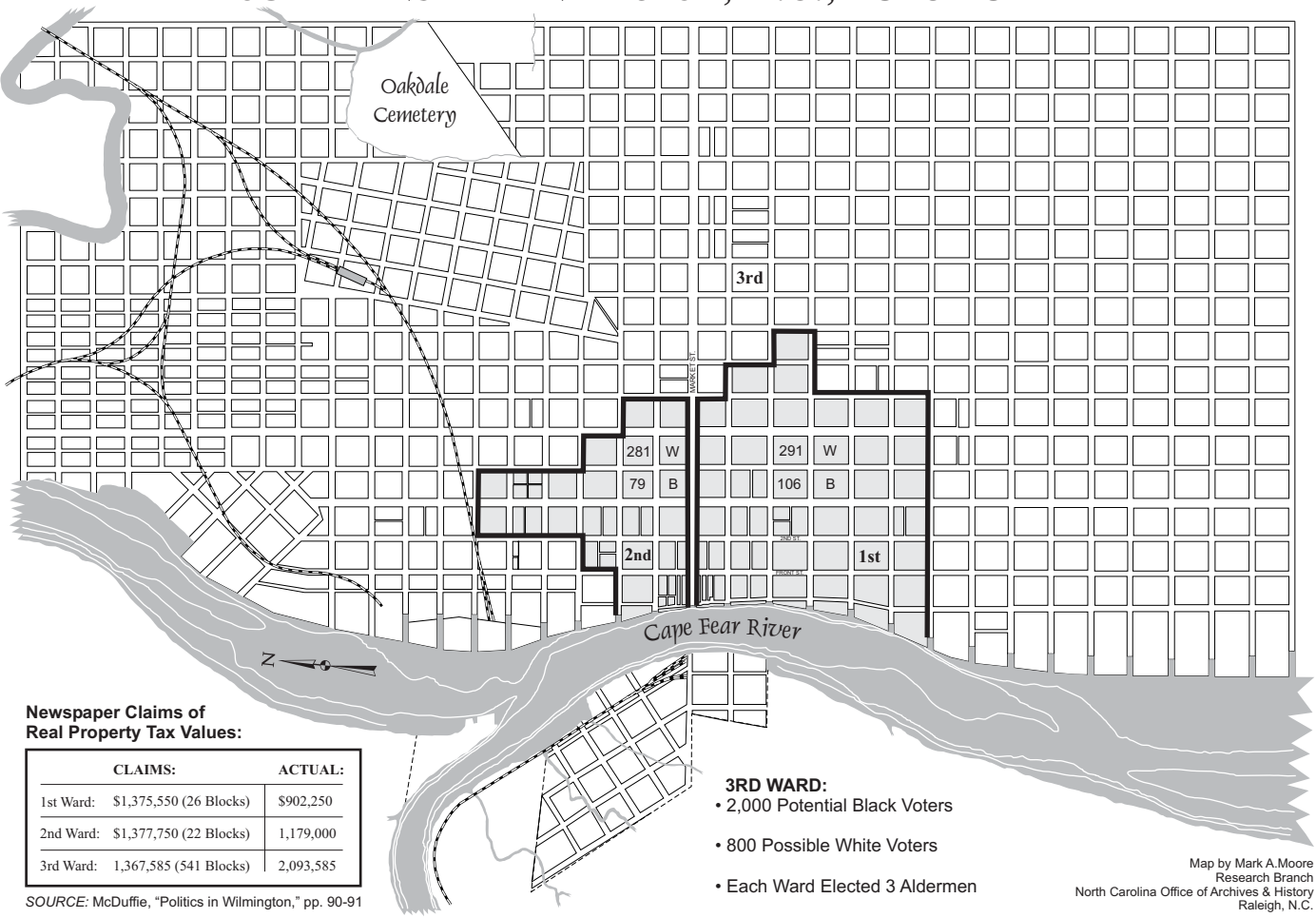
	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
White	63	63	63	75	67	68
Black	37	37	37	25	33	32

Wilmington Population by Race



	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
White	5,202	5,526	6,888	8,731	10,556	13,267
Black	4,350	7,920	10,462	11,324	10,407	12,107

Ward Boundaries — Wilmington, N.C., 1875-1877



Newspaper Claims of Real Property Tax Values:

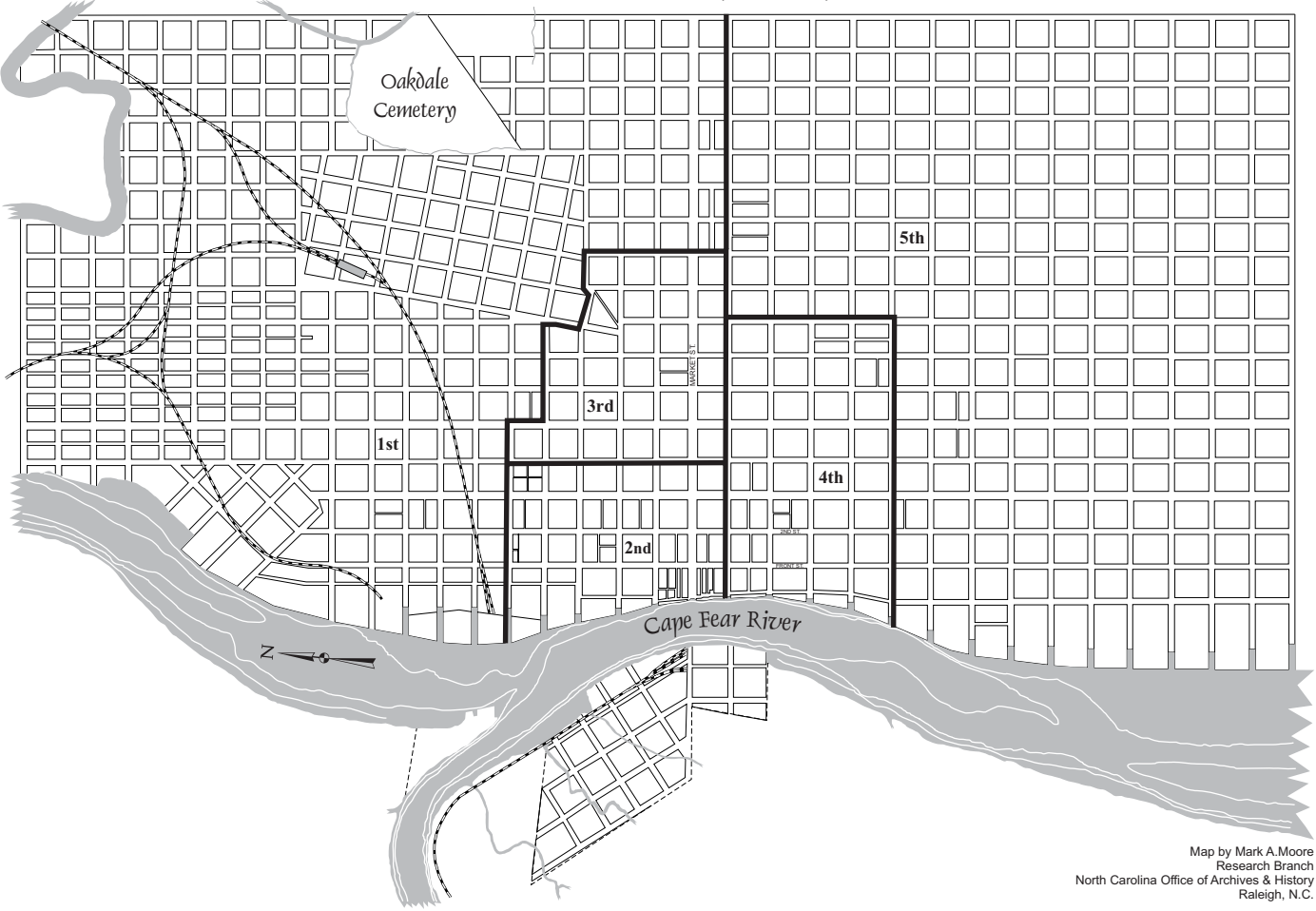
	CLAIMS:	ACTUAL:
1st Ward:	$1,375,550 (26 Blocks)	$902,250
2nd Ward:	$1,377,750 (22 Blocks)	1,179,000
3rd Ward:	1,367,585 (541 Blocks)	2,093,585

SOURCE: McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," pp. 90-91

3RD WARD:
- 2,000 Potential Black Voters
- 800 Possible White Voters
- Each Ward Elected 3 Aldermen

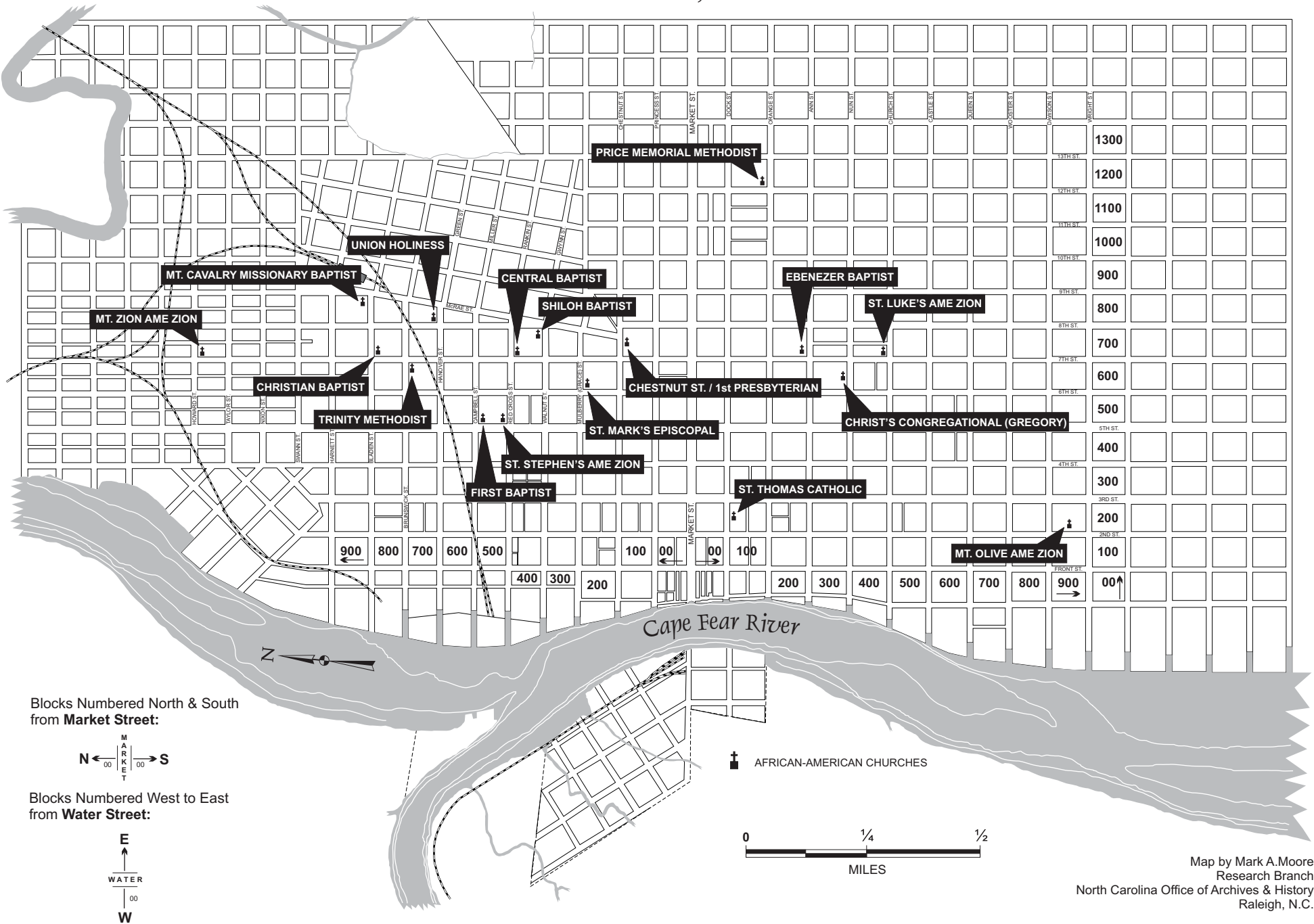
Map by Mark A.Moore
Research Branch
North Carolina Office of Archives & History
Raleigh, N.C.

Ward Boundaries — Wilmington, N.C., 1877-1901



Map by Mark A.Moore
Research Branch
North Carolina Office of Archives & History
Raleigh, N.C.

African-American Churches in Wilmington, 1897-1904



Blocks Numbered North & South from **Market Street:**

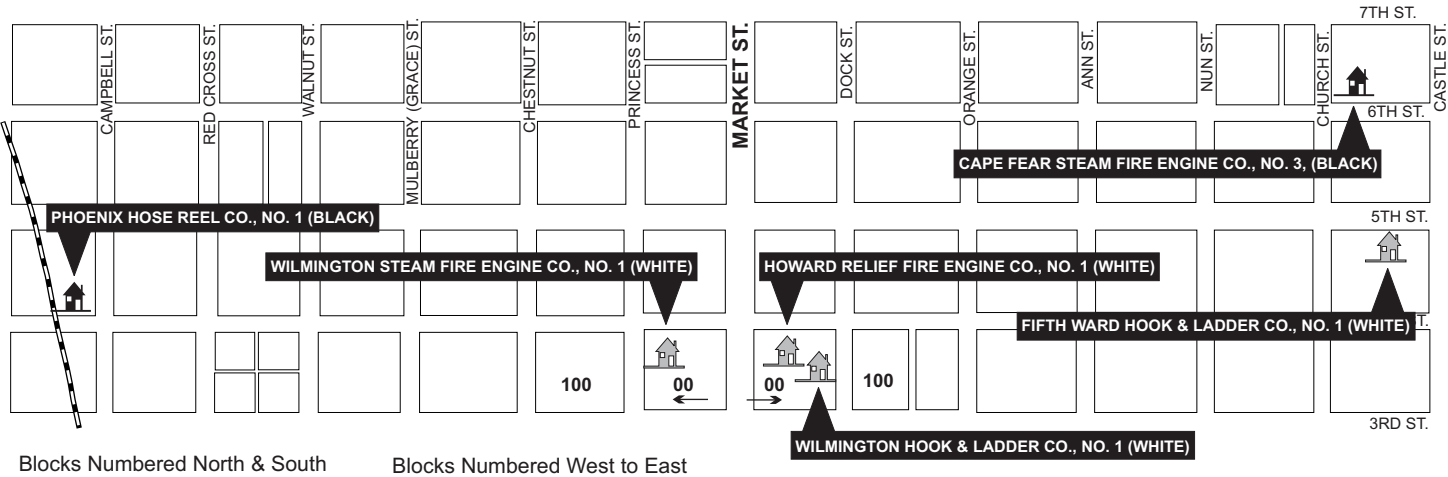
N ← 00 | MARKET | 00 → S

Blocks Numbered West to East from **Water Street:**

E ↑ WATER 00 W

Map by Mark A.Moore
Research Branch
North Carolina Office of Archives & History
Raleigh, N.C.

Fire Stations in Wilmington — 1898



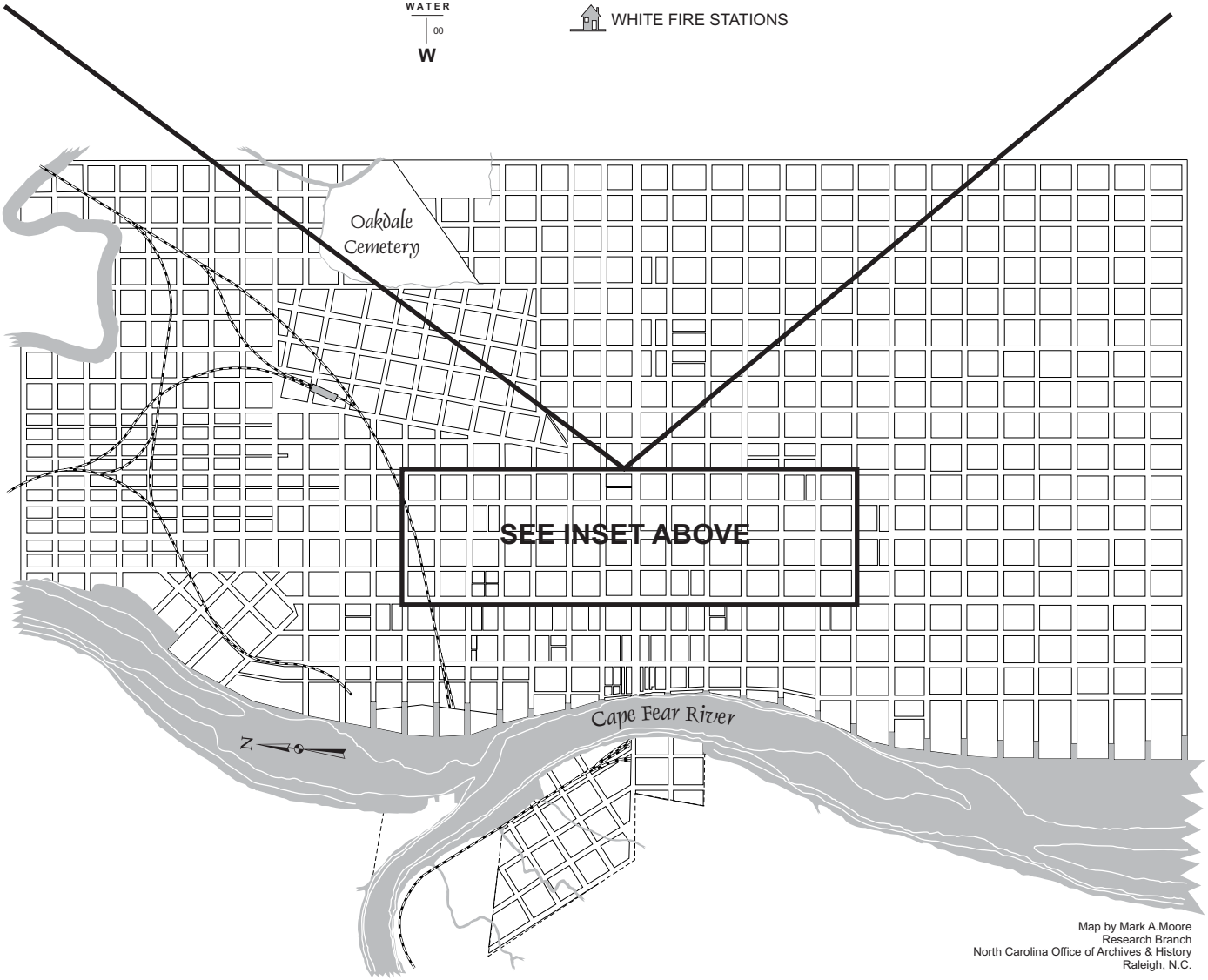
Blocks Numbered North & South from **Market Street:**

Blocks Numbered West to East from **Water Street:**

BLACK FIRE STATIONS

WHITE FIRE STATIONS

Map by Mark A.Moore
Research Branch
North Carolina Office of Archives & History
Raleigh, N.C.



Map by Mark A.Moore
Research Branch
North Carolina Office of Archives & History
Raleigh, N.C.

Chapter 2: Forces of Change

- The 1890s dawned on a vibrant Wilmington in which African Americans played a vital role in the city's economic and political life.

- The Farmer's Alliance emerged by the end of the 1880s as a powerful political machine, and evolved into the Populist Party by 1892. Populists challenged Democrats and Republicans but most closely associated their platform with Republicans.

- Populists and Republicans created a coalition known as Fusion by the 1894 election. Fusion candidates defeated Democrats statewide and gained control of the General Assembly. Democrats were poorly organized and failed to mount a successful offense against the well-organized Fusionists led by Populist Marion Butler and Republican Daniel Russell.

- The 1895 Fusion legislature reformed state and local government, effectively curtailing the ability of incumbent Democratic officials to hold sway in local matters.

- Democrats lost to a well-organized Fusion campaign in 1896. Daniel Russell was elected as the state's first Republican governor since Reconstruction. The Fusionist legislature of 1897 made sweeping changes to Wilmington's city charter. Local white leaders were unhappy with the changes and unsuccessfully challenged the legality of the charter changes.

- The new city charter allowed each of the city's five wards to elect an alderman with Governor Russell holding the ability to appoint the other five aldermen. The charter change, coupled with Russell's patronage practices, led to claims of racism from both white Democrats and black Republicans.

- Although African American voters fell in line behind Republican candidates, they often took issue with both Republican and Fusionist strategies and candidates.

- Wilmington's black businesses grew at a faster pace than in other N. C. cities and African American workers flocked to the city.

- The black community established institutions to assist those wishing to buy a house, including the development of the Peoples Perpetual Building and Loan Association in 1889 and the American Union Association in 1897. Strides were made in home ownership, and, in 1897, over one thousand African Americans owned some sort of property in the city.

- The city's black schools prospered with increased numbers of educators drawn from the local ranks. Support organizations strengthened the city's efforts in providing public education.

- A distinctive social and cultural environment developed in Wilmington's African American population, bolstered by schools, wealth, and inherited status.

- As the 1890s wore on, Wilmington's white leaders sought methods to return to political office and economic prominence. Key to this effort was the movement to regain Democratic control of the legislature through clandestine operations.

Chapter 2:
Forces of Change: Fusion Politics and the African American Community in Wilmington

The last decade of the nineteenth century dawned with a bright outlook for Wilmington's population. The city's residents, white and black, were experiencing a high degree of prosperity and a vibrant social life – a promotional booklet praised the city's "growing wealth and prosperity which abound on every hand." The prosperity reached into the African American community as it celebrated success in a variety of ways. St. Stephen's, one of the city's largest African American churches with a congregation of 1,700, celebrated the centennial of the African Methodist Church of the United States in its new sanctuary, constructed and furnished by its members such as Lewis Hollingsworth, Daniel Lee, and Edward Stills. [1]

A few blocks away, another large black congregation attended church at Mt. Zion A. M. E. Church. There, in 1888, the congregation heard politically outspoken Reverend Isaiah Aldridge condemn future governor Daniel Russell for comments that he deemed to be an "assault upon an innocent people." Aldridge stipulated that he would not vote for or support candidates that "endorsed what Judge Russell had said about the savage negroes." [2]

After his sermon, Alridge wrote in the Wilmington *Morning Star* that he held his political views independent of the larger Republican Party in Wilmington. He held firm to his support of the "honest" Republican ticket despite a warning from "the Bosses" that he should "keep quiet" and vote as expected or he would be fired.[3] This window on Wilmington's African American community delineates the overlap among church, civic, economic, and political life in the city. Not only was the politically charged church sermon well attended but it was also publicized in local white newspapers, providing clues as to the political culture of the city and the racial discord simmering beneath the surface.

Governor Daniel Russell
Image Courtesy of Photographic Archives. North Carolina Collection, UNC-CH.

[1] St. Stephen's new sanctuary celebrated its first major event in 1887 with the anniversary celebration attended by prominent national church leaders. J.S. Reilly, *Wilmington. Past, Present and Future, Embracing Historical Sketches of its Growth and Progress from its Establishment to the Present Time, Together with Outline of North Carolina History* (Wilmington, 1884), 22; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*, 104-5.

[2] Daniel Russell was born in 1845 near Wilmington on his family plantation in Brunswick County. A wealthy planter family, the Russells did not support secession although young Daniel joined the Confederacy for a brief period after graduation from the University of North Carolina. After leaving Confederate service because of stormy relationships with Confederate officials, Russell became an ardent Republican. For more information on Russell's career, see Jeffrey J. Crow and Robert F. Durden, *Maverick Republican in the Old North State: A Political Biography of Daniel L. Russell*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977); Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*, 104-5, 114.

[3] Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 114-115.

Birth of Fusion

By the end of the 1880s, Daniel Russell and other politicians saw potential for a break in the Democratic Party due to the growth of the new Populist Party. Nationwide, farmers had grown disenchanted with Democratic lawmakers whose laws were seen to favor big business and disadvantage agricultural interests. As a result, organizations developed to pressure for improvements to the plight of farmers. By 1889, Leonidas Polk had developed the Farmer's Alliance in North Carolina as a political base with members drawn from throughout the state. Membership in the Alliance was limited to whites only. Initially Alliance members sought to work through existing political parties without creating a third. The result was that the 1890 election ticket was dominated by farmers and Alliance members.

Because of the political power of the Alliance, Democratic Party leaders saw the need to incorporate many Alliance goals into their platform. Although the Democrats sought to add the farmers' suggestions to its bill of proposed reforms, none were ever fully addressed. As a result, a split developed within the Alliance, ending its effectiveness as an organization. The more radical members left the Democratic Party to form the Populist Party by the 1892 election. Members of the new Populist Party held that the Democratic Party's reforms were less than effective and that control of the state's affairs needed to be removed from the hands of bankers, big business, and attorneys. [4]

When Polk died in 1892, leadership of the Populist Party fell to Marion Butler of Sampson County who maneuvered the new party through that year's elections. Democrats and Republicans garnered more votes than the new third party, with Democrats winning the majority of votes on a traditional platform that sought to remind voters of the fears of a return to Reconstruction should Republicans gain office. Despite an overall loss in 1892, Populists were able to elect fourteen members to the legislature. Republicans were heartened by the Populist Party's successes. Some Republicans, such as Daniel Russell, saw the emergence of a new party with a platform based in real issues as a boon to state politics since party lines could be drawn on "issues other than race and color."[5]

Senator Marion Butler
Image: Samuel A. Ashe, ed. Biographical History of North Carolina, vol. 8.

A review of the election results revealed to Russell and Butler that the Democratic Party was less than cohesive and that black votes were the lowest recorded since Reconstruction. By the 1894 election, "fusion" between the Populists and Democrats was an increasingly popular objective, designed to capitalize on the findings uncovered after the 1892 election. If the Populists could draw more farmers from the Democratic Party and the Republicans could reenergize black voters, together they would be able to defeat the Democrats. Heartened by this discovery, the two groups received further strengthening as the 1893 Democratic legislature failed to

[4] Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics,* 20-25; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 387.

[5] Jeffrey Crow and Robert Durden, *Maverick Republican,* 46.

address issues related to Populist and Republican goals regarding business and agriculture. Thus, a new strategy emerged for the 1894 election in which two entirely different groups would work together for a common cause. Fusion, as this merger came to be called, was unique in national politics and was not embraced by the national Republican or Populist parties. Further complication the merger was that not all members of the two parties within the state endorsed the practice either. [6]

Before fusion of the two parties could be achieved, differences between the two groups on a variety of issues had to be addressed. Leadership within each party acknowledged that the only way to achieve victory was to set aside differences, particularly those concerning racial matters. The two organizations featured similar platforms regarding election reform, increased local governmental authority, and additional support for public schools, thereby creating an easy policy fit for the merger. Likely Fusionists saw that the 1894 election had the potential to fill the General Assembly with Populists and Republicans, who would, in return, appoint like-minded individuals to the national Senate. Therefore, although not a gubernatorial or presidential election, success in 1894 was seen as pivotal for Fusionists.[7]

Early Fusion in Wilmington

Just as Wilmington and New Hanover County experienced problems during the statewide election crises of earlier decades, the 1894 election spurred even further troubles in the region. The Democratic Party was split into factions—the Reformers and Regulars—that failed to reconcile differences. State Democratic Party leaders were brought in to mediate, albeit unsuccessfully. The Republican Party, also still undergoing internal dissent among many African American members as evidenced by Reverend Alridge's sermon, pulled itself together to win local election victories in 1894. The methods used by Russell as Republican leader in New Hanover County were less than clear at the time.

Russell and his supporters took a series of steps to achieve their goal using tactics not seen before in the Republican Party. First, candidate nominations were left to a committee instead of a convention, thereby preventing factionalism on a large scale. [8] Once the committee chose its candidates, the Republicans waited until the last minute to make nominations known. Additionally, because they wanted to avoid the race issue, only one African American was put forward as a candidate. Among the most obtuse of their strategies was the nomination of only one candidate for the state house even though two positions were available for the county. The Democratic ticket featured two candidates from

[6] For more on the problems of Fusion politics, see the following: Joseph Steelman, "Republican Party Strategists and the Issue of Fusion with Populists in North Carolina, 1893-1894" *North Carolina Historical Review* (July 1970); William Mabry, "Negro Suffrage and Fusion Rule in North Carolina" *North Carolina Historical Review* (Apr. 1935); Jeffrey Crow, "Fusion, Confusion, and Negroism: Schisms Among Negro Republicans in the North Carolina" *North Carolina Historical Review* (Oct. 1976) and Allen Trelease, "The Fusion Legislatures of 1895 and 1897: A Roll-Call Analysis of the North Carolina House of Representatives" *North Carolina Historical Review* (July 1980) and James L. Hunt, *Marion Butler and American Populism*. Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics,* 25-28; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 390-1, 393.

[7] Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics*, 34-37; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 395.

[8] The nomination committee was comprised of four whites (Daniel Russell, William Chadbourn, Flavel Foster, and George Z. French) and three blacks (Thomas C. Miller, Daniel L. Howard, and J. O. Nixon). McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 397.

opposing factions within the party. The Republican nominating committee knew that factional hostilities within the Democratic Party would develop further rifts in the organization over those two seats. In order to facilitate this end, the Republicans offered to support the Regular Democratic candidates for office, and, in return, the Regulars agreed to stop the practice of challenging voter eligibility in the traditionally black Republican First and Fifth Wards. The end result was that Russell demonstrated his ability to manage the party, as evidenced by the large number of black voters who returned to the polls, enabling the election of Russell's candidates because he instructed black voters on which candidates to elect. [9]

The 1894 election in New Hanover County showed that when the Republican Party was well organized, it could defeat the Democrats. In New Hanover, Republican candidates were elected to all positions for which the party put forward candidates. Leader Russell claimed that the victory was "the most extraordinary political achievement of the period." Three positions—clerk of Superior Court, register of deeds and one house member—were uncontested by the Republicans and, by default, were claimed by Democrats.[10]

1894 Statewide Election Results
North Carolina General Assembly

	House	Senate
Populists	36	24
Republicans	38	18
Democrats	46	8

[9] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 396-399.
[10] Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics,* 37-38; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 411.Statistics for the 1894 elections results table excerpted from Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics*, 37-38.

Statewide, the combination of the Republicans and Populists proved Democratic defeat was possible. The *Wilmington Messenger*'s editor, T. B. Kingsbury, published a series of articles explaining the 1894 defeat. Kingsbury editorialized that the next election should be based on white government. He attributed the defeat to internal dissent, which had led many Democrats to stay away from the polls, and acknowledged that Fusionists were well organized as they were able to function in secrecy.[11] The Democratic majority in the legislature was erased and upper-level positions for the senate, state supreme court, and other statewide seats were lost. Furthermore, the new Fusionist legislature immediately began to fulfill their election campaign promises to implement changes to the system of government established by the Democrats during their tenure of control since Reconstruction. [12]

Across the state, Democrats challenged the election results. In New Hanover County, Thomas Strange, Democratic Reformer candidate for the lower house, challenged the election of

[11] *Wilmington Messenger*, November 7, 9, 1894.
[12] Twenty-three counties returned Republican majorities with 33 boasting a Populist majority and 34 went Democrat. Four counties featured a Republican-Populist fusion and 2 featured Republican-Democrat fusion. Six traditionally "black" counties, those with a black voting majority, returned a majority of Democratic votes and 2 other "black" counties fused with the Democrats for victory. Therefore, historian Helen Edmonds surmises that black voters were not pivotal in determining the outcome of the 1894 fusion election. Once the fusion legislature began, their first order of business was to send Populist Marion Butler to the Senate for a full term and to send Republican Jeter Pritchard to fill the remainder of the term left by the death of Zebulon Vance. Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics,* 37-41; Gov. Russell to Thomas Settle, Thomas Settle Papers, Southern Historical Collection, UNC-CH, as quoted from McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 411; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 398-401, 404-405.

George Z. French on grounds he had not lived in the county for twelve consecutive months. Assisting Strange were Wilmington attorneys John D. Bellamy Jr., George Rountree, Junius Davis, and P. B. Manning. French's attorneys, A. G. Ricaud and Egbert K. Bryan, made it clear to the Democrats that they would not lose the election without a fight. Despite a well-organized argument by Rountree, the Democratic election board ruled in favor of French and declared the election valid. Following on the heels of the loss, the Democratic Reformers again sought to challenge two local Republican elections for county sheriff and treasurer. After two days of debate and hearings by the Board of Canvassers, the County Board of Commissioners, all Democrats, refused the challenge and accepted Republicans for those two positions. As a result of internal strife, the county's Democrats were unable to unite to defeat the Republicans. [13]

Fusion Reform

Once the newly elected Fusionist legislature met in Raleigh, changes to state and local government began in earnest, most specifically in reforming election laws and county government systems, and in redrawing electoral districts within the state. Progressive legislative measures flew through both the upper and lower houses in 1895. Many of the election laws were designed to favor blacks and Populists and protect their suffrage rights on election days. Some of the new rules forbade employers from firing or threatening employees regarding political issues, made ballots for parties different colors and discouraged all types of coercion around election day. Another reform, focused on county government, made county commissioners more powerful and reduced the capabilities of justices of the peace. The reforms were seen as beneficial to all parties by the Fusionists, but the Democrats, whose power was substantially limited by the revisions, saw within the changes a tool for future election—officeholding by African Americans. Because popular elections would be more open to black voters, the Democrats understood that more blacks would be elected and decided that this issue was the tool they needed to divide the Fusionist Party in future elections.[14]

As the Fusionists made sweeping changes to state government, their changes to local county rule affected New Hanover greatly. As the state's largest city, Wilmington, with its large urban black population, became a battleground between the Democrats and Fusionists. Democrats had created a system of government in the city that minimized the voice of black Republicans through gerrymandered districts and the creation in 1877 of the Board of Audit and Finance to act as a check on the Board of Aldermen.[15] The legislature, under Fusion control beginning in 1895, sought to reverse Democratic controls in Wilmington. One strategy used to eliminate Democratic power over the city's voters was to again amend the city charter.[16]

The proposed charter changes were drawn up by Wilmington Republicans, and, in March 1895, were steered through the legislature by Senator Frederick Rice and

[13] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 401-104; *Wilmington Messenger,* November 9, 1894; November 11, 1894.

[14] There were a few African American legislators in 1895: James Young of Wake County, William Crews of Granville County and Moses Pearce of Vance County. Another African American, Abe R. Middleton, received a patronage position as Assistant Doorkeeper. McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 411-414; Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics,* 41-45; Crow, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*, 234.

[15] *Private Laws of North Carolina, 1876-77*, 230-237.

[16] McDuffie, *Politics in Wilmington,* 416-417.

Representative George French. A key change was the creation of a Police Board, appointed by the General Assembly, with responsibility for the appointment and management of the city's police chief, fire chief, city clerk, treasurer, attorney, physician, harbor master, policemen, and service workers. Three white Republicans—William H. Chadbourn, Frederick Rice, and Silas P. Wright—were appointed to staff the first board alongside Populist John R. Melton and a black Republican, John E. Taylor. The Police Board, through its appointments and responsibilities, made the city's existing Democratic Board of Audit and Finance and Board of Aldermen virtually powerless.[17]

Local Democrats, still splintered by factionalism, were ineffectual in their response. Meanwhile, manipulated by Russell from behind the scenes, the new Police Board moved to improve city government and reward Democrats who aided in the Fusionist power grab. At the first meeting, the Police Board financially rewarded some of its members. Rice and Melton immediately submitted their resignations to the board and were subsequently elected to two of the highest paying patronage positions in city government. Rice succeeded a Democrat as city clerk and treasurer, and Melton became the chief of police. In an effort to seek bipartisan support, the Police Board was careful to appoint a few blacks to positions, as well as a good number of Democrats in an attempt to forestall Democrats' efforts to bring the race issue into the 1896 election campaign. Further improving its image, the Police Board established pay scales for employees that were substantially less than those paid by the previous Democratic board. The combination of fiscal management and nonpartisan appointments resulted in a weaker Democratic Party and dissatisfied African American voters.[18]

Not only in Wilmington, but across the state, black voters criticized the Fusionists for what was perceived as discrimination in patronage appointments. A Wilmington paper published an article by a black laborer who wanted more representation in the police and street work forces. Overall, blacks viewed Fusion with skepticism and entertained thoughts of joining forces with Reform Democrats. Because of a potential break within the normally solid Republican Party, Russell sought to remedy the situation before the 1896 election in which he hoped to win the governor's office. Many blacks felt that his actions were more for public display than to effect major change in black patronage placements. As a result, despite Russell's efforts, friction between white and black Republicans continued. [19]

With an eye toward preparations for the 1896 elections, Russell counseled Fusionists that if they stumbled after winning in 1894 and if they did not act responsibly then the party would see "repudiation by the white people" and "restoration of the Democratic party to power in the state." He further observed that whites "will not submit to negro rule, or anything that looks like it." In order to placate African American voters, Russell clarified this point by indicating that he did not mean "that the colored man shall not hold offices, but we do say that the office holding must be confined to those who are fit for it and who are friendly to the whites, and to such limits as to show that our local affairs will not be controlled by the colored vote." [20]

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[17] Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics*, 128.

[18] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 419-422.

[19] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 422-425

[20] Daniel Russell in the *Wilmington Weekly Messenger* August 20, 1894 as cited in McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 420.

Leading the Democratic opposition to Russell and other Fusionists was the main Democratic newspaper, the Raleigh *News and Observer*. In June 1894, during the campaign season leading up to the disastrous defeat of the Democrats by Fusionists, Josephus Daniels and wealthy Democrat Julian S. Carr developed a plan for Daniels to acquire the *News and Observer* with Carr's financial backing in order to make the paper a tool of the Democratic Party. By 1895, Daniels had returned to Raleigh from Washington, D.C., where he had been serving in a post to which he was appointed by President Grover Cleveland. Once back in North Carolina, Daniels used his paper to provide a voice for the Democratic Party, attacking Republicans, blacks, Populists, and Democrats he viewed as threats to the party. When Daniels assumed control of the paper, it was financially unstable, but, with Carr's assistance and Daniels' personal style, the paper grew from a small, local circulation to a statewide success.[21]

Fusion Re-Visited in 1896

Groundwork for the 1896 election was laid slowly as each political group held its own convention, focusing not only on the local and state elections, but also the national presidential election. Nationwide, Populists and Democrats differed on standards for coining gold and silver to offset economic problems. Statewide, Populists held the balance of power—whichever political party was lucky enough to forge a relationship with the Populists would be victorious in November. Republicans met in Raleigh in May 1896 to plan their strategy and seek methods to woo the Populists. Despite internal dissent, the convention managed to put forth Russell as a candidate for governor over Oliver Dockery, favored by African American voters. Russell's platform touted the successes of the 1895 legislature and reminded black voters that if Democrats regained power, disfranchisement was certain. The Democrats, who held their convention in June, were still disorganized after the 1894 defeat; their platform was based on a retelling of their past record and featured no new promises for change in their operations. Populists held their convention in August after observing those of the Republicans and Democrats and adopted a standard platform and their own set of candidates without acknowledging Fusion as an option.[22]

The 1896 election posed a multitude of problems for New Hanover voters. Although there were clearly three distinct political parties, factions within those parties sought to merge their interests with others, creating a whirlwind of Fusion possibilities among white Republicans, white Populists, black Republicans, Regular Democrats, and Reform Democrats. With his political skills and brusque personality well known in all local camps, Russell maintained a tenuous position as a candidate. Black Republicans viewed Russell's candidacy and Fusionists with hesitancy since some believed that the Republicans could win without the help of former Democrats that had pushed for white supremacy in the past. Others questioned Russell's commitment to the concerns of African Americans. Still other factions questioned the actions of the Police Board, citing the changes instituted as an example of whites using the black vote to get elected and then turning their back on the needs of the black community. [23]

[21] For more information on Daniels and his role in politics and publishing in North Carolina, see his autobiography, Josephus Daniels, *Editor in Politics* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941).

[22] Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics,* 48-54.

[23] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington*,"* 428-432.

Preparations for the election had started months earlier when New Hanover voters worked to select candidates and adopt a platform. Black Republicans sponsored numerous meetings to debate the issues, including anti-Russell rallies in which he was portrayed as "against the citizenship of the negro." In the end, the county Republican Party sent 45 black and 9 white pro-Russell delegates to the statewide convention. In protest, a secondary party convention was held in the county that adopted anti-Russell resolutions to object to the Russell delegation. Local black newspaper editor, Armond Scott, issued anti-Russell articles in his Wilmington *Sentinel* in which he declared that "the negro race has not an enemy greater than this man [Russell]." [24]

Once candidates and platforms were laid out, all parties began to campaign in earnest. Although both Republicans and Democrats courted the Populists for Fusion, the Populists negotiated a complicated path between both organizations, cooperating with both the Republicans and Democrats at various levels. The Populists merged with Democrats behind Bryan for president, with Republicans on congressional and county candidates, and with some local Democrats in a couple of counties on the state ticket. Marion Butler wrote in his newspaper, the *Caucasian*, that the Populists had "undertaken a delicate yet Herculean task and while we want a genuine free silver man as president of the United States, we wish to defeat as disastrously as possible the Democratic organization in this State." In response, Democrats relied heavily on race issues when attacking the Republicans and Populists instead of approaching the issues of reform put forth by Fusion.[25]

In Wilmington and New Hanover, the parties were still fractured. Anti-Russell sentiment was found in African American newspapers and meetings. Racist rhetoric in local newspapers disparaged Republicans, Populists, and the 1895 legislature for imposing black officeholders on the city and county. According to black editor Armond Scott, the end result of the campaign in Wilmington was that relationships between whites and blacks were "sullen and resentful." Anti-Russell black Republicans had put aside their dislike for him and backed his election. After the ballots were counted, Fusionists had won the election in the city, county, and state. Only one Democrat was elected to a magistrate position and four blacks were elected to posts.[26]

Complete Fusion Victory

Again in 1896, the Republicans and Populists were successful in mounting a fusion of their parties to defeat Democrats. Russell was elected the state's first Republican governor since Reconstruction. As a result of the new election laws, more voters turned out in predominantly African American counties. Although still a factor in the election, the Populist Party suffered losses in overall numbers of voters in the 1896 election as compared to the numbers that turned out in 1894. The primary reason for the decline was Populists returning to either the Republican or Democratic Parties instead of maintaining loyalty to the third party. The General Assembly featured 72 Republicans, 64 Populists, 33 Democrats and 1 Silverite. Among the assembly members were African Americans John T. Howe of New Hanover, W. H. Crews of Granville, James Young of Wake, W. B. Henderson of Vance, Richard Elliott of Chowan, Moses M. Peace of Vance, Edward

[24] Crow, *Maverick Republican,* 63; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington*,"* 433.
[25] Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics*, 54-55; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington*,"* 440-444.

[26] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington"*,* 442-450.

R. Rawls of Northampton, and W. Lee Person of Edgecombe.[27]

In his inaugural address and first actions as governor, Russell indicated to North Carolinians that he intended to continue the trend established in the previous legislature. He would seek to revamp local governments, involving the state in municipal affairs. Furthermore, he spoke of his determination to involve the state in the control of the North Carolina Railroad. A plan to lease the use, care, and profit of the railroad to the Southern Railway was endorsed by Governor Carr before leaving office. Russell, in his inaugural address, made it clear that he would not allow the lease unless adequate compensation was paid to the state. The railroad issue would prove to be troublesome for Russell's administration and plagued most of his term. The railroad issue, coupled with other reforms, was seen by Russell as a means to combat big business.[28]

As soon as the second Fusionist legislature was in session, the tenuous bonds of cooperation were shaken by Russell's divisive appointment of Populist Jeter Pritchard to the U. S. Senate. Partisanship began to plague all activity. Again, the Fusionists sought to make changes to election laws and local governments so as to hamper efforts of Democrats to challenge voter eligibility and election outcomes.[29]

Fusion Focus on Wilmington

The legislature turned its attention to managing the state's municipalities, among them Wilmington. Although black Republicans had a voter majority in the city, the gerrymandered wards provided a block to their collective voting power. The Fusionists wanted to provide more voice to Wilmington Republicans, but, at the same time, wanted to limit black voter strength in order to prevent a black majority on the Board of Aldermen. The Fusionists hoped that limiting black power would deprive Democrats of a potential campaign issue. The solution developed by the Fusionists as they amended the charter was to establish a Board of Aldermen drawn from both gubernatorial appointments and elections. It was hoped that Russell's ability to place aldermen on the board would counterbalance fears whites had about black rule and the notion that blacks would elect men to office who were "propertyless and ignorant." The resulting changes to Wilmington's city charter reflected Fusionist sentiment. Ward lines were not changed, but voters elected one alderman from each ward and the governor appointed the other five aldermen. Once the new Board of Aldermen reflected the Fusion shift, the Police Board, no longer needed to limit the board's authority, was abolished by the legislature in favor of the Board of Audit and Finance. [30] Other Fusionist measures

[27] In an attempt to counter losses to Fusionists in 1896, Democratic Party leaders successfully petitioned Superior C ourt Judge E. T. Boykin to appoint W. F. Alexander and Roger Moore to the County Board of Commissioners. The petition stated that the Democratic petioners expressed their concerns that the "business of the County of New Hanover if left entirely in the hands of the three Commissioners elected at the last election will be improperly managed and that 200 citizens of the said County Elections… request the appoint of two honest and discreet citizens … of opposite party from the majority of the present Board of Commissioners." New Hanover County Election Records, 1882-1896, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 447-448; Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics*, 56-60, 65-66; Crow, *African Americans in North Carolina,* 233-5.

[28] Crow, *Maverick Republican*, 81-87.

[29] Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics,* 62-64.

[30] Fusionists focused on other towns as well to deny Democrats control in North Carolina urban areas. There were three groups of cities that were targeted by the fusionists. First to see charter changes were

also affected Wilmington. To many in New Hanover County, the banking, tax, and railroad reforms all seemed targeted at Wilmington's Democratic and economic leaders. Many of the reforms directly affected the ability of the city's white leaders to prosper and manage the city's affairs for their own benefit.[31]

The legislature sought to make the municipal elections in Wilmington more egalitarian because, in the past, the Democratic Party held its members in office by failing to hold elections. The changes to the charter mandated that elections be held every two years. In March 1897, municipal elections were held in Wilmington for the first time in four years.[32] Factions abounded in the city. For example, the Democratic Party was still split between the old line Democrats and those who were tired of seeing the same people in office who were also benefiting financially from their posts. The old line Democrats sought to solidify their party by pulling members together against the Republican threat, which was perceived as interference in the everyday rights of citizens by the Republican legislature. Furthermore, the Democrats of the city planned a legal attack on the changes made to the city's election procedures. During the pre-election fiasco, both the Democrats and Republicans from each of the city wards traveled to Raleigh to appeal to Russell to appoint members from their factions to the new Board of Aldermen.[33]

Russell's appointment of members to the Board of Aldermen was crucial to the political makeup of the board. Rumors circulated that he initially planned to nominate Democrats to the positions, but, after he found out that the Democrats planned to challenge the new city charter, he decided to fill the positions with Republicans. His final appointments were Silas P. Wright, D. J. Benson, Benjamin F. Keith, Andrew J. Hewlett, and John G. Norwood. Norwood was the only black appointee, and all were Republican with the exception of Keith, a disgruntled Democrat who was a member of the Silver Party. For the Board of Audit and Finance, Russell appointed C. W. Yates, H. C. McQueen, James H. Chadbourn Jr., H. A. DeCove, and John H. Webber. Of these, Webber was the only black member, Yates and McQueen the only Democrats, and the rest Republicans.[34]

The March 1897 election for city officials went off without any problems. At the end of the day, two black Republicans, Andrew J. Walker and Elijah Green, were elected to the Board of Aldermen as were three Democrats, William E. Springer, Owen Fennell, and Walter E. Yopp. Therefore, the new Board of Aldermen was made up of 6 Republicans, 3 Democrats and 1 member of the Silver Party. On the evening after the polls closed, both the

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the cities with a black voting majority such as Edenton, New Bern, Raleigh, Washington, Wilmington and Winston. Second to come under scrutiny were those that contained an even split between whites and blacks: Elizabeth City, Fayetteville, Oxford, and Rocky Mount. The last group of cities—Asheville, Concord, Durham, Goldsboro, Greenville, and Kinston—held white voting majorities. For a full detail of changes to Wilmington's charter, 1868 to 1910, see Appendix C. McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 459-461; Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics,* 124-131.

[31] In banking, interest rates were lowered, thereby depriving banks of revenue. Taxation laws were changed to affect stockholders more directly. Railroad regulations were strengthened and effectively limited the ability of railroad magnates to capitalize on their holdings. McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 461.

[32] According to the Board of Aldermen's minute book, the last municipal elections were held in 1893. Minutes, 1884-1898 (microfilm), Wilmington Board of Aldermen, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[33] Prather, *We Have Taken a City,* 36 – 39.

[34] Prather, *We Have Taken a City,* 36 – 40; Crow, *Maverick Republican,* 97.

Republicans and Democrats held caucus meetings to decide their next steps. The Republicans concentrated on who to elect mayor, and the Democrats on how to regain lost power. The new aldermen were to be sworn in the next day, but the Democrats, who were in control of the previous Board of Aldermen, planned to refuse to vacate their seats on grounds that the election was not valid. The Republicans sought to thwart the action by meeting early in the day. However, three of the new Aldermen, all Democrats, failed to show. The Republicans assumed a quorum was in place and continued with activity as the new board members presented their proof of being elected and qualified. The members were then sworn into office by Justice of the Peace G. Z. French, after which they elected Silas P. Wright mayor and elected H. C. Twining to fill Wright's vacancy on the board. The board then took over the city offices and appointed Populist John Melton as chief of police, as well as other members of the police force. They adjourned for the day and decided to wait until their first day of regular business in April for the rest of their appointments. [35]

But the Democrats had another plan. They had persuaded the three recently elected Democrats not to be part of the new board. Then the old board and mayor met in city hall to state that the new election was held under changes to the city charter they deemed unconstitutional, and, therefore, it was their duty to hold their seats since the election was not valid. The same day the three recently elected Democrats met with the five Democratic runners-up from the recent election, holding that these men had been duly elected following the pattern of elections from the early 1890s in which two men from each ward were elected to the board. These men also organized themselves as the Board of Aldermen, proved their elections, were sworn in, and elected a mayor from their ranks. Therefore, on March 26, 1897, Wilmington had three sets of men claiming the ability to run city government.[36]

On March 29, Mayor Wright and his Board of Aldermen met to appoint the remaining members of city government to their posts, instructing Chief of Police Melton to not let anyone into the room unless they had specific business with the board. Other members of city government were appointed, all of whom were Republican and relatively new to public office. The Democrats saw that the Republicans could then establish a new legacy for their party, much like that run by the Democrats since Reconstruction. The Democrats' court case was their only hope to come out of the debacle ahead of the Republicans. They sought to prove that the 1897 changes to the city charter were unconstitutional and that the 1897 election was void. [37]

Superior Court opened on April 14, 1897 and for three days of debate and testimony presented by counsels for all of the men claiming the mayor's office. At the end of the debate, the court found that the 1897 changes were unconstitutional and that Mayor Harriss and the old Board of Aldermen were the legal government for the city until successors were elected. Wright and others filed an appeal to the state supreme court, which heard the case in its September term. The state supreme court found that the 1897 election was valid because the changes to the laws were made by the legislature, a duly elected body meant to represent the people, and followed the

[35] Prather, *We Have Taken a City,* 40 – 41; Minutes, 1884-1898, Wilmington Board of Aldermen, State Archives.

[36] A similar confusion of multiple municipal officers also took place in New Bern. Prather, *We Have Taken a City,* 42 – 43; Crow, *Maverick Republican,* 98.

[37] Prather, *We Have Taken a City,* 43 – 45.

rule of the state constitution, also written by duly elected individuals. The Democrats were soundly defeated and had no option but to look to the 1898 elections to reverse the trend of Republican rule. [38]

Wilmington's African Americans and Fusion

As the political climate swayed within the Fusion breeze, the African American community of Wilmington continued to build upon the foundation established after the Civil War, creating an intricate society filled with clubs and organizations plus an entrepreneurial spirit unlike that found in other North Carolina towns. Despite an exodus movement led by African American George Price Jr. in 1889 and 1890, the city still featured a number of skilled artisans. Word began to filter to the city's black residents that economic situations in the city were much better than those found by "exodusters" who traveled westward.[39]

Analysis of multiple sources provides a glimpse into the city's African American work ethic and business life for those who stayed in Wilmington. Although the city directories of the 1880s and 1890s are incomplete in their listings, the volumes do provide a wealth of information regarding black business ownership as well as employment and housing trends.[40] Further detail on the financial situation of the city's black population can be gleaned from tax and census records as well as other records generated by corporations and businesses.[41]

Beyond the simple capability to sustain growth, the African American community provided entrepreneurs with a base of capital from which to draw for new ventures, and Wilmington was regarded as a "relatively attractive business environment."[42] New businesses were able to prosper and black ownership of businesses increased in sustainability in the span of a quarter century. By 1897, Wilmington boasted 24 rated black businesses in Dun's *Mercantile Agency Reference Book*.[43] A number of North Carolina towns were developing a black business class, but the climate that emerged in Wilmington moved beyond the norm of the other cities by the 1890s.[44] Many

[38] Prather, *We Have Taken a City,* 44 – 48; Crow, *Maverick Republican,* 98; *Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of North Carolina, September Term, 1897*, 172-183.

[39] Correspondence and newspaper articles from 1889 and 1890 indicate that many blacks who left for greater prosperity out west found low wages, substandard housing, and inflated prices for goods and services. Indications for those who remained in the city were that their situations were much better than anywhere else. Demonstrative of a break between African American economic classes, upper-class blacks such as politicians, ministers, and businessmen opposed migration whereas illiterate and semi-literate laborers were eager for the chance at a new life. Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*, 274-281; Frenise A. Logan, *The Negro in North Carolina, 1876-1894* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), 132.

[40] The city directories often list only heads of households whereas the census recorded the names of all men, women and children. For example, Leon Prather points out that the 1897 city directory featured 3,759 names for blacks living in the city whereas the 1890 census recorded 11,324 black residents in the city that year. Prather, *We Have Taken a City,* 31. For further analysis of directory shortcomings, see Cody, "After the Storm," 95-99.

[41] Detailed statistical and comparative analysis of the city's population before and after the riot will be found in Chapter 8.

[42] Robert Kenzer, *Enterprising Southerners: Black Economic Success in North Carolina, 1865-1915* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1997), 43-47, 65.

[43] Hayumi Higuchi, "White Supremacy on the Cape Fear: The Wilmington Affair of 1898," (master's thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1980), 105.

[44] Frenise Logan studied reference books from the Mercantile Association of the Carolinas over several decades and noted that Wilmington's increases in the

different types of businesses operated in the city by 1895.

Furthermore, black businesses grew in competition with white businesses, with several black entrepreneurs opening businesses in fields such as medicine and legal practice, professions typically dominated by whites. Some workers, particularly in education and the ministry, saw no competition from whites.[45] Because of high morale and success within the black community, Wilmington became a destination for African Americans wishing to benefit from the city's growth potential. White employers in rural sections of the state lamented the loss, complaining that the only black laborers left to hire were "rough farm laborers" because the "well trained" workers had moved to the cities.[46] Beyond being a place for those in the lower classes to move up within the black community, Wilmington offered upper-class blacks a chance to collectively further their economic and social standing.[47] Congressman George White opened an office in the city as did new attorneys such as William E. Henderson, who relocated to the city from Salisbury.[48]

Although Wilmington's African American workers employed in unskilled labor positions represented a majority of the total workforce, a growing percentage of the African American male working population was employed in white collar positions, at both upper and managerial levels.[49] As in most of North Carolina's urban centers in the last decades of the nineteenth century, African American professionals in Wilmington averaged less than 5 percent of the black workforce. Some of the businessmen, such as baker Lorenzo Kennedy, worked for themselves. Although Kennedy's establishment was worth less than $500 in 1893, he was a respected businessman, proven by his high credit rating.

The wealthiest black-owned businesses in 1893 were those of builder John G. Norwood and undertaker Thomas Rivera followed by carriage maker James A.

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numbers of black businesses surpassed that of other cities and approached the leader, New Bern, by 1889. By 1893, Wilmington boasted twenty-four black owned businesses whereas New Bern's total black businesses had dropped to nine. Logan, *Negro in North Carolina*, 112; *Reference Book of the Mercantile Association of the Carolinas,* 1893, 76-80, 214-225, 317-321.

[45] Logan, in his study of African American businesses, indicated that the "ruling element" of black society was drawn from the clergy, educators, government officials, and doctors. Logan discovered that, of the 2,036 blacks working as professionals in the state in 1890, over 95 percent of those workers were either clergy or teachers, two of the employment fields left open to African Americans to serve others of their race without competition from whites unlike doctors and attorneys who had to compete with whites for clients. Logan, *Negro in North Carolina*, 105; Kenzer, *Enterprising Southerners*, 65.

[46] Logan, *Negro in North Carolina,* 88.

[47] Logan, *Negro in North Carolina,* 86.

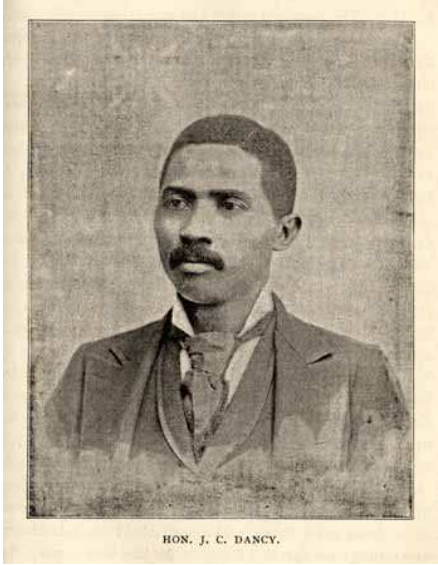
[48] Labor organizations were still in operation in the city during the early years of the decade. However, by 1894, the Knights of Labor reported that the statewide organization was defunct. Higuchi, "White Supremacy," 106; Logan, *Negro in North Carolina,* 104. For profiles of many Wilmington black businessmen, see Appendix A.

[49] Statewide, African American skilled laborers represented almost 10 percent of the state's skilled workforce in trades, transportation, manufacturing and mechanical industries in 1890. In 1897 Wilmington, skilled, semi-skilled and transportation industry black laborers represented 32 percent of the total workforce. A large percentage of Wilmington's workers, 34 percent, were employed in services and were most often employed in jobs such as barbers, firefighters, janitors, laborers, laundresses, nurses, restaurant and saloon keepers, policemen and domestic servants in 1897, down from 57.3 percent in 1889. Therefore, Wilmington's black working population was moving from service oriented jobs towards other types of employment. Some statistics generated from Cody in "After the Storm," 100; 1897 *Wilmington City Directory;* Higuchi, "White Supremacy," 144-146; Logan, *Negro in North Carolina,* 87.

Lowery. Although most of the city's businesses listed in 1893 were small, valued at less than $500, and suffered a poor credit rating, the city's history as a place for blacks to prosper held up hope for a better future.[50] One of the more ambitious projects of black business leaders was the incorporation of the Wilmington Livery Stable Company in 1897, led by some of the city's successful businessmen such as John Hargrave, Frederick Sadgwar, Elijah Green, and William Moore.[51]

Frederick Sadgwar
Image: Bill Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*

Besides seeing increases in their financial status, Wilmington's blacks benefited from their support of Republican politics. Patronage and equitable hiring practices among city and county leaders resulted in more African Americans holding public and visible offices in the city and county.[52] Especially notable was John C. Dancy, who was nominated by President William H. Harrison and confirmed by the Senate in 1891 for the post of Collector of Customs for the port of Wilmington. Dancy was paid approximately $4,000 a year, more than most top state officials. [53]



John C. Dancy
Image: J. W. Hood , *One Hundred Years of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; or, The Centennial of African Methodism,* 1895

An invaluable trade for the city's economic life was that of the stevedore. Stevedores worked on the docks loading and

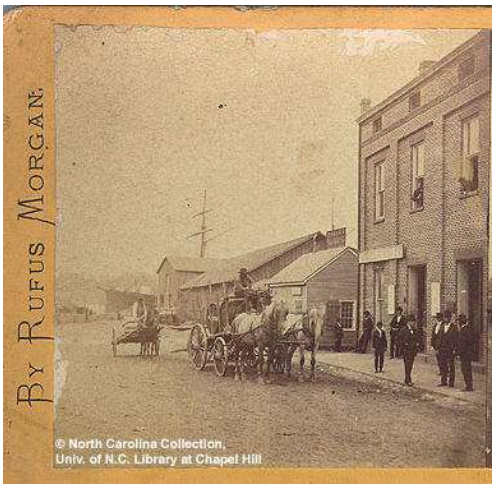
[50] *Reference Book of the Mercantile Association of the Carolinas, 1893*, 214-225.

[51] The Wilmington Livery Stable Company was incorporated in August 1897 and its first Board of Directors were: President Franklin Wright, Secretary Redrick D. Dew, Vice President Altimore Walker, Treasurer Charles A. Foreman, and members George F. Manly, F. G. Manly, John J. Austin, Thomas Haywood, E. D. Green, Fred Jones Jr., John A. Hargrave, Frederick C. Sadgwar, William A. Moore, and G. J. Dixon. The company operated for only one year, closing its doors after November, 1898. New Hanover Incorporations, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 296-7.

[52] In the beginning stages of the white supremacy campaign of 1898, Democratic newspapers pointed out that there were 40 black magistrates (justices of the peace), 6 black school board members, 4 or 5 black deputy sheriffs, 14 black policemen, a black legislator, a black register of deeds, 3 black aldermen, 4 black health officers, and a black collector of customs. Additionally, blacks held at least 12 federal jobs in the city. *Morning Star* (Wilmington), August 20, 1898.

[53] Dancy was reappointed in 1897 by PresidentWilliam McKinley and held the job until 1901. Logan, *Negro in North Carolina,* 46-7, 106; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 385.

unloading ships and the trade was dominated by African Americans before and after freedom. During the 1890s, a push was underway for stevedores to organize themselves under a "boss." Furthermore, the stevedores were required to register with the city and pay a fee for the right to work their trade. Many of the "boss" stevedores were black, such as Cato Waddell and Thomas Newkirk, who managed the firm of Waddell and Newkirk, but several white firms such as E. G. Parmele and Company paid black laborers to work their docks and ships.[54]



Draymen and stevedores literally drove the city's growth during the 1890's.
Above: courtesy North Carolina Collection Photographic Archives, UNC-CH.

In addition, the city's black population was seeking ways to secure home ownership and economic independence. After early failures of the Freedman's Bank, blacks were hesitant to use banking institutions. In 1889, however, a group of African American leaders banded together to form the Peoples Perpetual Building and Loan Association.[55] The association's mission was to enable shareholders to purchase their own homes. It provided over 70 loans to shareholders between 1889 and 1898. Most of the loans were cancelled or paid in full.[56] Home ownership was a source of pride. A resident in 1898 noted that Wilmington's black home ownership rates were higher than in other parts of the country and explained that the houses "may be humble, but they have worked for them, paid for them and own them." [57] Because home ownership was a tool to advance economic and social freedom, black leaders worked to assist others in the attainment of property. The American Union Association, formed in 1897, pursued the "acquisition of real estate and distributing the same to the poor class of colored people of the city of Wilmington, N. C. and to aid in securing

[54] Other stevedores, black and white, working between 1891 and 1898 included Joseph Starnes, Major Lee, Fred Williams, John Turner, George W. Doyle, John McDowell, C. W. Worth, John M. Cazaux, W. H. Howe, E. D. Williams, Joseph McFarland, Henry Robinson, Andrew J. Walker, Charles Foreman, H. Robinson, J. W. H. Fuchs, W. W. Harriss, Haus A. Kure, Alex Heide, and William Goodsman. More white boss stevedores and independent stevedores are found beginning in 1898, and after 1900, all of the stevedore firms are white. Stevedore Records, New Hanover County Records, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

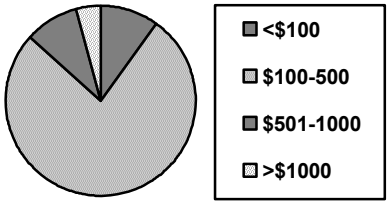
[55] First officers were A. S. Robinson, James Blain, Isham Quick, Thomas Lovick, John Neil, Virgil Brown, Sandy Williams, and Henry Epps. Subsequent lists of officers can be found in the city directories. New Hanover Incorporations, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.

[56] Interest on loans provided by the Peoples Perpetual Building and Loan averaged between 6 and 8 percent, and shareholders mortgaged their property as loan collateral. Only a handful of the 75 mortgage loans were not cancelled. Activity of the Association stopped in December 1898 with the exception of three deeds to Major Lee, William Howe, and Frederick Sadgwar Jr. between 1899 and 1906. New Hanover County Grantee/Grantor Index, New Hanover County Deed Books 3-24, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[57] Attorney W. E. Henderson as quoted from the *Indianapolis Freeman,* December 3, 1898 and found in Cody, "After the Storm," 121.

homes for the destitute, the orphan, and the widow."[58] The county deed index shows that the American Union Association acquired two entire blocks in 1897 and 1899 and then divided the blocks, registering 45 deeds for men and women in those blocks between 1897 and 1919.[59] Statewide in 1890, about 14 percent of the black population owned their homes as compared to approximately 35 percent of the white population. In Wilmington, of the black population that owned property, only 10 percent had property valued under $100. The upper class of black property holders, those whose property was valued over $1,000, represented only 4 percent of the population. The largest property-owning value bracket, 77 percent of the group under examination, encompassed those who owned property valued between $100 and $500. [60]

African American Property Values, 1897



* Source: Wilmington, New Hanover County Tax Roll, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

Gregory Normal Institute, ca. 1910.
Image from W. N. Hartshorn and George W. Penniman, eds., *An Era of Progress and Promise, 1863-1910; The Religious, Moral, and Educational Development of the American Negro Since his Emancipation*

Along with the development of wealth, Wilmington's African American community showed a strong commitment to education. The first schools for black children were opened by northern benevolent societies and the Freedmen's Bureau near the end of the Civil War. Following that lead, the African American community slowly began to manage its own educational system. Black leaders served on the county school board, trained and hired local black school teachers and administrators, and created local support organizations to manage the education of Wilmington's first and second generations of children who had never known slavery. The Peabody School was first supported by the Freedmen's Bureau, but a local support group called the Wilmington Colored

[58] New Hanover County Incorporations, State Archives. Members of the Association's board were: General Superintendent Reverend Anderson Stroud, Vice President W. H. Capehart, Secretary A.J. Andrews, Treasurer Isham Thompson, and Judiciary Committee members Anthony Davis, James Simmons, and Joseph Williams.

[59] The Association acquired block 540 in 1897 and 541 in 1899. The blocks were located in the northeastern section of town and were bounded by Anderson, Miller, Rankin and Woods Streets. Subdivided portions of each block were then redistributed. The American Union Association handled the most deeds in 1898 (7) and 1899 (9), with activity ranging from 1 to 4 deeds in subsequent years. New Hanover County Incorporations, New Hanover County Grantor/Grantee Index, State Archives.

[60] Of Wilmington's black population 8 percent owned taxable real estate in 1890. Wilmington Tax Roll, New Hanover County Records, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh. For more on this topic, see Cody, "After the Storm," and Appendix D.

Institute began to assist in funding the school after the departure of the Freedman's Bureau.[61] Other schools such as Williston and Gregory Normal Institute also boasted similar beginnings and subsequent support of the city's blacks through hard work and determination. Wilmington's black teachers included some of the city's elite with the wives and daughters of the city's most prominent politicians and businessmen working to educate the city's black children.[62] Still, despite widespread community support for the schools, facilities were often underfunded, and teachers were paid less than white teachers.[63]

As the African American community advanced, it developed a distinctive social hierarchy. Lura Beam, a northern white educator who taught in Wilmington after the turn of the century, explained for her readers the difficult intricacies of black social

Williston Graded School, demolished 1915.
Image: Bill Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*

Mary Washington Howe, Principal, Williston School
Image: Bill Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*

classifications. Although Beam was writing ten years after the riot, her account probably parallels the situation of the 1890s. Beam explained that the upper class was the financial equivalent of the white middle class. Borrowing from W. E. B. DuBois' phrase, she termed these men and women

[61] The school property was leased to the city for a free public school in 1897, and the Wilmington Colored Educational Institute filed new articles of incorporation in 1898 under the leadership of Thomas Rivera, Joseph Mitchell, John G. Norwood, Aaron Kellogg, Marsh Walker, and Andrew J. Walker. Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 146-148; New Hanover Incorporations, State Archives.

[62] Mary Washington Howe, daughter of respected freedman Alfred Howe, was educated in the North and became principal of Williston School. Teachers Katie Telfair, Susie Kennedy, Nellie Chesnutt, and Mabel Sadgwar all were daughters of prominent Wilmington leaders. Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 383, 410, 459, 474; New Hanover County Commissioner Records, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[63] Black teachers in the city averaged $35.64 per pay period and black schools had an average of $523.16 spent on them in October to November 1898. In contrast, white teachers for the same pay period averaged $36.84 and $858.02 was the average amount spent for school needs. For the 1897-98 school year, 51 percent of the city's black children (2290 students, male and female) attended public schools. Figures for private school attendance are unavailable. Attendance figures, teacher pay and school disbursements will change radically in the years following the riot. For more information on the impact of the riot on the city's educational system, see Chapter 7 and Appendix E. Department of Public Instruction, Superintendents Reports, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh; New Hanover County Commissioner Records, State Archives.

the "talented tenth," many of whom were mulatto and could trace their station to inherited wealth from white relatives. Most were community leaders who owned homes and sent their children to college. She conceded that some of these people were "too white" and could not easily merge with darker-skinned blacks from other classes, but that "passing" as white for these upper-class blacks was also considered a form of racial "treason." The next group of blacks in the city was defined by Beam as middle class and few in number. These people owned homes on the fringes of the city. As described by Beam, the lowest level of black society was occupied by poor, dark-skinned laborers who rented substandard housing and who had moved into the city from the countryside. She recalled that this class was "anonymous" and was in constant motion, frequently changing jobs. [64]

Many whites possibly viewed the advances of the black community as a threat to the overall good of the white community. For example, local author Harry Hayden repeated the cry of white workers in 1898 who claimed that blacks were given priority in hiring by employers. Writing in 1936, he indicated that most of the city's artisans were black and that the city was "becoming a Mecca for Negroes and a City of Lost Opportunities for the working class whites." Hayden explained that most of the bricklayers, carpenters, and mechanics were black, a trend that can be traced to the 1860 when those jobs were the only ones relegated to the black worker.[65] As a response, the Democratic Party began to develop discriminatory economic platforms, urging white employers to hire only white workers.[66]

Plans Laid to Force the End of Fusion

Responding to the problems faced by the Democratic Party, an economic downturn as a result of a panic in 1893, general economic depression in 1897, and the perceived increase in African American prosperity and political control, many prominent white leaders in the city began to meet in private. The men believed that if they did not regain control of the city's political machine, they could not prosper—whoever controlled the city government also controlled its purse, taxation policy, and internal improvements agenda.[67] Further, without such control, prominent businesses could not be wooed to relocate to the port city. The promise of major investors and outside business enterprises in the city after Democratic victory presented a tangible impetus for white business leaders to take matters into their own hands. In order to promote the city, they believed that they had to be in control; otherwise, investors would

[64] Beam's findings are supported by other scholarly works by historians such as Bart Landry in *The* New *Black Middle Class,* Joel Williamson in works such as *New People, Miscegenation and Mulattoes in the Untied States*. Lura Beam, *He Called Them by the Lightning: A Teacher's Odyssey in the Negro South, 1908-1919* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1967), 40-42.

[65] Hayden, a local Wilmington journalist and author, worked to explain the tensions that led to the riot in 1898 in his work, *The Story of the Wilmington Rebellion.* Further documenting the event, Hayden also wrote a complete history of the Wilmington Light Infantry, which was presented by that group's members to the New Hanover County Public Library. Although tainted with rhetoric reminiscent of the 1898 and 1900 white supremacy campaigns, the two works offer valuable insights into the actions of the white leaders responsible for the political frenzy that resulted in the violence and the coup d'etat of November 10, 1898. Harry Hayden, *The Story of the Wilmington Rebellion* (Wilmington, N.C.: the author, 1936), 2.

[66] Similar thought processes regarding the "negro problem" developed to address the issue from both the white and black perspective throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Prather, *We Have Taken a City,* 61-62.

[67] Michael Honey, "Class, Race and Power," *Democracy Betrayed,* 171.

seek another location that was more attractive. [68]

In the 6 to 12 months preceding the 1898 election, various groups of men organized—the most prominent group became known as the "Secret 9" (as they were called by Harry Hayden). Others in more established factions such as the Wilmington Chamber of Commerce or Merchants Association also developed plans to achieve Democratic victory in concert with other factions.[69] For these men, political victory translated into economic stability and prosperity—factors lacking for them under Fusion rule. These men also facilitated the development of other organizations such as the White Government Union and Red Shirts in order to support the Democratic Party's attempts to recapture state and local politics.[70]

In the face of mounting opposition from the more organized Democratic Party, Populists and Republicans failed to mount a successful offensive. Beginning in 1897, irreparable splits developed among Fusionists, and within their respective

[68] As soon as the leaders of the coup regained control of the city, new business ventures emerged. Undoubtedly, the leaders promised investors that once the election was over, the city would be under their control and business could resume as it had been operating in the fifteen years prior to Fusion reforms that up-ended city politics in 1897. Key developments were the establishment of the headquarters for the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad in 1900 and the construction of the Delgado Cotton Mill in 1899. Piedmont textile magnate Edwin C. Holt, who also had familial ties with Wilmington's elite, constructed the textile mill in Wilmington. In February 1900, just after the mill opened, Holt stated that he "would not have invested his money nor advised his friends to do likewise had the political scene in Wilmington stayed under the same administration prior to November of 1898." The mill cost $300,000 to construct and in its first year it operated 440 looms, 10,300 spindles and could produce 25,000 yards of white cloth daily. By 1902 the mill employed 350 workers – all of them white, a fact common to the industry statewide. For more on the development of the Delgado Mill, see Rebecca Sawyer, "The Delgado-Spofford Textile Mill and Its Village: The Fabric of Wilmington's 20th Century Landscape" (master's thesis, University of North Carolina at Wilmington, 2001). Also Watson, *Wilmington, Port of NC*, 116-117; *Wilmington Messenger*, February 21, 1900.

[69] The Chamber of Commerce and the Merchant's Association met regularly to discuss methods to improve their business options within the city. Further, these groups encouraged the growth of white labor unions that move to the front of the push for white labor over black in the months following the election and violence. The Chamber of Commerce issued multiple statements in the papers in support of the Democratic Party and its white supremacy tenets. On November 2, the Chamber of Commerce formally declared itself "against negro domination." The Chamber issued a resolution which stated that it felt black/Republican rule in the city was "detrimental to every business interest, arrests enterprise, hampers commerce and repels capital which might otherwise find investment in our midst." The Chamber concluded that "prosperity, peace and happiness" within Wilmington was not possible under the current regime. *Wilmington Messenger*, November 2, 1898.

[70] Several men were members of multiple groups that were all working toward the common goal of Democratic Party victory. The Secret Nine were J. Allan Taylor, Hardy Fennell, W. A. Johnson, L. B. Sasser, William Gilchrist, P. B. Manning, E. S. Lathrop, Walter Parsley, and Hugh MacRae. A second group, the Group of Six, also met and its members were William L. Smith, John Berry, Henry Fennell, Thomas Meares, William F. Robertson, and Walker Taylor. The Campaign Committee of the Democratic Party was Frank Stedman, Edgar Parmele, Walker Taylor, and George Rountree. The Chamber of Commerce featured James H. Chadbourn Jr. as President with members George Rountree, Thomas Strange, William R. Kenan, Thomas C. James, Walker Taylor, S. H. Fishblate, Frank Stedman, William E. Worth, Thomas Clawson, Walter Parsley, J. Allan Taylor, Hugh MacRae, John L. Cantwell, and Samuel Northrop. In her research on the Delgado Mill, Rebecca Sawyer discovered that in 1895 Wilmington's leading businessmen issued a stock prospectus in favor of establishing a textile mill in the city after investigation into the matter. However, the men could not act on the prospectus because of the changes to city government wrought by Fusion reform. Hayden, *Wilmington Light Infantry*, 66-7, 72; Hayden, *Story of the Wilmington Rebellion;* Prather, *We Have Taken a City,* 49; Sawyer, "Delgado-Spofford Mill."

parties, which weakened each group's ability to counter Democratic Party moves.[71] Because of the rifts, Republicans and Populists were unable to keep pace and combat the aggressive regeneration of the Democratic Party. Further hampering the Fusionists' ability to combat the Democrat's onslaught was a subtle trend by the federal government which slowly abandoned a nationwide commitment for the protection of civil and political rights of citizens. Proof of the trend could be seen in the failure of the Lodge Force Bill in 1890 and the 1896 *Plessey v Ferguson* Supreme Court decision.[72]

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[71] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 464-7.

[72] The Lodge Force Bill of 1890, if passed in Congress, would have ensured fair elections for all voters, including African Americans, through the use of federal supervisors. Illegal methods such as intimidation and fraud at polling places would have been federal offences. The Bill passed in the House failed to pass in the Senate. The *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling in the Supreme Court upheld Louisiana law that separated black and white railroad passengers by cars, provided that cars set aside for blacks were equal in accommodation as those for whites. This "separate but equal" decision codified legal segregation of the races for the courts over the next sixty years. Joel Williamson, *Crucible of Race*, 113, 253.

Leading 1898 Conspirators

County Democratic Party Campaign Committee
Frank Stedman
Edgar Parmele
Walker Taylor
George Rountree

The Secret Nine
J. Alan Taylor
Hardy Fennell
W.A. Johnson
L.B. Sasser
William Gilchrist
Pierre B. Manning
Edward S. Lathrop
Walter Parsely
Hugh MacRae

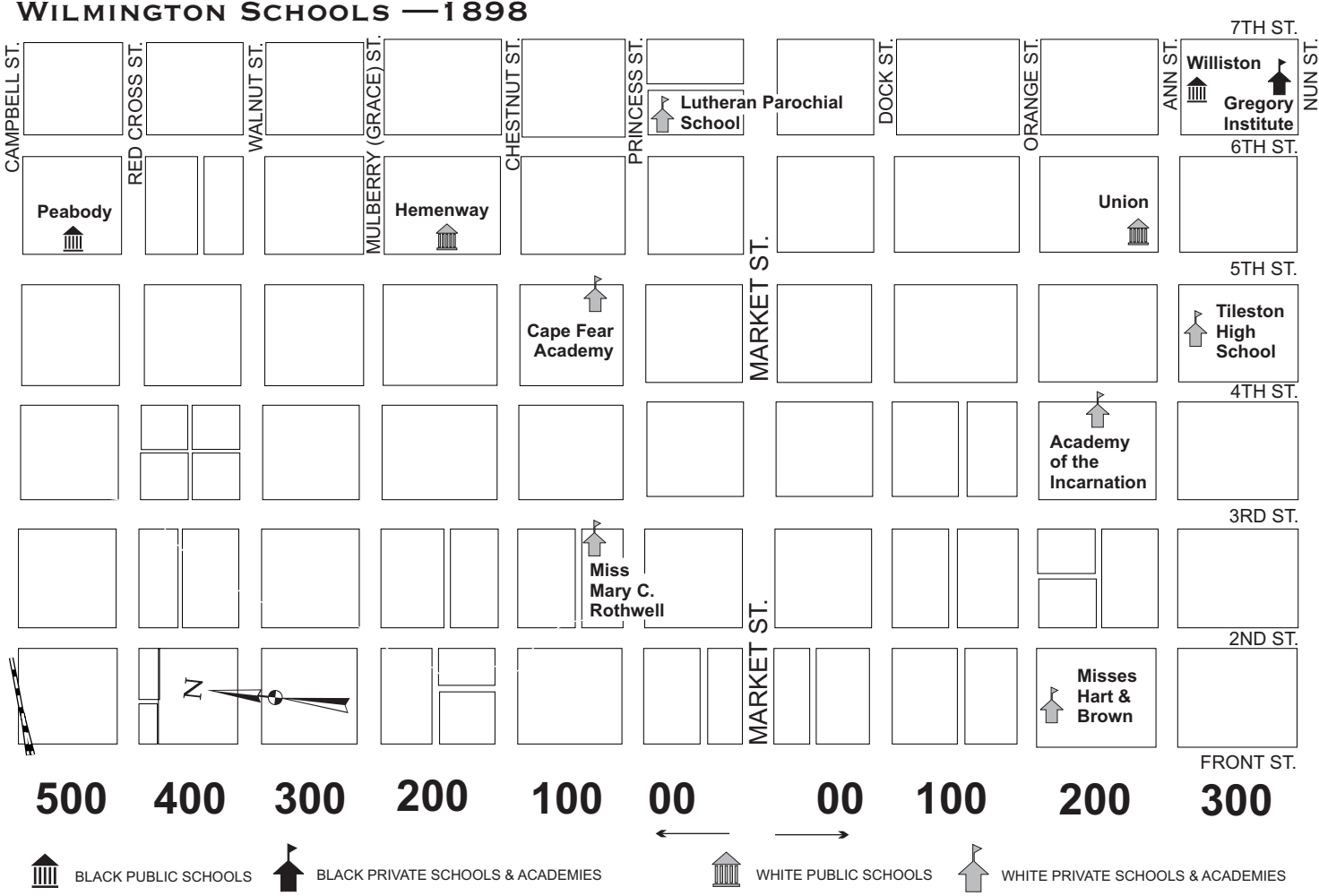
Wilmington Chamber of Commerce

James H. Chadbourn, Jr.
George Rountree
Thomas Strange
William R. Kenan
Thomas C. James
Walker Taylor
S.H. Fishblate
Frank Stedman
William E. Worth
Thomas Clawson
Walter Parsley
J. Alan Taylor
Hugh MacRae
John L. Cantwell
Samuel Northrop

The Group of Six
William L. Smith
John Berry
Henry Fennell
Thomas Meares
William F. Robertson
Walker Taylor

The men who were members of these and other groups such as the Citizens Vigilance Committee under Roger Moore, the Red Shirts/Rough Riders under Mike Dowling, or the White Government Unions all played a role in creating tensions in the city that led to bloodshed on November 10, 1898. Men whose names are underlined and in bold were connected to other groups in a variety of ways.

Wilmington Schools —1898

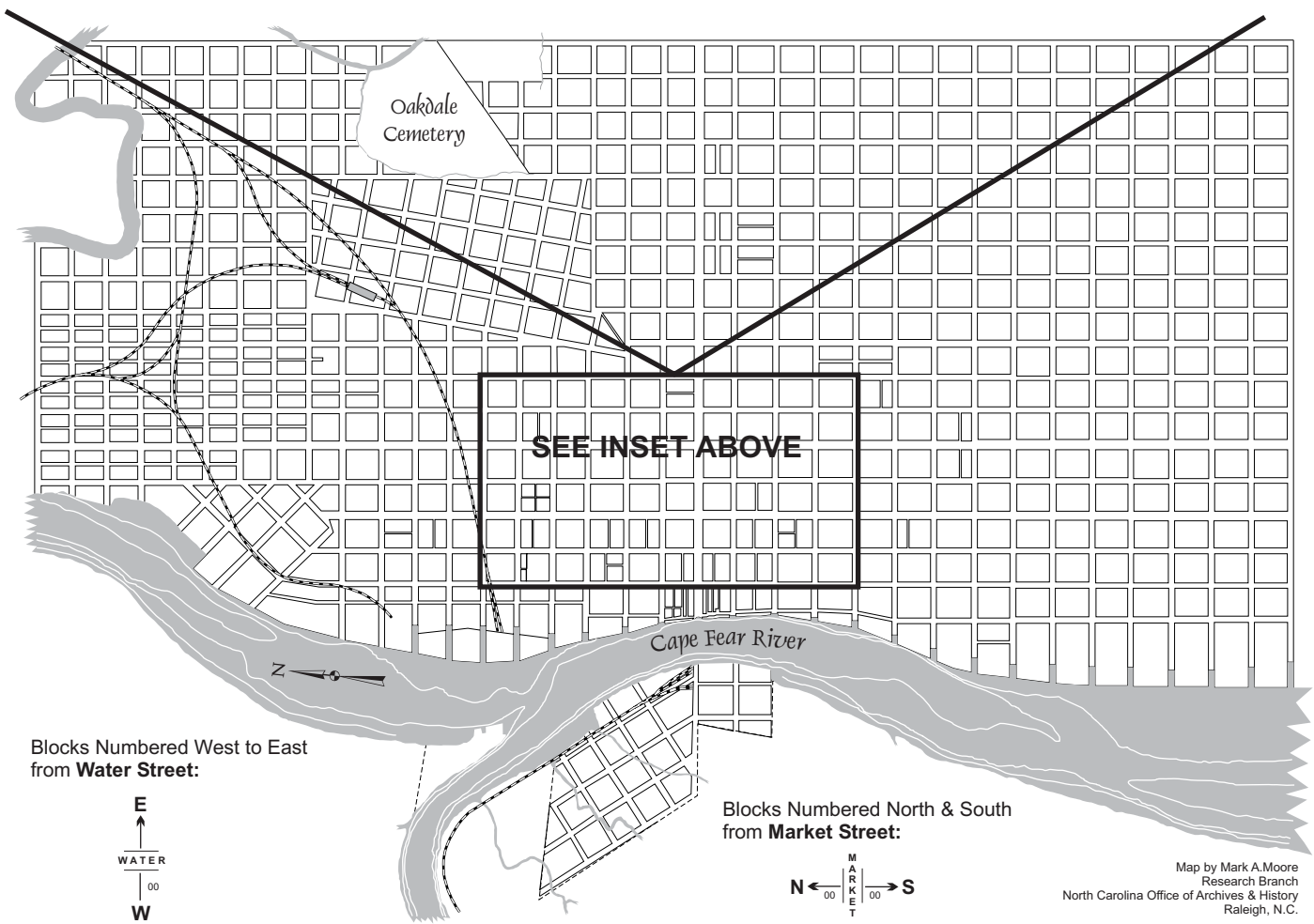


BLACK PUBLIC SCHOOLS

BLACK PRIVATE SCHOOLS & ACADEMIES

WHITE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

WHITE PRIVATE SCHOOLS & ACADEMIES



Map by Mark A.Moore
Research Branch
North Carolina Office of Archives & History
Raleigh, N.C.

Chapter 3: Practical Politics

- The 1898 election season opened with Republican and Populist leaders loosing control of the Fusion movement. Both parties were fractured because of Governor Daniel L. Russell's inability to satisfy both sides. The resulting failure of Fusion spurred the rejuvenation of the Democratic Party.

- Furnifold Simmons was selected to chair the state Democratic Party campaign of 1898. Simmons and the Democrats developed a white supremacy argument as a primary campaign tool even as they pointed out shortcomings of the incumbent Fusion administration. Leading Democrat Josephus Daniels noted that Simmons used a three-pronged attack to win the election: men who could write, speak, and "ride."

    - ◊ Men who could write were used to create propaganda for newspapers and circulars provided by the Democratic Party. The Raleigh *News and Observer, Charlotte Observer, Wilmington Messenger* and the Wilmington *Morning Star* led the barrage.
    - ◊ Men who could speak were sent throughout the state to inflame white voters. Statewide speakers included future governor Charles B. Aycock, Robert Glenn, and Wilmington native Alfred Moore Waddell.
    - ◊ Men who could ride were recruited by clubs such as the White Government Union and Red Shirts. The clubs sought to intimidate blacks and press white Fusionists to vote for Democratic Party candidates.

- Wilmington's election campaign reflected the statewide program, and leading Democrats from across the state took special interest in securing victory in the city. Added to the campaign was a series of secret meetings in which leading white businessmen planned to retake control of the city after the election. The men, called the "Secret Nine," also mapped out a citywide plan of action in case of violence.

- Wilmington hosted a strong set of White Government Union clubs as well as an active group of Red Shirts. These men held rallies and paraded through African American neighborhoods brandishing guns on a regular basis.

- The city's major newspapers were full of Democratic campaign rhetoric and contributed to the increasing tensions by printing inflammatory articles concerning threats of black violence, reports of skyrocketing gun sales, glorified accounts of Red Shirt activity, and excerpts of speeches by men such as Alfred Moore Waddell.

- Waddell's role as a provocative speaker was central to the campaign. His speeches survive as examples of the extremes to which white Wilmington Democrats were willing to go in order to achieve victory.

- Support for the campaign grew on an almost daily basis, and Red Shirt activity increased in the days just prior to the election on November 8, 1898 as a means of intimidating and frightening blacks and white Republicans.

Chapter 3: Practical Politics: Writing, Speaking, and Riding in the 1898 Campaign

"The whole aim of practical politics is to keep the populace alarmed (and hence clamorous to be led to safety) by menacing it with an endless series of hobgoblins, all of them imaginary." -H. L. Mencken

In preparation for the 1898 elections, political parties began to develop their platforms and select candidates. As the election season began in full swing, the attention of North Carolinians was increasingly divided between national patriotism called forth as a result of the Spanish-American War and the brewing political fight in the state. [1]

The Spanish-American War was declared on April 14, 1898. President William McKinley had been monitoring the situation closely, and politicians had impressed upon him the potential financial rewards for the United States upon entry into the conflict. By the first of May, the United States was engaged with the Spanish in naval operations. Two months later, after an American victory at the Battle of San Juan Hill and the destruction of the Spanish fleet, the Spanish pressed for peace. As a result of a call to arms from President McKinley and Governor Daniel L. Russell, 106 Wilmington men enlisted in Company K, Second Regiment North Carolina State Troops, also known as the active component of the Wilmington Light Infantry (WLI); another contingent left as crewmembers on the *Nantucket*. Both Company K and the *Nantucket* crew left the state in pursuit of conflict, but neither saw action. The *Nantucket* remained in port in South Carolina, and Company K drilled and marched in Raleigh and Georgia. The men had returned home on furlough by the fall.[2] A large number of African Americans from North Carolina also enlisted to fight in the war after Governor Russell authorized the creation of a black battalion in April 1898. Russell appointed Major James H. Young as commander of the battalion, later mustered into service in July as the Third Regiment of North Carolina Troops. Unlike the Second Regiment, the Third remained in camp and service until it was mustered out in February 1899.[3]

The Democratic machine began to get more organized after the 1896 election even as the Fusionists became more and

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[1] During a white supremacy rally and parade, ladies along the parade route waved both U.S. and Cuban flags. *Wilmington Messenger*, November 4, 1898.

[2] The final act that precipitated war was the February 15th sinking of the U.S. battleship *Maine,* which was docked in Havana, Cuba following rioting in the city between Cubans and the Spanish government. Most of Company K was mustered into service on May 13, 1898 and were mustered out on November 18, 1898. Donald MacRae brother of Hugh MacRae, was Captain. William Lord de Rosset, *Pictorial and Historical New Hanover County,* (Wilmington, N.C.:n.p.,1938), 89; North Carolina Adjutant General's Office, *Roster of the North Carolina Volunteers in the Spanish-American War, 1898-1899* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton and E.M. Uzzell, 1900), 79-81.

[3] Wilmington's contribution to the roster of the Third Regiment was 40 privates, 16 officers, 1 musician, and 2 wagoners. The Third Regiment was camped near Fort Macon in the summer and fall of 1898, and its men would often visit Wilmington and other coastal towns. When the men visited, they enraged whites by demanding "equal treatment." The men were transferred from the coast to Tennessee in September where they remained throughout the rest of the campaign season. Some have speculated that if the men of the Third Regiment had also been furloughed and back in Wilmington by the fall of 1898, the election and ensuing violence would have been different. *Roster of North Carolina Volunteers in the Spanish-American War*, 92-117; Willard B. Gatewood Jr., "North Carolina's Negro Regiment in the Spanish-American War," North Carolina Historical Review 48 (October 1971): 370-387.

more fractured and their cohesion eventually dissolved. Throughout Governor Russell's administration, splits between and within the Populist and Republican Parties grew despite attempts by Russell and Senator Marion Butler to prevent them. Republicans and Populists expected the Democrats' campaign lines as, for example, the 1897 Democratic State Committee declaration that the state had "fallen on evil days" that recalled "the days of reconstruction."[4]

As the incumbent party, with their leader as governor, the Republicans should have been confident in their reelection possibilities. However, the party was fractured, and Russell garnered little support because of his "maverick" attitudes. He was seen by various factions as either a Populist or a Republican but not solidly either. Further complications arose because many Republicans, particularly African Americans, disliked Russell's decisions to appoint Populists to prominent positions. At the beginning of the 1898 election campaign season, Russell feared that he could not control an outright Republican convention as he had in the past and that a convention would result in a rejection of Russell's influence.[5] His fears were realized when the party held its convention in July, and Russell was not invited to speak or participate in the proceedings. At the convention, the Republicans attempted to woo the Populists for another Fusion victory. In the face of mounting Democratic Party strength, the two parties managed a weak Fusion late in the campaign, long after the Democrats had begun their white supremacy mantra.[6]

The first to hold their convention in May 1898, in Raleigh, were the Populists. At that convention, arguments for cooperation with both the Republican and Democratic Parties were bandied about, but, in the end, the party chose to set its own platform and began to chart its own course, waiting as it had in the past to court, and to be courted by, the other two parties. Dr. Cyrus P. Thompson and Marion Butler led the Populists during the campaign and repeatedly attempted to point out that the Democrats failed to address real issues facing North Carolina. Further, the Populists, through a special supplement to *The Progressive Farmer* late in the campaign, sought to prove that the Democratic Party's campaign issues were contrived to support the agenda of a few "Democratic bosses." [7]

Following the Populist convention by only weeks, the Democratic convention was also held in Raleigh. Leader Furnifold Simmons was bolstered by influential men such as Charles B. Aycock, Claude Kitchin, Locke Craig, Cameron Morrison, George Rountree, Francis D. Winston, Alfred Moore Waddell, and Josephus Daniels. A proposal of fusion with the Populist Party was soundly rejected by the convention, and, instead, a platform was adopted that reviled the two previous Fusion legislatures and their actions as part of "Negro Domination" and promised "rule by the white men of the State." [8]

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[4] Crow, *Maverick Republican,* 117.

[5] Not until later in the 20th century did North Carolina governors have the option to run for a second term. However, outgoing Governors traditionally wielded influence within their parties over selection of a successor candidate. Russell had lost control of the party through a series of conflicts related to Fusion politics and renewed African American distrust. McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 552; Crow, *Maverick Republican*, 123-4.

[6] A. E. Holton was Executive Committee Chair of the Republican Party during the 1898 campaign. Crow, *Maverick Republican,* 124-5; Daniel, *Editor in Politics,* 285.

[7] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 525-533; Daniels, *Editor in Politics,* 285; *Progressive Farmer*, October 25, 1898.

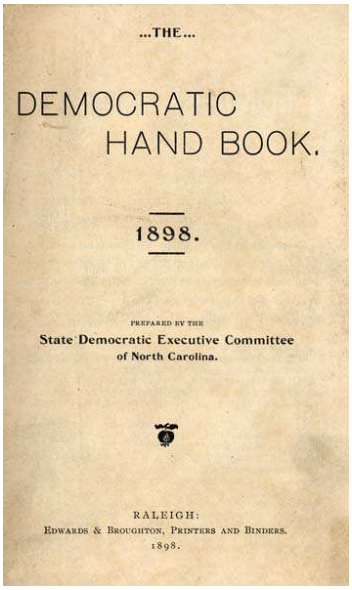
[8] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 537-8; State Democratic Executive Committee of North Carolina,

Development of the Democratic "Machine"

Furnifold Simmons led the development of the Democratic Party into a tough, well-organized competitor for political offices beginning with the 1898 campaign. Nominated to serve as chair of the state Democratic Party in 1898, Simmons had long been involved in state and national politics. A New Bern attorney, he had served as chair of the Democratic Party during the successful 1892 campaign but resigned before the 1894 season and subsequent Democratic defeats in 1894 and 1896.[9]

Simmons used his organizational skills to rally supporters and press others into the Democratic fold. The approach, credited to Simmons as chair of the party, was to use newspapers, speakers rallies, and coercion to achieve victory. In the *Democratic Party Handbook* for the 1898 campaign and other literature generated by Simmons, he promoted a singular topic—incumbent bad government by the Republican Party—and developed themes pertinent to that topic, many related to white man's rule. He depicted whites who voted for Russell and Fusion as men who had been led astray and simply needed to be brought back to the Democratic ranks.[10]

The Republican Party was characterized as the party of scandal and poor results, leading to debt, ineffectual government, and abuses by officials. Further, the handbook asserted that the Republican Party was dominated by blacks, who forced white Republicans to accede to black wishes in order to advance to political office. The end result of this black/white relationship, according to Democrats, was


...THE...

DEMOCRATIC HAND BOOK.

1898.

PREPARED BY THE
State Democratic Executive Committee
of North Carolina.

RALEIGH:
EDWARDS & BROUGHTON, PRINTERS AND BINDERS.
1898.

Democratic Handbook, 1898 *Image: Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

that unscrupulous and incompetent men of both races were allowed to rule state and local governments during Russell's administration.[11]

Further developing the argument, the handbook claimed that blacks outnumbered whites in several eastern counties even though the state featured a white majority overall. Their conclusion—"It is, therefore, manifest that the negro must enter as a factor into any plan, scheme or purpose for the administration of the public affairs of the State."[12] The party stated that "this is a white man's country and white men must control and govern it" because they could manage government better than African Americans, who had demonstrated through

Democratic Party Handbook, 1898 (Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards & Broughton, 1898).

[9] James Fred Rippy, *F.M. Simmons: Statesman of the New South, Memoirs and Addresses* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1936), 21.

[10] The State Democratic Party Committee was comprised of Simmons as the Chair, John W. Thompson as Secretary, Francis Winston, and Heriot Clarkson. P. M. Pearsall was the head of the committee's public speaking department. Pearsall made 410 speaking appointments, with most for Charles B. Aycock. Pearsall was a close associate of Simmons, and wrote 50 to 150 letters a day on his behalf. Poland, *Glorious Victory,* 23.

[11] *Democratic Handbook*, 35.

[12] *Democratic Handbook*, 37.

Republican rule their inability to manage themselves and others.[13]

Using these themes, Simmons developed a strong anti-Republican, anti-black stance for the Democratic Party. Like previous platforms, the 1898 strategy focused on accomplishments of the Democrats when in power and preached the pitfalls of black officeholding. But, the 1898 campaign also took new paths in planning and preparation for the November elections. Simmons made effective uses of manpower through better party organization and control of county Democratic Party committees. County committee chairs received weekly correspondence from the state headquarters plus quantities of posters and circulars—some two million documents statewide throughout the campaign.[14] Simmons' successful 1892 campaign was the organizational framework for the 1898 campaign, as he united business interests and citizen voters using claims of corruption by "Republican-Negro rule." [15]

Furnifold Simmons
Image: North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

By uniting various entities that traditionally supported the Democratic Party, Simmons achieved victory. To fund his programs, Simmons quietly called on businessmen throughout the state and promised that the Democrats would not raise business taxes if his candidates were elected.[16] Josephus Daniels, a hearty supporter of the Democratic Party's white supremacy platform, recalled that Simmons was "a genius in putting everybody to work—men who could write, men who could speak, and men who could ride—the last by no means the least important." [17] Thus, victory was to be achieved through the unification of newspapers, traveling campaign speakers, and violent bands of men behind a singular argument—white supremacy.

Wilmington's position as the state's largest city governed by Populists and Republicans who were bolstered by a large black voting majority made it a perfect test case for Simmons' propaganda program. His print and speech program focused on the city with claims that it was under "negro domination." Articles from the city's pro-Democratic Party papers regarding local leaders were picked up and expounded upon by the *News and Observer* and the *Charlotte Observer* to demonstrate to the rest of the state the perils of non-Democratic Party leadership. To fuel the argument for the redemption of Wilmington, the *News and Observer* sent a correspondent to the city regularly to generate more fodder for the white supremacy fever.[18] Some Wilmingtonians prided themselves that the Democratic Party's star speechmaker, Charles Aycock's, proclaimed that the city was "the center of the white supremacy movement." After hearing speeches at a party rally in Goldsboro in October,

[13] *Democratic Handbook,* 38.
[14] C. Beauregard Poland, *North Carolina's Glorious Victory, 1898* (Raleigh, N.C., 1899), 4.
[15] Rippy, *Statesman of the New South,* 19, 22-23.
[16] Crow, *Maverick Republican,* 125.
[17] Daniels, *Editor in Politics,* 284.
[18] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 583; Daniels, *Editor in Politics,* 283-312.

Josephus Daniels observed that "the cause of Wilmington became the cause of all."[19]

Men Who Could Write

One of the most visible components of the 1898 Democratic campaign was the use of newspapers. Simmons enlisted the help of Josephus Daniels as editor of the Raleigh *News and Observer* to be the "militant voice of White Supremacy."[20] Daniels, a long-time Democrat, was well connected to others in the state's ruling elite and, in 1894, collaborated with Julian Carr to purchase the *News and Observer* as a tool for the Democratic Party in its fight against Fusion. Using the *News and Observer* first as a barometer of public opinion and then as a weapon, Daniels and Simmons worked together to develop a strong argument against Fusion and in favor of white supremacy in order to win the 1898 election. The paper slowly introduced the white supremacy issue to its readers, fed stories to other papers, and worked the reading public into a frightened and tense frenzy. Especially powerful were the *News and Observers'* editorial cartoons. Daniels had hired Norman Jennett to draw occasional political cartoons for the paper during the 1896 election season, and, by the 1898 season, Jennett's cartoons were ever present—both Daniels and Simmons considered the cartoons to be "one of the greatest factors in winning victories."[21] Daniels asserted that he used "every act and argument that we thought would serve to influence the white people" and credited his paper with headlines that "sealed the doom of Fusion." Later in life Daniels admitted that the paper was occasionally excessive in its bias toward Democrats and that stories were not fully researched before publication and probably could not be "sustained in a court of justice." He bragged that, because of the print campaign, "people on every side were at such a key of fighting and hate that the Democrats would believe almost any piece of rascality and the Fusionists got into the habit of denying everything." By the end of the campaign, the *News and Observer* was a powerful force in campaign rhetoric and portions of its articles were published nationwide. [22]

Other editors held up the white supremacy banner and did all within their

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[19] A large rally was held in Goldsboro in October with prominent speakers including Aycock and Waddell. Waddell's speech outlined numerous examples of "negro domination" in Wilmington and what he considered examples of bad Fusion government in the city to rally support for the campaign. Daniels, *Editor in Politics,* 301; Hayden, *WLI,* 68; *Wilmington Messenger*, October 28-29, 1898; *Morning* Star (Wilmington), October 28, 1898.

[20] Daniels, *Editor in Politics,* 295.

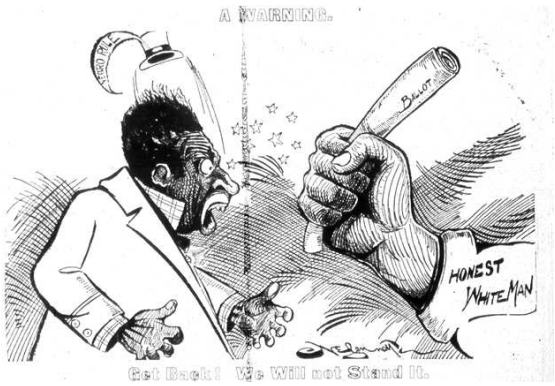
[21] Just as Carr had assisted in the start-up of the *News and Observer*, he assisted Jennett's efforts as well. Jennett attended art school in New York with funding provided by Carr, and, by the time of the 1898 campaign, his newfound skills were highly prized by his North Carolina backers. Daniels called Jennett's cartoons "hard-hitting" and claimed it was the first example of "cartooning in a North Carolina paper." After the election, Jennett returned to New York to work for the New York *Herald*. Daniels, *Editor in Politics*, 147 – 150. The North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill has digitized Jennett's cartoons and a sample of his work will be seen on subsequent pages. Access to the digitized cartoons is part of a larger website that explains the 1898 election: http://www.lib.unc.edu/ncc/1898/1898.html

[22] Historian Helen Edmonds claimed that the paper "led in a campaign of prejudice, bitterness, vilification, misrepresentation, and exaggeration to influence the emotions of the whites against the Negro." She further explained that the "cartoons were no less exciting and calculated to strike terror to unsuspecting whites." Daniels' impact on the 1898 campaign was so over arching that one writer claims Daniels was the "precipitator of the riot." Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics,* 141; Alexander Weld Hodges, "Josephus Daniels, Precipitator of the Wilmington Race Riot of 1898" (honors essay, Department of History, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1990); Daniels, *Editor in Politics,* 284-5, 295-6.

power to publicize the actions of Republicans and Democrats as part of the larger campaign. One vocal reporter, in some respects a tool of Daniels, was H. E. C. "Red Buck" Bryant of the *Charlotte Observer*. Bryant traveled the state to document the activities of the Democrats and to point out what he perceived as pitfalls of Fusion government. His work included much investigative work in Wilmington. In an effort to inflame white sentiment against "negro domination," he published an article about Wilmington that named black Fusionist office holders in the city. [23]

Though the print campaign was successful, Furnifold Simmons was not satisfied with just circulating papers only to paying customers. As a method to entice newspapermen and spread the campaign further, Simmons solicited funds from within the Democratic Party to pay for subscriptions for those who otherwise would not have had access to papers such the Raleigh *News and Observer* or *Wilmington Messenger.* After the campaign, Simmons explained that he sought to reach the large number of voters who were "not immovably wedded to any party, but who love their State and will vote right if they are made to see what is to the best interest of the people and themselves." Simmons observed that many voters rarely read papers or attended speeches and that "if these good people could be reached and given the facts and thus brought to understand the horrible conditions of misrule, corruption and extravagance under the Fusionists they would certainly cast their votes to discontinue in power this unholy combination." [24] Supported financially by men such as Durham industrialist Julian S. Carr, Simmons and his committee paid for 25,000 weekly papers to be sent directly to selected voters until the elections. The project was seen as a success, and more names were added to the subscription list. By the time of the election, the number of papers circulated using Democratic Party funds reached 40,000. Moreover, newspaper printers were paid to develop 50,000 four-page supplements to regular editions that were sent out with weeklies for the last two months of the campaign.[25]

"A Serious Question -- How Long Will This Last?" *News and Observer*, August 13 , 1898.
Image: North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.



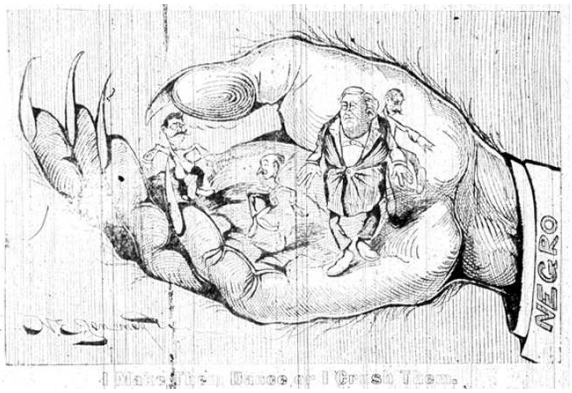
"A Warning. Get Back! We Will not Stand It." *News and Observer*, August 30, 1898. *Image: North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

[23] There are also indications that the *News and Observer* worked closely with editors and writers from the Atlanta *Constitution* and the Washington *Post*. Bryant later recalled that Wilmington's chief of police John Melton had "damned him" and that some in the city blamed his activities for instigating the race riot. "Simmons Hands: Lady-Like Touch Strong as Steel," n.d., H. E.C. Bryant Papers, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh; *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, s.v. "Henry Edward Cowan Bryant;" "Red Shirts Organized," London Papers, State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

"They are Returning." *News and Observer,* September 16, 1898.
Image: North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

"The Confederate Soldier Has Played Out." *News and Observer*, October 6, 1898.
Image: *North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.*

"The Vampire that Hovers Over North Carolina ." *News and Observer*, September 27, 1898.
Image: North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

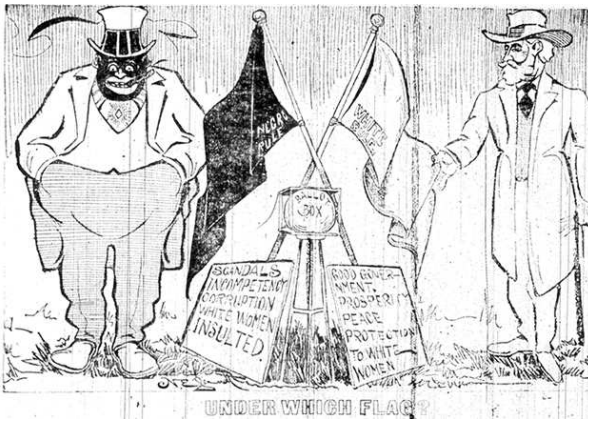


"I Make Them Dance Or I Crush Them." *News and Observer*, October 12, 1898.
Image: North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

"The Source of the Governor's Inspiration." *News and Observer*, September 30, 1898.
Image: North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

"The New Slavery." *News and Observer,* October 15, 1898. Image: North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

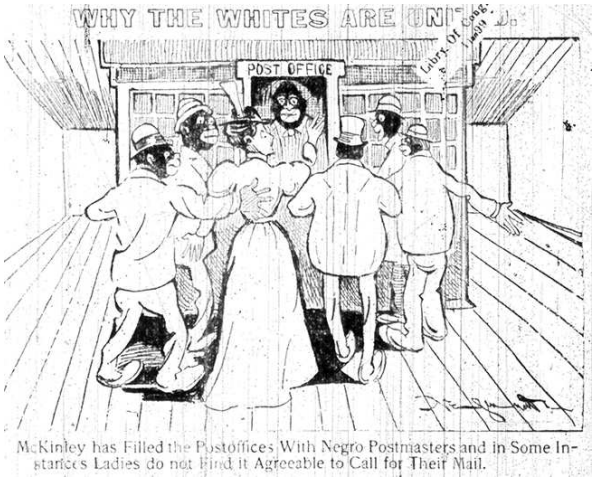
"They Can't Wash it Out." *News and Observer*, October 22, 1898.
Image: *North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.*



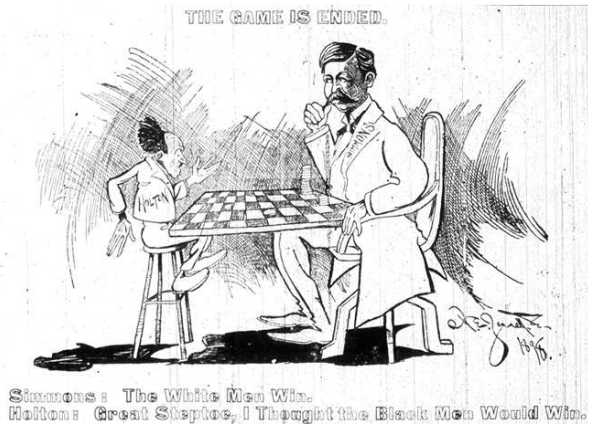
"Under Which Flag?" *News and Observer* , November 1, 1898.
Image: North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

"Don't Be Tempted By The Devil." *News and Observer*, October 26,1898.
Image: North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

"Good Morning! Have you voted the White Man's Ticket?" *News and Observer*, November 8, 1898.
Image: North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina



"Why The Whites Are United. " *News and Observer*, October 28, 1898. *Image: North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.*



"The Game Is Ended." *News and Observer,* ,November 10, 1898.
Image: North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Men Who Could Speak

Another of Simmons' tools was his de facto speaker's bureau. Popular orators such as Charles B. Aycock, Robert Glenn, and Henry G. Connor traveled the state at Simmons' behest to boost the white supremacy platform. Simmons planned for most of the speechmaking to take place in the fall, aiming for early speeches to "keep up a running fire, and not enough to tire the people" in August and September even as the print campaign was already moving to educate readers as to the campaign's main tenets. During the last weeks of the campaign, Simmons had speakers whose rhetoric was peppered with local tales of the evils of Fusion rule and "negro domination" in every available town hall and commons. Particularly adept with rhetoric was Wilmington native Alfred Moore Waddell, who spoke to rallies late in the campaign and pointed out numerous instances of the injustices heaped upon Wilmington as a result of Fusion rule. [26]

Charles Aycock, a veteran speaker from earlier campaigns, traveled the state on behalf of the Democratic Party as its "voice." In May 1898, just before the Democratic State Convention convened, he "sounded the keynote of the 'white supremacy' campaign" in Laurinburg.[27] Because of his dedication to the Democratic Party, combined with his proven record of approval by the state's voters, Aycock was rewarded in 1900 with the governor's office.[28] Another well known speaker, one who possessed restraint regarding racist strains of the 1898 campaign, was Henry G. Connor. Connor's correspondence and speeches repeatedly indicated that he was "willing to go a very long way to remove the negro from the politics of the state" as he was "managing a campaign of which I shall never be ashamed." Although definitely on the side of white supremacy, Connor reflected the concerns of conservative Democrats when he hoped "that the present conditions may pass away without violence or bloodshed and that our whole people may be wiser and understand each other better." He fully felt that once the Democrats regained power over the state, they should earnestly seek to improve the lives and education of blacks.[29]

Men Who Could Ride

The newspapers and the speaker's circuit facilitated Simmons' goal to reach all types of people in the state. Illiterate or working-class people without subscriptions to papers responded well to speechmaking. Businessmen, clerks, and others with access to newspapers were given ample opportunity to read about the campaign's promises, Republican corruption, and their moral duty to vote for the Democratic ticket. The last component of the three-part campaign

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[26] Poland, *Glorious Victory,* 4.

[27] Connor, *The Life and Speeches of Charles Brantley Aycock* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1912), xii.

[28] Connor, *Life and Speeches of Charles Brantley Aycock* , 61-72. Although he had been a candidate for governor and other political office in previous elections, Aycock was not a candidate for office in the 1898 campaign. He was elected governor by a large majority in 1900 on a platform of white suffrage and educational reform. *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography,* s.v. "Charles Brantley Aycock."

[29] Connor wished "to speak to the negroes and let them understand how I feel towards them but, just now I would not be understood." In the 1898 campaign, Connor was elected to the state House of Representatives from Wilson County. Because of his work in the 1898 campaign, Connor was rewarded the post of Speaker of the House in 1899. Henry Connor to George Howard, November 11, 1898 and Henry Connor to George Howard, October 20, 1898, Henry G. Connor Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; Josephus Daniels, "Henry Groves Connor," 1929, 7-9. Poland, *Glorious Revolution,* 34.

strategy was Simmons' goal to unite men who could "ride." Ostensibly, these men would assist in Simmons' plan to bring Populists back to the Democratic voting ring through "practicable and honorable means."[30] To establish the first (and most organized) collaborative groups, Simmons enlisted the aid of Francis Winston of Bertie County to found White Government Union (WGU) clubs. The Democratic Party Headquarters in Raleigh planned the WGU movement for eastern counties with black voting majorities such as New Hanover, Craven, and Pitt. The WGU's popularity grew and eventually had over 800 chapters statewide.[31]

WGU Campaign Button
Image: Cape Fear Museum

The WGU placed emphasis on individuals and their ability to make a difference in local politics. Further, the unions were a tool of the Democratic Party as union members were charged to work in multiple capacities: guarantee full participation by all white voters in the Democratic Party, report to local and state party chairmen concerning "doubtful and floating" voters who would be targeted for "efforts of the union to win the votes of such voters for the party," and to attend polls all day on election day. The WGU operated with a constitution and bylaws to define their goals and procedures. Produced and managed by the Democratic Party, the WGU was a well-oiled machine that featured four subcommittees: Committee on Registration, Committee on Campaign Literature, Committee on Speakers, and Committee on Challenges and Polls. The first three committees were to ensure all white men registered to vote, received campaign literature, and were treated to speeches. The fourth committee was to challenge illegal voter registration, deflect challenges against Democratic registrants, and attend polls on election day to ensure that all white men voted for the Democratic Party.[32]

The WGU movement began in earnest in August and gained momentum as the election drew near. Other spin-off organizations that featured similar goals were formed in much the same manner as the WGU. One such organization was the Young Men's Democratic Club of Wilmington.[33] Another, more visible and violent, was the Red Shirt, or Rough Rider, organization.[34] The arrangement of men

[30] Preface inside WGU Handbook: "Our State is the only community in the world, with a majority of white voters, where the officers selected to administer the Government are the choice of negroes and not of the whites. This condition has been brought about by an unfortunate division among the white people; and it is likely to continue until that division is removed, and unity again prevails among them as it did prior to 1892. The necessity for a closer union of the white people of the State is so apparent that it requires management and that necessity has called for the organization of THE WHITE GOVERNMENT UNION." *Constitution and By-Laws of the White Government Union, 1898,* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1898), 2, Henry B. McKoy Papers, Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, Wilmington, N.C.

[31] Poland, *Glorious Victory,* 4.

[32] White Government Union, *Constitution and By-Laws of the White Government Union, 1898* (Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards and Broughton, 1898), 2-8. William B. McKoy Papers, Lower Cape Fear Historical Society, Wilmington, N.C.

[33] Roster of Young Men's Democratic Club of Wilmington, n.d. Merchant Account Book, Private Collections, State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[34] There has been no definitive differentiation drawn between the Red Shirts and Rough Riders. The Rough Riders expression was drawn from the 1st United States Cavalry Regiment organized during the

into bands of Red Shirts was unknown in North Carolina until the 1898 campaign. Prior to 1898, the Red Shirt phenomenon had originated and grown into a powerful white supremacy force in South Carolina under Ben Tillman and Wade Hampton.[35] The first appearance of Red Shirts in North Carolina occurred in Fayetteville in October 1898. At that rally, Tillman attended a parade that featured thousands of spectators and 200 Red Shirts. Also participating in the rally and parade were many White Government Union clubs and their guests, including delegations from Wilmington and other towns. [36]

With but a short-lived rule in North Carolina politics, the Red Shirts were characterized by their distinctive red outifts, unconcealed weaponry, and blatant public displays of white supremacy propaganda. Although all levels of society participated in the Red Shirt brigade, from wealthy businessmen to working-class farmers and laborers, the loudest and most visible members were considered hoodlums—making the Red Shirts effectively a terrorist arm of the Democratic Party. According to a contemporary, their unifying insignia, the red shirt, was of varying style and material, made of "calico, flannel or silk, according to the taste of the owner and the enthusiasm of his womankind."[37]

Red Shirt that belonged to Charles B. Aycock. It is unclear if he wore this shirt or if it was presented to him in 1898 or 1900.
Image courtesy of the North Carolina Museum of History, Raleigh.

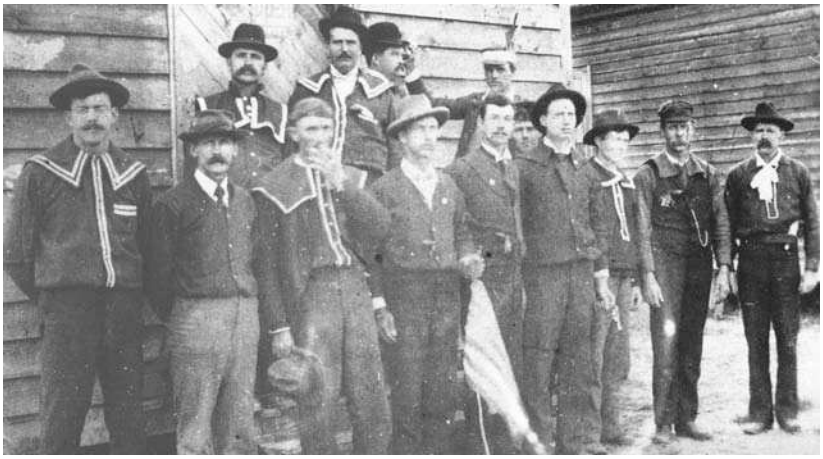
Red Shirt and Rough Rider brigades typically paraded or rode horses in plain view in black communities, brandishing rifles and pistols. Because their actions were well known among African Americans,

Spanish American War under Lt. Col. Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt's Rough Riders were instrumental in American victory at the Battle of San Juan Hill and their bravery became widely celebrated.

[35] Alfred Williams, in his history of the Red Shirts in South Carolina, wrote that the common explanation for the development of the red shirt as a uniform emerged during the 1876 campaign. In response to the use of bloodied shirts of murdered blacks as banners to rally Republican supporters, South Carolina Democrats countered the "bloody shirt" argument by wearing red shirts of their own in order to mock and belittle the Republican symbolism. Alfred Williams, *Hampton and His Red Shirts: South Carolina's Deliverance in 1876* (Charleston, S.C.: Walker, Evans and Cogswell Co., 1935), 105. For more on Tillman, see Francis Butler Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman, South Carolinian* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1944) and Stephen Kantrowitz, *Ben Tillman and the Politics of White Supremacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

[36] A recognized statewide leader of the Red Shirts was future governor Cameron Morrison. H. Leon Prather, "The Red Shirt Movement in North Carolina, 1898-1900" *Journal of Negro History* (April, 1977), 174-175; London Papers, Private Collections, State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[37] Just as the Ku Klux Klan had a short-lived usefulness for the Democratic Party, the Red Shirts were found for only the 1898 and 1900 elections. Prather, "Red Shirt Movement," 175; Daniels, *Editor in Politics*, 293.



Armed Red Shirts in Laurinburg on Election Day, 1898
Image: State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh

most either hid in their homes or left, making neighborhoods appear to be vacant. Josephus Daniels believed that Red Shirt activity was successful because speechmaking and other forms of intimidation failed to keep black voters away from political activity as effectively as did the Red Shirts. Throughout southeastern North Carolina, the Red Shirts rode day and night to intimidate black voters and to bully white Populists and Republicans into voting for the Democratic Party.[38]

Although the organizational structure of the Red Shirts is unclear, the brigades were carefully orchestrated displays of Democratic Party militancy, used at intervals both to stir up white sentiments and to oppress black or Republican voters. The Red Shirt movement likely grew out of, or was managed by, the White Government Unions founded by the Democratic Party. Red Shirt rallies coincided with WGU activities and featured many of the same speakers as those who stumped throughout the state on behalf of the Democratic Party.[39]

Thus, Simmons rallied together men who could speak, write, and ride to support the white supremacy campaign in a well-organized statewide effort. Daniels summed up the campaign when he observed that "every white man who could talk was on the stump; every white man who could write was writing, and every white man who could ride and could influence a vote was enthusiastically at work." [40]

Simmons and his committee took still more steps, including use of the clergy and women's influence, to convince white male voters that duty and responsibility obligated them to cast a Democratic vote. In a later campaign, Simmons wrote that he

[38] Several instances of Red Shirt intimidation of whites can be found. Most notably are the references given by Benjamin Keith in his autobiography and in testimony given during the 1899 contested election. W. J. Harriss, a white Republican, testified that Democrats continuously attempted to force him to join them, even women, who "made efforts to intimidate … by remarks and tell me individually to come over and be a white man." Daniels, *Editor in Politics*, 292-5; Prather, "Red Shirt Movement," 176; *Contested Election Case,* 387.

[39] Henry Hewett, Wilmington printer, testified that he was a member of the White Government Union and that he rode in the parade attributed to the Red Shirts and attended the speeches that followed in Hilton Park. For details of the planning and events surrounding the Laurinburg and Wilmington Red Shirt rallies, see articles in the *Wilmington Messenger* and *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 1-10, 1898. Further, John Bellamy testified that he knew "there were men, and they were gentlemen, many of them men of property and character and influence, who wore a red shirt at some of their political meetings as a simple badge of their Democratic club. *Contested Election Case*, 219-220, 252-253.

[40] Daniels, *Editor in Politics,* 294.

disliked "politics in the pulpit," he felt the use of the clergy was an important tool when in a campaign that threatened the "very foundations of our social order and morality." Simmons also understood the usefulness of women in campaigning and included ladies at every opportunity.[41] The WGU recruited women members. As visual reminders of the responsibility of white men to protect them, women were invited to attend and even speak at political rallies—uncommon occurrences in North Carolina politics up to that point. Other women participated in parades, fashioned banners for the cause, and cooked quantities of food for rallies.[42] Simmons carefully orchestrated the campaign, opening discussions through printed media and a few speeches in late summer followed by fall speechmaking spectacles with parades and feasts in the last five weeks of the campaign.

Unidentified Wilmington woman, probably used as propaganda item. At the top of the photo was written "1898 riotess." An image of woman in a pure white dress, armed with a pistol and holster at her hip plus a rifle at her side could have been a powerful image for Wilmington men. If white women were willing to take up arms in their defense, so should their men. There are two almost identical images of this woman in the Bonitz collection.

Republican Reaction

After the Republicans and Populists realized the futility of working separately against the Democrats, they weakly fused their parties late in the election season but were ineffective in combating the well-organized Simmons machine.[43] Republican and Populist leaders watched the Democrats gain steam but failed to organize themselves, scheduling few speeches and lacking a cohesive, strong print campaign. Russell warned his compatriots that they were in a "fight for our lives" because a "Democratic Legislature here means an orgy of deviltry the like of which has not been seen."[44] Butler and other Populists reacted to the Democratic campaign by pointing out that the Democratic Party speakers did nothing but "howl 'nigger' from one end of the State to the other, hoping under the cover of the negro cry, to get men elected to the legislature" who would place corporate interests ahead of the needs of the average citizen.[45]

African American Republicans also feared the outcome of the Democratic Party

[41] R. L. Watson, "A Political Leader Bolts – F. M. Simmons in the Presidential Election of 1928" North Carolina Historical Review (October 1960):529, 539.
[42] Glenda Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 98-99.
[43] Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics,* 143.
[44] Daniel Russell as quoted in Crow, *Maverick Republican,* 126.
[45] *Caucasian* (Clinton), September 22, October 27, 1898 as quoted in Crow, *Maverick Republican,* 127.

campaign. Early in the campaign season, black leader James Young cautioned that if the Democrats returned to power, blacks would be disfranchised.[46] As a response to the rhetoric of the Democratic campaign, Republican congressman George H. White and Populist representatives met with President McKinley at intervals to warn the president about the "unholy war that Democrats are making on the color line" and to ask for assistance. Democratic partisans picked up on the visits and made headlines out of the visits to Washington. One rumor circulated that North Carolina senator Jeter Pritchard had visited with President McKinley and had requested federal troops for the state to ensure a fair election. Pritchard replied that he had not requested troops but, instead, had alerted the President to the situation in the state and had stressed to the president that Governor Russell should exhaust his resources before federal troops were called in. Another news item circulated that Pritchard had written to Attorney General John Griggs asking for assistance in the form of troops—evoking the specter of Reconstruction. It was reported that the president's cabinet discussed the idea and decided that no troops would be sent unless Governor Russell requested them or mail was disrupted. The editor of the Wilmington *Morning Star* added that "Federal troops cannot legally be ordered to any State to preserve the peace until both civil and military powers of the State have been exhausted." President McKinley reportedly handed the matter over to his attorney general for consideration. In an interview, Griggs was quoted as saying that "if necessary to preserve order troops will overrun the State." [47]

In addition to their political troubles, the state's leading Republicans and Populists faced threats to their personal safety. Populist senator Marion Butler endured being pelted with rotten eggs while giving speeches, and both Governor Russell and Butler were threatened with personal violence. More than most politicians, Governor Russell was the target of Red Shirt hatred. As a result of his treatment, Russell resorted to using armed bodyguards to protect him even in the Governor's Mansion. A culminating event occurred while returning to Raleigh after a trip to Wilmington on election day to cast his ballot. Upon his return to Raleigh, Russell's train was stopped and boarded by Red Shirts in Hamlet and Maxton. Russell's life was saved only because railroad officials were warned of the impending threat and helped move the governor to the rear of the train into a baggage car. [48]

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[46] Young became a target of Daniels and the Democratic Party. Daniels later admitted that he was harsh on Young during the campaign. Crow, *Maverick Republican,* 124.

[47] *Morning Star* (Wilmington), October 25, 1898; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 637; Crow, *Maverick Republican,* 124, 127; Daniels, *Editor in Politics,* 302; *Wilmington Messenger*, October 26, 1898.

[48] At the stop in Maxton, Russell and the railroad employees were warned by Red Shirt leader and future governor Cameron Morrison that his life in danger. Morrison and some of his men remained on the train and when the train was searched in Hamlet, Russell was hidden for his safety. According to the newspapers, Russell was met by approximately 100 Red Shirts in Maxton. The *Wilmington Messenger* reported that the Red Shirts "appeared to be in for a good time" and that Russell "took their visit good naturedly." This article appears to refer to Morrison's activity. Prather, *We Have Taken a City,* 101-2; *Wilmington Messenger,* November 10, 1898; Daniels, *Editor in Politics,* 290, 303-4; Crow, *Maverick Republican,* 134; Douglas C. Abrams, "A Progressive-Conservative Deal: The 1920 Democratic Gubernatorial Primaries in North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, 55 (October 1978: 426.

Wilmington's Democrats Organize

Simmons worked to control county Democratic committees' local campaigns as he directed by Wilmingtonians often chose their own course. In New Hanover County, Colonel Thomas W. Strange in April was selected to serve as chair of the local committee and worked closely with others developing facets of the white supremacy campaign in the city.[1] Although Simmons attempted to tightly control his county committees, Democrats in Wilmington used the statewide campaign to their benefit and modified components of Simmons' scheme to fit their needs. As a result, Simmons sought to rein in Wilmington's leaders for fear that they might make "some deal that they [the Democratic Party State Executive Committee] would not approve of." In response, local Democratic Party leader George Rountree informed Simmons that he might "go to H - - -, as we were going to run the campaign to suit ourselves down here."[2] Following the statewide example, other organizations such as the White Government Union and Red Shirts emerged in the city. Clandestine groups also began to script plans to assist in Democratic victory. All of the movements of the various groups were carefully managed by the local Democratic Party to orchestrate a tightly woven white supremacy, anti-Republican campaign.[3]

Essential to the rhetoric of the New Hanover white supremacy campaign was the statewide refrain of bad incumbent government. The Democrats also linked local Republicans to the sinking ship of Fusion. To accomplish this goal, local Democrats refused to cooperate with Populists who sought to create a Democratic-Populist fusion. The Democrats identified and discredited the actions, businesses, and character of leading Populists and Republicans.[4] They targeted chiefly the "Big Four:" Mayor and physician Silas P. Wright, northern politician George Z. French, business leader William H. Chadbourn, and northern businessman Flavel W. Foster. They accused these men of rallying black voters behind candidates in order to achieve political victory at all costs. Democrats raised the specter of "negro domination" to mean not just a black voting majority in the city or black officeholding but the capability of blacks to dictate candidates and platforms because of their voting strength.[5]

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[1] George Rountree recalled that about twenty of the city's best businessmen were organized into a campaign committee to support Strange's activities. Additionally, Rountree was selected to join Frank Stedman, E.G. Parmele, and Col. Walker Taylor in running the campaign. Further, the campaign committee raised "a considerable amount of money" for the benefit of the campaign. George Rountree, "Memorandum of My Personal Recollection of the Election of 1898," n.d. Henry G. Connor Papers, Southern Historical Collection , University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[2] Rountree was born in Kinston and was educated at Harvard. A successful attorney, Rountree lived and worked in New York and Richmond before returning to his native Kinston to operate law offices there. Rountree married Meta Davis of Wilmington in 1881 and the couple moved to the city in 1890. Some speculation regarding Rountree has surfaced that indicates he may have been brought into the fray as a strategic move by Democratic Party leaders. Particularly useful for Democrats, Rountree purportedly had first hand experience with white supremacy campaigns and disfranchisement movements in Georgia. Rountree, "Memorandum;" *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography,* s.v. "Rountree, George."

[3] *Wilmington Messenger,* May 1, 1898.

[4] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 537.

[5] "Negro domination does not mean that the government in every part of the entire State is under control of negro influences—few negroes live in the western part of our State. When the great controlling element is the negro vote, and when that vote and its influences name the officials and dictate the policy of a town, city or county, then it is dominant. When it elects negro officials of a town or county, there is negro domination." Newspaper circular, [1900], Smithwick Papers, Private Collections, State

The Democrats also targeted wealthy businessman Benjamin F. Keith and a host of other Populists and Republicans, regardless of their race. He held fast to his principles throughout the 1898 campaign, refusing multiple attempts to threaten him into joining the Red Shirts. As the 1898 election drew near, Keith wrote his Populist compatriot Marion Butler to explain that "they have not killed or run me out of town yet although they hate me with all the hatred that corporation influence can aspire. I trust that things will turn out all ok." After threats failed to intimidate Keith, he was "visited" by a mob that forced its way into his yard at night only to be met by Keith, his wife, and his eleven-year-old son, all well armed and ready to open fire. When physical intimidation failed, the Democrats and Red Shirts targeted his business, forcing it into ruin by intimidating customers and traveling agents alike. Keith was also slandered in the papers, and, as a result, he retaliated with a fist fight to defend his honor against James Fore, who was also his neighbor. [6]

As the campaign progressed in both speechmaking and print outlets, the four leaders were expanded to six. "Remember the Six" handbills and posters were circulated around town, and the men knew they were marked for death. Two additional men were recognized as Chief of Police John Melton and white attorney Caleb B. Lockey. Governor Russell was also added to the invective as yet another leader of the city's black voters. According to W. J. Harris of Wilmington, the men of the "Big Six" were to be shot because they worked "for the interest of the Republican Party." [7]

One of the Big Six, Republican William Chadbourn, was postmaster and a member of a wealthy family that operated Chadbourn Lumber Company and employed white and black workers in seasonal jobs. In response to the Democrat's white supremacy campaign issue of "negro domination" in newspapers, Chadbourn penned a letter to Republican senator Jeter Pritchard on September 26, 1898 to explain his view that

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Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh; Hayden, *WLI*, 58-9.

[6] Benjamin Keith was a prominent businessman and reluctant politician in the city and, like Waddell, Sprunt, and others, had a long family tradition of prominence in southeastern North Carolina. However, Keith sought to improve his city and state through third party politics and as a member of the Board of Aldermen appointed by Russell. Years after the campaign was over, Keith was respected for his fortitude but still held deep resentment for his treatment at the hands of Democrats. Even as late as 1921, Keith was still battling with Democrats over his patronage position as Collector of Customs in the city. In a letter to President Warren G. Harding, Keith recalled the 1898 campaign for the president, providing details of the threats and dangers he and his family withstood. Keith recounted that when the Democrats realized they "could not buy with offices or could not intimidate me to join their red shirt mob," he was notified that, unless he joined, he "would be killed and put in the Cape Fear River unless I left the city at once." Keith believed Fore had written an article that was published statewide discrediting Keith and, as a result, went to Fore's business, where Keith claimed 40 to 50 Red Shirts were employed and pummeled Fore by himself. Fore was partner in the Fore and Foster Planing Mill with Flavel Foster, one of the men of the "Big Six." As a result of the unbased slander, Fore lost favor in the city and left for the remainder of the campaign. B.F. Keith to Marion Butler, November 2, 1898, Marion Butler Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Benjamin F. Keith to President Warren G. Harding, July 5, 1921, photocopy on file in Research Branch, Office of Archives and History, original in possession of Thomas J. Keith; Benjamin F. Keith, *Memories*, (Raleigh, N.C.: Bynum Printing Company, 1922), 79-111; Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River*, 595-597; Crow, *Maverick Republican*, 131; R.D.W. Connor, William K. Boyd, J.G. deRoulhac Hamilton, *History of North Carolina: North Carolina Biographies,*V (Chicago: The Lewis Printing Company, 1919), 117-121; *Contested Election Case,* 361; Keith, *Memories*, 107-8; Hill's 1897 Wilmington City Directory.

[7] *Contested Election Case*, 390.

Wilmington did not have such domination. Chadbourn also observed that the primary motivation for the Democratic campaign in the city was a desire among Democrats to regain control of political offices in the city. The letter was acquired by the press and was published in pro-Democratic Party papers such as the *Wilmington Messenger,* Wilmington *Evening Star*, and the Raleigh *News and Observer*. After pressure from Democrats, Chadbourn retracted his statement and decided that he was "for white supremacy."[8] After Chadbourn's switch, the "Remember the Big Six" was changed to a "five" in the newspapers, and he was then "immune from the slaughter." [9] Rountree and other Democrats targeted another one of the six, Flavel Foster, during an hours-long late night visit in which they compelled him to sign a letter similar to Chadbourn's second letter.[10]

Other Wilmington Republicans and Populists were also thoroughly intimidated by the Democrats. James Worth, a Democratic Party member and businessman, wrote his wife the week before the election to give her details on the city's affairs since she left town. Worth said he spoke to several different Fusionists in the city and reported their replies to her. In almost a laundry list of Democratic Party targets, and written in language reflective of the larger campaign, Worth informed his wife about matters. He informed her that white George Lutterloh had changed his mind and had promised not to vote; African American Junius Murray and "his whole gang" didn't register; and African American Jim Howe had promised not to vote, that his father and brother felt the same way, and that Howe claimed to be able to locate at least another 150 men "only too glad . . . not to vote." Worth continued his account as he explained that George French planned to go to Maine after voting just as "Foster, Rice and the others were to leave on short notice." Worth concluded his thoughts on the campaign as he claimed that "the small fry leaders such as Lockey and his gang were told that no 'monkeying' would be taken from such 'small potatoes' and that if he undertook to help the niggers or if he failed to support in every way Russell's pledge that no second notice would be sent to him." Worth observed that Lockey "came down at once like the cur that he is." Simultaneously, a short note from A. J. Costin to Douglas

[8]After the pressure from the Democrats and his capitulation, Chadbourn left the city to visit relatives in Maine and returned just before the election. In a jovial manner James Worth wrote his wife that Chadbourn and his family had "gone to Maine for his health." Chadbourn's conversion was so complete that he allowed his Democratic Party employees to use his horses and buggy on voter registration day, presumably to get as many people to registration sites as possible. *Contested Election Case*, 390; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 630; James S. Worth to Josephine, November 4, 1898, James S. Worth Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

[9] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," ¸605; *Contested Election Case*, 361.

[10] Chief of Police Melton testified that Foster's account was published as a letter in the paper on October 21, 1898, but that he didn't believe that Foster authored the piece. The article, published with prominence in the *Messenger*, indicated that an unnamed reporter interviewed Foster "ascertaining his views upon the present condition of affairs in our city." The article explained that Foster "recognized the fact that the situation here was extremely grave, with imminent danger of trouble between the races" and that "he believed the city would not recover from the ill effect of such a conflict in years to come." Although Foster was portrayed as a staunch Republican, he was quoted as saying that "it would be best at this time for the Republicans not to put a county ticket in the field." The author was hopeful that Foster's standing within the Republican community would influence others and took care to explain Foster's role as "one of our most public spirited citizens and no man here has been more earnestly interest in the up building and prosperity of our city." *Wilmington Messenger,* October 21, 1898; *Contested Election Case,* 378; Rountree, "Memorandum."

Cronly stated that "all the gentlemen that you requested me to call on have signed the paper—Mr. Parsley, declined to sign at first, but afterwards did so—making a promise."[11]

Increasingly throughout the campaign, white men who were perceived as leaders of the Republican Party were targeted and vilified through speeches and newspaper articles. The recollections of James Cowan of the Wilmington *Evening Dispatch* reflect the criticism and hatred shown toward the men. Cowan claimed that the "lily white" leaders of the Republican party were "scum and trash, remnants of the carpet bag regime … interested only in their own nefarious plans and objectives" and "used the negroes votes for their own purposes." [12]

Following this train of thought—that white Republican leaders fully controlled black voters—Republican leaders received multiple letters and circulars that featured "crossbones" and notification that, "if there was any trouble with the negroes," the leaders would be killed.[13] As the campaign drew to a close, statewide Republican and Populist leaders such as Governor Russell and Senator Butler scheduled a rally in the city on October 29 but cancelled it after they were threatened by the Democrats who warned them that if they came to speak, there would be bloodshed. Republican Congressional candidate Oliver Dockery came to the city anyway but did not speak because of the hostile climate. [14]

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[11] The pledge made by Russell was one in which Republican candidates were withdrawn from several races in favor of Democratic Party candidates prior to the election, and agreed to by Russell and his supporters for the sake of peace. Costin enclosed other papers with the undated note that were not found in the collection. The note indicates that signatures on any one of the circulars featuring the names of "prominent citizens" could have been coerced. Various accounts, some exaggerated, indicate that the coercion was both physical and verbal. James Worth to Josephine, November 4, 1898, James Spencer Worth Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. A.J. Costin to Mr. Cronly, Cronly Family Papers, Duke University Library, Durham.

[12] James H. Cowan, "The Wilmington Race Riot," n.d., Louis T. Moore Collection, New Hanover County Public Library, Wilmington.

[13] George Rountree penned an explanation of his fears regarding white Republican control of black votes. He claimed that he observed on election day in 1894 the change in votes among black voters at a Brooklyn Precinct according to the whim of Daniel Russell. Rountree charged that black voters "exercised no choice" but changed their voting patterns in response to a call from Russell for the election of George French over Thomas Strange. Rountree claimed that a black voter was an "automaton" and that election was proof for him of "absolute control by the leaders of the negro vote." Rountree, "Memorandum of my personal reasons for the passage of the suffrage amendment to the Constitution," n.d., Henry G. Connor Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; Daniels, *Editor in Politics*, 311-312.

[14] Rountree recalled that once Democrats discovered that Fusion leaders planned a rally in the city, Democrats feared that "if they [Fusionists] spoke and the negroes became inflamed, and had a brass band and a torch light procession, there certainly would be a riot." A committee was appointed to "have an interview" with Russell, Butler and Prichard to "point out to them the extreme danger of a race riot that would follow an attempt on their part to speak." Rountree opposed "harsh" language in the warning to the Fusionists but provided subtle approval of the committee led by T. M. Emerson and their ability to influence the Fusionists. Rountree, "Memorandum;" *Contested Election Case*, 360-362; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 639-640; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), October 25, 1898.

Wilmington Messenger

WILMINGTON, N. C., SUNDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1898.

FEARFUL DISASTER.

Disastrous Wreck of the Steamer Mohegan on the British Coast.

CAUSE OF THE WRECK A MYSTERY

IN CLOSE QU

Surgeon Seaman's Testimo by His Own Red

MANY DELICACIES F

Remember the Big

6

"Remember the Big 6," *Wilmington Messenger*, October 16, 1898

WILMINGTON, N. C., THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1898.

ALL ONE WAY.

Severe Structures on the Management of the Army Hospitals.

RYE GIVES HIS EXPERIENCE.

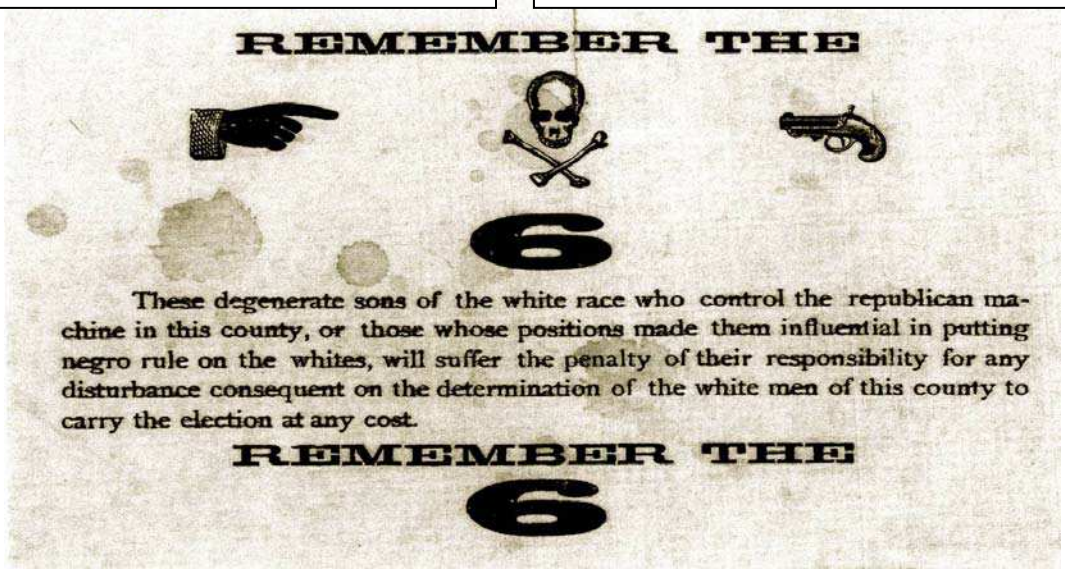
SPAIN'S

Likely to be to Att Debt o

A CRISIS IN

5

"5" *Wilmington Messenger,* October 20, 1898.



REMEMBER THE

6

These degenerate sons of the white race who control the republican machine in this county, or those whose positions made them influential in putting negro rule on the whites, will suffer the penalty of their responsibility for any disturbance consequent on the determination of the white men of this county to carry the election at any cost.

REMEMBER THE

6

"Remember the 6" handbill. n.d.
Image: North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Although Simmons appeared to have the state Democratic machine under his control, the Democratic leaders of Wilmington most likely worked independently of Simmons, using his tactics and connections to their benefit. According to Thomas Clawson, editor of the *Wilmington Messenger*, "for a period of six to twelve months prior to November 10, 1898, the white citizens of Wilmington prepared quietly but effectively for the day when action would be necessary."[15] How effective and well organized this and other clandestine organizations were is debatable since many of the overt actions attributed to the groups are found in newspapers and accounts and reflect the overarching themes and characteristics of the statewide campaign. No doubt leading white men determined to win the election worked together to lend a distinctive cast to the Democratic campaign in the city, but it must be remembered that various members of these "secret" groups were also well-known and visible leaders of the county Democratic Party.[16]

The "Secret Nine" as defined by Hayden was composed of a group of men who met first at the home of Hugh MacRae and then regularly at the home of Walter L. Parsley. The nine were Hugh MacRae, William A. Johnson, Walter L. Parsley, J. Allan Taylor, L. B. Sasser, Pierre B. Manning, Hardy L. Fennell, William Gilchrist, and Edward S. Lathrop. At their meetings, the men developed a citywide campaign that dovetailed with Furnifold Simmons' statewide white supremacy movement. In addition to their plans to establish protection for the city's white women and children in the event of unrest, they understood that they were also planning a "revolt" to overthrow city government. Even as the Secret Nine planned their activities, another group of men, called "Group Six" by Hayden, met at the home of another prominent Wilmington leader, William L. Smith. The other members of Group Six were Colonel Walker Taylor, Henry G. Fennell, Thomas D. Meares, John Beery, and William F. Robertson. These two groups of men shared multiple business and family connections. For example, the Taylor and Fennell families had members in both organizations. Walker Taylor was a member of the Democratic Party County Campaign Committee and leader of the state's regional guard unit. Further, the groups worked with Democratic Party

[15] Cowan of the *Dispatch* also echoed Clawson's claims that the citizens had planned the coup for up to a year prior to the 1898 election. Thomas W. Clawson, "The Wilmington Race Riot in 1898, Recollections and Memories," n.d., Louis T. Moore Papers, State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh; Cowan, "The Wilmington Race Riot."

[16] Much attention has been paid to the activities of a group of white leaders known as the Secret Nine and their conspiracy to return the city to Democratic Party control. Using recollections of participants and observers, local chronicler Harry Hayden described the actions of the Secret Nine in his history of the Wilmington Light Infantry and *The Story of the Wilmington Rebellion.* Historians have followed his lead. Under close scrutiny, many of the writers who have discussed the actions of the city's white leaders have described the same men performing many of the same actions but with different perspectives based in the writer's bias or perspective. Hayden's timelines fall apart when scrutinized, particularly regarding some of the pre-election scheming of the Secret Nine. It must be acknowledged that the men of Hayden's Secret Nine and Group Six were also visible leaders who very well could have merged their social and political agendas, using all of the tools at their disposal. There is no doubt that a central group of men managed the Democratic campaign and planned the ensuing *coup d'etat*. Such organization of so many disparate groups could not have taken place without the firm control of a group of close-knit, well-placed individuals. Historian Helen Edmonds acknowledged that "a certain element of preparation stood out in the activities which preceded the riot indicating strongly that" there was a degree of conspiracy and preparation. Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics,* 166.

leaders to fuel the campaign, particularly in organizing the citizens of the city into proactive units ready for whatever unrest might arise from their plans. Once the campaign was in full swing, some of the activities of the Secret Nine and Group Six apparently merged with the official Democratic Party, the White Government Union and the Red Shirts. [17]

The county Democratic Committee organized itself to provide a framework for the development of the White Government Unions and the Red Shirts. Spokes of the Democratic wheel included the chamber of commerce, churches, the Wilmington Light Infantry, the Merchant's Association, and a host of other civic and fraternal organizations.[18] Pulling these disparate organizations together were a handful of closely connected men who all shared similar backgrounds, political desires, and social savvy. These men also followed the strategy of Simmons in finding men who could write, speak, and ride.

Just as Simmons used printed media to further the statewide campaign, Wilmington's newspapers joined in the fight. Following themes of black "insolence," ineffective city government, corrupt and unqualified police and judges, and dangers to the purity of white women and girls by black "brutes," the papers published and reprinted accounts of black disrespect. [19] As the campaign progressed, Wilmington editors increasingly filled their columns with instances of black on white violence and ineffective responses to that violence by city government. Front page coverage of national news and politics declined, and headlines such as "White Supremacy," "Russell's Deviltry," "Republican White Elephant," and "The Negroized East" because standard fare. [20] Although the papers had reported criminal cases and arrests of blacks before the election campaign, these normally trivial topics gained importance in the pages of the *Wilmington Messenger*, *Evening Dispatch*, and *Morning Star*, providing printed fuel for the white supremacy firestorm. Following the lead of Josephus Daniels in Raleigh, Wilmington papers invited correspondents from throughout the state and nation to visit their city. Whenever those reporters visited, they were treated as royalty, enjoying unfettered access to white leaders, their homes, and participation in all aspects of the campaign, even being escorted through town in Red Shirt parades.[21] After reading the papers, many Wilmington residents were on edge and ready for the impending doom spelled out in their papers.

Again, following Simmons' example, local Wilmington Democrats brought a host of speakers to the city throughout the campaign. Not only did these individuals present orations to large crowds at rallies and at spots such as Thalian Hall, they also spoke to smaller groups as they stood outside Democratic Party headquarters, in the homes of prominent

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[17] Hayden, *WLI*, 66-70; George Rountree, "Memorandum."

[18] *Wilmington Messenger*, November 2, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), October 8, 1898.

[19] Sidewalk encounters in which white women were in perceived danger from black "insolents," male and female, peppered the papers. For more on the print campaign, see Prather, *We Have Taken a City,* 52-55, McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 574-575, 602-605; Shelia Smith McKoy, *When Whites Riot: Writing Race and Violence in American and South African Cultures* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 42; Andrea M. Kirshenbaum, "Race, Gender and Riot: The Wilmington, North Carolina White Supremacy Campaign of 1898," (master's thesis, Duke University, 1996), chapter 3.

[20] *Morning Star* (Wilmington), October 25, 1898; *Wilmington Messenger*, October 21, 1898, October 29, 1898.

[21] Henry Litchfield West of the *Washington Post* and P. R. Noel of the *Richmond Times* were escorted through town during a parade and seated among dignitaries at speeches. *Wilmington Messenger*, November 4, 1898.

men, and at club meetings. Not only did the standard speechmakers make their rounds, but local Wilmington leaders also pressed the issue. For example, J. Allan Taylor of the Secret Nine read a prepared statement to the Chamber of Commerce in October that was later republished in the newspapers.[22] Another speaker and Democratic Party leader, attorney George Rountree, met with a White Government Union and planned to "inflame the white men's sentiment." Rountree discovered that his prepared speech was unnecessary because the men were "already willing to kill all of the office holders and all the negroes." [23] As evidenced by Rountree's experience, the speeches and the print campaign material evolved into a valuable, effective, tool to enflame the city's residents.

Alfred Moore Waddell

While not the most prolific of the speakers for Simmons' early campaign, Wilmington resident Alfred Moore Waddell proved the most cataclysmic of performers. Waddell, an aging member of Wilmington's upper class, had served in the United States Congress from 1870 to 1878, and, by the end of the 1898 campaign, had worked himself into a position of prominence as a representative of the oppressed whites in New Hanover for the rest of the state and a symbol of redemption for the county's enflamed white voters.[24]

Waddell emerged as the fieriest of white supremacy's speechmakers after an oration he gave on October 24 at Thalian

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[22] The prepared statement is perhaps the correspondence of William Chadbourn. Hayden, *WLI*, 68.

[23] George Rountree, "Memorandum."

[24] Waddell (1834-1912) was born in Hillsborough to parents who descended from Cape Fear leading families. Well educated, Waddell graduated from the University of North Carolina and practiced law before the Civil War. Waddell attained the rank of Lt. Col. in the 41st North Carolina Regiment but resigned his position due to ill health. A political conservative, Waddell was elected to Congress in 1870 and served three additional terms. As an orator, Waddell was sought after to provide moving speeches in political campaigns and civic ceremonies. Waddell prided himself on his family lineage and, as a result, penned several works on his family's history and the Cape Fear region. Waddell's third wife, Gabrielle, noted in her journal that he gave a "great" speech at the Opera House in Wilmington on October 24, 1898. A relative wrote that there was "such demand for him all over the state since (what they call) his wonderful speech." Historians have speculated on Waddell's motivation to thrust himself into the spotlight. Leon Prather claimed that, although Waddell's exterior indicated a calm tempered man, his "speeches contained some of the most violent tirades ever uttered from the rostrum." Further, Waddell was apparently experiencing difficult financial burdens by 1898 since other Wilmington residents such as Benjamin Keith knew that Waddell was unemployed. Chief of Police Melton thought that Waddell's motivation was more to "get a position and office" since "he had been out of public life for a long time, and that was his opportunity to put himself before the people and pose as a patriot, thereby getting to the feed trough." To back up this claim, Melton later testified that Waddell was "hired to attend elections and see that men voted correctly." Waddell's wife provided additional support for the household by teaching music daily. According to Jerome McDuffie, who interviewed Wilmington residents, Waddell's law practice was in decline, and he "had been seeking an office" in order to "lighten the burden of his wife." *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, s.v., "Waddell, Alfred Moore;" Diary of Gabrielle de Rosset Waddell, October 24, 1898, de Rosset Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; Letter to R.A. Meares, October 29, 1898, de Rosset Papers, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; Daniels, *Editor in Politics,* 301; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 579, 644; Prather, *We Have Taken a City,* 87-8; Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow,* 109; Benjamin Keith to Marion Butler, November 17, 1898; Marion Butler Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; Leon Prather, "We Have Taken A City: A Centennial Essay," in *Democracy Betrayed: The Wilimington Race Riot and Its Legacy,*ed. David S. Cecelski and Timothy B. Tyson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 25-26; *Contested Election Case*, 378-9, 381.

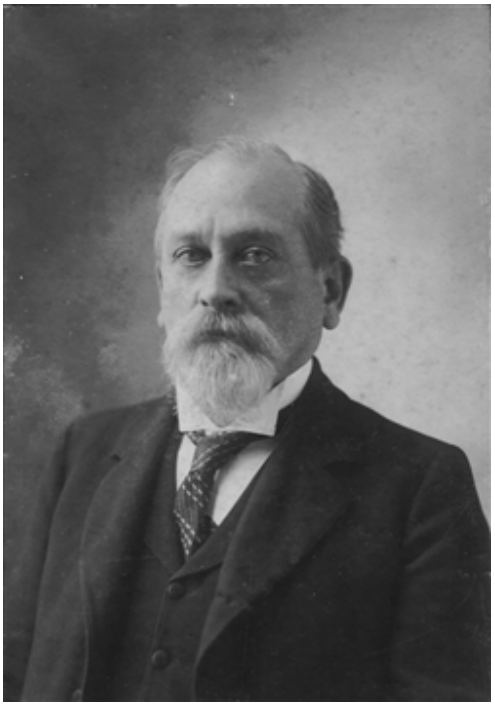
Hall. The speech was attended by a wide spectrum of Wilmington residents, including a large number of Red Shirts and wives of leading businessmen. Waddell was situated on the stage alongside "sixty of Wilmington's most prominent citizens." Waddell opened calmly, explaining that if the election season were an ordinary one, he wouldn't be presenting a speech, but, since he could no longer "remain silent as I have done for some years," he felt compelled to speak. As was the case for many speeches of the period, Waddell's oration was published in the newspapers. Examination of his words demonstrates his mindset regarding the campaign and race relations—reflective of the sentiment and inflammatory nature of similar speakers at the height of the 1898 Democratic Party Campaign.

Waddell claimed that it was "best and wisest for both races" that white people who worked to make the United States the "grandest country on the globe . . . should alone govern it as a whole in all its parts." Waddell suggested that blacks had been misled by people who professed to be their friends and contended that "the mass of them are ignorant and . . . have been played upon and preyed upon by vicious leaders of their own race and by mean white men who make this agitation a source of profit." Waddell continued to stereotype and draw racist conclusions about African Americans as he claimed that if they were allowed to rule the South, "in less than a hundred years" they would return to "savagery." Because he vested his understanding of blacks in his opinions of their intellect, he claimed that "the greatest crime that has ever been perpetrated against modern civilization was the investment of the negro with the right of suffrage."

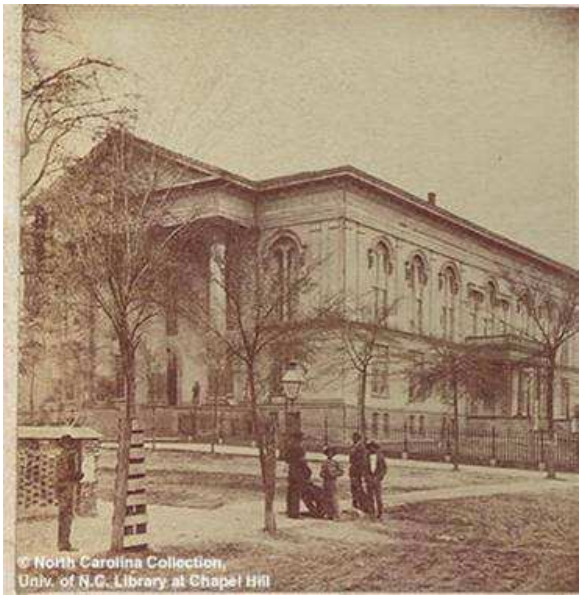
Moving from his analysis of the black race, Waddell claimed that "the salvation of society depends on the outcome of this election." Waddell then emphatically stated that the present situation was due to the actions of Governor Russell – "I do not hesitate to say thus publicly that if a race conflict occurs in North Carolina the very first men that ought to be held to account are the white leaders of the negroes who will be chiefly responsible for it and the work ought to begin at the top of the list. I scorn to leave any doubt as to whom I mean by this phrase—I mean the governor of this state, who is the engineer of all the deviltry and meanness."

Waddell stated that he hoped that violence was not to be the duty of white men but proclaimed that if violence was necessary, "I trust that it will be rigidly and fearlessly performed." Waddell then moved to political matters as he discussed the changes in election laws wrought by the Fusionists then turned the argument for "freedom of the ballot" against them.

On the topic of "negro domination," Waddell contended that blacks constituted a voting block that could determine the outcome of elections. To this point, he asked the crowd "who 'dominates' any corporation or businesses, its agents appointed to carry it on or the owners who select them?" Waddell concluded that his "heart leaps out to the man who, in this crisis, talks and acts" like an "Anglo-Saxon who … feels that he is the sovereign and the master on the soil … and dares all who question it to put it to the test." The final passage of Waddell's speech stirred patriotic sentiment in his audience and contained lines destined to be oft-quoted in subsequent days and years—that the whites would "choke the current of the Cape Fear with [black] carcasses" in order to win the election.



Alfred Moore Waddell
Image: Cape Fear Museum



Thalian Hall, Wilmington, N.C.
Image Courtesy of North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

We are the sons of the men who won the first victory of the Revolution at Moore's Creek Bridge … who stained with bleeding feet the snows of Valley Forge … and only left the service of their country when its independent sovereignty was secured. We are the brothers of men who wrote with their swords from Bethel to Bentonville the most heroic chapter in American annals and we ourselves are men who, inspired by these memories intend to preserve at the cost of our lives if necessary the heritage that is ours. We maintained it against overwhelming armies of men of our own race, shall we surrender it to a ragged rabble of negroes led by a handful of white cowards who at the first sound of conflict will seek to hide themselves from the righteous vengeance which they shall not escape? No! A thousand times no! Let them understand once and for all that we will have no more of the intolerable conditions under which we live. We are resolved to change them, if we have to choke the current of the Cape Fear with carcasses. The time for smooth words has gone by, the extremest limit of forbearance has been reached. Negro domination shall henceforth be only a shameful memory to us and an everlasting warning to those who shall ever again seek to revive it. To this declaration we are irrevocably committed and true men everywhere will hail it with a hearty Amen!

Alfred Moore Waddell, Thalian Hall, Wilmington, N.C., October 24, 1898

After the speech, Waddell received hearty applause and the paper claimed that the speech "electrified his hearers" as it was "the most remarkable delivery ever heard in a campaign here in the memory of this generation." The writer was prophetic when he closed the article with the observation that the speech "will ring for all time." [25]

Waddell's popularity as an eloquent speaker who could reach his audience continued throughout the remainder of the campaign as a result of his Thalian Hall appearance. He received requests for speeches almost daily. At a large campaign rally in Goldsboro on October 28, Waddell thrust Wilmington into the spotlight as he detailed the "outrages" in the city since it had come under Fusion rule. Part of his Goldsboro speech included another adaptation of his famous line that Democrats would win the election if they had to clog the Cape Fear River with "carcasses." [26]

After Waddell's first October speech was printed in the papers, he received praise for his stance from his cousin Rebecca Cameron in Hillsborough. Cameron's response to Waddell's rhetoric is forceful. Cameron opened her letter by informing Waddell that women were "amazed, confounded, and bitterly ashamed of the acquiescence and quiescence of the men of North Carolina at the existing conditions; and more than once have we asked wonderingly: where are the white men and the shotguns!" She continued with a full letter supporting his speech. Cameron concluded her diatribe by informing Waddell that the ladies "are aflame with anger here. I wish you could see Anna, she is fairly rampant and blood thirsty. These blond women are terrible when their fighting blood is up." She added as a last thought: "I hope it will not come to the last resort but when it does, let it be Winchesters and buckshot at close range." [27]

Waddell claimed that he did not seek prominence but was, instead, "begged to make a speech and did so, and that started the fire and from that time until now I have acted entirely upon the request of the people." [28] As part of the speechmaking campaign, Democratic Party leaders pulled in Waddell in the late stages of the campaign, leading to localized rhetoric easily fueled by daily changes in the campaign. After Waddell's speeches in which he proposed violence, Democratic Party leaders decided that the "temper of the community was hot enough and needed quieting down rather than heating up." [29]

Although behind-the-scenes leaders apparently tried to temper some of the rhetoric, as the campaign drew to a close, well-received, highly motivational speakers such as Waddell were seen by the populace as leaders of the Democratic Party movement.

In Wilmington, the combined punch of the print campaign and speeches moved beyond the standard "white men must rule" rhetoric in the city, and another white supremacy tool—fear—emerged. Benjamin Keith observed that the papers had readers "believing everything that was printed, as well as news that was circulated and peddled on the streets." Keith saw that the "frenzied excitement went on until every one but those who were behind the plot, with a few exceptions, were led to believe that the

[25] Waddell's speech was published in its entirety in the *Wilmington Messenger,* October 25, 1898.

[26] *Wilmington Messenger*, October 28, 29, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), October 28, 1898;

[27] Rebecca Cameron to Alfred M. Waddell, October 26, 1898, A. M. Waddell Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow,* 110-111.

[28] AM Waddell to Benehan Cameron, November 16, 1898, Benehan Cameron Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[29] Rountree, "Memorandum."

We are the sons of the men who won the first victory of the Revolution at Moore's Creek Bridge … who stained with bleeding feet the snows of Valley Forge … and only left the service of their country when its independent sovereignty was secured. We are the brothers of men who wrote with their swords from Bethel to Bentonville the most heroic chapter in American annals and we ourselves are men who, inspired by these memories intend to preserve at the cost of our lives if necessary the heritage that is ours. We maintained it against overwhelming armies of men of our own race, shall we surrender it to a ragged rabble of negroes led by a handful of white cowards who at the first sound of conflict will seek to hide themselves from the righteous vengeance which they shall not escape? No! A thousand times no! Let them understand once and for all that we will have no more of the intolerable conditions under which we live. We are resolved to change them, if we have to choke the current of the Cape Fear with carcasses. The time for smooth words has gone by, the extremest limit of forbearance has been reached. Negro domination shall henceforth be only a shameful memory to us and an everlasting warning to those who shall ever again seek to revive it. To this declaration we are irrevocably committed and true men everywhere will hail it with a hearty Amen!

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negroes were going to rise up and kill all the whites."[30] A news correspondent explained that the whites were fearful of an uprising because blacks had received "from their churches and from their lodges . . . reports of incendiary speeches, of impassioned appeals to the blacks to use the bullet that had no respect for color, and the kerosene and torch that would play havoc with the white man's cotton in bale and warehouse." The correspondent who made this observation further explained that the fear of a black uprising was an "ostensible ground for the general display of arms" and even if the blacks were acquiescent, the whites still would have armed themselves as a tool to demonstrate their determination to win the election.[31] Much later in life editor Josephus Daniels acknowledged that he helped to fuel a "reign of terror" by printing stories written so as to instill fear and anger in readers. [32]

Because many white men feared that they could not protect their families in the event of trouble, some white women left the city before the election. For instance, Richard and Louis Meares ushered their mother to South Carolina by November 5, and James S. Worth sent his wife and children out of the city by November 3.[33] In her account of the riot, Wilmington resident Jane Cronly recorded that on the evening of the election, her family heard a rumor that the blacks "disappointed in having been cheated out of the election, might set fire to somebody's property." She noted that "this fear was probably the outcome of anxiety on the part of those people, who having abused and maltreated the negroes were fearful of their just vengeance" and that the warning was false.[34] On the other hand, Mary Parsley of Wilmington wrote to her sister

[30] Keith, *Memories,* 97.

[31] Henry West, "The Race War in North Carolina," *The Forum* 26 (January 1899): 580.

[32] Daniels published his autobiography, which detailed his involvement in Democratic Party activities as editor of the *News and Observer*, in 1941. Daniels, *Editor in Politics,* 288.

[33] Louis Meares to Richard Meares, November 5, 1898, Meares and de Rosset papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; James S. Worth to Josephine Worth, November 3, 1898, James S. Worth Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

[34] Jane Cronly, n.d., Cronly Papers, Duke University Library, Durham.

Sallie in New York and apologized for a sloppy letter because her "head is so full of the scary times I don't know what to do." Sallie later received a letter from her mother in Wilmington who described election day as one of "intense uneasiness . . . no one can realize the torture or suspense until experienced." [35]

Other Wilmingtonians were not as susceptible to the propaganda that generated much of the fear among residents. Businessman Robert Mason wrote his cousin on election day that all was quiet and that the situation was exaggerated by the newspapers and "in the excited minds of some of the extremists." He expressed his hopes that the "conservative elements will keep things down." In response to fears among his workers that a riot was imminent, Mason claimed that it was "idiotic" to close the mill since he thought that to do so would acknowledge a threat that he perceived did not exist. [36] The sentiment, reflected by the upper-class businessmen, was that the threat of violence was sufficient and they hoped to avoid actual violence. Upper class insider Louis Meares wrote that he had "great confidence in the ability of our people to suppress the indiscretion of a certain class of whites who are inclined to urge a conflict and so to smooth over the pending trouble."[37]

The White Government Union emerged as a primary outlet for the dissemination of information and the organization of the citizenry in the city. Attorney William B. McKoy and other Wilmington leaders organized WGU meetings throughout the city, and, by mid-August, Wilmington had a WGU in every ward, its members proudly displaying their large white "White Government Union" campaign buttons. WGU meetings took place at regular intervals and the newspapers advertised meeting times and places for each ward and precinct. Most of the meetings took place in prominent locations such as the office of congressional candidate John D. Bellamy Jr., the office of William B. McKoy, Democratic headquarters in the old National Bank Building, or the Seaboard Air Line Railroad building. Membership was open to anyone who desired "decent government," including women who could participate in meetings but had no vote in club decisions. The night before the election, Wilmington's WGU met in a joint session at the courthouse under the chairmanship of Frank Stedman, with all individual WGU clubs in attendance. After speeches by Waddell and Bellamy, the group named over 150 men to attend polls in their wards and precincts all day during the election, asked businesses that employed voters who planned to vote Democratic to close, and appointed an additional group of over eighty men to represent the candidates during ballot counting.[38]

The bridge between the WGU and the Red Shirt/Rough Rider phenomenon is much more evident in Wilmington. Mike Dowling, admitted leader of Red Shirt/Rough Rider activity and member of a WGU stated that the club sought to win the election "at all hazards and by any means

[35] Mary Parsley to Sallie, November 2, 1898, Eccles Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection; Mother to Sallie, November 9, 1898, Eccles Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

[36] Mason was the cashier for the North Carolina Cotton Oil Company. R. Beverly Mason to Bess, November 8, 1898, John Steele Henderson Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; 1897 *Wilmington City Directory*.

[37] Louis Meares to Richard Meares, November 5, 1898, Meares and de Rosset Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

[38] *Morning Star* (Wilmington), August 11, 18, 19, 25, 26, 27, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), September 2, 3, 9, 18, 21, 22, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), August 24, 25, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), October 8, 24, 1898; *Wilmington Messenger,* November 8, 1898.

necessary." These methods included the use of intimidation—WGU club members would "announce on all occasions that they would succeed if they had to shoot every negro in the city." To facilitate their goal, all members were armed and paraded the streets, day and night. Dowling reported that the red shirts worn by him and his men were provided by the county Democratic Party. Dowling, captain of the Rough Riders, provided his men with whiskey during parades to "fire them up, and make them fiercer and more terrorizing in their conduct." Even after Mayor Silas Wright ordered the closure of saloons, Dowling claimed that congressional candidate John D. Bellamy Jr. "distributed the whiskey from his office." [39]

Activities in Wilmington again mirrored the statewide campaign with the growth of a Red Shirt contingent towards the end of the campaign. According to several of Wilmington's Populists and Republicans, the Red Shirts provided a frightful, dangerous incentive to remain quiet and at home in the weeks prior to the election.[40] In Wilmington, a large Red Shirt rally was held on November 3 in which participants wearing their regalia marched or rode horses throughout town led by Chief Marshal Roger Moore and his aides. The leader of the "Fifth Ward Rough Riders" in the parade was G. W. Bornemann. Another leader of the Red Shirts/Rough Riders was Mike Dowling. The parade began downtown and, after a procession through traditionally black neighborhoods, particularly Brooklyn, ended at Hilton Park where there were a number of speakers and a large picnic.[41] Although contemporary newspaper accounts pointed to the peaceful conduct of the rally, just one day later the Rough Riders got out of hand. "Condemned by all true and good citizens," the Rough Riders spilled into South Front Street and jeopardized all of the careful planning initiated by the Democrats as they attacked "inoffensive persons" and "ran amuck" on the streets. The next day, November 5, the newspaper reprimanded the men and explained that "in their wild rowdyism, they represented nothing but themselves" and nearly "invited riot." [42] Chief of Police John

[39]The information from Dowling regarding his activity in the Red Shirt/Rough Rider brigade as well as in the WGU was obtained by Republican Oliver Dockery, Bellamy's opponent in the 1898 election. Dockery challenged the validity of Bellamy's election and subpoenaed Dowling's testimony. Dowling was rewarded with a city job after the violence but, by 1900, had several run-ins with Wilmington leaders after the 1898 campaign and had no compulsion to protect them while giving testimony in 1900. Winston-Salem *Union-Republican*, March 15, 1900.

[40] L. H. Bryant testified in 1899 that he was a Populist and that armed men, carpenters from the railroad, visited his home and told him not to vote. *Contested Election Case*, 394-5.

[41] It is unknown how many men participated in the rally. The *Dispatch* claimed 100 Red Shirts were in the parade and that over 1,000 people gathered at Hilton Park. Henry L. Hewett testified that he rode in the procession but would not estimate the number of participants. Chief of Police John Melton also testified that on the day of the Red Shirt parade there was sporadic shooting into homes, particularly that of Dixon Toomer, and into a black school on Campbell Square. Melton identified Theodore Swann as the leader of the Rough Riders. *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 3, 1898; *Contested Election Case,* 219, 360-387.

[42] Jim Worth wrote to his wife: "We had a little row last night about dark that might have brought on something worse. Some of the Fifth Ward "Rough Riders" on a spree ran foul of some darkies downtown early in the evening and maltreated several. The boys were "run in" by the police a little later and were today fined $25.00 each and the costs. Rather expensive "fun" for that class of boys. Down on Front Street about dark last night they tackled every nigger that came along regardless and ran several across the street and into nearby alleys. Fortunately they had no arms or there might have been serious trouble as a crowd of both colors quickly formed; but very little was done except to make the boys move on." Jim Worth to Josephine, November 4, 1898, James S. Worth Papers, Southern

Melton received a report from two black men who had been assaulted with a sword by the Rough Riders and Red Shirts. The men "showed marks of violence on their persons" from the attacks and were later confined at home and unable to swear out warrants against their attackers.[43]

Just as in the statewide campaign, Red Shirt participants were drawn from various levels of society. The makeup of the Red Shirt/Rough Rider brigades in Wilmington is somewhat difficult to ascertain. As evidenced by their leader Mike Dowling, some of the Red Shirts were Irish immigrants.[44] Historian Shelia Smith McKoy observed that for some of Wilmington's Irish residents, "attaining whiteness—the process of replacing an ethnic identity for a racial identity—was integral to their participation in the white riot." Further, she contended that "the Irish embraced white supremacy in order to make their whiteness visible" in a world where the economic and social plight of poor whites was often invisible to the greater Democratic Party machine.[45] Other rhetoric tied the Red Shirts to Scottish roots. During a speech given at a rally, William B. McKoy explained that the concept of the red shirt as a sign of battle originated in Scotland, where widowed Highlanders used their husbands' bloody shirts as banners to demonstrate to the king their plight. Although a weak explanation for the use of the red shirt, in an area of strong Scots heritage, McKoy nevertheless appealed to concepts of homeland, protection of women, and honor.[46]

Non-Democrats in Wilmington watched the activities of the Red Shirts with trepidation. W. J. Harris, a white "borned and bred Republican" appointed Inspector of Weights and Measures by the Fusionists, observed that "hatching of the Red Shirts" was effective since he "was right smartly intimidated" at election time. He explained that "Populists voted the white supremacy ticket through fear" even as he and others felt that the talk of guns and force by Democrats was a bluff. Harris considered

Historical Collection; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 5, 1898.

[43] *Contested Election Case*, 362.

[44] In an interview with Harry Hayden, Captain T. C. James of the Wilmington Light Infantry, referred to Dowling as a "hotheaded" Irishman. Hayden, *WLI,* 75.

[45] McKoy acknowledged Wilmington's pre-Civil War population featured a large contingent of recent Irish immigrants and that by 1890, many of their descendants lived in sub-standard housing and were unemployed alongside more recent Irish immigrants. Shelia Smith McKoy, *When Whites Riot*, 43.

[46] Other speculative explanations for the origin of the Red Shirt are found scattered in the historical record. J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton noted that often the Ku Klux Klan outfits were all in red, indicating that perhaps the Red Shirt movement from South Carolina was an outgrowth of that organization. In *Born Fighting,* James Webb stated that the "warrior aristocracy" of the Scotch-Irish "was still in place in the South of the late 1800's." Webb explained that "a significant percentage" of whites in the South "were living in economic conditions no different than blacks" and that "the diminishment of blacks" was "a device for maintaining social and economic control ordered from above at the threat of losing one's place—or job—in the white community." Webb continued to explain the Scotch-Irish mentality when he stated that "violence in defense of one's honor had always been the moniker of this culture" and that even though whites "believed emphatically in racial separation, the true battle lines . . . were not personal so much as they were political and economic." Several references to men who were members of the Red Shirts are found scattered throughout the historical record. Theodore Swann was identified as a leader of the Rough Riders. Swann's family had roots in Wilmington and he was most likely born in the city. The Swanns were carpenters and brick masons, perhaps leading to some competition and tension between the family and prominent African American carpenter families in the city. James Webb, *Born Fighting: How the Scotch-Irish Shaped America* (New York: Broadway Books, 2004), 238-246; Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina,* 461; *Wilmington Messenger*, November 4, 1898; 1870 and 1900 New Hanover County Census for Theodore Swann and his father B. F. Swann.

the Red Shirts to be a gang, and sometimes called them a "militia," with their strength centered in Dry Pond. Before the election, he witnessed their violence against blacks on Front Street after they had been drinking "fighting whiskey," and, as a result, he tried to stay out of the Red Shirts' path. However, because he had held political office and was seen as a minor leader within the Republican Party, Harris explained that "the night of the election they come and give me a salute of about thirty-six guns but I didn't let them know I was there." The next day, one of Harris' friends was surprised to see him alive, and the Red Shirts visited him again the next night. Harris explained that he overheard two Red Shirts complaining that northern reporters had left the city the day after the election because there was no riot. Harris heard them say that the riot would be the next day, attesting to the planned nature of the impending riot and coup. Harris concluded his explanation of the Red Shirts when he said that although the sheriff tried to arrest rowdy Red Shirts, they would be released on bail and back to their tricks within a day—"about as well to arrest the Cape Fear River as to do anything with that [Red Shirt] gang." [47]

During the campaign, the Red Shirts succeeded in intimidating many in the African American community. Nada Cotton recalled for her family that the "Red Shirt campaign was started to intimidate the negro and keep him from the polls." She remembered that the Red Shirts paraded in the streets and that "every able-bodied white was armed." An outside correspondent noted that a "great mass" of blacks were "in a state of terror amounting almost to distress." Jane Cronly observed that despite "all the abuse which has been vented upon them for months they have gone quietly on and have been almost obsequiously polite as if to ward off the persecution they seemed involuntarily to have felt to be in the air." She continued to explain that "in spite of all the goading and persecuting that has been done all summer the negroes have done nothing that could call vengeance on their heads." On the night of the election, Michael Cronly was called out in the "cold and damp for three hours" by his block commander to defend the block against a threat of fire. Cronly remarked that they all acknowledged that it was "perfect farce . . . to be out there in the damp and cold, watching for poor cowed disarmed negroes frightened to death by the threats that had been made against them and too glad to huddle in their homes and keep quiet." [48]

On the other hand, other Wilmington residents circulated unsubstantiated rumors that the blacks were organized in efforts to band together against the intimidation. On the November 7 Jim Worth informed his wife, whom he had sent out of town before the election, that he "wouldn't be greatly surprised if there should be some kind of conflict with the blacks tonight." He continued to explain that "the last two nights they were to avenge the 'red shirt' wrong of a few nights ago." He explained that "it has not as yet amounted to much except a few brickbats thrown, flourishing of a few guns and pistols and lots of talk." [49] The Wilmington papers recounted almost daily incidents of black crime portrayed as yet another means of retaliation against white aggression. Whether true or contrived by the papers, these accounts spread throughout the state and further united Wilmington whites in their resolve to combat blacks with force..[50]

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[47] *Contested Election Case*, 387-394; *Wilmington Messenger*, October 20, 1898.

[48] Jane Cronly, n.d., Cronly Papers, Duke University Library, Durham.

[49] Jim Worth to Josephine, November 7, 1898, James S. Worth Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

[50] Several news accounts and manuscript records detail blacks stealing food and claiming hunger. Perhaps as a result of a hostile environment with few

Democrats also used economic pressures against their targets. The city's leading businessmen contended that "the substitution of white for negro labor" would solve many of the city's problems. These men needed the political contest to be over so they could return to business. The unsettled situation was seen as "detrimental to every business interest" because of the impact upon business and capital recruitment for the city. [51] At the beginning of October, the chamber of commerce met and passed resolutions requiring members to "exert . . . utmost influence and personal effort to effect results which will restore order" and protect property and lives. As a result, the Merchant's Association met on October 7 and developed a plan for the establishment of a "permanent labor bureau for the purpose of procuring white labor for employers." The group agreed to meet on a weekly basis and promised that their mission to hire more white men would not falter after the election.[52] For their part, the city's white laborers pressured leaders to acknowledge their economic plight and organized a White Laborer's Union to ensure their needs would be addressed once the Democrats regained power. At the end of October about 35 laborers organized the union. They elected Red Shirt Mike Dowling chair, and stated that their purpose was to "organize a white laborer's union with a view to replacing negro labor with white labor and with this object in view to co-operate with the Wilmington Labor Bureau recently organized as a result of the meeting of the business men and tax payers of Wilmington." [53]

Vigilance Committees and Paramilitary Organization

Another component of the Wilmington campaign, and apparently unique to the city, was the development of a "Vigilance Committee," which was under an additional umbrella of the militia-like organization led by Roger Moore and attributed to the Secret Nine. Also called the "Citizen's Patrol," the Vigilance Committee attempted to pull the Red Shirts and White Government Unions under their control.

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jobs available, men had to resort to crime in order to feed themselves and their families. Former chief of police Melton answered a series of questions in 1899 regarding the arson problems faced by the city and replied that the arson cases were well before the beginning of the white supremacy election campaign and that the "firebugs" had been arrested. Melton observed that during the spring and summer months when residents were out of the city at vacation homes on the beach, crime at those residences increased annually and was usually instances of young boys breaking and entering to steal minor items. James Worth wrote his wife before the election that a black man had approached his house and asked his mother for something to eat since he had eaten nothing for two days. Another letter writer, Mrs. Edward Wootten, informed her son that blacks had been "robbing pantries." James Worth to Josephine, November 3, 1898, James S. Worth Papers, Southern Historical Collection; Mother to Edward Wootten, November 8, 1898, Wootten Papers, University of North Carolina at Wilmington; *Contested Election Case,* 369-70.

[51] It is clear that after the city returned to Democratic control business leaders were successful in a variety of business ventures. The Delgado Mill began construction in 1899, the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad located its headquarters in the city and other businesses grew as well. The turn of the century was a period of prosperity for businessmen throughout the country, Wilmington's business leaders were not able to capitalize on the wealth being accumulated by railroad and industry magnates until after 1898. Review of industrial schedules from the 1890 and 1900 census plus business directories and port records demonstrates the growth seen in the city following 1898 as businessmen focused on business and not politics. *Wilmington Messenger*, November 2, 1898.

[52] *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), October 8, 1898.

[53] C. C. Redd, George W. Cameron, D. A. Rowan, C. W. Millis and M. G. Silva were appointed by those present to draw up a constitution and by-laws before the next meeting. *Wilmington Messenger*, October 28, 1898.

The clear lines of all the various organizations began to blur by the time of the election as the oft-repeated specter of black violence created within the city an edgy armed camp. Some of the highest ranking Democratic Party leaders in the county lost sight of some peripheral activities because, as Rountree admitted, they were "busy in other activities."[54] As spokesman for the Democrats, Waddell proclaimed in late October that "we are going to protect our firesides and our loved ones or we will die in the attempt." [55]

For the purposes of organized protection for homes, women, and children, white leaders divided the city into sections along ward lines. Following military chain of command structures, a man was then selected to serve as ward captain in each of the five wards. Hayden indicated that two of the Secret Nine, E. S. Lathrop and P. B. Manning, were established as contacts for the ward captains to communicate with other leaders unknown to the captains. Further, each ward captain selected a lieutenant to command individual blocks. Lieutenants reported daily to the ward captain the number of armed men they represented and the numbers of women, children, and invalids that would need protection. The lieutenants then received orders to organize the men of each block for regular patrols. An outsider commented that the city "might have been preparing for a siege instead of an election" because men of all backgrounds had "brushed aside the great principles that divide parties and individuals and stood together as one man." [56] One method used by the Citizen's Patrol for identification was a white handkerchief tied to the left arm.[57] Democratic leader Thomas W. Strange wrote to Benehan Cameron of Durham that the city was "like an armed camp" because of nightly street patrols.[58] A reporter for the *Richmond Times* visited the city just before the election and attended a meeting at the home of "a leading citizen" who was involved in a conference with ward captains. The reporter explained that the men, some of whom were Confederate veterans, had "every detail arranged" and were not "hot-headed boys" but, instead, "the most prominent men in the city who have resolved that there shall be no further negro rule." The reporter took pains to point out the differences between the organized

[54] Rountree, "Memorandum."

[55] *Wilmington Messenger*, October 29, 1898.

[56] It is unclear as to when the patrols began. James Cowan, editor of the Wilmington *Dispatch,* claimed that the patrols took place for a year, but most other accounts indicate that the patrols began in the period immediately preceding the election. In August, a correspondent of the *News and Observer* visited the city to investigate claims of "negro domination" and discovered "murmurings" of Vigilance Committees at that early stage. Chief of Police Melton testified that guns were carried on the street during the campaign and that armed men were posted on every corner in the city all night for a few days before the election. *Hayden*, *WLI,* 66, 70; Thomas Clawson, "The Wilmington Race Riot in 1898, Recollections and Memories" Louis T. Moore Papers, State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh; "Minutes of the Organizational Meeting of the Association of Members of the Wilmington Light Infantry," December 14, 1905, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; Henry West, "The Race War in North Carolina," *The Forum*, January 1899, 579; Daniels, *Editor in Politics,* 285; Jim Worth to Josephine, November 16, 1898, James Spencer Worth Papers, Southern Historical Collection,; *Contested Election Case,* 360; James Cowan, "The Wilmington Race Riot."

[57] Jack Metts, November 9, 1898, Hinsdale Papers, Duke University Library, Durham.

[58] Historian Jerome McDuffie observed that the Vigilance Committee was associated mainly with leading businessmen and property owners, resulting in less white supremacy rhetoric. Further, he noted that they did not hold rallies, openly brandish weapons to intimidate, and that discussions of this group were "tempered" with a degree of "moderate paternalism." McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington, " 621; Thomas Strange to Benehan Cameron, November 16, 1898, Benehan Cameron Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

businessmen and the rowdy Red Shirts even as he recognized that the Red Shirts were the "outward and visible sign of the determination here to prevent the negroes from voting." [59]

Roger Moore
Image: William L. DeRossett, Pictorial and Historical New Hanover County.

A crucial figure in the preparations of the city for the potential of violence on election day was Colonel Roger Moore. Moore, a former Confederate cavalry officer, was a member of the city's aristocratic elite. His family, early settlers of the Cape Fear region, was politically and economically prominent across several generations. In 1868, Moore had organized the first Ku Klux Klan efforts in Wilmington. Owing to his military background and KKK participation, Moore was selected at the age of 60 to command the paramilitary units of citizens. Moore's widow defended his actions in a letter to the editor after his death in 1900. Mrs. Moore claimed that her husband, with the assistance of Dr. J. E. Matthews, organized and led the "revolution" of 1898. For at least 6 weeks prior to the election, Moore developed "plans by which disaster could be averted" as he built up his organization. She praised the "men who spent many sleepless nights watching and guarding the safety and residents of the whole town." Her main purpose in writing the letter was to proudly attach her husband's name to the riot and prove his actions saved many lives, while discrediting Waddell's role in the pre-election and pre-riot planning. The organizational framework developed by veteran Moore led to the response of Wilmington whites on November 10—patrols manned by armed, exhausted, tense men who were unfamiliar with near-battle conditions facilitated street fighting on a large scale. [60]

The Wilmington Light Infantry

The Wilmington Light Infantry (WLI) boasted a long history of militia service to North Carolina, having been formed in 1853. Members of the WLI served in the Civil War after being mustered into service by the North Carolina General Assembly on May 10, 1861. After the Civil War, members returned to Wilmington and

[59] *Wilmington Messenger*, November 5, 1898.

[60] Waddell and Moore held some animosity towards each other. The root of the animosity is unknown but might stem from any number of causes, including their Confederate service record. Waddell was Lt. Col. of the 3rd Regiment, N.C. Cavalry and resigned due to illness in August 1864. Waddell was immediately replaced by Moore who had led the regiment instead of Waddell since June 1864 after the capture of the regiment's captain. Moore's widow made a point to explain that Waddell, despite his speechmaking, did not know of the amount of planning that took place behind closed doors, and only after he was appointed mayor did he learn all the details of the coup. She also explained that Moore sought to prevent wholesale slaughter of blacks on the day of the riot at Sprunt's Compress and at the jail that night. The account given by Moore's widow is corroborated by William de Rosset in his history of the region. Mrs. Roger Moore, Correspondence, University of North Carolina at Wilmington Library; Louis Manarin and Weymouth T. Jordon, Jr., comps., *North Carolina Troops 1861-1865* (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, Department of Cultural Resources, 1968), 3:180; William Lord de Rosset, *Pictorial and Historical New Hanover County and Wilmington North Carolina, 1723-1938* (Wilmington, 1938), 30-31; Prather, *We Have Taken a City,* 100-101; Clawson, "The Wilmington Race Riot"; James Cowan, "The Wilmington Race Riot."

maintained the volunteer militia group as part of the State Guard under the command of the adjutant general of North Carolina. As veteran members of the WLI advanced in age, Veteran and Reserve Corps of the WLI were organized in 1892. The Veteran Corps was comprised of men who were members prior to April 15, 1861. The Reserve Corps was comprised of members who had been active members in good standing for five years. The Veteran and Reserve Corps assisted active members through leading by example and "inspiring them with that 'esprit de corps' so essential to the welfare of a military organization." [61] These men of the Reserve Corps also provided behind-the-scenes management within the WLI, connecting it with other facets of the white supremacy movement.

Members of the Wilmington Light Infantry came from throughout the city and represented a cross section of upper- and middle-class families. Sons of prominent white Wilmington businessmen served in the WLI as they worked themselves up through the ranks of Wilmington businesses as clerks, accountants, and bookkeepers. Candidates for membership had to apply to join by letter, and their applications were then voted on by other members; 5 negative votes equaled rejection. Once a member, the initiate was required to participate in drills and meetings. Prompt payment of dues and expenses related to membership was expected. Furthermore, the corps required members to uphold strict guidelines for conduct and public appearances while in uniform. [62]

Unidentified member of WLI, n.d.
Image courtesy of Cape Fear Museum, Wilmington

The leadership of the WLI took pains to separate themselves from the citizen's patrol even though Commander Walker Taylor was a prominent member of the Democratic Party's county committee and clandestine organizations. Other members of the WLI were also members of the White Government Union. In the literature generated by participants and witnesses, a distinction is drawn between the citizen's patrols and the official state militia in the uniforms of the WLI. As part of their role as official members of the state's home guard, the WLI sought to provide additional peace measures in the city. WLI member John Metts wrote on November 9 that the past week had been exceptionally busy. On the Saturday night before the election, he was ordered by Captain T. C. James to "order the company up" because there were reports of the blacks forming mobs in the northern and southern sections of the city. The reports proved false but still demonstrated the readiness of the WLI. [63] In

[61] Wrenn, *Wilmington North Carolina,* 206-207; Hayden, *WLI*, 45; Wilmington Light Infantry, *Constitution and Bylaws* (1904) Cape Fear Museum, 15-19. See Appendix F for Roster of WLI and Naval Reserves members.

[62] WLI, *Constitution,* 15-19; *Wilmington Messenger* November 26, 1905, December 16, 1905; Hayden, *WLI*, 45-46.

[63] For further indication of the differences between the WLI and the Citizen's Patrol, witness James Cowan's explanation that once the WLI was

addition, there were in the city furloughed members of Company K and the Naval Reserves—men still in federal service for the Spanish-American War effort.[64]

Amidst heated rhetoric regarding the fear of black attempts to retaliate against white leaders, the men and women of Wilmington prepared for whatever violence transpired and all expected some sort of outbreak. A Richmond reporter noticed that "the whites, or some of them, would welcome a little 'unpleasantness'" since they were "prepared for it." The reporter provided a metaphor for the impending conflict as he stated that "it requires an electric storm to purify the atmosphere." [65] Many whites were on edge – the city had been worked into a fever over repeated reports, true and contrived, of violence against whites by blacks. Mrs. Edward Wootten, a Wilmington resident, wrote her son on November 8 that their block captain had told her husband that he should be ready on a moment's notice. She had her husband buy extra bread so that they would have something to eat if violence broke out. The "safe place" for her block was a nearby church, but she decided that if the Presbyterian church bell sounded the alarm, she would stay at her home because each block was guarded by groups of 4 to 8 men at each corner. She lamented that she had no gun because they were all in the hands of her male family members but did note that the "hatchets were handy." She prepared coffee for the men guarding her block and assured them that more would be made if "trouble came." She did not believe "the negroes will dare start so terrible a thing but if they are drinking they may do more than if sober and it would take a small match to set all on fire." Considering herself a strong woman, she felt "truly sorry for timid women and the little children." Her letter ended the next morning with a short statement from her husband: "All quiet—we lay by our arms all night for riot—all quiet."[66]

Adding to the fever pitch was the emphasis placed on weaponry. The papers had editorialized several times during the campaign that the city needed to purchase a rapid-fire gun for the general protection of the city, and articles proclaimed that "guns were still coming to North Carolina" in advance of the election. Adding to the fear of riot instilled in readers through their papers, Wilmington's editors simultaneously ran articles reporting that everyone in the city, black and white, was armed. The city's white businessmen acted, and, "at the cost of $1,200," they "purchased, equipped, and manned a rapid-fire gun" because "complete preparation would best assure protection." [67] Once the rapid-fire gun was

mobilized by the governor on the day of the riot, the Citizen's Patrol ceased to exist because "there was no further need for their services." James Cowan, "The Wilmington Race Riot;" Jack Metts, November 9, 1898, Hinsdale Papers, Duke University Library, Durham.

[64] It was decided by Democratic Party leaders that federal troops should not participate in activities because their involvement would possibly result in Federal intervention. Despite such warnings about participation, many members of the active troops participated in rallies and other activities, including the riot, wearing parts of their uniforms. Rountree, "Memorandum," *Minutes of the Association of the WLI*.

[65] *Wilmington Messenger,* November 5, 1898.

[66] Such quiet female support of the campaign can be found as an undercurrent in newspaper articles, parades, attendance at speeches and WGU events. Wootten Collection, University of North Carolina at Wilmington.

[67] John Bellamy testified that the purchase of a gun was done by the merchants for the protection of life and property "separate and apart" from the Democratic committees and that the purchase was "kept very quiet." *Wilmington Messenger*, November 4, 1898; Iredell Meares, "Wilmington Revolution" broadside, Edmund Smithwick and Family Papers, Private Collections, State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh; *Contested Election Case*, 256-7.

in the city, the gun squad assembled the gun, the squad, and black leaders of the community on a boat and demonstrated the gun's ability on November 1, 1898.[68]

Chief of Police Melton estimated that there were between 2,000 and 3,000 guns in the city by the election. Reports of accidental shootings were scattered throughout the papers. In the *Morning Star* the day of the election, 2 articles near each other reported that a white man accidentally shot a compatriot while "inspecting" a pistol on the street, and a white "guard" was wounded by a black man with an "old fashioned rifle or shotgun loaded with buck" in Brooklyn. The day before, the *Messenger* claimed that Norfolk merchants were shipping guns to North Carolina in record numbers over the past 30 days. The *Messenger* observed that "there will be no guns or pistols publicly displayed at the voting places . . . but the bushes will be full of them." A reporter visiting the city estimated that there were "enough small arms imported in the state in the last sixty days to equip an entire division of the United States army." He noted that the whites were armed with Winchesters and that the blacks were equipped with "old army muskets, shotguns, or pistols." Waddell's preelection night speech summed up the mood of the Democrats:

> You are Anglo-Saxons. You are armed and prepared, and you will do your duty. Be ready at a moment's notice. Go to the polls tomorrow, and if you find the Negro out voting, tell him to leave the polls and if he refuses kill, shoot him down in his tracks. We shall win tomorrow if we have to do it with guns. [69]

In such an atmosphere, African Americans also sought to arm themselves. However, the menacing control exerted by white supremacy advocates over life in the state identified efforts of blacks to purchase weapons. One such attempt was widely publicized in local and state papers. According to Democratic newspapers, William Lee and M. H. McAllister tried to order rifles from Winchester Arms Company of New Jersey. The company referred the request to their North Carolina agent, Odell Hardware of Greensboro. Odell's manager, Charles H. Ireland, suspicious of the order, contacted Wilmington merchants William Worth and Nathaniel Jacobi. After learning that Lee and McAllister were black, Odell refused to fill the order and forwarded the request to the *News and Observer,* which then looked into the matter. Editor Josephus Daniels discussed the issue with Iredell Meares of Wilmington who said that William Lee was actually John William Lee, chairman of the New Hanover County Republican Executive Committee. Local Republicans denounced the claims as they were published in the *News and Observer* and local papers, particularly since the county Republican chair's full name was actually John Wesley

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[68] The exhibition of the gun as it was shot down river near Eagle's Island proved to African American leaders that if it were used against men in the streets, scores would die in a short span of time. *Contested Election Case*, 344-6.

[69] There are conflicting descriptions of the rapid fire gun(s) in the city and there was more than just one rapid fire gun in Wilmington. The *Messenger* reported on the day of the election that a "rapid-fire Hotchkiss gun arrived here last night by the New York steamer for the Wilmington Division, North Carolina Naval Battalion." Charles H. White testified that he assisted in operating the gun purchased by "the people of the city" and it was a Colt that could fire 420 shots per minute. *Contested Election Case,* 343-6, 362; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 8, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 7, 1898; Iredell Meares, "the Wilmington Revolution," Smithwick Papers, State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh; Alfred Moore Waddell as quoted in *Outlook*, November 19, 1898; *Wilmington Messenger,* November 8, 1898.

Lee and he claimed no knowledge of the order. [70]

Rumors circulated throughout the state that Wilmington outsiders also tried to help local African Americans protect themselves in response to white armament. The story that Congressman George White of Tarboro attempted to equip blacks through the purchase of guns via his wife received much attention. In an article published the week before the election, the Wilmington *Evening Dispatch* declared that not only was a Wilmington black leader in Norfolk and Baltimore purchasing guns and ammunition but that other black leaders such as White were assisting the effort. The *Dispatch* quoted from the *News and Observer* that whites in Tarboro discovered that White's wife received an "express package containing rifles, name of shipper withheld." The paper concluded the article with a simple, menacing statement: "[W]hite people are ready and prepared for any emergency." [71]

Due to indications that blacks were arming themselves, local Wilmington leaders moved to determine the extent of weapon stockpiles in the black community. Two detectives, one of each race, were hired by Edgar Parmele, George Rountree, Frank Stedman, and Walker Taylor at the urging of Atlantic Coastline Railroad president John Kenly. The detectives informed the men that the blacks "were doing practically nothing." Additionally, the Group Six decided to hire 2 black Pinkerton agents to investigate. Walker Taylor of the Group Six was informed by these detectives that the blacks were contemplating arson instead of arming themselves. [72]

After the election, many of the city's merchants were called to testify in a court case challenging the validity of John Bellamy's victory over Oliver Dockery in November. Attorneys requested specifics on the number of guns sold in the days and weeks leading up to the election. Two merchants, Joseph Jacobi and William E. Springer, were evasive in their answers and provided little information as to the number of guns they sold. Three other merchants provided a glimpse into the total sales of weapons in the city. Charles D. Foard testified that he sold 25 to 30 guns and pistols between November 1 and 10; Owen F. Love, member of the Second Ward White Government Union, did not believe the WGU would tolerate violence but still sold about 59 guns. J. W. Murchison reported that he sold about 200 pistols, 40 to 50 shotguns, 125 repeating rifles, including 75 Colt repeaters that could repeat 25 times, and 50 Winchesters that could repeat about 15 times. Under cross-examination by a Democratic Party attorney, Murchison stated that the sales for 1898 were similar to sales from other election years. The line of questioning for all merchants appeared to acknowledge that gun sales escalated in election years and that the weapons sold by these merchants were to whites only. [73]

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[70] The fact that the *News and Observer* was included in the matter reflects the important role that Josephus Daniels and the paper played in the 1898 campaign. It was not illegal for blacks to own or purchase guns. Local Wilmington Republicans probably denounce the rumor for the sake of peace and safety. McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 625-6; *Wilmington Messenger*, October 9, 1898; *News and Observer* (Raleigh), October 8, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), October 10, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), October 9, 1898.

[71] *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 2, 1898; Glenda Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow*, 107-8.

[72] William Parsley wrote a relative after the riot that "every blessed one of them [blacks] had a pistol of some sort and many of them rifles and shotguns loaded with buckshot." William Parsley to Sal, November 12, 1898, Eccles Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

[73] The testimony presented in the challenge to Bellamy's election by his opponent Oliver Dockery has provided insight regarding the activities of many of the leading participants in the campaign and riot. *Contested Election Case*, 8-18.

The election campaign of 1898 represented the beginning of the end for the Republican Party and the promise of full control of state politics by 1900 for the Democrats. The use of violence and intimidation using both clandestine and overt methods proved a successful model for the Democratic Party to disassemble the fragile framework of cooperation between white and black Republicans and Populists. In Wilmington, Democratic victory at the ballot box, whether honestly or fraudulently obtained, would be a reality. Less clear was how the hysteria and fear stimulated by the campaign would dissipate.

Chapter 4: Eve of Destruction

- Adding to the campaign hysteria created by the Democratic Party was an article published by Alex Manly, editor of the *Daily Record,* the city's only African American newspaper. The article sought to counter claims by whites regarding interracial sexual relationships. Manly's article was used repeatedly by Democrats as a tool to further anger whites.

- Republicans, locally and statewide, sought to alleviate the problems to no avail. Delegations traveled to Raleigh and Washington to meet with Governor Daniel L. Russell and President William McKinley in order to inform them about the stresses created by the Democratic white supremacy campaign. Russell bargained with Wilmington Democrats, and the Republicans did not mount a slate of candidates in return for promises by Democrats that violence would be averted on election day.

- Some African Americans in Wilmington sought to assist in efforts to calm tensions whereas others inadvertently assisted Democrats by forcefully reacting to white antagonism and threats.

- Despite threats of being fired or physically harmed for registering to vote, many African Americans sought to exercise their voting rights, resulting in increased efforts by the Democrats to intimidate black voters.

- Although many white men in the city had guns, no widespread violence broke out on election day, and Democrats won with wide majorities. A minor scuffle occurred at a majority African American Republican precinct while votes were being tallied. During the scuffle, the ballot boxes were stuffed to ensure white victory.

- The day after the election, whites held a meeting in which a series of resolutions were passed requiring Alex Manly leave the city and cease printing his paper. Additional resolutions called for the resignation of the mayor and chief of police. Meeting attendees selected a Committee of Twenty-five to be led by Alfred Waddell to implement a set of resolutions called the White Declaration of Independence.

- The Committee of Twenty-Five summoned leading black politicians and business leaders—the Committee of Colored Citizens (CCC)—to meet on the evening of November 9 and placed their demands in the hands of the city's African American community. The CCC prepared a response and sought to implement means to prevent violence. The response was to be delivered on the morning of November 10 by 7:30 A.M.

- Despite electoral returns favoring Democrats and the general conclusion by some leading members of the party that the worst was over, many whites were still on edge. They anxiously awaited the tenth bolstered by a block system of patrols and paramilitary organization of armed men already in place.

Chapter 4: Eve of Destruction

Complete victory for their platform and candidates on November 8, 1898 was the goal for Democrats. Their strategy included the use of intimidation and scare tactics to keep black Republicans away from the polls and white Fusionists at bay. Towards the end of the campaign, leading Republicans saw clearly that the game was lost and that they should seek to prevent outright bloodshed in the name of politics. The final days of the campaign were hectic with politicians making last minute deals and the press relishing in the fracas as the daily papers contributed as much to the frenzy as did fiery speechmakers like Alfred Moore Waddell.

A Unifying Issue

Discussion of the 1898 white supremacy campaign cannot be complete without analyzing the contributions of Alexander Manly to the political circus. Manly's newspaper article challenging accepted beliefs regarding interracial relationships provided another weapon in the Democrat's white supremacy arsenal. Born in 1866, a descendant of Governor Charles Manly, and a native of Wake County, Alex Manly relocated to Wilmington after receiving an education at Hampton Institute. He was soon joined in business by several of his brothers who assisted him in opening the city's leading black newspaper, the *Daily Record.* Manly acquired a used printing press from Thomas Clawson, editor of the *Wilmington Messenger*, and successfully operated the paper for a number of years prior to the 1898 white supremacy campaign.[1] In addition to his printing operations, Manly became involved in city politics and social life, teaching Sunday school at the Chestnut Street Presbyterian Church and serving as deputy register of deeds. Manly's paper was considered "a very creditable colored paper" and received white support through subscriptions and advertising. Because of its wide readership throughout the state, the paper expanded its publication from a weekly to a daily in 1897. Although the paper was supported by the white community through advertising, Manly used the paper as a voice for the city's progressive African American community as he sought universal improvement of blacks throughout the city. The paper advocated internal improvements, and its editorials managed to raise the ire of some whites.[2]

The editorial that proved to be the doom of the *Record* was printed in August 1898 as a response to a speech of Rebecca L. Felton of Georgia.[3] Felton had developed

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[1] It is unclear when Manly began publication of the *Record,* but the earliest extant copy dates to 1895. The *Record*'s archives were apparently destroyed during the riot. By 1897, the paper was successful enough to switch to daily publication from weekly. Andrea M. Kirshenbaum, "Race, Gender and Riot," 38; Clawson, "Recollections and Memories."

[2] Prather, *We Have Taken a City*, 68-70; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 585-6; Kirshenbaum, "Race Gender and Riot," 37-38; Clawson, "Recollections and Memories."

[3] Some contemporary debate arose among Republicans and Populists as to whether Manly wrote the article and whether he was paid by Democrats to print it. It was speculated that Manly had spoken out against such claims and defended his paper as he claimed responsibility for the work. Chief of Police Melton felt Manly was prompted to print the article by Democrats as he testified that he thought "if Manly did not get a good round price for that editorial he ought to be put in the asylum for crazy." Melton also observed that if Democrats did not support Manly in some way they would not have allowed him to continue in publication until the election. He also explained that he was told that the paper was not suppressed because it was a good campaign tool for the Democrats. Melton claimed to have heard numbers of people state that they thought Manly was paid for the article and that Wake County

a reputation in her home state as an outspoken advocate of lynching African American males accused of raping white women, and her speeches reflected her racist and stereotypical attitudes. Much analysis has been done on Felton's arguments in support of lynching, but her core beliefs about interracial relationships were the basis for her argument. Felton rejected mulattos or the relationships that generated mixed-race children as base and degenerate and reprimanded whites who allowed black/white unions. Her solution to preventing white women from participating in biracial relationships was to exterminate black men who attracted white women and to humiliate white women who dallied with black men. Her reprimands developed over time into a diatribe that advocated violence against black men. The speech that generated reaction in Manly's paper was originally given by Felton in 1897, in which she cautioned white men to better protect and oversee white women on isolated farms so as to prevent them from being harmed by interaction with black men.[4]

Manly's response agreed with Felton on many points but diverged as the editorial suggested that white women of poorer classes "are not any more particular in the matter of clandestine meetings with colored men than are the white men with colored women." Manly pursued Felton's argument further, and his own well-known mulatto genealogy made his words even more pointed: "[E]very Negro lynched is called a 'big, burly, black brute' when in fact many of those who have thus been dealt with had white men for their fathers and were not only not 'black' and 'burly' but were sufficiently attractive for white girls of culture and refinement to fall in love with them as is very well known to all." Manly ended his editorial by appealing to whites to "teach your men purity" because he saw that it was "no worse for a black man to be intimate with a white woman, than for a white man to be intimate with a colored woman."

Alexander Manly
Image Source: John H. W. Bonitz Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

newspapers printed such speculation. After the riot, William L. Jeffries, one of Manly's assistant editors, claimed authorship of the article when visiting in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania in December 1898. Jeffries was quoted as saying that the editorial was written to "show that there were two sides to the question and that the outrages were not all on one side." He further explained that if Manly returned to Wilmington, whites would "burn and kill him" but that they would be getting the "wrong man." For more on Manly's role, see Appendix G. *Contested Election Case,* 376.

[4] Felton's speech, over a year old, was re-printed in the Wilmington *Morning Star* in August, 1898 because Felton's theme and tone mirrored the current white supremacy campaign. Manly may not have known that the speech was year old. However, Felton traveled widely to speak on the topic even after the 1897 speech at the Agricultural Society. LeeAnn Whites, "Love, Hate, Rape, Lynching: Rebeccan Latimer Felton and the Gender Politics of Racial Violence," in *Democracy Betrayed: The Wilmington Race Riot and IOts Legacy,* ed. David Cecelski and Timothy Tyson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 143-161; Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow,* 105.

Mrs. Felton Speaks
She Makes a Sensational Speech Before Agricultural Society
Believes Lynching Should Prevail as Long as Defenseless Woman is Not Better Protected.

[J. A. Holman, Special to Atlanta Journal]

South Bend Hotel, Tybee, GA., August 12 The feature of the session yesterday afternoon was the address by Mrs. W. H. Felton, of Bartow County, in which she discussed at length the public questions of interest in Georgia at this time, and dwelt with particular emphasis on the lynching problem. She reiterated her plea for co-education at the State University. Mrs. Felton spoke of the necessity for the better education of farmers' daughters as a protection from the assaulter, and declared that instead of so much money being expended for foreign missions it might be used to even better advantage in educating the heathen at home, even in Georgia.

I hear much of the millions sent abroad to Japan, China, India, Brazil and Mexico, but I feel that the heathen at home are so close at hand and need so much that I must make a strong effort to stop lynching, by keeping closer watch over the poor white girls on the secluded farms; and if these poor maidens are destroyed in a land that their fathers died to save from the invader's foot, I say the shame lies with the survivors who fail to be protectors for the children of their dead comrades.

I do not discount foreign missions. I simply say the heathens are destroyed in sight of your opulence and magnificence and when your temples of justice are put to shame by the lynchers' rope. If your courthouses are shams and frauds and the law's delay is the villain's bulwark, then I say let judgment begin at the house of God and redeem this country from the cloud of shame that rests upon it.

When there is not enough religion in the pulpit to organize a crusade against sin; nor justice in the courthouse to promptly punish crime; nor manhood enough in the nation to put a sheltering arm about innocence and virtue – if it needs lynching to protect woman's dearest possession from the ravening human beasts – then I say lynch; a thousand times a week if necessary.

The poor girl would choose any death in preference to such ignominy and outrage, and a quick death is mercy to the rapist compared to the suffering of innocence and modesty in a land of bibles and churches, where violence is becoming omnipotent except with the rich and powerful before the law.

The crying need of women on the farms is security in their lives and in their homes. Strong, able-bodied men have told me they stopped farming and moved to town because their women folks were scared to death if left alone.

I say it is a disgrace in a free country when such things are a public reproach and the best part of God's creation are trembling and crying for protection in their own homes. And I say, with due respect to all who listen to me, that so long as your politics takes the colored man into your embraces on election day to control the vote; and so long as the politicians use liquor to befuddle his understanding and make him think he is a man and brother when they propose to defeat the opposition by honey-snuggling him at the polls, and so long as he is made familiar with their dirty tricks in politics, so long will lynchings prevail, because the causes of it grow and increase.

[Mrs. Felton is one of the most distinguished women of Georgia, intellectually and socially. She is the wife of Dr. W. H. Felton, a former Representative in Congress, and takes a prominent part in everything pertaining to the advancement and protection of her sex. Editor Star][5]

[5] *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), August 18, 26, 1898.

Alex Manly's Editorial

A Mrs. Felton from Georgia, made a speech before the Agricultural Society at Tybee Ga, in which she advocates lynching as an extreme measure. This woman makes a strong plea for womanhood and if the alleged crimes of rape were half so frequent as it oft times reported, her plea would be worthy of consideration.

Mrs. Felton like many other so-called Christians looses sight of the basic principle of the religion of Christ in her plea for one class of religion as against another. If a missionary spirit is essential for the uplifting of the poor white girls, why is it? The morals of the poor white people are on a par with their colored neighbors of like conditions and if one doubts the statement let him visit among them. The whole lump needs to be leavened by those who profess so much religion and showing them that the preservation of virtue is an essential for the life of any people.

Mrs. Felton begins well for she admits that education will better protect the girls on the farm from the assaulter. This we admit and it should not be confined to the white any more than to the colored girls. The papers are filled often with reports of rapes of white women, and the subsequent lynching of the alleged rapist. The editors pour forth volumes of aspersions against all Negroes because of the few who may be guilty. If the papers and speakers of the other race would condemn the commission of crime because it is crime and not try to make it appear that the Negroes were the only criminals, they would find their strongest allies in the intelligent Negroes themselves; and together the whites and blacks would root the evil out of both races.

We suggest that the whites guard their women more closely, as Mrs. Felton says, thus giving no opportunity for the human fiend be he white or black. You leave your goods out of doors and then complain because they are taken away. Poor white men are careless in the matter of protecting their women, especially on the farms. They are careless of their conduct toward them, and our experience among poor white people in the country teaches us that the women of that race are not any more particular in the matter of clandestine meetings with colored men than are the white men with colored women. Meetings of this kind go on for some time until the womans infatuation or the mans boldness bring attention to them and the man is lynched for rape. Every Negro lynched is called a 'big, burly, black brute,' when in fact many of those who have thus been dealt with had white men for their fathers, and were not only not 'black' and 'burly' but were sufficiently attractive for white girls of culture and refinement to fall in love with them as is very well known to all.

Mrs. Felton must begin at the fountain head if she wishes to purify the stream.

Teach your men purity. Let virtue be something more than an excuse for them to intimidate and torture a helpless people. Tell your men that it is no worse for a black man to be intimate with a white woman, than for a white man to be intimate with a colored woman.

You set yourselves down as a lot of carping hypocrites in that you cry aloud for the virtue of your women while you seek to destroy the morality of ours.

Don't think ever that your women will remain pure while you are debauching ours. You sow the seed— the harvest will come in due time. [6]

The Daily Record.

ADVERTISE IN THE DAILY RECORD

WILMINGTON, N. C., THURSDAY EVENING, AUGUST 18, 1898.

Masthead of the August 18, 1898 *Daily Record*
Source: Photograph in the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

[6] Few copies of the *Daily Record* survive. Partial transcriptions of the article can be found in contemporary papers and some full transcriptions have been found. McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 588-9; Thomas Clawson, "Recollections and Memories," Louis T. Moore Papers, Private Collections, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

Manly's editorial appeared on August 18, but it was not until weeks later that Democratic Party officials began to make political hay out of its content. Walker Taylor recalled for members of the Wilmington Light Infantry that "when that article appeared, it required the best efforts we could put forth" to prevent whites from lynching Manly. Taylor also explained that the leaders did not immediately make an issue of the article, thus keeping white vehemence in check: "Simmons, who was here at the time told us that the article would make it an easy victory for us" in November. The *Morning Star* asked its readers to "be brave, but be prudent" because "self-control is one of the highest attributes of courageous manhood." Simmons urged Wilmington's Democratic Party leaders to "try and prevent any riot until after the election." [7]

Although Democrats sought to control response to the article, there was an immediate reaction in both the black and white reading public. Rumors circulated that Manly would be lynched, and it was reported that he had received written threats to leave the city. In response, groups of black men armed themselves to protect him and the press at its downtown location at the corner of Water and Princess Streets. The police force was able to disperse the crowd, but a few officers remained on guard duty for the night. The Ministerial Union and other black organizations defended Manly's right to publish on behalf of his race.[8] Another reaction to Manly's article was that white advertisers pulled their ads from the paper, greatly reducing its income. Further, the owner of the building where the press office was located informed Manly that he had to vacate the building. Seeking support from the African American community, Manly moved his press to Love and Charity Hall on South Seventh Street, and the Ministerial Union encouraged pastors to "endeavor to sustain the paper by swelling its subscription list." Further, towards the end of the campaign, Wilmington's African American women, through an article in the *Daily Record*, explained that they supported Manly because his was the "one medium that has stood up for our rights when others have forsaken us." [9]

Despite early support from segments of the black community, Manly's article was criticized by other blacks who understood the awkward position in which he had placed them. To support Manly would lead to certain trouble with Democrats. The Republican Executive Committee, including 12 black leaders, met at the end of August and criticized the article and refuted Democratic Party claims that Manly or the *Record* represented the Republican Party. Black leaders from as far away as Raleigh condemned the article in the *News and Observer* while others remained silent on the issue. Local Fusionists like Populist Benjamin Keith also discounted the article, claiming that it was "the product of a gross

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[7] "Minutes of the Association of the WLI" December 14, 1905, North Carolina Collection; *Morning Star*, (Wilmington),, August 24, 1898.

[8] "Resolved, That the Ministerial Union is in hearty sympathy with the efforts of the *Daily Record* in defending the rights of the race, and that each minister inform his congregation of the present situation and endeavor to sustain the paper by swelling it subscription list and urging prompt payment." Another religious group, the Wilmington District Conference and Sunday School Convention of Methodists resolved to support Manly and his paper "as long as she stands forth in the protection of the ladies of our race," and promised to "stand by you" even in the event of "hazarding our lives." *Wilmington Messenger,* September 13, 16, 1898; *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), August 25, 1898.

[9] Within days of the near riot around the *Record* press offices, Manly moved the press to Ruth Hall, also known as Love and Charity Hall or Free Love Hall. *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), August 25, 26, 1898; *Contested Election Case*, 377; *Wilmington Messenger,* October 21, 1898.

slanderer who is no better than a brute." In light of increasing hatred towards Manly, J. Wesley Yarborough, a black leader in Wilmington, cautioned that support of Manly might reduce donations by whites to black churches. [10]

Wilmington papers picked up the article and ran sections of it as an example of a "Horrid Slander" against the virtuous white women of Wilmington and North Carolina. The papers reprinted similar comments about the article on a daily basis, and each issue featured multiple references to the "vile" and "villainous" editor of the *Record*. The *News and Observer* then picked up the article and added its own spin to the firestorm surrounding Manly. Because Manly's article pointed more to rural women than to those in cities, North Carolina Democrats saw in it an opportunity to draw into the campaign rural men who would otherwise be indifferent to the happenings in a coastal city. As a result of so much attention being given to the article and race relations, reporters from across the country flocked to Wilmington.[11]

Democrats made effective use of the article with its implications of miscegenation and threats to white men's control over white women, black women, and black men. Because the editorial became such an easily identifiable touchstone for the campaign, many used it as justification for violence that followed the election. Other Democrats joined in attacks on Manly. Near the end of October, Senator Ben Tillman from South Carolina, who helped to organize Red Shirt activities, spoke at a rally in Fayetteville: "Why didn't you kill that nigger editor who wrote that? Send him to South Carolina and let him publish any such offensive stuff, and he would be killed." Tillman continued his rant at another rally in Charlotte just before the election: "In South Carolina no negro editor could slander the white women of the State as that Wilmington negro did. That negro ought now to be food for catfish in the bottom of the Cape Fear River instead of going around above ground." [12]

Response of Wilmington's Non-Democrats and African Americans

Non-Democratic white members of Wilmington were thoroughly intimidated by the Democratic Party. Governor Russell and leading Fusionist politicians were in fear for their lives, and rank-and-file Fusionists gave in to pressure to rejoin the Democratic Party. Although Democratic Party papers took pride in successfully disarming Fusionists, they did not relent in their barrage of attacks and continued to print inflammatory articles.

Wilmington's Board of Aldermen tried to meet and carry on their business in the best interest of the city, with every move monitored in the papers. One action of the Board of Aldermen was to close bars and saloons in the days surrounding the election—from midday Saturday, November 5 until early morning on November 10.

[10] Democrats replied to Republican rejections of Manly's participation in the party by pointing out that he was nominated deputy register of deeds under Republican rule of the city and that his employees were all Republicans, particularly John T. Howe, who had served as a Republican representative to the General Assembly in 1897. *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), August 25, 26, 31, 1898; Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow*, 106-7; Prather, *We Have Taken a City,* 73; *Wilmington Messenger*, September 4, 16, 1898.

[11] Reporters from the Washington *Post,* New York *Herald, New York Times, Baltimore Sun, Atlanta Constitution, Charlotte Daily Observer,* and the *Richmond Times* all visited Wilmington during the height of the campaign against Manly. *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), August, 1898; *Wilmington Messenger*, August, 1898.

[12] Ben Tillman as quoted in McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 593; *Wilmington Messenger*, October 22, 1898; *News and Observer*, (Raleigh), November 5, 1898.

They hoped that men of all races would be less hotheaded if they were deprived of alcohol and the meeting places. The board also authorized the hiring of an additional 100 special policemen for election day.[13] Many accounts of preelection violence included explanations that the participants were drunk when tempers flared. On October 12, for example, an armed group of white men adjourned to a bar after a WGU meeting. Freshly renewed with white supremacy rhetoric and alcohol, they left Steljes' saloon on Sixth and Castle Streets and encountered a group of blacks. A fight broke out between two men and escalated until the white men began firing into the crowd of black men who quickly retreated.[14]

Wilmington's African American community watched the growing hatred of their race with trepidation while still working to make a place in the city.[15] Some of the city's black leaders attempted to preempt the campaign in September when they requested that Sheriff George Z. French dismiss four of his black deputies as "incompetent."[16] Instead of removing fodder for the Democratic press, these men provided yet another headline in which their move was called a "Political Dodge" that "will not deceive Democrats." The *Morning Star* claimed that the action was less a move by the city's African American leaders and more an action dictated by Russell, Marion Butler, and candidate Oliver Dockery. The paper declared that the dismissals demonstrated Republican "weakness" and they would "only serve to make the Democrats more aggressive in their fight for freedom."[17]

Some of the city's blacks unintentionally helped the Democratic Party press. The prime example was Manly, but others such as Frank Thompson and Carter Peamon reacted to Democratic prodding, providing fodder for the Democratic press as it preached the dangers of "negro domination." During preelection voter registration in October, African American Republican leader Carter Peamon withstood threats and registered to vote in the First Ward. In response to Peamon's bravery, white intimidation increased at the registration spot and resulted in Peamon seizing a knife from S. Hill Terry. As Peamon grabbed the knife, he stated that he would like to "slap the jaws of every white man."[18]

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[13] "Be it ordained by the Mayor and Board of Aldermen of the City of Wilmington NC and it is hereby ordained by the authority of the same that it shall be unlawful for any person or persons to sell or give away in the city of Wilmington, or within one mile of same, any whiskey, wine, beer, ale or brandy or other intoxicating drinks between the hours of 11:30 o clock pm Saturday November 5th 1898 and November 10th at 6 o'clock am. Any person convicted of violating this ordinance shall be fined not exceeding Fifty Dollars or imprisoned not exceeding thirty days. Ratified and unanimously adopted this 5th day of November 1898 at 1 pm." Minutes of the Wilmington Board of Aldermen, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[14] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 627-8; *Wilmington Messenger*, October 13, 1898.

[15] Some historians have posited that the response of African Americans in Wilmington, and statewide, to the Democratic campaign would have been more organized and vocal had many of the state's leading blacks not been recruited into the ranks of the 3rd Regiment for the Spanish American war. Those men were not allowed to be mustered out until 1899 whereas men in the 1st and 2nd Regiments were home on furlough in time for the election and the violence of November 10.

[16] A group of black leaders—John E. Taylor, Carter Peamon, William A. Moore, John H. Brown, and J. W. Lee—requested the dismissals. *Wilmington Messenger,* September 21, 1898; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 614.

[17] The black men removed were Sergeant Green, Joe Anderson, Joe Sharp, F.P. Toomer, George Bell, and David Bryant. The men were replaced by whites: J. J. King, G. M. Tenner, C. A. Bordeau, A. Lockamy, Alex Wells, and J. L. Bowers. *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), October 20, 1898.

[18] S. Hill Terry figured prominently on the day of the riot since his home was used as a landmark for the

Peter Drake. Possibly a propaganda card created after October 2, 1898 incident. Note the props in the photograph suggesting that the photo was staged: his hat has a sign saying "Mayor," the papers under the hilt of his sword are possibly ballots, and his rifle still has a price tag.
Image courtesy of Bonitz Collection, Southern Historical *Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

In another incident, Frank Thompson was arrested and accused of being the leader of efforts to "incite a riot" in Brooklyn on the Saturday before the election. Thompson, an employee of the Champion Cotton Compress, and other blacks were gathered on the street in Brooklyn near the intersection of Fourth and Nixon Streets around eleven o'clock at night on the Saturday before the election. A Red Shirt who lived in the neighborhood stepped off the streetcar at the intersection and was immediately confronted by the black men who, according to the paper, moved toward the white man "as though to make an attack." The Red Shirt unwrapped his concealed Winchester and then was pelted with rocks from the blacks, among them Thompson, who also apparently brandished pistols. Some of the rocks hit the streetcar behind the man. It was reported that the black men declared "they would stop the cars from running." After Thompson's arrest, the crowd was dispersed by both the police and leading African Americans who were "influential" and "peaceful." After the crowd dispersed, "prominent citizens" investigated the event later in the night and found that blacks had "boasted that their children all had matches and bottles of kerosene, knew how to use them and would run some women out of their homes before morning." True or not, the article in the *Morning Star* became another Democratic tool to intensify fear and anger in Wilmington. Other city papers confused the specifics of the event such as the number of black men at the intersection, what Thompson actually did, and the chronology

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Wilmington Light Infantry to assemble and his son, Will, was wounded at Fourth and Harnett Streets. It is not known if Terry was a member of the Red Shirts or White Government Union. Also mentioned in the article is a black man, Willis Stevens, also known as "Drake," a man who had been declared insane and who had previously tried to run for Mayor. In May 1897, the County Board of Commissioners agreed to the release of Drake from the county's custody on appeal from attorney Marsden Bellamy. On Bellamy's suggestion, the board purchased shoemaker's tools for Drake to make his own living. Drake promised the board "to go to work" but that the tools remained the property of the county. A news article indicated that Drake had previously tried to claim election as mayor. A letter to the editor followed which asked "Why should the county commissioners make an apporpiration to a 'crazy negro' to get him up in business, when there are numbers of honest white men who are seeking employment without success?" In 1898, white men at the registration site apparently mistreated Drake, leading to Peamon's outburst. During the scuffle, a crowd of blacks gathered, and the outnumbered white men left the precinct. McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 616; *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), October 2, 1898, May 2, 1897; *Wilmington Messenger*, May 4, 1897, October 2, 1898; Minutes of the Board of County Commissioners, State Archives.

of the activity that night. Despite dispute over his actions, Thompson was arrested and charged with assault with a deadly weapon against the streetcar conductor. The Wilmington *Evening Dispatch* editorialized that it looked as if "citizens of Brooklyn would need their new Winchesters."[19]

Since emancipation, African Americans had felt a strong compulsion to vote; however, during the white supremacy campaign, exercising the right of suffrage had become dangerous. An African American paper from Kinston reportedly encouraged the black voter to go to the polls on election day and "stick to the Republican Party because it had freed him."[20] A Wilmington resident echoed this sentiment when she suggested that the average black held "a most exalted opinion of the value of his vote" because he "imagines the whole constitution will fall to pieces if his vote fails it." Despite threats that they would be fired if they registered to vote, blacks called the Democrats' bluff and registered to vote in the November elections. Many found themselves discharged from their jobs for exercising their right to vote.[21]

Robert Mason, a manager for the North Carolina Cotton Oil Company, noted that several of his black employees had voted but that most did not. He said, "[A] great many people have made a mistake in discharging old and faithful servants because I think sooner or later they will have to take them back, although, of course, such an idea is hooted at now." Mason believed that blacks were the "least troublesome labor we can handle" and observed that "their natural disposition when unmolested by mean white people is to know their places and keep in them." [22] Chief of Police Melton testified that Wilmington's black population was "scared" and that a "great many" came to him to tell him they were not going to register or vote because "they thought more of their lives than they did of their votes or politics." Despite intimidation and promises of blacks not to vote, Democrats were still wary because after the final registration tallies were in, 2,965 blacks and 2,918 whites had registered to vote.[23]

African American women also took part in the political process. In late October, an article from "an organization of colored ladies" appeared in Manly's *Daily Record* and was reprinted in white papers. The article urged black men to register and vote in the election despite white threats of being fired for voting. After reprinting the article from the *Daily Record*, the *Messenger* reprimanded the women when it editorialized that "the colored women of this country should be most interested in . . . the education and moral uplifting of their race and less politics." [24] The article in the *Record* was another extension of the women's "republican aid societies" in the city that refused to be intimidated by the white supremacy campaign because they

[19] As such incidents increased, Fusionist leaders claimed that Democrats paid blacks to incite violence so that the white supremacy campaign would continue to have newsworthy examples of black "insolence." McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 613; *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 6, 1898 and November 8, 1898; *Evening Dispatch*, (Wilmington), November 7, 1898; *Wilmington Messenger*, November 6, 1898.

[20] Passage as quoted from the Kinston *Searchlight* and found in Daniels, *Editor in Politics,* 292.

[21] Jane Cronly, n.d., Cronly Papers, Duke University Library, Durham.

[22] African American Hamilton Hargrave testified that he was employed by Samuel and William Northrup's sawmill and was informed that if he and other black employees registered to vote, they would be fired. Despite the threat, he voted in the election. *Contested Election Case,* 349; Robert Mason to Bess, November 8, 1898, John Steele Henderson Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; 1897 *Wilmington City Directory*.

[23] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 663.

[24] *Wilmington Messenger*, October 21, 1898.

"Whereas, since it has become apparent that there is a disposition to intimidate the voting element of our race by discharging them from various places of employment in the event that they register to vote, and whereas it has come to the notice of us, the colored ladies—the laboring class—that certain of our men have refused to register because of the intimidation mentioned above, we have therefore resolved that every negro who refuses to register his name next Saturday that he may vote, we shall make it our business to deal with him in a way that will not be pleasant. He shall be branded a white livered coward who would sell his liberty and the liberty of our whole race to the demons who are even now seeking to take away the most sacred rights vouchsafed to any people. We are further resolved that we teach our daughters to recognize only those young men who have the courage and manhood to stand up for the liberty which under God he now has, be he ever so poor. We are farther resolved to lend our assistance in every way to perpetuate the liberties which we now enjoy, regardless of the insults and threats thrown out at us by those who seek to crush us. We have resolved to teach our children to love the party of manhood's rights and liberties, trusting in God to restored order out of the present confusion. Be is resolved further that we have these resolutions published in our Daily Record, the one medium that has stood up for our rights when others have forsaken us. Respectfully submitted, An Organization of Colored Ladies."

Wilmington *Messenger,* October 21, 1898

recognized the Democrats' campaign "threatened their rights" as citizens. Democrats used the activism of black women to demonstrate another avenue in which white men had lost control under Fusion. Black women, once voiceless and helpless to resist white men in every realm, were now speaking out. [25]

Final Maneuvers

Amid armed threats and heated rhetoric, the Republicans and Populists tried to find ways to assuage Democrats. At the center of these efforts for both Republicans and Democrats was Governor Daniel Russell. Both parties looked to him to alleviate tensions in the city. Late in October, Wilmington Democrats acknowledged that if the city's Republicans were allowed to put African American candidates on the ballot, Democrats would lose those races. Therefore, a movement sought to prevent the Republicans from mounting a slate. After capitulation to Democrats in October, both William Chadbourn and Flavel Foster urged Republicans not to mount a county ticket, thus allowing the Democrats to gain control of county government through election.[26]

Still, local Democratic Party leader George Rountree claimed that the Republicans, under the leadership of George Z. French, planned to place nominees on the ballot despite threats of violence. Believing that intervention with Russell in Raleigh would alleviate the problem, he encouraged merchants E. K. Bryan, James Sprunt, and James H. Chadbourn to visit Russell. Sprunt, as representative of the businessmen, wrote to Russell on October 24 and explained that things were out of control in the city and entreated Russell to do what he could to prevent violence.[27]

[25] Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow*, 107.

[26] Fusionists throughout the state removed opposition candidates, particularly black ones, from the ballot in hopes of peace. The *Messenger* acknowledged the Republican sacrifice on November 5 with a short sentence: "The decision of the Republican managers to place no ticket in the field, making a Democratic county out of a county having a Republican majority of 750 was the last move they could make to prevent extreme measures." *Wilmington Messenger,* November 5, 1898; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 632; Haley, *Charles N. Hunter,* 110; Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics,* 145; Hunt, *Marion Butler,* 153.

[27] "We have been deeply concerned during the past week by the very excited state of our inhabitants in

After first trying to promote white businessmen as candidates in the days before the meeting, Russell came to a compromise with Sprunt: some Democratic candidates were withdrawn and replaced with others less offensive to the Republican Party in return for a deletion of the Republican slate.[28] Russell then prevented a Republican ticket after calling French to Raleigh to explain the compromise.[29] French returned to Wilmington just before the Republican convention on October 29 at the courthouse where county Republicans reluctantly complied.[30] The last African American candidate, incumbent Register of Deeds Charles Norwood, announced on November 3 that he would not run for reelection. Norwood stated in the paper that because "it was evident to him that a race war was being stirred up," he wanted to "take no part in any such proceedings" and, as such, "he thought it advisable to withdraw." [31]

The compromise was tenuous and local Republicans were unhappy with Democratic Party machinations.[32] Flavel

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view of the approaching election which threatens to provoke a war between the white and black races. We have frequently observed during political campaigns in the past, a degree of hostility which, at times, appeared to threaten the public peace but which passed off when wiser counsel prevailed; but the present state of excitement is apparently and really beyond bounds and we declare to your our conviction that we are on the brink of a revolution which can only be averted by the suppression of a republican ticket. The white people, and tax payers generally, protest that they have been driven to desperation, and we have no hesitation in saying that, even the unusual indiscretion of political partisans on the next election day, will precipitate a conflict which may cost hundreds, and perhaps thousands of lives and the partial or entire destruction of the city. We therefore on behalf of the conservative business firms of Wilmington deeply interested in the peace and welfare of our community, entreat you as the representative of the republican party here, to meet the emergency and avert a calamity by the means which we have indicated or by some other personal or political sacrifice which would be gratefully recognized and approved by our conservative and patriotic people who look to you in this extremity." James Sprunt to Governor Russell, October 24, 1898, Alexander Sprunt and Son, Inc. Papers, Duke University Library, Durham. This letter was also reprinted in the October 28, 1898 issue of the W*ilmington Messenger*.

[28] Some of the white businessmen named as potential candidates for the Republican slate were openly against running for office during the election, particularly Benjamin Keith and D. L. Gore. McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 641-643; *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), October 28, 1898; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, November 2, 1898.

[29] An unsigned note in James Sprunt's papers at Duke University provides insight: "For the Republican Party of New Hanover County to make no nominations for County Commissioners, Sheriff, Register of Deeds, Treasurer, Coroner, Clerk of Superior Court or Members of the House of Representatives, provided the Dem Party shall support for the house of Representatives any two of the following named gentlemen as representatives of the business interests of the City and County: E. S. Martin, D. L. Fore, Martin Willard, George Rountree, Henry McQueen, William Gilchrist, Roger Moore, R. W. Hicks, Frank McNeil, Junius Davis, J. C. Stevenson, Oscar Pearsall, Sam. Bear, Jr., S. P. McNair, C. W. Yates, J. W. Atkinson. These concessions to be upon the basis that such action will bring about a better state of feeling and result in a peaceable and orderly election for County State Senatorial and Congressional offices, without interference with the rights of lawful voters." Russell's bargaining removed from the slate several Democrats, including Joseph Carr and George Peschau, who would have pushed for his impeachment had they been elected to the legislature. Alexander Sprunt and Son, Inc. Papers, Duke University Library, Durham; *Contested Election Case,* 255; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 642.

[30] Despite last minute machinations by white Republicans, resistant black leaders urged others to go to the polls "prepared to fight" for their right to vote. McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 623.

[31] *Wilmington Messenger,* November 4, 1898.

[32] Local Democrats were encouraged by the compromise and took note of the capitulation in their letters and diaries. Peter Mallett recorded in his daily journal that the "Republicans accede to demands of the Citizens." Despite Russell's compromise in order to maintain peace, about a week before the election Democrats in the city became more "emboldened and violent." *Contested Election Case,* 36-7; Rountree,

Foster, already quieted by a visit from the Democrats earlier in the month, wrote Sprunt that he was unhappy to see that the businessmen did not select legislative candidates favorable to the Republicans but, instead, "practically turned it over to the political machine" which [he believed had] a majority in [Sprunt's] joint committee." The joint committee Foster mentioned was that of the Democratic Party Campaign Committee and the Merchant's Association. Foster continued that he was "the first and strongest advocate of … putting out no ticket in consideration of the business interest of the city, and the elimination of any possible race conflict" and "in consideration of the Governor's generous proposition I trust that you, as the representative of the businessmen will see that no one is nominated who is as politically offensive to the Governor as the regular nominees were." Foster concluded, "[T]his is only a reasonable request in consideration of what we are giving up." [33]

Furthering the tensions, the Democrats did not completely comply with the compromise, and additional discussion between Russell and Sprunt focused on the militant nature of the city's armed whites. Russell sent a telegram four days before the election: "Am astonished to hear that merchants refuse to aid in preserving order if appeal is made to Republicans to vote . . . You know the agreement. I appeal to you and all conservative men to enforce it." Sprunt ignored the increasing numbers of guns on the streets as he replied that he "conferred with several leaders and businessmen and so far as we are aware there has been no agreement understanding or effort looking towards the use of any force or other disorderly methods of obstructing voters." Sprunt closed the telegram with a promise to call his committee and send further communication the following day. The next morning Sprunt wired Russell again that the "Merchants and Campaign Committee will carry out agreement in good faith" although he indicated that other groups beyond his control were operating in the city.[34]

Governor Russell issued a proclamation at the end of October in response to the heightened sense of militancy. The proclamation acknowledged "lawlessness in certain counties in this state . . . lying along the southern border of this state have been actually invaded by certain armed and lawless men from anther state" and that "citizens have been taken from their homes at night and whipped." Further, Russell knew that "in several counties peaceful citizens have been intimidated and terrorized by threats of violence to their persons and their property, until they are afraid to register themselves preparatory to exercising that highest duty of freemen—the casting of one free vote at a ballot box for men of their own choice." Russell cautioned

"Memorandum;" Peter Mallett Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 615.

[33] Flavel Foster to James Sprunt, October 30, 1898, Alexander Sprunt and Son, Inc. Papers, Duke University Library, Durham.

[34] Some of those groups were possibly Populists and independent Republicans. Although no county ticket was mounted, Fusionists still lobbied Wilmington voters on behalf of their candidates for statewide and congressional seats. Printed circulars were distributed in the city to encourage "every man who is opposed to the Democratic machine" to vote for men such as Oliver Dockery, Fusionist congressional candidate. *Wilmington Messenger,* November 3 -5, 1898; *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 3 -5 , 1898; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 651; Governor Russell to James Sprunt, November 4, 1898, Alexander Sprunt and Son, Inc. Papers, Duke University Library, Durham, 9:15 pm; James Sprunt to Governor Russell, November 4, 1898, 10:30 pm, Alexander Sprunt and Son, Inc. Papers, Duke University Library, Durham; James Sprunt etal to Governor Russell, November 5, 1898, Alexander Sprunt and Son, Inc. Papers, Duke University Library, Durham .

"ill disposed persons" to "immediately desist from all unlawful practices and all turbulent conduct" even as he counseled "good and law abiding citizens not to allow themselves to become excited by any appeals that may be made to their passions and prejudices . . . but to keep cool heads." He commanded judges and officers of the law to bring offenders to trial and to protect the civil rights of all citizens. Further, Russell commanded that troublemakers from outside the state should leave "upon pain of being arrested and dealt with according to law." [35]

In response to Russell's fears of violence and as a follow-up to correspondence between Russell and the county's Democratic Party leaders, Rev. Peyton Hoge of the First Presbyterian Church penned a letter to the governor on November 5. Hoge reassured Russell that he had been in contact with "several prominent members of the campaign committee and [had] positive assurances from them" that the election would proceed peacefully. Hoge further explained that "if negroes do as Henderson advised them: go to the polls and cast their ballots quietly and go home; I have no idea that there will be any disturbance." Hoge provided a bit of insight into the mindset of the white leaders when he stated that "members of our committee feel that their honor is involved in seeing that this agreement is carried out in good faith."[36]

Election Day

The night before the election, both sides readied for what all thought would be a day of violence. The White Government Unions held a joint meeting at the courthouse where "red hot speeches were made" and it was "clearly evident that white men [would] have the victory, cost what it may."[37] The same day, African American ministers called upon the community to have a day of fasting and prayer, to demonstrate their dedication to preserving the peace.[38] Other, more militant, African Americans met at Ruth Hall, and although their discussions have not been recorded as well as those of the whites at the courthouse, Democratic Party papers claimed that two of the speakers present encouraged listeners to "go to the polls tomorrow and raise h---l." [39] The white leadership, vested in the Secret Nine, apparently became alarmed at this point because the threat of violence was very real and jeopardized their plans to control the overthrow of municipal government after the election as well as the validity of the election itself.[40]

Election day dawned "bright and clear" on November 8, 1898 as a tense city and state prepared to vote.[41] Statewide, voters took to the polls in record numbers with few incidents of violence reported. In Wilmington, white men were armed and prepared for the day with patrols posted on every block. The polls opened at seven in the morning and closed at sundown,

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[35] *Wilmington Messenger*, October 26, 1898.

[36] Hoge and other ministers also joined in the final rhetoric when they were requested by Democratic Party leaders to build their sermons around specific chapters in the Bible that reinforced the white supremacy arguments. The ministers also participated in rallies and the riot, carrying guns alongside their parishioners. The Bible chapters were indicated as being Isaiah, Chapter 17, verse 14 and Jeremiah, Chapter 25, verse 35. J. Allen Kirk, *Statement of Facts Concerning the Bloody Riot in Wilmington, N.C. of Interest to Every Citizen in the United States*, online edition available at http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/kirk/menu.html.

[37] For more on this meeting, see Washington *Post,* November 8, 1898 and the Atlanta (Ga.) *Constitution,* November 8, 1898.

[38] Kirk, *Statement of Facts*.

[39] *Morning Post* (Raleigh), November 9, 1898.

[40] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 633.

[41] The Raleigh *News and Observer* noted that the city was tense yet ready for whatever happened. *News and Observer*, (Raleigh), November 8, 1898.

although reports were that the "white votes" were nearly all cast by three o'clock. [42] After the polls closed, the ballots were counted and an overwhelming Democratic Party victory. Although election day appeared to pass as a normal voting day, residents of Wilmington knew all too well that election day 1898 was unlike any other the city had experienced. Roving bands of armed men intimidated blacks and Republicans while others escorted less energetic Democrats to the polls to cast ballots under the watchful scrutiny of members of the White Government Unions. The day before the election, men from the WGU were appointed to post themselves at polls all day to ensure Democratic Party victory. The men were instructed to "never look a [white] voter square in the face, even if they knew that John Smith was voting as Willie James and the latter was dead and buried in Oakdale cemetery for lo many years." [43]

As the end of the voting day drew near, men who had been charged with watching the balloting were replaced by men who planned to watch and obstruct the election officials count ballots. Red Shirt/Rough Rider leader and election officer Mike Dowling explained that a great deal of planning went into disrupting the count. Dowling and others were taught "how to deposit Republican ballots so they could be replaced."[44] Part of the day's traffic also included men from other wards who were following the request of the *Morning Star* to "never mind where you live, go into the first and fifth wards to help." [45]

Governor Russell's visit to cast his vote generated still more commotion. Russell voted in the city despite threats made against his personal safety. To ensure his safety while in town, he was accompanied by two prominent Democrats who were also his relatives—Walker Taylor and E. W. Sawyer. His return train to Raleigh was stopped and boarded twice by Red Shirts, one set led by future governor Cameron Morrison boarded the train in Maxton and warned him of the danger since it was rumored that others further up the line sought to lynch him. Morrison hid Russell in the mail car at the rear of the train and prevented his discovery when the train was stopped a second time in Hamlet. While Russell was enduring this humiliation, Red Shirts in Raleigh shouted taunts at his family in the governor's mansion.[46] Most of the ballot counting took place without trouble but, in some of the precincts, there was difficulty. Democratic Party leaders sought to prevent trouble at the polls and during the counting so that the election could not be ruled invalid by the courts. [47]

Many of Wilmington's armed residents were prepared for retaliation from blacks that never came. On election day, the city mobilized, and the WLI was called to the armory and held there until early morning on the ninth. During their time at the armory waiting to be called up, the ladies provided the men with plenty of food. WLI member John Metts was exhausted, having been "kept on the go from the time I

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[42] *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 9, 1898.

[43] W. N. Harriss, interview by Harry Hayden and found in McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 664.

[44] Dowling also explained that he and others were instructed by Democratic Party leaders to take weapons to the polls, that the campaign committee distributed whiskey to polls in attempts to get Republican election officers drunk and that specific plans were made to storm a precinct that had a Republican majority in order to overwhelm the election officials and replace Republican tickets with Democratic ones. Winston-Salem *Union Republican,* March 15, 1900.

[45] The First and Fifth wards were predominately black and usually carried a Republican majority. *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 8, 1898.

[46] Crow, *Maverick Republican*, 134; *Wilmington Messenger*, November 9, 1898.

[47] *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 8, 1898.

reached the armory yesterday [November 8] at three o'clock until this morning at five when I laid on the floor, with an overcoat for a pillow and then I was called each time I'd get asleep." The night of the election, Metts thought that although they were ready to move at a moment's notice, most of the hysteria turned out to be false alarms. They heard gunshots all night long, and Metts determined that, if there had been any unrest, it had been "settled without us."[48]

An incident that occurred at the Fifth Division of the First Ward during ballot counting sheds light on the election day tensions.[49] African American drayman Albert Lamb had been a resident of Wilmington for about nine years and served as the election judge at the precinct located at the Fifth Division of the First Ward. Also working that precinct was African American carpenter Abram Fulton, a resident of the city for 25 years who was serving as registrar at the precinct. Both Fulton and Lamb testified during the contested election case of *Dockery v. Bellamy* that, although the day passed without incident, as they began to count ballots, a crowd of about between 150 and 200 whites had either entered the building or were stationed outside. Lamb explained that the precinct was predominantly Republican in character, the men who were at the precinct were "strangers," and none of the men gathered there were registered to vote at that polling place. Soon after the crowd arrived, the lamps were knocked off the tables by "someone pushing another against the table where the lamps were" and the room went dark. Fulton tried to make his way to the back of the store to find a way out. and, as soon as the lights were re-lit, Lamb left the precinct before the ballots were fully counted. Fulton could not find a way out and resumed counting ballots after candles were lit. After counting the ballots, Fulton left as soon as he could, but he did not sign the election returns that night. Lamb explained he left because he was "scared" because he "did not know what would happen." Fulton fully believed that his life was in "imminent danger" when the crowd rushed in to extinguish the lights. Fulton further testified that only about 20 to 30 whites were registered to vote in the precinct, and about 300 Republicans were registered, making it the "strongest Republican precinct" in the city; he knew of no black Democrats residing in the precinct.[50]

Other precinct workers, white grocer Joe Benton and white dairyman George Bates, were on hand at Lamb's precinct during the ballot counting and supported the testimony of Fulton and Lamb.[51] Benton, as judge of the election, testified that scattered among the crowd were "between nine and twelve policemen" who did not attempt to "prevent the disturbance." Benton also revealed that the room in which the counting took place was small, measuring approximately 16 by 20 feet.[52] Bates,

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[48] Jack Metts, November 9, 1898, Hinsdale Papers, Duke University Library, Durham.

[49] Each of the city's wards was divided into smaller voting precincts or divisions. The first ward was characterized by a black voting majority.

[50] Fulton had been appointed registrar by Walker Taylor and Roger Moore. He did not sign the election returns until the Monday following the election when he went to collect his pay for serving as registrar. *Contested Election Case*, 332-337.

[51] Bates also testified that "the anxiety, fear and terror among the colored people, largely the Republican voters of the city of Wilmington was very great, exceeding that of any occasion." *Contested Election Case,* 338.

[52] W. N. Harriss, Democratic Party leader, recalled that the building was an old stable and that he led the rush of whites into the precinct as the votes were being cast. He claimed to have pushed a policeman in a barrel of water as other men knocked oil lamps over. He then said that he stuffed "several hundred" ballots into the Democratic Senate candidate's box. Harry Hayden interviewed W. N. Harriss who was present at the precinct in 1898. Hayden shared his

Number of Registered Voters and Number of Votes Cast for State Senator
New Hanover County, November 8, 1898

	# White Registered Voters	# Black Registered Voters	Total # Registered Voters	Votes for Democratic Candidate	Votes for Republican Candidate	Official Vote Total
1st Ward						
1st Precinct	192	177	369	195	135	330
2nd Precinct	140	242	382	135	216	351
3rd Precinct	69	337	406	70	302	372
4th Precinct	35	337	372	33	94	127
5th Precinct	30	313	343	456	151	607
2nd Ward						
1st Precinct	220	24	244	317	20	237
2nd Precinct	271	25	296	266	26	292
3rd Ward						
1st Precinct	321	46	367	322	30	352
2nd Precinct	216	57	273	211	48	259
4th Ward						
1st Precinct	256	25	281	250	6	256
2nd Precinct	171	76	247	166	69	235
5th Ward						
1st Precinct	215	112	327	213	106	319
2nd Precinct	225	154	379	251	39	290
3rd Precinct	153	170	323	172	135	307
4th Precinct	43	309	352	43	300	343
Other Townships						
Masonboro	94	65	159	83	53	136
Cape Fear	68	184	252	85	146	231
Harnett	178	228	406	150	210	360
Federal Point	21	84	105	10	66	76

***Votes in the 5th Precinct of the First Ward and the 2nd Precinct of the 5th ward were later disputed because of intimidation, claims of fraudulent ballots, and inaccurate counts.

registrar with Lamb, claimed that the crowd was orderly while the counting was taking place until the workers came across a set of ballots in the wrong box, and members of the crowd objected to the counting method. Bates testified that as they were still counting the contested box for the election of W. J. Davis, the lights were extinguished. Once the lights were re-lit, Bates noted that Davis "got more votes by nearly two hundred than there were people registered in the precinct." Bates also explained that after the lights were re-lit, the white men of the crowd had donned handkerchiefs on their arms and were going through the store with pistols and guns. [53]

Confirming previous testimony, Chief of Police Melton testified that the precinct building, located at the corner of Tenth and Princess, was the site of anticipated trouble and that he had patrolmen in the vicinity. His men reported to him that when the officers arrived after the crowd of white men assembled, they were "ousted," the lights were extinguished, and the electric lights in the neighborhood were "muffled." The patrolmen reported that once the situation was "straight again"

notes from the interview with Jerome McDuffie for his dissertation. McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 667.

[53] Two other election workers testified that their precincts did not experience trouble: Charles Keen of the fourth division of the First Ward and C. F. Craig, registrar of the second precinct of the First Ward. *Contested Election Case*, 336 – 341.

with lighting, it was evident that the ballot box had been stuffed.[54]

The city was tense overnight, and whites sought to keep the peace so as to not invalidate the election. Blacks, angered at the preliminary tallies and the intimidation they had endured, milled about in town, resulting in a rumor that a mob of blacks was prepared to attack the Fifth Ward Rough Riders. In response, white men moved to protect their families and posted extra sentries in the neighborhood. The rumor was false, but groups of white men remained on the streets, apparently eager for action. They were calmed by white leaders who asked that the white men go home and meet again in the morning for a mass meeting that had been recently scheduled.[55]

Throughout the night, Democrats were in constant contact by phone and telegram across the state while they tallied their votes and assured themselves of victory. Robert Mason wrote in a letter on the night of the election that at 10:50 he had "just telephoned downtown as to results and everything is very encouraging." Jack Metts wrote on the ninth that on the night of the election the men in charge of city government were "nowhere" to be seen and that every man he met on the street was white and armed with a Winchester and white handkerchief on his arm. Although Metts reported no violence, he said that guns were fired in the city all night after the election. Rev. J. Allen Kirk, African American minister of Central Baptist Church, recalled that "there was an army of white citizens mobilized in the old field back of Tenth Street, on Tuesday night, waiting for signals from the sentinels." Also on November 9, a woman named Sallie in New York received a letter from her mother that claimed election victory. She wrote that "the white man to-day has gained his point, rule or die." She also said that blacks were not allowed across the Fourth Street bridge into town and that the Wilmington Light Infantry was out doing patrols without their uniforms.[56]

The day after the election, Wilmingtonians breathed a sigh of relief. Chief of Police Melton noted that the day was fairly quiet.[57] Most white residents expected trouble during the election, and, after none materialized and the Democrats had secured victory, many felt the tensions would dissipate. Indeed, Jane Cronly noted that the day after the election, she "heard the colored people going by to their work talking cheerfully together as had not been the case for many days." [58]

November 9:
Mass Meeting of White Citizens

Despite some indications that calm would prevail, some white leaders in Wilmington were still at work. Conceivably, the official Democratic Party leaders such as George Rountree who were not privy to the machinations of the Secret

[54] *Contested Election Case,* 363.

[55] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 688-70; McDuffie referenced P. B. Manning to E. S. Tennet, November 12, 1898 in the Louis T. Moore Collection, New Hanover County Public Library. The Manning letter has since disappeared from the library holdings and McDuffie's interpretation of its content must stand.

[56] Robert Mason to Bess, November 8, 1898, John Steele Henderson Papers, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; Jack Metts, November 9, 1898, Hinsdale Papers, Duke University Library, Durham; "Mother" to Sallie, November 9, 1898, Parsley Papers, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; Kirk, *Statement of Facts,* 5.

[57] Conversely, African American Rev. J. Allen Kirk noted that "There was a great Jubilee march" through the city by about 500 Democrats. The celebration was seen by Kirk as an effort to "intimidate and demoralize" blacks" because the parade through passed through all of the city's black neighborhoods, businesses, churches and halls. Kirk, *Statement of Facts,* 8-9; *Contested Election Case,* 364.

[58] Cronly papers, Duke University Library, Durham.

Nine were taken aback by the call in the *Messenger* for a meeting of white citizens at eleven o'clock on the morning of the ninth at the courthouse.[59] Because early reports from the polls proved to Democratic Party leaders that their campaign had succeeded and that their party had won an overwhelming victory, men such as Rountree were prepared to rest on their laurels. Surprised by the announcement, Rountree attended the meeting and observed that he had "never seen more people in the courthouse" as Alfred Moore Waddell was called to the fore. [60] It was a "respectable representative assemblage of business men, merchants, lawyers, doctors, divines and mechanics." [61]

New Hanover County Courthouse
Image Courtesy of Lower Cape Fear Historical Society

Many of the city's business leaders were present. Speakers included newly elected congressman John D. Bellamy, who claimed no prior knowledge of the meeting's purpose. [62] Waddell explained that he did not know what the meeting was about but had been asked to read a statement.[63] The

[59] Hayden and others credit Hugh MacRae of the Secret Nine for calling the mass meeting, presumably to address the issue of Manly and to pacify hot-headed Red Shirts ready to burn the press on the evening of the election. Several sources indicate that the mass meeting was definitely scheduled somewhat ahead of time by someone outside of the main Democratic Party campaign committee. Hayden stated that on the afternoon of the election, Mike Dowling and the Red Shirts were prepared to burn the *Record* press and lynch Manly. En route to the press, Dowling met MacRae, who persuaded Dowling to stop his men so as not to jeopardize the election. MacRae and Dowling met at L. B. Sasser's Drugstore. Sasser, also a member of the Secret Nine helped MacRae convince the Red Shirts to desist in return for revealing some of the machinations of the Secret Nine to Dowling in the form of a document they had drawn up that has come to be known as the "White Declaration of Independence." The WDI was to be read in public the next day at a meeting McRae called to pacify Dowling. *The Morning Star* featured an article to call "every good white citizen" to the meeting that was called as a result of another meeting held the night before by a group of "representative businessmen of the city." Hayden, *Story of the Wilmington Rebellion,* 6-9. Prather, *We Have Taken a City*, 107; *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 9, 1898; *Wilmington Messenger*, November 9, 1898.

[60] Rountree recalled that he had stayed up almost all night on election day and that, on the morning of the ninth, he was at home "sleeping the sleep of the just when my wife came in about nine o'clock and showed me an advertisement in the paper that stated that there would be a public meeting" that he had not known was planned. Rountree, *Memorandum*, Henry G. Connor Papers .

[61] *Contested Election Case*, 257.

[62] Bellamy claimed that in his remarks he "approved of the desire to rid the community of such a venomous reptile," but urged that they "act with moderation and proceed lawfully and in order." *Contested Election Case,* 257.

[63] Roger Moore's widow confirmed that Waddell knew nothing of the planning done by the business leaders. She said that Waddell "was not present at any one of the meetings and knew nothing whatever of the plan of action until the night following his election as mayor, when he asked the leaders for

document he read was a series of resolutions that contained very structured language and has come to be called the "White Declaration of Independence." Members of the press were called upon to serve as secretaries of the meeting.[64]

After Waddell completed reading the statement, the crowd responded with a standing ovation. Former mayor S. H. Fishblate wished for additional wording to be added to the resolutions requiring the resignations of the mayor, chief of police, and Board of Aldermen. George Rountree then stepped up to move that the resolutions and proposed amendment be reviewed by a committee of five men who would report back to the assembly with any necessary changes or recommendations. After Rountree's suggestion was approved, he was placed on the committee along with Iredell Meares, Hugh MacRae, Walker Taylor, and S. H. Fishblate.[65] The committee reviewed the resolutions and amendment while others called for a speech from Waddell, who advocated peaceful measures since he felt it unnecessary to "adopt violent measures as the editor of the *Record* would be dealt with." In response, there were shouts to "fumigate the city with the *Record*." Bellamy was also called to the podium and he, too, pressed for a peaceful end to the affair. Another speaker, P. B. Manning, urged moderation and claimed that the reason why the "people of Wilmington had not avenged the *Record's* vile slander long before" was because they "had not had the time" due to the "great work of the campaign." Manning also stated that to adopt Fishblate's resolution would amount to "anarchy," resting his faith in the new legislature to "make a clean sweep of the City Hall."[66]

Committee members returned to the podium with the resolutions that were approved after a second reading. The committee reworked Fishblate's proposal to force the resignations of the entire city government in favor of pushing for the resignation of the mayor and chief of police. Fishblate and another businessman, Nathaniel Jacobi, felt that the amendment's replacement wording did not "go far enough," and Jacobi indicated that he thought the leaders "should be commanded to resign one by one." In response, Rountree explained that the "matter would be attended to." After a second reading and assurances that the matter of the rest of the

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information as it was necessary at that stage of the proceedings for him to be informed as from that time on he would be connected with the movement." She also wrote that Waddell " was also made chairman of the committee of 20 men who were appointed to give the negroes a certain alternative concerning the Record printing press; and also he had charge of the impromptu affair at the armory, a thing not provided for; something unforeseen; and done on the spur of the moment. It was righteous and first, at least that part concerning the destruction of the printing press. Firing the building was considered to be a mistake and His being made mayor was something separate and distinct from the organization that was formed for the protection of the town." She said that Waddell "was not present at any one of the meetings and knew nothing whatever of the plan of action until the night following his election as mayor, when he asked the leaders for information as it was necessary at that stage of the proceedings for him to be informed as from that time on he would be connected with the movement." Mrs. Roger Moore, 1900, Mrs. Roger Moore Collection, University of North Carolina at Wilmington Library.

[64] Reporters who participated were E. P. Bell of the Chicago *Record*, N. W. Messenger of the Washington *Star*, Augustus Kohn of the Charleston *News and Courier*, T. W. Clawson of the *Messenger* and William J. Martin of the *Morning Star*. *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 10, 1898.

[65] *Wilmington Messenger,* November 10, 1898; *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 10, 1898.

[66] This statement by Manning clearly indicated that he and others were certain that the new Democratically controlled legislature would reverse Fusionist changes to the city's charter. *Wilmington Messenger,* November 10, 1898; *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 10, 1898.

Board of Aldermen would be addressed, the men present approved of the revisal. [67]

The revised amendment read:

> *It is the sense of this meeting that Mayor S. P. Wright and Chief of Police Jno. R. Melton, having demonstrated their utter incapacity to give the city a decent government and keep order therein, their continuance in office being a constant menace to the peace and welfare of this community, they ought forthwith to resign.*

After discussion of the amendment was settled, Waddell was chosen to head a committee of 25 men who would "direct the execution of the provisions of the resolutions." Speakers also thanked the County Executive Committee of the Democratic Party who "successfully conducted this magnificent campaign" and to the newspapers "for the able and effective work done during the great campaign for the overthrow of Republican negro rule." Further, G. J. Boney made a motion that thanks also be given to Furnifold Simmons for his work. The meeting then adjourned, and after 445 men signed the resolutions, Waddell and others selected the men to serve on the Committee of Twenty-Five. The resolutions, signatures, and committeemen's names were published in the papers the next day since the November 9 papers had already gone to press.[68]

Local residents quickly informed loved ones by letter of the election victory and the citizens' meeting. Jack Metts wrote a young lady in Raleigh while the meeting was taking place that the "businessmen are at present holding a big meeting to take steps to run the mayor and some prominent negroes out of town." He underlined his words "Don't mention this" supposedly because the information he gave her was only for a few privy leaders. [69] James Worth also gave details of the meeting to his out-of-town wife. The he explained that there was a citizens' meeting on the morning of the ninth with about 1,000 men present who passed resolutions requiring that the staff of the *Record* leave town within 12 hours and demanding the resignations of Mayor Silas P. Wright and Chief of Police Melton. Worth explained that a committee of 25 men was appointed to "carry into effect the resolutions." [70]

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[67] *Wilmington Messenger*, 11/10/1898; *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 10, 18; Rountree, Memorandum."

[68] Members of the Committee of Twenty Five were: Rev. J.W. Kramer, Frank Maunder, Fred Skipper, Dr. W. C. Galloway, Joseph D. Smith, John E. Crow, Junius Davis, Iredell Meares, Preston L. Bridgers, W. F. Robertson, C. W. Worth, A. B. Skelding, F. A. Montgomery, Joseph R. Davis, B. F. King, Rev. J. W. S. Harvey, James Ellis, C. L. Spencer, Hugh MacRae, J. Alan Taylor, E. S. Lathrop, F. H. Fechtig, W. H. Northrop, Sr., Frank Stedman, and Gabe Holmes. Rountree was taken aback that Waddell purposefully left him off of the list of the Committee. Three of the Committee were members of the Secret Nine. *Wilmington Messenger*, 11/10/1898; *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 10, 1898; Rountree, Memorandum."

[69] Jack Metts, November 9, 1898, Hinsdale Papers, Duke University Library, Durham.

[70] James Worth to Josephine, November 9, 1898, James S. Worth Papers, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

"White Declaration of Independence"

Believing that the Constitution of the United States contemplated a government to be carried on by an enlightened people; Believing that its framers did not anticipate the enfranchisement of an ignorant population of African origin, and believing that those men of the State of North Carolina, who joined in forming the Union, did not contemplate for their descendants subjection to an inferior race: -

We, the undersigned citizens of the City of Wilmington and County of New Hanover, do hereby declare that we will no longer be ruled, and will never again be ruled by men of African origin. This condition we have in part endured because we felt that the consequences of the War of Secession were such as to deprive us of the fair consideration of many of our countrymen. We believe that, after more than thirty years, this is no longer the case.

The stand we now pledge ourselves to is forced upon us suddenly by a crisis and our eyes are open to the fact that we must act now or leave our descendants to a fate too gloomy to be borne.

While we recognize the authority of the United States, and will yield to it if exerted, we would not for a moment believe that it is the purpose of more than sixty millions of our own race to subject us permanently to a fate to which no Anglo Saxon has ever been forced to submit.

We therefore, believing that we represent unequivocally the sentiment of the White People of the County and City, hereby for ourselves, and as representing them, proclaim:

- *First*

That the time has passed for the intelligent citizens of the community owning 90% of the property and paying taxes in like proportion, to be ruled by negroes.

- *Second*

That we will not tolerate the action of unscrupulous white men in affiliating with the negroes so that by means of their votes they can dominate the intelligent and thrifty element in the community, thus causing business to stagnate and progress to be out of the question.

- *Third*

That the negro has demonstrated by antagonizing our interest in every way, and especially by his ballot, that he is incapable of realizing that his interests are and should be identical with those of the community.

- *Fourth*

That the progressive element in any community is the white population and that the giving of nearly all the employment to negro laborers has been against the best interests of this County and City and is a sufficient reason why the City of Wilmington, with its natural advantages has not become a city of at least fifty thousand inhabitants.

- *Fifth*

That we propose in the future to give to white men a large part of the employment heretofore given to negroes because we realize that white families cannot thrive here unless there are more opportunities for the employment of the different members of said families.

- *Sixth*

That the white men expect to live in this community peaceably; to have and provide absolute protection for their families, who shall be safe from insult or injury from all persons, whomsoever. We are prepared to treat the negroes with justice and consideration in all matters which do not involve sacrifices of the interest of the intelligent and progressive portion of the community. But are equally prepared now and immediately to enforce what we know to be our rights.

- *Seventh*

That we have been, in our desire for harmony and peace, blinded both to our best interests and our rights. A climax was reached when the negro paper of this city published an article so vile and slanderous that it would in most communities have resulted in the lynching of the editor. We deprecate lynching and yet there is no punishment, provided by the courts, adequate for this offense. We therefore owe it to the people of this community and of this city, as a protection against such license in the future, that the paper known as the "Record" cease to be published and that its editor be banished from this community.

We demand that he leave this City forever within twenty-four hours after the issuance of this proclamation. Second, that the printing press from which the "Record" has been issued be packed and shipped from the City without delay, that we be notified within twelve hours of the acceptance or rejection of this demand.

If the demand is agreed to, within twelve hours we counsel forbearance on the part of all white men. If the demand is refused or if no answer is given within the time mentioned then the editor, Manly, will be expelled by force.

After the Committee of Twenty-Five was assembled, they moved their meeting to the Merchant's Association rooms for a meeting at 3:30 in the afternoon. After discussion of methods to implement the resolutions, the committee drew up a list of men they perceived as leaders and representatives of the African American community. These men, called the Committee of Colored Citizens (CCC), were attorneys, businessmen, laborers, ministers, and politicians.[71] The whites on the Committee of Twenty-Five then planned to issue a summons to the CCC for them to appear before the white leaders at six o'clock that evening to hear the demands of the whites regarding Manly and the situation in the city.

> *The following named colored citizens of Wilmington are requested to meet a committee of citizens appointed by authority of the meeting of business men and taxpayers held this morning at 6 o'clock this evening at the Merchants' Rooms, Seaboard Air Line building on Front Street to consider a matter of grave consequence to the negroes of Wilmington*[72]

At the appointed hour, the committees met to discuss the resolutions passed earlier in the day. The black representatives sat across the table from the whites in a rigidly controlled meeting. Waddell "presented the resolutions as an ultimatum" and "firmly explained the purpose of the meeting." Waddell would not entertain discussion, and the black men were told in simple terms that they should "use their influence in carrying out the resolutions." Rev. W. H. Lee spoke up and indicated that he would advise Manly and his family to leave, and William Henderson stated that he thought the *Record* could be moved with the Manlys.[73] There being no more discussion, the Committee of Twenty-Five gave the CCC until 7:30 the next morning to provide Waddell a reply "as to whether the resolutions will be complied with without the use of strong measures."[74]

Another tense night of readiness faced both whites and blacks on the ninth. The CCC left the meeting with Waddell and reconvened at David Jacobs' barber shop on Dock Street between Water and Front Streets to draft a reply. The CCC's response

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[71] The Committee of Colored Citizens were Dr. J. H Alston, Richard Ashe, Salem J. Bell, Henry Brown, John H. Brown, John Carroll, John Goins, Elijah Green, Henry C. Green, Henry Green, James P. Green, Josh Green, William Everett Henderson, John Holloway, Daniel Howard, John Harriss Howe, John T. Howe, David Jacobs, David Jones, Rev. Lee (of St. Stephen's), J. W. Lee, Alex Mallett, Dr. T. R. Mask, Thomas C. Miller, William A. Moore, Carter Peamon, James Pearson, Robert B. Pickens, Isham Quick, Robert Reardon, Thomas Rivera, Frederick Sadgwar, Armond Scott, Rev. James W. Telfair. A handwritten copy of the list of men identified as the Committee of Colored Citizens, including check marks for contact and some with an "x" by their name, is in theWaddell papers in Chapel Hill. Federal appointees such as John C. Dancy and John E. Taylor, although prominent leaders of the African American community, were not among those called to the meeting because of the fear of federal intervention. *Wilmington Messenger,* November 10, 1898; *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 10, 1898; Alfred Moore Waddell Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

[72] Hayden's *Story of The Wilmington Rebellion,* page 13, indicated that the two committees met at the Cape Fear Club on Front Street. *Wilmington Messenger,* November 10, 1898; *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 10, 1898; Alfred Moore Waddell Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

[73] Confusion as to whether Manly had already left the city was found in both the white and black communities.

[74] In a pre-approved plan, Waddell would met the Committee of Twenty-Five at the armory at eight o'clock in the morning of November 10 to provide them with the details of the CCC response. McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 684; Ibid.

was short and accommodating but did not address the municipal issue, and it reminded the whites that they were not in a position to dictate to the rest of the community. After the response was drafted, Armond Scott, a young attorney, was given the responsibility for delivery of the reply to Waddell's home by the appointed hour. However, as Scott began to walk towards Waddell's home, he encountered large numbers of hostile armed whites in the neighborhood. Scott, along with several members of the CCC, then took the letter to the post office for delivery instead. As Scott was attempting to deliver the letter, other members of the CCC tried to find Frank Manly, Alex Manly's brother, to encourage him to leave and take the *Record* with him since they thought Alex was already gone. Another member of the CCC met with Rountree and informed him that "everything was all right" because an appropriate response had been drafted and delivered to Waddell. Furthermore, those in the black community felt that peace would prevail because the contents of the letter were also made public even as they were supposedly being delivered to Waddell. [75]

The late afternoon meeting between the white and black factions of the city was reported in the morning papers, along with the understanding that Manly was already out of the city, never to return again and that a formal reply was expected early in the morning from the CCC.[76] Further effects of the citizens' meeting on the ninth appeared in the *Messenger* in a small announcement that the *Record* had suspended publication, and the "outfit of the company will be turned over to creditors and the affairs of the paper will be closed up at once." In addition to speculation about Manly, the *Messenger* printed a rumor that some of the members of the Board of Aldermen had decided to resign. Further, the paper suggested that a solution for changing the face of the board would present itself.[77]

Yet another stressful, sleepless night was ahead for many of Wilmington's citizens of both races. White sentries patrolled the town while others planned their next step. A group of whites in front of the First Baptist Church and resolved to destroy the printing offices of the *Record* and to lynch Manly if the demands of the White Declaration of Independence were not met. These men decided to use the citizens' Vigilance Committee established by Roger Moore to station men throughout the town in the event of violence while the press was being destroyed. They also decided that Roger Moore would lead the march upon the press if need be. [78]

The mass meeting with the public presentation of the White Declaration of Independence, combined with the inflamed attitudes of those in attendance, gave the Secret Nine opportunity to enact its plan to overthrow the city government. Although the state and county were firmly in the hands of Democrats, the municipal government was not slated for replacement through the ballot box until the following spring. It was the judgment of leading white citizens that a complete overhaul of city government was

[75] McDuffie used a sketch written by Armond Scott entitled "Up From Hell" that was in the possession of Scott's widow in Washington, D.C. McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 686; Rountree, "Memorandum."

[76] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 686; Rountree, "Memorandum."

[77] *Wilmington Messenger,* November 10, 1898.

[78] Although the meeting was held outside the church, its new pastor, Rev. Blackwell, was a hearty supporter of the white supremacy campaign, and following the violence on the tenth and his views were quoted in the Raleigh *News and Observer.* Additional information on this clandestine meeting is apparently found in P. B. Manning's letter to E. S. Tennet, originally filed with the Louise T. Moore Papers at the New Hanover County Public Library. The letter has disappeared and references to the meeting and its plans as detailed are found in McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 687. *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 15, 1898.

necessary, in accordance with the demands of the White Declaration of Independence. They felt that there were others who were better equipped or entitled to run the city and who should be returned to power despite their minority status.[79]

James Worth wrote his wife to inform her of the day's events and expected trouble that night as a result of the actions of the Committee of Twenty-Five. He knew that Manly would "of course go dead or alive—but which I am unable to say." Worth anticipated "warm times in the old town" that night, but the night was quiet as the city awaited word from Waddell and the Committee of Colored Citizens.[80]

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[79] Hayden, *Wilmington Light Infantry,* 70-120; Hayden, *Story of the Wilmington Rebellion*, 1-36.

[80] James Worth to Josephine, November 9, 1898, James S. Worth Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Map Key – Major Participants in Wilmington Race Riot

(There were some key participants in both races whose address has not been identified.)

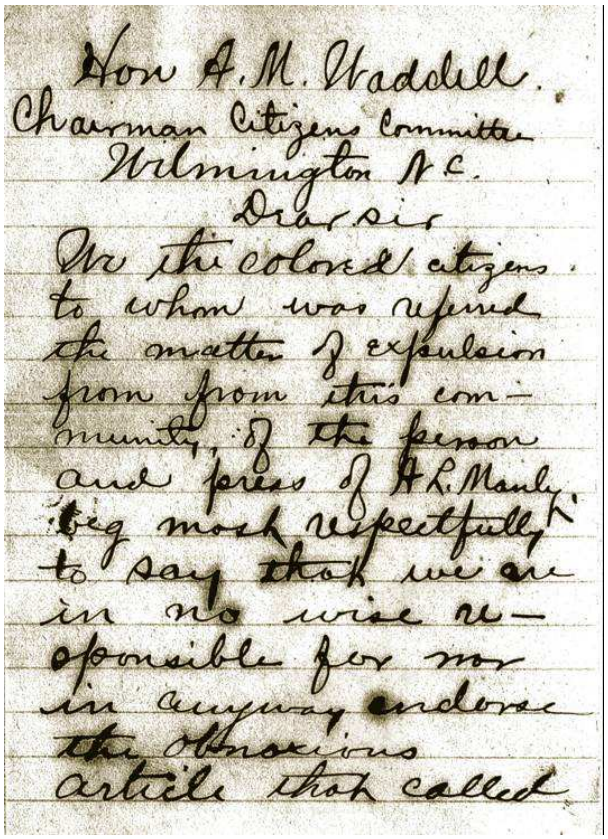
Key Participants – White

Bridgers, Preston L.	114 S 3rd
Clawson, Thomas	116 N 3rd
Crow, John E.	417 Chestnut
Davis, Joseph R.	320 Church
Davis, Junius	207 N 3rd
Dowling, Mike	713 S 7th
Ellis, James	
Fechtig, F.H.	220 N 2nd
Fennell, Hardy L.	807 Market
Fishblate, S.H.	815 Market
Furlong, John	219 Red Cross
Galloway, Dr. Walter C.	1 Post Office Alley
Gilchrist, William	714 Market
Harvey, Rev. J.W.S.	801 S 7th
Holmes, Gabriel	218 N 3rd
Johnson, William A.	716 Market
Kenan, William R.	110 Nun
King, B.F.	521 S 3rd
Kramer, Rev. J.W.	917 N 4th
E. S. Lathrop	802 Market
Manning, Pierre B.	714 Market
Maunder, Frank	624 N 4th
Mayo, William	307 Harnett
MacRae, Donald	711 Market
MacRae, Hugh	715 Market
Meares, Iredell	411 Orange
Montgomery, F.A.	203 Castle
Northrop, W.H.	15 S 5th
Parsley, Walter L.	711 Market
Robertson, W.F.	202 Orange
Rountree, George	411 N 2nd
Sasser, L.B.	802 Market
Schnibben, Charles	909 Market
Skelding, A.B.	520 S. 3rd
Fred B. Skipper	708 N. 3rd
Smith, Joseph D.	622 Dock
G. L. Spencer	
Sprunt, James	400 S Front
Stedman, Frank	311 N 2nd
Taylor, Col. Walker	321 S 3rd
Taylor, J. Alan	14 N 7th
Waddell, Alfred M.	16 N. 5th
Worth, Charles W.	412 S 3rd

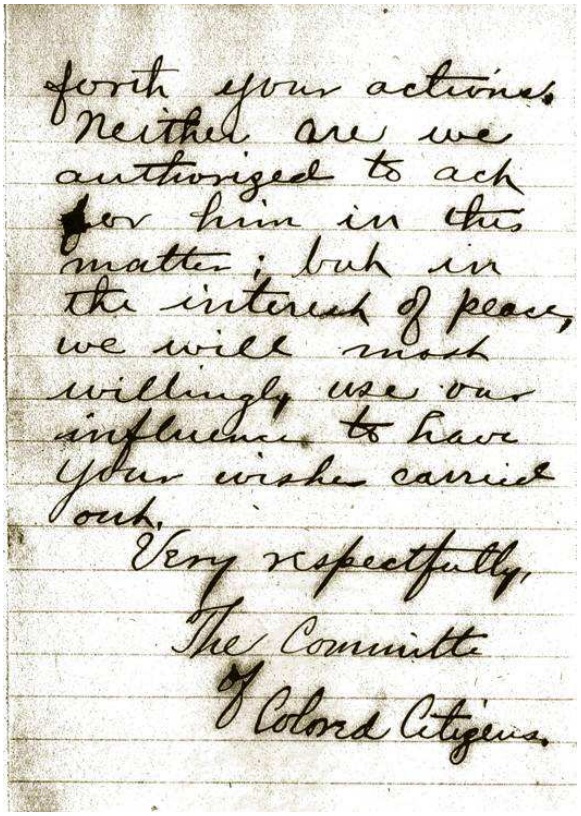
Key Participants – Targets of White Campaign

Ashe, Richard	910 Castle
Bell, Salem J.	313 S 7th
Brown, Henry	512 Walnut
Brown, John H.	231 Princess
Bryant, Ari	1010 N 5th
Bunting, Robert H(w)	1307 Market
Carroll, John	412 Brunswick
French, G.Z. (w)	Orton
Gilbert, C.H. (w)	213 N 7th
Green, Elijah	323 S 7th
Green, Henry C.	607 Campbell
Green, Henry	913 Wooster
Green, James P.	720 Church
Green, Josh	612 Bladen
Holloway, John	810 N 7th
Howard, Daniel	312 N 6th
Howe, John H.	116 Castle
Howe, John T.	308 Castle
Jacobs, David	914 S 2nd4
Jones, David	210 McRae
Keith, B.F. (w)	407 Walnut
Lee, Rev. W.H.	804 McRae
Loughlin, James (w)	614 S. Front
Mallett, Alex	604 Campbell
Manly, A.L.	514 McRae
Manly, Frank	514 McRae
Mask, Dr. T.R.	510 S 7th
McAlister, Charles(w)	412 N Front
McMillan, William D.	414 Dock
Melton, John R.	1215 Market
Miller, Thomas C.	216 Castle
Moore, William A.	413 S 7th
Pearson, James	310 N 6th
Pickens, Robert B.	317 S 7th
Quick, Isham	313 N 9th
Reardon, Robert	29 Market
Rivera, Thomas	516 Red Cross
Sadgwar, Frederick	15 N 8th
Scott, Armond	519 Walnut
Telfair, Rev. J.W.	615 Walnut
Toomer, F.P.	916 Love Ave.
Walker, Andrew J.	1107 N. 5th
Webber, John H.	719 Hanover
Wright, Silas P. (w)	Orton

Response of the Committee of Colored Citizens[81]



Hon A. M. Waddell.
Chairman Citizens Committee
Wilmington N.C.
Dear Sir
We the colored citizens
to whom was referred
the matter of expulsion
from from this com-
munity, of the person
and press of H. L. Manly
beg most respectfully
to say that we are
in no wise re-
sponsible for nor
in anyway endorse
the obnoxious
article that called

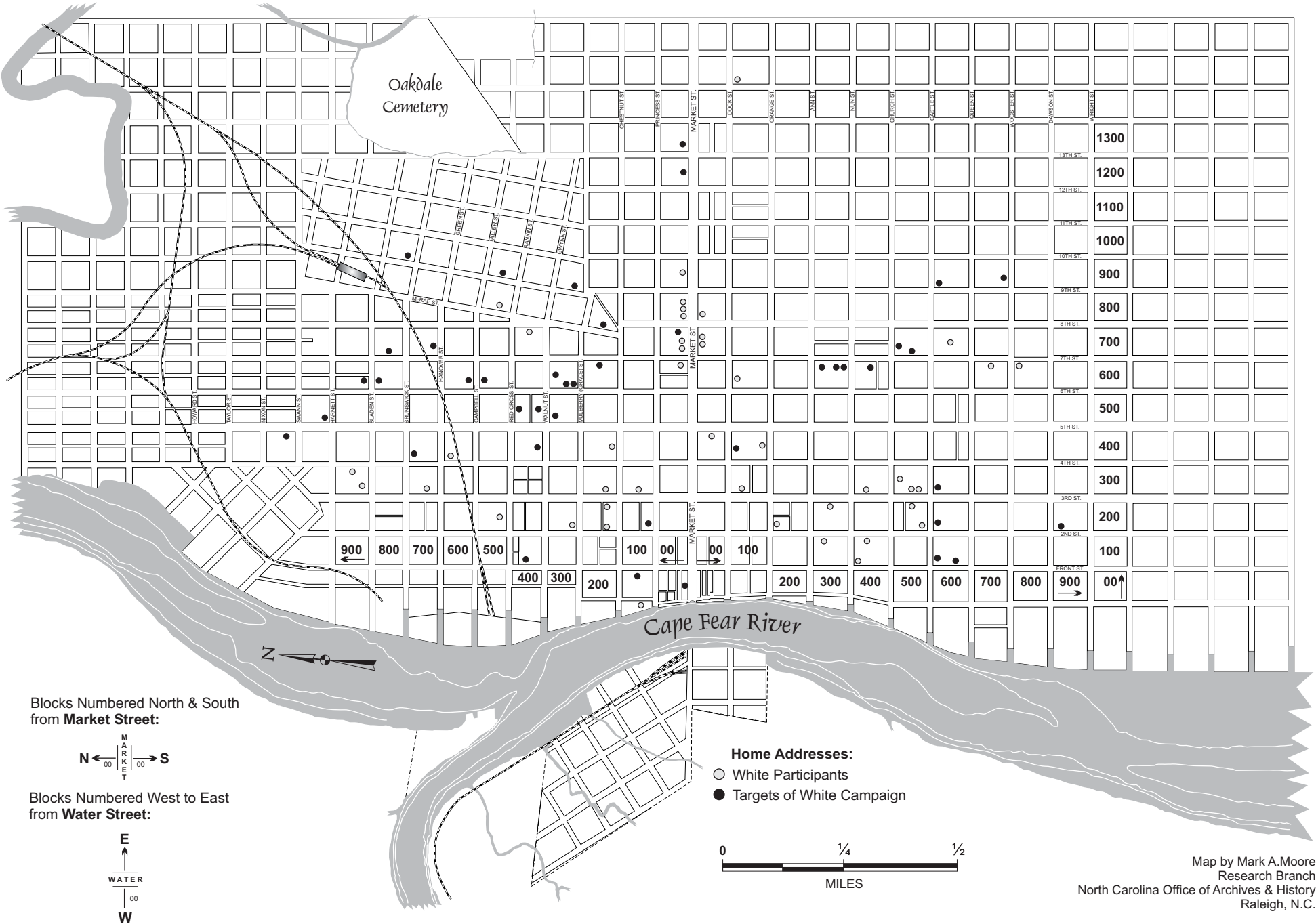


forth your actions.
Neither are we
authorized to ack
for him in this
matter; but in
the interest of peace,
we will most
willingly use our
influence to have
your wishes carried
out.
Very respectfully,
The Committe
of Colord Citizens.

[81] Later in life, Armond Scott claimed that the letter he wrote was not the letter reprinted in the papers. He indicated that the letter he wrote for the CCC acknowledged that Manly's paper had ceased publication two weeks before the election and, as such, the "alleged basis of conflict between the races has been eliminated." Sue Cody appropriately concluded that "if the other version of the letter had been published, even after the violence, the mob's actions might have drawn more criticism." Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics*, 176; Cody, "After the Storm," 33; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 686. The original of the letter Waddell claimed was from the CCC (image above) is in the Alfred Moore Waddell Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

Wilmington Race Riot of 1898

Key Participants



Map by Mark A.Moore
Research Branch
North Carolina Office of Archives & History
Raleigh, N.C.

Chapter 5: November 10: "Hell Jolted Loose"

- The Committee of Twenty-Five met with the Committee of Colored Citizens (CCC) on the evening of November 9 to make demands of the African American community, primarily the removal of Manly, who left town that day because he was informed of the dangers to his life if he stayed. The CCC was to provide a reply by 7:30 A.M. on the tenth to Alfred M. Waddell. The reply did not arrive by the specified time, and Waddell proceeded to the Wilmington Light Infantry (WLI) armory.

- Waddell met a crowd of men at the armory at 8:00 A.M. and led a march to the *Record* printing offices near the corner of Seventh and Nun. The *Record* offices were destroyed by a mob numbering as many as 2,000 whites who then returned to the armory.

- Word of the fire at the press spread, and blacks working at James Sprunt's cotton compress quit work and clustered at the waterfront as crowds of armed whites pressed for the crowd to disperse. Sprunt and other whites worked to protect the blacks and calm the whites, avoiding bloodshed at the compress.

- Violence broke out at the intersection of Fourth and Harnett when groups of blacks and whites argued with each other from opposing corners. Both sides claimed the first shot was fired by the other with two "witnesses" providing opposing testimony.

- After the first shots were fired, the governor called out the WLI, who marched into Brooklyn to calm the riot. They participated in skirmishes and killed several black men at Manhattan Park and elsewhere.

- The WLI and the Naval Reserves operated two rapid-fire guns in the city. The guns were used to intimidate and terrorize both blacks and whites before the day was over. Another rapid fire gun was brought to the city by members of the Kinston Naval Reserves, who joined the WLI and other State Guard units in the city to press for peace at the behest of the governor.

- Several black men were identified as killed or wounded in sporadic skirmishes throughout the day. Some black men were found and taken to the hospital on the eleventh. Several men died from their wounds in the days following the riot. One white man was critically wounded, a few other whites were also wounded, but there were no white casualties.

- During the riot, members of Waddell's Committee of Twenty-Five, George Rountree, John D. Bellamy, and others worked to facilitate a coup d'etat to overthrow the Republican mayor, Board of Aldermen, and chief of police. By 4:00 P.M., the elected officials were resigning and being replaced by men selected by the Committee of Twenty-Five. The newly placed Board of Aldermen elected Waddell mayor.

Chapter 5
November 10: "Hell Jolted Loose"

"You cannot think or imagine anything to equal or compare to the policy the Democrats seem to have adopted to carry this section. I look for a lot of innocent men killed here if things continue as they are now."

Benjamin Keith to Marion Butler, October 17, 1898, Marion Butler Papers

The violence of Thursday, November 10, 1898, is multifaceted. Foremost, planned violence to suppress the African American and Republican communities grew into unplanned bloodshed. Anticipating violent reprisals from the black community, white leaders established a framework of preelection preparations that broke down as violence escalated. Previous planning by the Secret Nine and men such as Roger Moore and Walker Taylor appeared to afford more protection of citizens and control of the election rather than to call for an outright offensive strike into the black community. But the frenzy over white supremacy victory, incessantly repeated by orators such as Alfred Moore Waddell and Charles Aycock simply could not be quieted after an overwhelming and somewhat anticlimactic election victory.

The fever pitch of white supremacy rhetoric for the masses reached a breaking point in Wilmington on November 10. Edward Wootten, a student at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, was told by his mother in Wilmington that she feared violence, but "we need it and . . . it must come before things are settled."[1] Her sentiments were echoed by the *Wilmington Messenger* a few days after the riot when the editors stated that "the relations between the races were too strained for it to be avoided" since "matters had reached a point in Wilmington at which a conflict between the races was inevitable."[2] For the leaders, victory and gratification were theirs with the election win. For the masses, violence overrode sensible thought after the November 9 eeting.[3]

After the previous day's work in securing a meeting of the leading black citizens and assuring their assistance in calming the city, some of Wilmington's Democratic Party leaders felt it unnecessary to attend Thursday morning's 8:00 A.M. meeting to hear the response of the Committee of Colored Citizens (CCC). White attorney George Rountree met one of the leading members of the black community late on the ninth and was reassured that all was well. Rountree was informed that Alex Manly was planning to leave at once and that attorney Armond Scott would deliver an answer to Waddell. Because Rountree and others did not realize that the timely delivery of the response to Waddell was botched, they felt no need to attend the early morning meeting at the armory on the tenth. These behind-the-scenes leaders failed to see that the strict control they had exercised over the Red Shirts and White Government Unions had eroded.[4]

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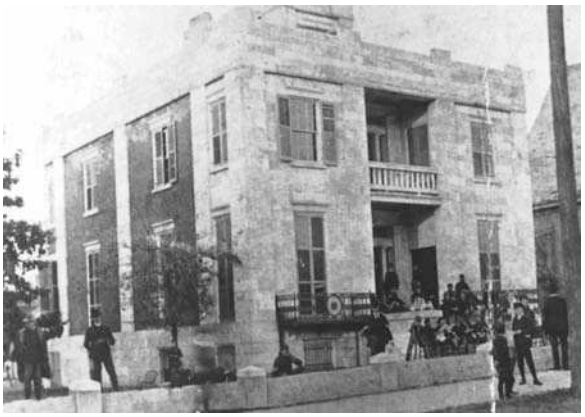
[1] E. Y. Wootten to Edward, November 8, 1898, Wootten Papers, University of North Carolina at Wilmington Library.

[2] "Wilmington Quiet," *Wilmington Messenger*, November 15, 1898.

[3] According to one theory of group aggression, a series of triggering factors are needed to facilitate a riot. The mass meeting of November 9th clearly fits the model put forth by psychologist Arnold Goldstein and was a precipitating event that led to the riot the next day. For more information on theories of group aggression, see Appendix H.

[4] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 693; Rountree, "Memorandum," Henry G. Connor Papers, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

According to the plans of the Committee of Twenty-Five, Alfred Moore Waddell waited at home until about 8:00 A.M., approximately a half hour longer than the deadline for a reply from the CCC. He then proceeded to walk down Fifth Street to the Wilmington Light Infantry armory on Market. Once Waddell arrived, he was met by a crowd of about 500 men eager to learn the answer to the Declaration by the CCC. The *Wilmington Messenger* remarked that the assembled crowd was armed and represented a cross section of the town, including large numbers of professionals and clergy. Some of the men were exhausted—some had been on patrol all night and others had slept at the armory—a focal point of demonstrations and planning sessions in the days and weeks leading up to November 10.[5]



Wilmington Light Infantry Armory, November 1898
Image: New Hanover County Public Library

In addition to the readiness of Roger Moore's paramilitary organization, groups of true military units were in the city—the State Guard militia unit of the WLI under Captain T.C. James, active duty federal troops in Company K under Captain MacRae, and federal troops from the Naval Reserves under Commander George Morton.[6] These men awaited the morning

[5] Originally the home of John Allan Taylor, the building was constructed around 1847 and acquired by the volunteer military organization in 1892 for use as its headquarters and armory. Wrenn, *Architecture of Wilmington; Wilmington Messenger,* November 11, 1898; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 694; Hayden, "Introduction to the Wilmington Rebellion," 21.

[6] Earlier in 1898, some members of the WLI were called up by Governor Russell to serve in active duty in the Spanish-American War as part of Company K, 2nd North Carolina Volunteer Infantry. They had just returned home in late September on furlough after seeing no action on the battlefield. Captain Donald MacRae worried over the return of his troops to Wilmington in the midst of heated speeches and marches in favor of white supremacy in the upcoming election. In a letter written from Raleigh on September 18, 1898, Captain MacRae warned Douglas Cronly, former captain of the WLI and member of Company K, that he had suggested to Captain James of the WLI "in as delicate as way as possible that it would be advisable to 'water' any stimulants which may be provided for the boys" during the festivities to mark their return home. MacRae's worries were well founded since many North Carolina soldiers who returned to Raleigh after the war's end found themselves in drunken brawls and shoot-outs with black Raleigh citizens. There seems to have been a small degree of tension between the members of the WLI that left to be "Spaniard fighters" and those who remained at home. MacRae urged that "undesirable discussions" should be limited between the two groups in order to prevent any friction. Returning troops were aware of the activities of the white supremacy campaign since Josephus Daniels and the Democratic Party circulated copies of the *News and Observer* among troops while they were stationed in Florida.

Men within Commander George Morton's Naval Reserves also returned to Wilmington in the fall of 1898. The Naval Reserves crew represented a wider spectrum of Wilmington's population than did the roster of the WLI. Members of the crew came from both the upper classes of society but also from the lower, laboring sections, including a small number of African Americans. Members of the Naval Reserves experienced an even more frustrated participation in the war than did the WLI forces. Their ship, the *Nantucket*, limped into Port Royal, South Carolina and did not leave for the duration of the war, serving, instead, as a defense and training

of the tenth with a tense readiness. To keep their troops occupied and out of harm's way, the military leaders put their men through drills, thus preventing an anxious boredom until they were needed. Although their role was that of peacekeepers, their leader, Colonel Walker Taylor, understood the important role the WLI could play in the event of violence. Members of the WLI had participated in previous patrols and activities in the city but not as a uniformed, organized company.[7] Taylor, as commander of the WLI, could not actively engage his men in the city until violence broke out. Therefore, Colonel Roger Moore's framework of civilian block captains and leaders, based on military protocol, was the front line of organized armed men.

Moore's civilian men knew their place in the ranks and took orders from their leaders who ultimately reported to him. However, once the official military in the form of the WLI and State Guard were called out upon order of Governor Daniel Russell later on the 10th, Moore's men either dispersed or joined the forays of the WLI in keeping the peace, even as the Red Shirts and Rough Riders continued to act on their own.[8]

March to the *Record*

As Waddell arrived at the armory around 8:15 A.M. and informed the crowd that no response had been received from the CCC. The previously "orderly" crowd became restless and called for someone to step up and lead them to wreck the *Record* office. Waddell had been informed of the contents of the letter drafted by the CCC and that it was mailed instead of hand-delivered but did not share this information with the assembled crowd.[9] Other leaders of the campaign were conspicuously absent, including Roger Moore and Walker Taylor. Moore, as organizational leader of Wilmington's defenses on behalf of armed whites, was at his predetermined station, and others under his command were in their positions throughout the city, posted so as to be ready to respond quickly. Furthermore, Moore had instructed Waddell to inform him by phone if it became necessary to march on the *Record*.[10] However, because of personality conflicts between the two men, Waddell took matters into his own hands and did not contact Moore to step up and lead the crowd even though some men called for Moore's leadership.[11]

Colonel Walker Taylor, post commander, and Captain Thomas C. James understood the tenuous position the WLI held in the upcoming activities since the

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ship in that port. Once the flag was lowered on the ship in August, the crew disbanded, returned to Wilmington without their ship, and mustered out of service in September. Adjutant General's Office, *Roster of the North Carolina Volunteers in the Spanish-American War, 1898-1899* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1900) 45-48; MacRae to Cronly, September 18, 1898, Cronly Papers, Duke University Library, Durham; Daniels, *Editor in Politics*, 277, 280-281; de Rosset, *Pictorial History*, 88-89.

[7] Catherine McLaurin to Sallie McLaurin, November 9, 1898, Eccles Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[8] Hayden recalled that after the first shots were fired, the "Red Shirts began to ride and the Negroes began to run!" Hayden, *WLI,* 92; James Cowan, " The Wilmington Race Riot;"; Mrs. Roger Moore, letter to editor of *Wilmington Messenger*, [1900], Moore Papers, University of North Carolina at Wilmington Library; J. R. Kennedy, "Colonel Moore Recalled," *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 24, 1936.

[9] Hayden, "Introduction to the Wilmington Rebellion," 21; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 694.

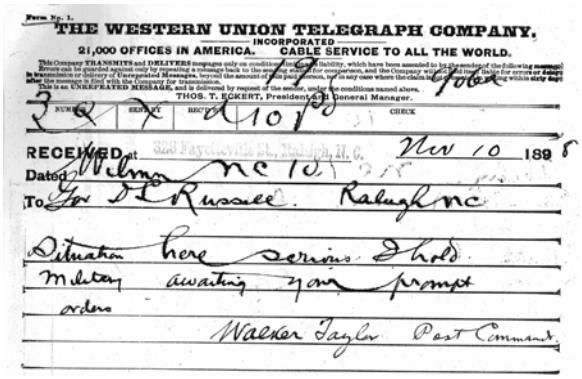
[10] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 693 -4; James Cowan, "The Wilmington Race Riot." Accounts of Moore's position vary; McDuffie claims he was at corner of Fifth and Chestnut. F.A. Lord , a white participant, recalled that Moore was stationed at the jail. F. A. Lord to Louis T. Moore, 1936, Louis T. Moore Collection, New Hanover County Public Library.

[11] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 694.

WLI, as a local North Carolina State Guard unit, was pledged to maintain peace and order. After consultation with Taylor, James refused to have the WLI officially participate in the destruction of Manly's press. The WLI could not and would not lead the march to the press.[12]

Waddell assembled the crowd in military fashion, in columns of four for the length of two city blocks, with himself and other leaders of the Committee of Twenty-Five, Red Shirts, and business interests leading the march.[13] These front ranks were Waddell, escorted by Mike Dowling of the Red Shirts, followed by F. H. Fechtig, W. C. Galloway, A. B. Skelding, and E. S. Lathrop of the Committee of Twenty-Five.[14] Also named by witnesses as leaders of the march were John D. Bellamy and former mayor Silas Fishblate.[15]

Once the main body of the crowd had left for the press, Taylor and James met at the armory and discussed the potential for trouble. Taylor, a member of both the WLI and a leading businessman, felt compelled to control the situation as much as possible and composed a telegram to the governor: "Situation here serious. I hold military awaiting your prompt orders."[16]


THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY,
INCORPORATED
21,000 OFFICES IN AMERICA. CABLE SERVICE TO ALL THE WORLD.
THOS. T. ECKERT, President & General Manager.
RECEIVED at
Dated Wilm NC 10 Nov 10 1898
To Gov D L Russell. Raleigh NC
Situation here serious. I hold military awaiting your prompt orders
Walker Taylor Post Commander

Telegram: Walker Taylor to Governor Daniel Russell.
Image: North Carolina State Archives

Taylor and his men then waited at the armory for a reply while the crowd descended on the press. John V. B. Metts, a sergeant in the WLI, wrote that he and the other members of the WLI were "kept under arms" in the armory until eleven o'clock while the citizens met there and "proceeded to burn the *Record* building." [17] Another member of the WLI, Private James D. Nutt, expressed the men's eagerness to participate

[12] Taylor, at a meeting of riot "veterans" in 1905 recalled that "I got a telephone message that a crowd was at the Armory and wanted the military to lead them up to the Record Office and as I was Post Commander at that time and my duty would have been to disband them, I did not go down until Capt. James telephoned me that they had all gone and then I went down and Capt. James and I went over the situation" and then sent a telegram to the governor. "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection.

[13] The men reportedly formed themselves into columns according to military drills and, by the time their formation was complete, they presented a formidable front, twelve men across for two blocks. Hayden, *WLI*, 85; *Wilmington Messenger* November 11, 1898; Hayden, "Introduction to the Wilmington Rebellion," 22.

[14] Hayden, *WLI,* 85.

[15] There are contradictions on Bellamy's participation. An unsigned letter to President McKinley from an African American Wilmingtonian claimed he was at the head of the march. However, Bellamy's testimony in court contradicts this statement: "Question: Mr. Bellamy, were you present at anytime during the destruction, or any part of the destruction, of the Manly printing office and printing press? Answer: I was not present; I was not even in the crowd that went there; I don't know who went there, except upon information, and had nothing to do with it, and have never seen the building, as I recall, either prior to or since the destruction." Further, Bellamy contended on another occasion that he was out of town at the time. *Contested Election Case*, 249; Unsigned Letter to President McKinley, November 13, 1898, General Records of the Department of Justice, National Archives, Washington, D. C.; Bellamy, *Memoirs*.

[16] Governor Russell Papers, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[17] John V. B. Metts to "Miss Elizabeth," November 12, 1898, Hinsdale Papers, Duke University Library, Durham.

after Captain James had "marched them around the yard [of the armory] about eight times" after his request to leave the armory and participate had been denied by Captain James.[18]

Waddell's column of men marched east on Market and turned onto Seventh Street, white residents in homes they passed viewed the crowd with mixed emotions even as husbands and sons joined the march from their porches. William Parsley wrote to his sister-in-law in New York that her mother broke into a "fit of hysterics sufficiently violent to alarm me" when the armed group of men led by Waddell marched by their house but that she soon was calmed enough for him to join the procession. Furthermore, his young daughter, Mannie, "distinguished herself" as she joined the procession from the sidewalk for a short distance while walking towards her grandparent's home at 619 Orange Street. Parsley recalled that she enjoyed the walk but that his wife and mother were not so charmed by the girl's activities.[19]

Although Waddell's march took the men en route to the press through affluent neighborhoods on Market Street, once they turned onto Seventh and passed Orange Street, the neighborhood became distinctly different, occupied almost entirely by blacks who watched the procession from within their homes and other concealed locations.[20] Chief of Police John R. Melton observed the procession and recalled that it took about an hour for the 1,000 to 1,500 men to pass.[21] The press occupied a building called Love and Charity Hall and was in the heart of a black neighborhood near the corner of Seventh and Nun Streets.[22]

Since they were in what could be assumed to be hostile territory, and given the fact that armed groups of black men had clustered around the press in August as a defensive measure after threats were first made against Manly and the paper, the white paramilitary organization sent out pickets, or guards, along the streets in the southern section of town. One participant later recalled that he was instructed by his ward captain to run a patrol on Church Street and later extended his patrols along Castle to Seventh in the early stages of the riot.[23]

With his perimeter secured by the pickets and guard patrols, Waddell knocked on the door of the building wielding a Winchester rifle. The knock yielded no answer since Manly had been warned of the dangers to his life and property in advance by white reporter Thomas Clawson.[24] The men then forced the door open and poured

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[18] "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection.

[19] William Parsley to Sal [McLaurin], nd, Eccles Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[20] 1897 Wilmington Map, Hayumi Higuchi. A digital version of Higuchi's map can be found in Chapter 8.

[21] *Contested Election Case,* 364.

[22] The hall, also called Free Love Lodge by Hayden, was operated by the Grand United Order of Love and Charity, first organized in 1878, and provided help for the poor, sick, and indigent through its association with St. Luke's A.M.E. Zion Church. The building at Seventh and Nun Streets was newly constructed in 1897, and after its destruction in 1898, contributions from the white community reimbursed the organization for its losses. Construction commenced on a new hall in April 1899. Manly moved the printing press and *Record* offices to the building after he was evicted from his rented office space downtown in August. The property owner of the business office in downtown did not want Manly's controversial business on his property. Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*, 17-18.

[23] *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), August 25, 1898; F.A. Lord to Louis T. Moore, August 8, 1936, Louis T. Moore Collection, New Hanover Count Public Library.

[24] Clawson, "Recollections and Memories" Louis T. Moore Collection, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 695, reports that a black man near the door failed to move out of the way fast enough and was shot in the neck. This is the only recorded instance of this man being shot.

inside to demolish the equipment and supplies of the *Record*—marking the beginning of overt violence in the city. The men cheered as they broke into the building, destroying office furniture and the press. As men entered the press offices, items such as a beaver hat, drawings of Manly, and a sign reading "The Record Publishing Co." were thrown into the street to cheering onlookers who could not get inside.[25] A fire started in the building, forcing the men inside to leave the structure and return to the street to watch it burn. Later investigation among the ranks of men involved concluded that hanging kerosene lamps inside the building were knocked to the floor, which was saturated with more kerosene found stored in a closet. The person who struck the match was never named, but William Watson and Dan Rowan were identified as the ones responsible for spreading the kerosene, which accelerated the fire as it spread quickly throughout the two-story frame building.[26] Waddell and other leaders were displeased that the fire broke out since they only wanted to damage the press and the ability of the black community to produce a newspaper. It was later recalled that "a mob, no matter how well disciplined, is no stronger than its weakest link."[27] Additionally, the building was perilously close to the prominent St. Luke's A. M. E. Zion Church and private homes. As cinders began to catch fire on shingles of nearby houses, the alarm was sounded from a firebox at the corner, and men from the neighborhood fire station responded to the call. Whites involved in the destruction of the press assisted with extinguishing the

Remains of Love and Charity Hall/ Record Printing Offices. African American firefighters visible on second floor as white children watch from steps of St. Luke's.
Image courtesy of New Hanover County Public Library

[25] Prather, *Democracy Betrayed*, 113.

[26] Hayden, *WLI*, 85; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 10, 1898.

[27] Hayden, *Story of the Wilmington Rebellion*, 15.

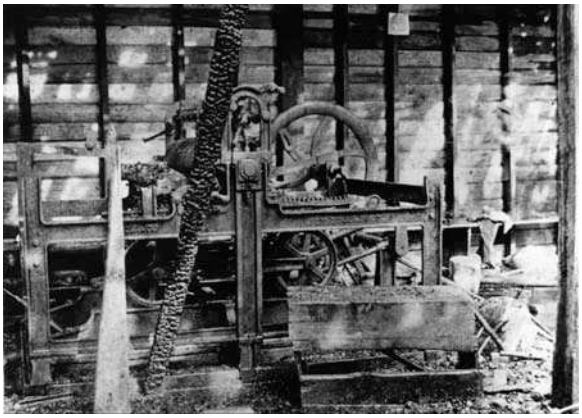
Newly discovered image of burning of Manly press building. This image was taken soon after the destruction of the press building. Smoke is still very evident in the upper floor. The men in the foreground have a wide range of expressions to reflect their mood. Some of the men wear firefighter uniforms. The image was made by Wilmington photographer Henry Cronenberg.
Image courtesy of the New Hanover County Public Library

Armed rioters in front of destroyed press building. Photo was reproduced in *Collier's Weekly*.
Image: North Carolina State Archives

small roof fires on nearby houses.[28] The fire crews were stopped at Sixth and Castle by W. T. Savage on orders of Fire Chief Charles Schnibben until it was certain that the building was destroyed beyond repair.[29] Once the all-black fire crew was allowed to approach the scene, they were met by a barrage of shouts and a "fusillade of gun and pistol shots."[30] The whites watched as the firemen fought to douse the flames. Later accounts by observers admired the fortitude of the fire fighters who did their job in spite of harrowing circumstances—taming a raging fire in close proximity to other buildings under the watchful eyes of hundreds of armed antagonistic men.[31] After the fire was extinguished, some whites stopped a moment to pose with their rifles in front of the destroyed building.

The black community reacted in a multitude of ways—children at a nearby school were running through the neighborhood in a frightened panic, and an elderly lady stood on the street and "invoked the wrath of Heaven" on the perpetrators even as they worked to destroy the press and building.[32] Fire crews tore down the remains of the building after the crowd dispersed.[33] Although the number of participants swelled to as many as 2,000 at the time the press began to burn, many whites were not a part of the march on the press and were alerted to the violence by the sounds of gun shots, fire bells, and shouts.[34]

Waddell and the men present at the press destruction then re-formed their lines and returned to the armory. There, Waddell counseled the men: "Now you have performed the duty you called on me to lead you to perform. Now let us go quietly to our homes and about our business and obey the law, unless we are forced in self-defense to do otherwise."[35] But Waddell's cautions fell on deaf ears for there were already roving clusters of armed men in a state of recklessness throughout the city. The white supremacy monster that he and other members of the Democratic Party had spawned, and previously held in check, had exceeded their control.



Remnants of *Record* printing press
Image: New Hanover County Public Library

Once the press was destroyed, the city entered a state of panic. Women and children were ushered inside behind locked doors and windows, and workers of both races rushed to the city's center to ascertain what had happened. With telephones and

[28] Henry West, "The Race War in North Carolina," *The Forum*, Volume XXVI, 583-584

[29] Hayden, *WLI*, 86; Prather, *We Have Taken a City,* 113. These men were part of an all black fire station, the Cape Fear Steam Fire Engine Company. The company was organized in 1871 and was the first all-black steam fire engine company in the US. Schnibben and Savage both were possibly members of the Red Shirts and White Government Union. Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*, 186-192.

[30] *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 10,1898.

[31] Hayden, *Story of the Wilmington Rebellion,* 15.

[32] West, "Race War in North Carolina," *Forum*, 585.

[33] *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 10, 1898.

[34] Several witnesses in *Contested Election Case* recalled seeing smoke and hearing the fire bells. Cronly included the shouts and fire bells in her recollections.

[35] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 697; Hayden, *WLI*, 86.

telegraphs in the progressive business community, news among the white elites traveled quickly from one location to the next, helping to organize troops and civilian support, and to seek medical assistance.[36] Racing across the city to find family members, black men and women spread rumors of murder and fire well before the full-scale conflict.

Because of the frantic nature of the story and the way in which it was reported at the time of the event—often with papers going to press while guns were fired in the streets—many inaccurate or incomplete accounts were circulated and survive today. Letters and other primary documents survive from witnesses and participants to add their personal experiences to printed versions of the day's activities. Some who participated in the riot and later recalled the day in order to record the "rebellion" for posterity added through their memories many of the reporting inaccuracies. Confusion has arisen over the accuracy and truthfulness of participant records, contemporary newspaper articles, and similar data. Therefore, one must piece the day's events together using multiple, often overlapping, information sources.

To comprehend the ensuing riot, it must be understood that groups of four to eight armed white men were patrolling every block throughout the city from the day's first light until nightfall and had been doing similar patrols throughout the weeks leading up to the election.[37] Because tensions were high after the mass meeting on the ninth, the men and their patrols were even more on edge than previously. Exhaustion and fear were prevalent emotions.[38] Still, many black and white workers proceeded to work as if nothing had changed. In addition to the patrols, the WLI and Naval Reserves were well prepared—having at the ready several horse drawn wagons mounted with machine guns and cannons, or designed for troop transport.

Hell Broke Loose

Harry Hayden wrote that "Hell broke loose" about an hour after the *Record* was destroyed. The majority of the violence and bloodshed that took place was found in Brooklyn, the traditionally African American neighborhood in the northern section of the city.[39] The first shots between whites and blacks were fired at Fourth and Harnett as armed white men returned to their neighborhood from the march that burned

[36] Wilmington and Raleigh were the first two cities in North Carolina to establish telephone exchanges in North Carolina in 1879. Access to telephones was limited to businesses and leading businessmen. The 1897 city directory provides the numbers for fifty-three patrons of the Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company and for twenty-seven customers of the Interstate Telephone and Telegraph Company. Patrons included many men central to the story of the riot: Hardy Fennell, the Orton hotel, Charles Schnibben, Iredell Meares, Roger Moore, Robert Orrell, Walker Taylor, and James Woolvin. Howell, *Book of Wilmington,* 162; 1897 Wilmington City Directory; Jane Cronly letter, nd, Cronly Papers, Duke University Library, Durham.

[37] EY Wootten to "Edward," November 8, 1898, Wootten Papers, University of North Carolina at Wilmington Library.

[38] Many of the letters and accounts used in this report contain references to exhaustion on the part of the participants because they were consistently awakened for patrol duty and to assemble for threats of armed blacks that never materialized. Collections containing such letters include, Cronly Papers, James Spencer Worth Papers, Wootten Papers, Hinsdale Papers, Eccles Family Papers, and the Louis T. Moore Collection.

[39] Brooklyn has historically been considered the African American section of the city. Documents relating to the violence of November 10 indicate that Brooklyn "began" at the Fourth Street Bridge. Research using the city directory and maps generated by Hayumi Higuchi indicate that the area around Fourth and Harnett was a mixed-race neighborhood with a nearly 50/50 mix of whites and blacks.

the *Record*.[40] The northern part of the city exploded with violent outbreaks at multiple intersections and landmarks during the day. The exact timeline of events remains unclear.

Standoff at Sprunt's Cotton Compress

One of the areas where panic and fear ignited tensions was the Sprunt Cotton Compress on Front Street between Walnut and Red Cross Streets. James Sprunt, among the city's wealthiest white men and a member of the chamber of commerce, employed hundreds of black workers who worked as stevedores loading cotton onto ships, as laborers at the large compress, and as equipment operators to process the cotton. The men working at the compress were unaware of the activity on the other side of town until the fire bell rang. Workers' wives fled to the compress to tell their husbands about the *Record* burning and that whites were burning their homes and firing weapons throughout the city.[41] In short order, several hundred workers gathered in a state of confusion outside the compress, and work stopped in the compress as laborers left their posts. The unarmed workers were "in a state of bewilderment, wondering what had happened, and what might eventuate."[42] The workers told Sprunt that they were "hard working … and that the whites ought not to stir them up and terrorize them."[43] In attempts to protect his workers, Sprunt tried to get them to stay on his property and away from town in hopes that they would not be involved in violence.[44]

Sprunt was joined by Junius Davis, George Rountree, and Roger Moore in his attempts to calm the workers and prevent them from going to their homes. At the same time, however, after hearing a rumor of the gathering of workers at Sprunt's business, a large number of whites entered the area with guns on their shoulders, ready to keep the "mob" of frightened blacks under control. Some of the whites approached Moore and told him that "if he did not give the order to shoot into the negroes on the opposite corner," the mob would do so anyway. Moore responded that he had been placed in "command" by his fellow citizens, and until he was removed from command, he would not allow bloodshed and would have the instigators arrested. The men complied and took their place in the ranks.[45]

Captain Donald MacRae, recently returned to Wilmington from the Spanish-American War, recalled that while he watched a crowd going in the direction of the compress, someone told him to go home and get his gun. MacRae returned to the street loaded with a "riot gun and about seventy five pounds of riot cartridges and two pistols and a bowie knife or two" and headed for a crowd gathered near Sprunt's compress. While in the crowd watching Sprunt attempt to calm his employees, MacRae was recognized as a soldier and was asked to lead the crowd, who wanted to "kill the whole gang of negroes."[46] MacRae was asked to be their leader because he had just been through the war and knew "about what should be done." MacRae recalled that he "had very little stomach for it and as very

[40] The white men who have been identified as the first to exchange gunfire with blacks in the Brooklyn neighborhood were also residents of the area.
[41] Rountree, *Memoirs*, 14, Henry G. Connor Papers; "Story of the Wilmington Riot, A Pure Bred Negro Relates It," *Charlotte Daily Observer*, May 24, 1905.
[42] James Cowan, "The Wilmington Race Riot."
[43] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 709.
[44] "Story of the Wilmington Riot," *Charlotte Daily Observer,* May 24, 1905.
[45] James Cowan, "The Wilmington Race Riot"
[46] "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection.

few of the negroes were armed, it was little less than murder that they [the crowd] proposed." MacRae acknowledged that all the black men were concerned about were their homes. [47]

Captain Donald MacRae
Image: William L. DeRossett, *Pictorial and Historical New Hanover*.

Rountree then called for the rapid-fire gun from the armory to be brought to the compress so it could be used to intimidate people into peacefulness. Rountree had been surprised by the outbreak of violence, having been asleep during the opening round when Waddell's followers burned the *Record*. Rountree had awakened to gunshots and rushed to the post office, meeting businessman and postmaster James H. Chadbourn Jr. there. They immediately began planning the steps they would take to mount a political coup.[48] Afterwards, Rountree returned home, retrieved his Winchester, and walked to the corner with his gun on his shoulder and "feeling very much like a fool," he later recalled. After seeing no action, he returned his gun to his house, went back to the corner near Sprunt's compress and saw the blacks begin to congregate. As he helped to calm the crowd, Rountree recalled that one of the black workers asked him what they had done to justify being the target of all the armed whites eager to shoot. Rountree acknowledged he could not supply an answer. [49]

Sprunt and other white business leaders continued to try to calm the blacks and encouraged them to disperse and return to work. Sprunt and his colleagues also appealed to the whites who wanted to open fire into the crowd of blacks who failed to disperse fast enough. In an effort to convince his workers that their houses were not in jeopardy, Sprunt sent a trusted black man accompanied by a white man out into the community in Sprunt's personal buggy to ascertain the damage and danger so he could report his findings to his fellow employees.[50] Once the worker returned and reported that only the press had been burned, the crowd seemed a bit calmer and started to disperse.[51] Sprunt and the other whites offered to accompany men to their homes while others stayed at the compress in fear. Many of Sprunt's workers were then escorted home in small groups by armed white men. [52]

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[47] "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection.

[48] Chadbourn had previously supported the Republican Party wholeheartedly, being appointed to the Police Board under the Republican administration of Silas P. Wright and postmaster for the city. However, under immense pressure from local Democrats in Wilmington, Chadbourn publicly recanted his support of the Republican Party and pledged himself to "white rule." Prather, *We Have Taken a City*, 62-65.

[49] Rountree, "Memorandum."

[50] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 709.

[51] Rountree, "Memorandum."

[52] Thomas Rivera, an African American citizen of the city at the time of the riot, related to historian Helen Edmonds that Sprunt, in efforts to protect his workers, had his private yacht brought around so that its guns were aimed at the armed whites while the factory doors were barricaded to keep his workers safely inside. Sprunt could very well have had guns on his boat since in April 1898, just after war was declared on Spain, the U.S. Navy compiled a list of Cape Fear steamers and drew up instructions for equipping those steamers with one- and six-pound cannon. Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics*, 169;"Story of the Wilmington Riot" *Charlotte Daily Observer,* May 24, 1905; Watson, *Wilmington, Port of North Carolina*, 128.

Sprunt's yacht, the *Luola*.
Image: Lower Cape Fear Historical Society

The waterfront area in which the Sprunt compress was located was also home to several other employers of blacks, including railroad offices, lumber yards, pitch and turpentine plants, and shipping firms. As news spread of the happenings at Sprunt's and that armed mobs of white men were throughout the city, African American workers from the waterfront sought to make their way to their homes but were stopped by white armed patrols who told them to turn back.[53]

Waddell's speech cautioning men to return home peacefully only a short time earlier failed to calm tempers. After burning the *Record*, some men boarded the city streetcar trolley and rode it along its route, traveling south on Sixth Street, turning west on Castle, and then turning north on Front Street into the northern sections of town. Flushed with excitement from the fire, as the streetcar entered black neighborhoods along Castle Street, they fired their rifles into the homes and businesses of black residents.[54] By the time the white men who lived in the Brooklyn area had returned home, by foot or streetcar, their adrenaline was pumping and tensions were high.

[53] *Wilmington Messenger* November 11, 1898.
[54] Prather, *We Have Taken a City*, 122.

Eye of the Storm – Fourth and Harnett Streets

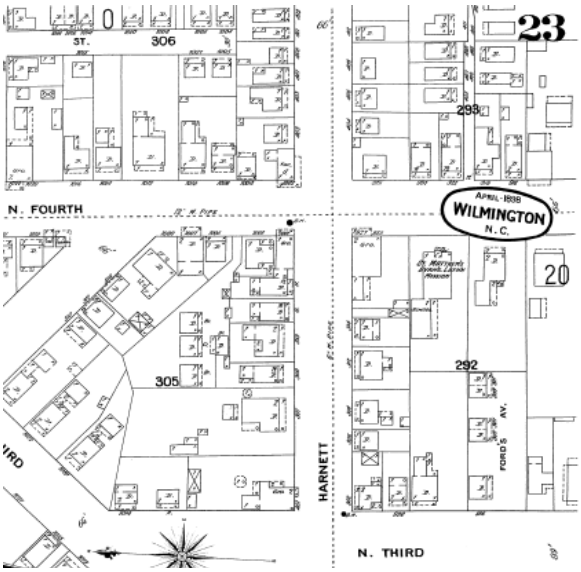
The bloodshed began when black workers from the waterfront industrial yards and Brooklyn residents were confronted with armed whites. The place where the peace fractured was at the corner of Fourth and Harnett Streets in Brooklyn, a mixed race neighborhood on the edge of the predominantly black section of Wilmington.

A group of blacks were gathered on the southwest corner of Fourth and Harnett near Brunje's Saloon in George Heyer's store when armed whites returned to the neighborhood. A streetcar loaded with men direct from burning the *Record* also entered the area. [55] As the groups exchanged verbal assaults from opposite street corners, whites and blacks alike sought to calm fellow citizens.

Norman Lindsay encouraged his fellow blacks to go home: "For the sake of your lives, your families, your children, and your country, go home and stay there!"[56] After Lindsay's plea, the group of blacks moved to the opposite corner at W. A. Walker's store while the whites took up a position between Brunje's store and St. Matthew's English Lutheran Church. Aaron Lockamy, a newly deputized white police officer, also tried to diffuse the problem by going between both groups and trying to get them to disperse. He recalled that, while serving as a special policeman during the aftermath of the election, he was stationed in Brooklyn to ensure that the opening of two bars on Fourth Street would be peaceful. Instructed not to arrest anyone by Chief Melton, Lockamy asked the blacks to

[55] Among the men on the streetcar was Sam Matthews, armed with a navy rifle even though he was not an active member of the Naval Reserves. Hayden, WLI, 91; Crew of the Nantucket, William Lord de Rosset, *Pictorial and Historical New Hanover County*, 89.
[56] Hayden, *History of the WLI,* 88.

disperse and go home for their own safety. They refused but moved as a group a bit farther away from the corner. Lockamy's inability to disperse the crowd angered the white men at the opposite corner. Lockamy felt he had done all he could in the turf war and went back to his post on Fourth near Brunswick. From this point forward, gunshots rang throughout the city for the next several hours.[57]



April 1898 Sanborn Insurance map of intersection of Fourth and Harnett Streets.

White and black witnesses of the activities at the intersection of Fourth and Harnett both claimed that the other side was the responsible party for firing the first shots. There are conflicting viewpoints on first shots and an affidavit, probably taken by Rountree was used in newspapers to counter accounts from black witnesses such as George H. Davis, a black man wounded at Fourth and Harnett and interviewed by reporter Thomas Clawson for the *Wilmington Messenger*. Lockamy went back and forth between the clusters of whites and blacks on opposing corners at Fourth and Harnett at least two times and later said that the only people on the corner that were armed were whites. [58]

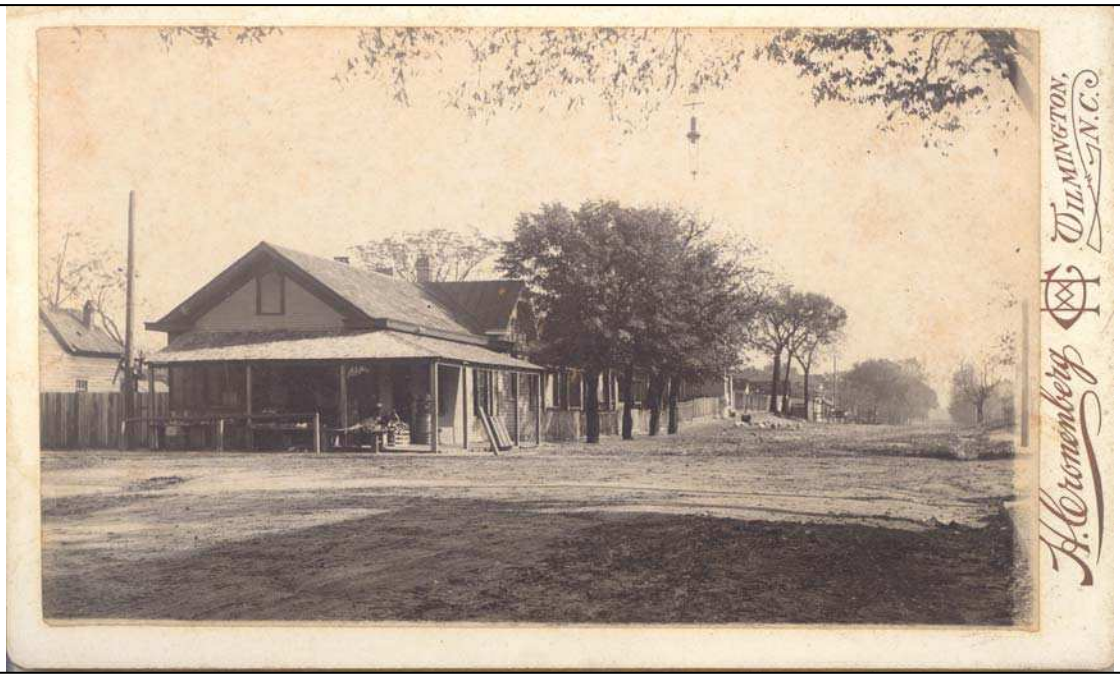
Notwithstanding the point of origin, once the first shot was fired, whites launched a fusillade of bullets towards the blacks near Walker's store. Several black men fell injured, but most were able to get up and run away from the scene. Most accounts agree that three men died instantly at Walker's while two injured men ran around the corner into a home at 411 Harnett. One of these men by the surname of Bizzell died in the house while the other, George H. Davis, was later taken to the hospital on the eleventh. Davis apparently lived at the residence and was wounded in his left thigh and had a bullet lodged between his shoulders. He was found in the house along with a dead black man and three women by reporter Clawson and taken to the hospital on the eleventh. Although Davis recovered, Clawson recalled that after he sent for a white doctor, W. D. MacMillan, and a black doctor, T. R. Mask, he thought that "it appeared impossible for one so desperately wounded ever to recover."[59] The rest of the men fled west on Harnett,

[57] Just before the election, the Board of Aldermen had instituted a ban on the sale of alcohol to last until 6:00 A.M. on November 10. After riot began, the board met again at 12:50 P.M. at Alderman Morrell's home at 210 N. Sixth Street to continue the ban. Aaron/Alton Lockamy's post was probably at Boesch's grocery at 319 Brunswick, some two blocks away from the site of the first shots. White men who shot at the blacks were at the intersection were S. Hill Terry, George Piner, Theodore Curtis and Sam Matthews. *Contested Election Case,* 341-343; Prather, *We Have Taken a City,* 119; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 10, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 11,1898; *Wilmington Messenger,* November 11,1898; Minutes of the Board of Aldermen, Town of Wilmington, November 5, 1898, November 10,1898, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh; 1897 *Wilmington City Directory*; Hayden, "Introduction to the Wilmington Rebellion," 24-6.

[58] *Wilmington Messenger* November 11,1898; *Contested Election*, 341-342. See note 73 for text of affidavit taken by Rountree.

[59] Clawson, "Recollections and Memories."

Intersection of 4th and Harnett, November, 1898. Hayden wrote that S. Hill Terry, Theodore Curtis, and Sam Matthews fired shotguns at the black men before the crowd of whites fired a "fusillade" of shots at this intersection, marking the first deaths at this spot.
Image courtesy of the New Hanover County Public Library



Newly discovered image of the intersection at Fourth and Harnett Streets. The view in this image is from the same angle as the previous photo but shows more of Harnett Street. Some of the men wounded in shooting at Fourth and Harnett ran into some of the homes just east of the corner store.
Image Courtesy of the New Hanover County Public Library.

reportedly firing at whites as they ran. Although it was difficult for black men to purchase weapons in the weeks and months just prior to the election, many already owned weapons for hunting or personal safety. Men identified in papers as wounded at Fourth and Harnett intersection were Alfred White, William Lindsay, and Sam McFarland. Men identified as dead at Fourth and Harnett were John Townsend (Townsell?), Charles Lindsay (aka Silas Brown), William Mouzon, and John L. Gregory. Whites identified as being at the scene were S. Hill Terry (armed with double-barrel shot gun loaded with buck shot), Theodore Curtis, N. B. Chadwick (armed with a 16-shot Colt or Remington rifle), Sam Matthews (armed with a .44 caliber Navy rifle), and George Piner.[60]

After the first shots were fired, a streetcar entered the business section in downtown from Brooklyn, and the conductor told men gathered there that blacks had shot into the car. Men crowded into the car bound for Brooklyn at the stop on Fourth at Harnett. [61] One of the "first responders" was Captain Donald MacRae of Company K, fresh from the tense situation at Sprunt's Compress. MacRae recalled that once he arrived in Brooklyn after hearing reports of fighting, he began to establish a skirmish line with other white men in the area. He was stopped by another man because he was still a captain of Company K in the U. S. Army and white leaders thought that he should not be involved in case the president investigated the participants.[62]

Bernice Moore's Drug Store, 901 N. Fourth Street. Moore called for assistance of the military from his store and white victims Mayo, Piner, and Chadwick received medical attention from Dr. Schonwald.
Image: New Hanover County Public Library

Having feared the worst in the weeks prior to the election, leaders Roger Moore and Walker Taylor had developed a strategy for quelling potential violence by stationing contacts throughout the city with instructions to notify Taylor and Moore if trouble ignited. The contact in the Fourth Street area near Harnett was Bernice Moore at his drug store at 901 North Fourth Street. Moore was instructed by J. Allan Taylor of the Secret Nine to sound the "riot alarm" to alert the WLI and Naval Reserves in the event of violence. As soon as shots were heard, Moore called the armory to inform the leaders there that shots were being fired in Brooklyn. Once the riot alarm was sounded, Walker Taylor declared martial law, and the WLI and the Naval Reserves began to make their way into the Brooklyn neighborhood.[63]

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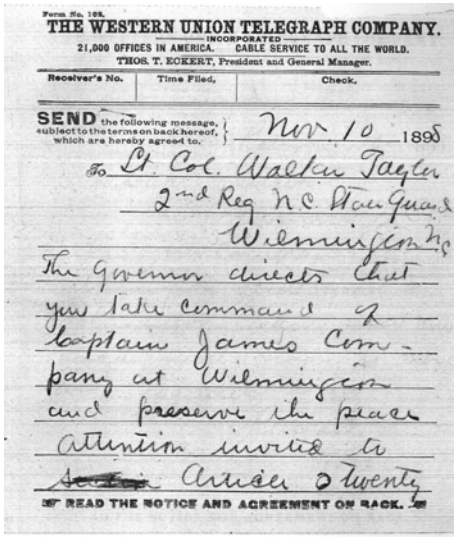
[60] *Wilmington Messenger,* November 11, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 11, 1898; Hayden, *WLI*, 88-89, 91; McDuffie "Politics in Wilmington,", 741; Prather, *Democracy Betrayed,* 32

[61] Prather, *We Have Taken a City,* 118-119.

[62] "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection.

[63] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 719.

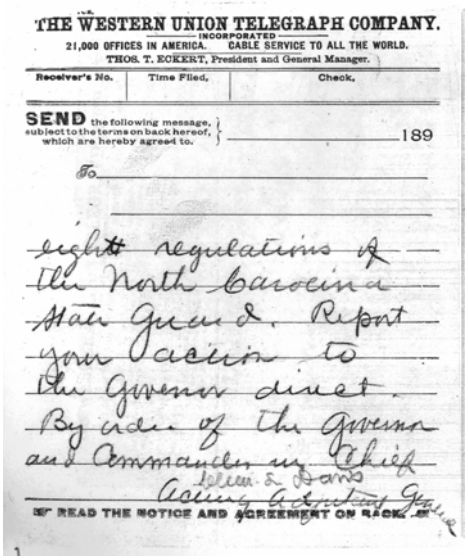
Taylor had authority to take control because just before Moore's call for backup was received at the armory, a telegram arrived from Governor Russell through the state's adjutant general that instructed Taylor to "take command of Captain James' company … and preserve the peace." [64]


Form No. 102.
THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY.
INCORPORATED
21,000 OFFICES IN AMERICA. CABLE SERVICE TO ALL THE WORLD.
THOS. T. ECKERT, President and General Manager.

Receiver's No.	Time Filed,	Check,

SEND the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to. } Nov. 10 1898

To Lt. Col. Walker Taylor
2nd Reg N.C. State Guard
Wilmington N.C.
The Governor directs that you take command of Captain James Company at Wilmington and preserve the peace
Attention invited to Section Article Twenty
READ THE NOTICE AND AGREEMENT ON BACK.


THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY.
INCORPORATED
21,000 OFFICES IN AMERICA. CABLE SERVICE TO ALL THE WORLD.
THOS. T. ECKERT, President and General Manager.

Receiver's No.	Time Filed,	Check,

SEND the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to. } 189

To

~~eight~~ regulations of the North Carolina State Guard. Report your action to the Governor direct.
By order of the Governor and Commander in Chief
Allen D. Adams
Acting Adjutant General
READ THE NOTICE AND AGREEMENT ON BACK.

Telegram from Governor Russell to Walker Taylor
Image: North Carolina State Archives

Before the governor's telegram arrived, Commander George Morton of the Naval Reserves sought approval from a city official to grant the military authority to take over, but he claimed he could not locate the mayor or a police officer. Instead, Morton's men found Deputy Sheriff G. Z. French in his room at the Orton Hotel and requested permission to march Morton's men from his headquarters in Brooklyn. French complied, possibly under duress, and wrote out an order instructing Morton to "use all force at your disposal to quell the existing violation of the peace in this city."

Morton then sent a telegram to the governor informing him of his plan of action and also notified Walker Taylor of his intentions. The governor later ordered Morton to place his men under Taylor, although the transfer of command had already taken place by the time the telegram was received. Morton's men, equipped with Lee magazine rifles and a Hotchkiss rapid-firing gun, assembled at the corner of Third and Princess.[65]

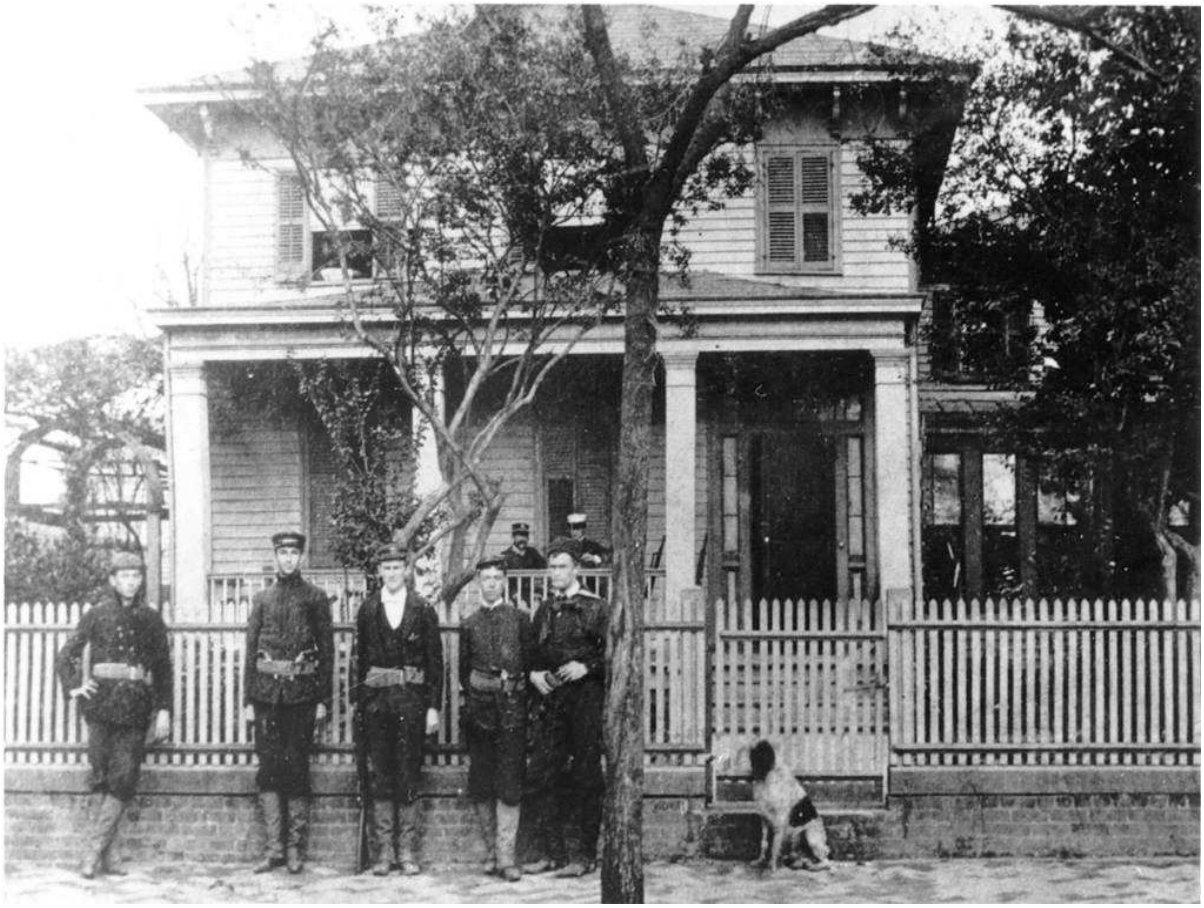
As soon as the first shots were fired, a "running firefight" erupted on Harnett, with scores of men, black and white, running in all directions from the intersection, some firing at the opposite side as they ran.[66] William Mayo, a white man who lived at 307 Harnett, was seriously wounded by a stray bullet.

Mayo's wounding presented a rallying point for the whites who then began to retaliate. Because of Mayo, whites fired in unison into a group of black men and another five or six died near the intersection of Harnett and Fourth Streets. Mayo was taken to a nearby drug store for treatment by Dr. John T. Schonwald who lived close to the scene. Mayo's injury was serious, but

[64] Governor Daniel L. Russell Papers, Correspondence, November 1898, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[65] *NC Public Documents*, Adjutant General's Report, 1899, Document 9.

[66] Hayden, *WLI*, 88.

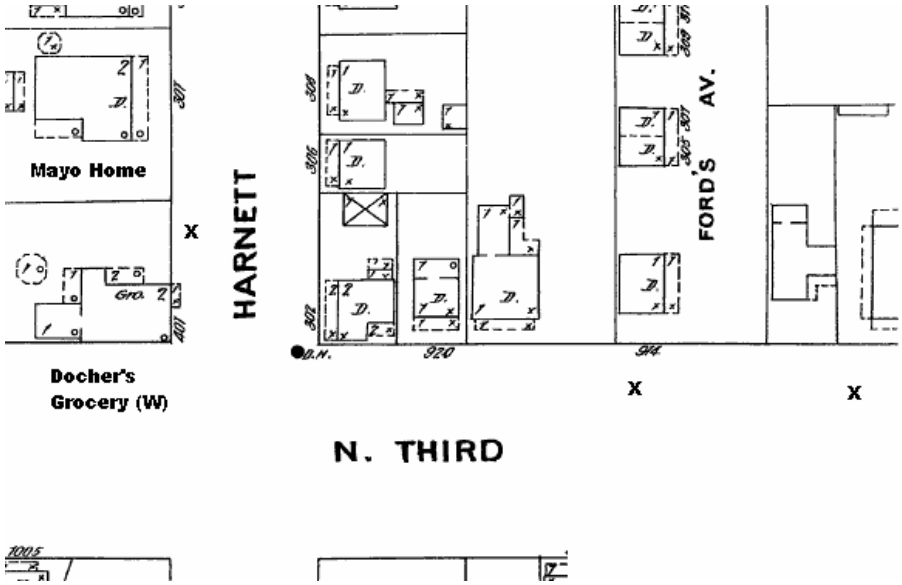


George Morton and part of his crew at his home in Brooklyn on the day of the riot. Morton's home, located at 720 N. Fourth Street, became the headquarters for the military presence in Brooklyn.
Image: New Hanover County Public Library

Mayo residence, 307 Harnett St.
Image: New Hanover County Public Library

This newly discovered photograph depicts the intersection of Third and Harnett Streets. According to the caption, an "x" near the center of the image marks where a white man was shot, presumably Will Mayo. Mayo's home was next to this grocery store, owned and operated by John Doscher. The image is looking up Harnett Street toward the intersection of Fourth and Harnett. (Image courtesy of the New Hanover County Public Library.)

Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, April 1898. This map includes additions to indicate the home of Will Mayo, and the "x" marks as indicated photographs.



since he received quick care, he survived an otherwise life-threatening injury.[67]

Additionally, two other white men, Bert Chadwick and George Piner, were injured and treated alongside Mayo.[68] Mayo's wounding rallied the white men involved in the first scuffle, and they began to avenge Mayo as they aimed for any blacks that came into sight. The whites also sought to identify the individual who shot Mayo, perhaps as a means to stop random shootings. Later in the afternoon, after some simple investigation and finger pointing, it was decided that Daniel Wright, who lived nearby at 810 North Third, was the culprit responsible for shooting Mayo as well as shooting George Piner.[69] A manhunt was launched for Wright.

As large groups of white men gathered in the vicinity of Fourth and Harnett—milling about, angry and eager to avenge Mayo's shooting—Wright was identified by a "half breed Indian" who told J. Allan Taylor that he knew who had shot Mayo. Taylor was shown a house where he was told Wright was hiding and that he could be identified by "a missing thumb on his right hand and the possession of an outmoded rifle with a large bore."[70] Captain MacRae remembered the incident with the Indian, saying that he felt the man had a grudge against local blacks.[71] Taylor then sent a group of men led by John S. Watters to capture and identify Wright. Once his house was surrounded, white witnesses claimed Wright went into the attic and shot into the approaching crowd, wounding Will Terry and George Bland. [72]

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[67] Mayo's wounding became a symbolic rallying point for the white men. William F. Jones, street car driver, conveyed Mayo to Moore's Drug Store where Dr. Schonwald stopped the bleeding before transport to the hospital by young boys and their ambulances stationed at Cowan's Livery Stable. Rev. Christopher C. Dennen of St. Thomas the Apostle Catholic Church administered Mayo's last rites on the way to the hospital just in case Mayo did not survive his wound. The .44 caliber Winchester bullet hit Mayo and went through his left side and both lungs before exiting his body. It was written into white accounts of the riot that Mayo had been standing on his porch at the time of the shooting and that he was shot as his assailant ran down the street. It is unclear if Mayo was part of the crowd who had just returned from burning the *Record,* if he was a member of a Citizen's Patrol, or if he was armed at the time of he was shot. It is also unclear who, exactly, shot Mayo. Speculation also indicates that perhaps Mayo was shot as an incidence of "friendly fire" when whites were aiming at blacks running in his general direction. Hayden, *WLI,* 90-91; *Wilmington Messenger* November 11,1898.

[68] Chadwick was wounded with a .44 caliber bullet which passed though the muscle in his left arm without breaking his arm and Piner was shot with a .44 caliber bullet that entered his abdomen in the left side and exited on the right. Hayden, *WLI,* 91; *Wilmington Messenger* November 11, 1898.

[69] Another interpretation of the Mayo shooting had Wright near the intersection of Third and Harnett as he shot Mayo, who was a block away at Third and Harnett instead of his porch. This account also states that after Wright shot Mayo, he "wheeled around' and shot George Piner who was at the intersection of Bladen and Fourth. Hayden, *WLI*, 91; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 10, 1898; Hayden, "Introduction to the Wilmington Rebellion,' 26.

[70] Hayden, *WLI,* 90.

[71] "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection.

[72] Prather, using Helen Edmonds' interview with Thomas Rivera, stated that Terry and Bland were killed. However, the 1900 census has Hill Terry, as named in the WLI, alive and serving as deputy sheriff at residing at 815 North Fourth Street. George Bland, age 25 in the 1900 census, was Terry's son-in-law and lived with Terry and worked as a liveryman. The 1880 census listed Hill Terry having a son, Will, age 12, but Will is not found in the 1900 census. It is unknown if the younger Will Terry was involved and possibly killed by Wright. A later account of the fighting noted that S. Hill Terry hanged himself while in jail awaiting trial for murdering his son-in-law. Jack Metts, in a letter dated November 12 recounted his version of the event: "The negro who shot our white man very nearly killing him was sought and got on his knees begging for mercy, saying he had five little children home—but the crowd of citizens who

Wright's home was set afire, and he tried to escape but was captured while his wife watched from the street. Once captured, Wright was marched into the street and hit in the head with a length of gas pipe. When he stood back up, someone in the crowd suggested that Wright be hanged from a nearby lamp post. Before a rope could be found, a member of the Citizen's Patrol drove up and suggested that Wright be given the chance to run for his freedom. Wright was given this opportunity, but, after he ran about fifty yards, "at least forty guns of all descriptions turned loose on him." Wright was left in the street, bleeding and severely wounded with about thirteen gunshot wounds, five of which entered through his shoulders and back, for about a half hour before he was picked up and carried to the hospital. Doctors at the hospital observed that they had never seen anyone with as many gunshot wounds live for as long as Wright did. He held onto life until early the next morning, and his body was handed over

had him said go and he hadn't gone ten feet before the top of his head was cut off by bullets. It was a horrible sight." This account has elements related to Wright as Mayo's assailant and to another man, Josh Halsy, who was killed in action around Manhattan Park. John V.B. Metts, November 12,1898, Hinsdale Papers, Duke University Library, Durham; Hayden, "Introduction to the Wilmington Rebellion."

According to the caption, this newly discovered image shows the area on N. Third Street where two black men were killed. The location has been identified using Sanborn Insurance maps and the "x" marks are reflected on the Sanborn map found on page 139. The "x" at the right is possibly the spot where Daniel Wright fell with 13 bullet wounds. A study of the residents of the street indicates that this was a mixed race neighborhood, with an even mix of black and white residents with a variety of occupations.

Image courtesy of the New Hanover County Public Library

to undertaker Thomas Rivera for burial after a formal inquest by coroner David Jacobs.[73]

More shots rang throughout the area as more and more whites and blacks filtered into the Brooklyn area. Among the white onlookers was attorney George Rountree. Having just mediated the safety of blacks at Sprunt's compress, Rountree went to investigate so that if a governmental inquiry took place, he would be prepared to answer questions. Rountree is probably the person responsible for filing the sworn affidavit of William McAllister that was published repeatedly in local and statewide newspapers indicating that a black man was responsible for firing the first shots.[74] Rountree recalled that he and several others attempted to "quiet the situation and to prevent any further shooting," but acknowledged that "at this time I had no influence whatever with the rioters" and was pleased that the arrival of the military "quieted the matter down as quickly as possible." [75]

WLI Enter Brooklyn

Once the riot alarm was sounded and authority to act was granted by the governor, Captain James, upon orders of Walker Taylor, mobilized the waiting forces of the WLI to march into the Brooklyn neighborhood. They marched down Market Street to Third, then over to the intersection at Princess where they stopped in front of James Woolvin's funeral parlor at 105 North Third and waited for the Naval Reserves to join their procession. Once the WLI moved again, they marched down Third to Mulberry to Fourth Street to cross into Brooklyn. At the Fourth Street Bridge Captain James halted the group and announced: "[N]ow boys I want to tell you right now I want you all to load and when I give the command to shoot, I want you to shoot to kill." After James' statement, there was a shot fired at the group, but the WLI could not determine who had fired.[76]

J. D. Nutt recalled that after they had marched through the area, by the time his unit returned to the armory, he still had all of his cartridges, not having fired a shot.[77] Members of the WLI remembered other facets of their marches through town. Jack Metts wrote on November 12, the first day

[73] "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection; *Wilmington Messenger* November 11, 12, 1898; Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics,* 169; Prather, *We Have Taken a City*, 125, 129 .

[74] The text of William McAllister's affidavit reads: "I, William McAllister, being duly sworn, make the following affidavit: 1. That I am yard master for the Atlantic Coast Line. My duty is to make up trains on the yard of the said company in the city of Wilmington. 2. That at about 11 o'clock this morning I started to go to bed, and my wife called me to the window. I live on North Fourth Street, next to St. Mark's Lutheran church. My wife said: 'Billy, there is going to be trouble.' I jumped up and went to the window and saw a white man remonstrating with a negro with gesticulations. I heard the white man say, 'Go on, go on.' The negro went about ten paces, and then I saw the negro shoot. He pointed a pistol towards the white man and then fired. Immediately I saw blood flow from the said white man's right arm. Then there was another shot fired from the negro assemblage, and then there was firing from the white assemblage, with the result that three negroes fell. The negroes then dispersed. Then the white men proceeded towards Moore's drug store to telephone for assistance. Sworn to before me, this 10th day of November, AD 1898 William McAllister" Notarized by J.H. Boatwright. *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 11, 1898

[75] Rountree, "Memorandum."

[76] "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection. The WLI must have stopped in front of Jim Woolvins' funeral parlor at 105 North Third. J.D. Nutt recalled that Woolvins "turned white as a ghost, except for his hair which was still red" when the WLI stopped in front of his establishment.

[77] "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection.

he had been home since the ninth, to his "Dear Miss Elizabeth" that as the WLI marched "out in the northern end of town where the negroes had congregated … I nearly stepped on negroes laying in the street dead. Oh, it was awful." Metts stated that they were fired at but that no one in his "crowd" got hurt. He stated that "we killed a 'few negroes'" and that it was his first experience "under fire" and "[I was] not near as much excited as I expected to be." He concluded his thoughts on the activities of the WLI during the riot: "I'll tell you things are stirred up and I am glad to say I am still living but we have not killed enough negroes—two or three white men were wounded and we have not gotten enough to make up for it."[78]

Several other groups were ready once the signal was given, namely the Red Shirts and Rough Riders who were assembled in Dry Pond. Once Moore's call activated the WLI, word spread to these men that fighting was taking place across town, and they quickly made their way to the scene.[79]

By noon violence was widespread in the Brooklyn section of Wilmington. Reports of shootings and fires are found throughout the historical record of the event. Volleys were echoing throughout the city. In addition to armed whites moving into action around Brooklyn, black workers found themselves in the midst of a veritable war zone, caught between the river and gunfire. The laborers, still wearing their work coveralls, moved into town to help their friends and neighbors along Harnett. A patrol of whites told them to go back and not approach, but, once the black men refused, the whites shot at them as they ran back towards the railroad. One of them died on the Carolina Central Railroad tracks.[80] Several black men were shot in the crossfire, including Sam Gregory, who was wounded and fell on Fourth between Harnett and Swann. Another unnamed man was wounded and seen crawling under the house of Mrs. W. H. Strauss on Fourth between Harnett and Swann where he was later found near death. He was picked up by a patrol on the eleventh and later died at the hospital of his wounds.[81] Another man, Sam McFarland, was shot as a group of laborers

[78] John V.B. Metts to "Elizabeth" November 12, 1898, Hinsdale Family Papers, Duke University Library, Durham.

[79] James H. Cowan, in his typed, undated recollection of the riot, wrote that Colonel Roger Moore was in control of the armed men of Wilmington until Walker Taylor and the military was activated. Moore turned "control" of his men over to Walker at that time. James Cowan, "The Wilmington Race Riot;" Prather, *Democracy Betrayed*, 33.

[80] *Wilmington Messenger*, November 11, 1898.

[81] Speculation has arisen that the man found under Mrs. Strauss' home at 1012 North Fourth Street, was either Sam McFarland, Sam Gregory, or John L. Gregory. The *Morning Star* stated that Sam McFallon was found under the house and taken to the hospital on November 11 but was expected to die. No McFallon can be found in the *Wilmington City Directory* before the riot although a black laborer, Samuel McFarlan, of 1014 North Second and another black laborer, Samuel McFarland of 512 Taylor Street, can be found in the 1897 *City Directory* but not the 1900 *Directory*. John L. Gregory, a black laborer who lived at 1301 North Fifth can be found in the 1897 *City Directory* but not the 1900. Perhaps the man who died was one of these men. Sam McFarland's death was well documented in the papers. He was shot on the Seaboard Air Line tracks as they crossed Harnett and was taken to the hospital The *Messenger* gave extensive coverage to McFarland's wounding, detailing his transport to the hospital, his death, his employer, his address and that he left a widow. Sam Gregory's death is widely described as the first one to result from the shooting at Fourth and Harnett, with the *Messenger* and *Dispatch* agreeing on his name and location of death. John Gregory's death is reported in the *Messenger,* and he was one of the men who were given an inquest on the twelfth with the location of his death given as on Third between Harnett and Swann. *Wilmington Messenger,* November 12, 1898, November 13, 1898, November 14, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 11, 1898.

came into the area from the waterfront along Harnett. McFarland's obituary said he was shot on Harnett at the Seaboard Tracks as he left his employers, Belden & Howie, on his way home to dinner. He was "among a lot of hands who it was thought were going to Brooklyn to take a hand in the riot." McFarland was first thought dead but was later picked up and taken to the hospital where he died.[82] Reporter Clawson recalled that as he was traveling through the city to report the fighting, "gunfire rattled all around us and bullets whistled closely."[83]

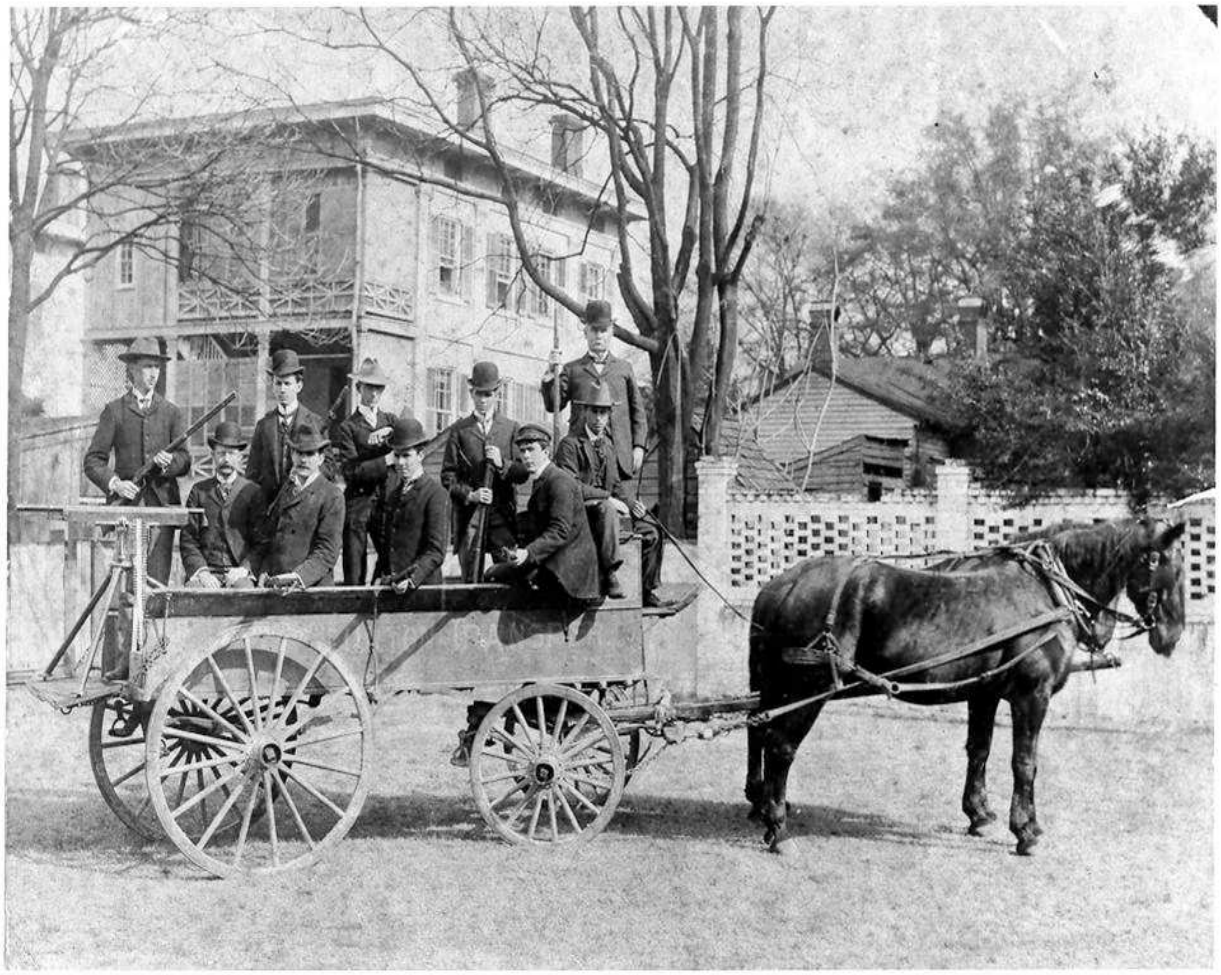
Machine Gun Squads

One of the most intimidating components of the Wilmington Light Infantry was the machine gun squad.[84] The squad manned a rapid-firing Colt gun capable of firing 420 .23 caliber bullets per minute.[85] Purchased by local business interests, the gun was mounted on a two-horse drawn wagon furnished by Orrell's Livery Stables and driven by Pierre Harriss. Reporter Clawson later praised the city's forward-thinking attitude in purchasing the gun as a display of wisdom.[86]

Captain William R. Kenan and 1st Lt. Charles H. White led the WLI gun squad: Robert Rankin, John Furlong, Edward Furlong, James Williams, John Quelch, and William Whitney. Although the gun was under the command of the WLI, all of the men were not members of the WLI.[87] The members of the WLI and machine gun squad believed that showing the gun in the black sections of the city would intimidate them into quietude. Later recollections also indicate that the gun had a calming effect on white rioters who were out of the control of the military.[88]

The squad hauled the machine gun through Brooklyn after first crossing over the Fourth Street Bridge and into the scene of the first shots. As it proceeded through town, the crew was fired upon near the intersection of Sixth and Brunswick, just on the north side of the Sixth Street bridge. The gunners were armed with rifles, and they returned fire, killing as many as 25 black men at that intersection.[89] The gun crew was also engaged in fighting in the vicinity of Manhattan Park. African American attorney William Henderson claimed that a rapid-fire gun was fired into a house, killing three blacks inside.[90] The squad returned the gun to the armory only to be sent out again to guard the bridge into town at Hilton Park. The squad was responding to rumors that blacks from the small village of Navassa just west of Wilmington across the

[82] *Wilmington Messenger* November 13, 1898.
[83] Clawson, "Recollections and Memories."
[84] The machine gun purchased by the businessmen was taken out on river and demonstrated for black leaders on November 1, just before the election as an intimidation tool. *Contested Election Case*, 344.
[85] Testimony from retired Confederate artillery Colonel John W. Atkinson conflicts with that of Charles H. White, a member of the machine gun squadron, as to the type of rapid fire gun used by the WLI. Atkinson said he thought the gun was a Gatlin that was a "very rapid firing gun" whereas White recalled the weapon was a Colt that could fire 420 shots per minute. *Contested Election Case*, 267, 344.
[86] Clawson, "Recollections and Memories."
[87] Hayden, *WLI,* 90. It is interesting to note that several of the men on the machine gun squad were members of Company K.
[88] Clawson, "Recollections and Memories."
[89] Hayden recounted the shooting of 25 men at the intersection twice in his work, marking through it once and replacing it at a different location in the text. He also stated that only one man was shot and killed at Sixth and Brunswick Streets by the machine gunners. In reading various accounts of the activities of the machine gun squad and the Red Shirts, it is possible that the gunners did only kill one man at that intersection and that the other 25, if actually killed, were individuals killed or wounded near the location by Red Shirts. It is interesting, though, that Hayden felt the need to write that 25 were killed by the machine guns at that intersection twice. Hayden, *WLI*, 89-92.
[90] Indianapolis *Freeman*, December 3, 1898.



WLI Machine Gun Crew, photo was probably made in the rear yard of the WLI armory.
Image: Cape Fear Museum

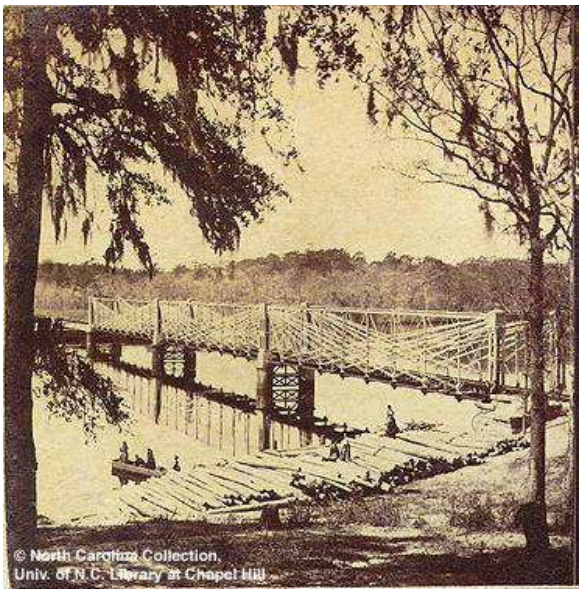
Cape Fear River were planning to march into town from that direction.[91]

There were at least two rapid-firing guns in the city. The second gun, deployed by the Naval Reserves, was a Hotchkiss gun that could fire 80 to 100 shots per minute with a range of five miles. The gun arrived in Wilmington from New York just two days before the riot and proved a formidable weapon.[92] Commander Morton and his men also wheeled this weapon through town, aiming it at crowds to coerce groups into dispersing. The WLI's weapon received more attention in the local media since it was purchased with funds gathered from Wilmington's business community. Journalist Thomas Clawson of the

[91] Hayden, *WLI,* 89-92; Clawson, "Recollections and Memories."

[92] Another gun, the Gatling gun purchased by the Secret Nine, was led by Captain Harry McIlhenny. *Wilmington Messenger,* November 8, 1898; Hayden, "Introduction to the Wilmington Rebellion," 30.

Messenger followed the activity of the WLI's rapid-fire gun closely.



Railroad bridge at Hilton
Image: North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Yet another group of people also made their way into the melee in Brooklyn—they were mostly armed white citizens and reporters.[93] Clawson, along with other reporters who were in town to cover the election, ventured into Brooklyn to witness the fighting. In a later account of the fighting, Clawson wrote that he was particularly impressed by the machine gun squad. He attributed squad leadership to Roger Moore and William Rand Kenan and wrote that the two "heroic figures" led the "spectacular action of the machine gun outfit." Clawson further recalled: "I have yet a vivid mental picture of these two magnificent Wilmingtonians as they grimly stood upright by their machine gun." The gun was mounted on a large horse-drawn truck and was drawn "at a rapid rate through every section of Brooklyn." He indicated that the men paused with the machine gun for a photo and then were rushed off to a section of the city where they were needed. The photo shows that some of the men wore portions of their active duty military uniforms from the Naval Reserves and Company K. Clawson was proud of the squad for their bravery since they were exposed to sniper fire, and, since they were among the first to be on the scene after the fighting began, the machine gun squad had "the situation well in hand when the military companies arrived." He firmly believed that bloodshed would have been much more significant without the presence of the "flying machine-gun squadron."[94]

The rapid-fire guns were used to intimidate men on the streets, and to force compliance of African American churches. Churches, at the heart of the black community, helped communicate information and were seen as an organizational threat to whites. Rumors heard by leaders of the WLI held that the churches were used as arsenals, ready to equip black men with weapons to return fire at the whites. Therefore, at an early stage, the machine guns targeted all the churches and forced ministers to open their doors to searches by whites. At St. Stephens A.M.E. Church on the corner of Fifth and Red Cross Streets, one of the largest churches in the city with a congregation nearing 1,600 members, the crew aimed the rapid-fire gun at the church's main entrance and threatened to open fire. The church leaders opened the

[93] Most of the men involved in the first shots were those who lived in the transitional neighborhoods dividing the white and black citizenry in Brooklyn, and the others who filtered in after the first shots were outsiders from other parts of town or members of the WLI or other paramilitary organizations. S. Hill Terry lived at 815 North Fourth Street, Theodore Curtis boarded at 712 North Fourth Street, and Sam Matthews lived at 917 North Fourth Street. *1897 Wilmington City Directory*; Higuchi 1897 map of Wilmington.

[94] Clawson, "Recollections and Memories."

church, and, after a thorough search, no guns were found. John Metts recalled that the WLI and the Naval Reserves were searching the churches for guns, but the only items found were large numbers of election fliers encouraging members to "vote for Dockery." [95]

Even though there was sporadic fighting throughout the southern sections of the First Ward, other pockets of fighting erupted in response to specific "threats." One such pocket was at Manhattan Park. [96] Around 2:15 P.M., while the Reverend I. S. Lee of St. Stephens A. M. E. Church was escorting William C. Jones and Sterling P. Adams through town to quiet the population, they were shot at by men from inside a building across the street in Manhattan Park.[97]

Members of the military were informed that blacks were shooting at whites from Manhattan Park where there were several businesses, including a "disreputable dance hall run by a negro named Henry Nichols," surrounded by a tall fence along Bladen Street. After a WLI group under command of Walker Taylor arrived on the scene after a double-quick march, the WLI searched the dance hall and arrested 4 men inside.[98]

A fifth man fled the building, refusing to stop for the military, and he was summarily shot dead. A witness recalled that the "volley tore off the top" of his head, and he fell on the "pavement on the south side of Bladen near Seventh." Thomas H. Wright, a member of the WLI involved in the incident recalled that the machine gun squad was across from their lines and that they were fearful they would be shot if the gunners had opened fire on the buildings of Manhattan Park. However, Charles H. White of the machine gun squadron recalled that as a black man climbed over the fence, all of the gunners followed Jack Quelch (including Captain Kenan) in jumping from the wagon to catch him, leaving White alone with the gun and only a pocketknife for

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[95] "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection; Kirk, *A Statement of Facts*.

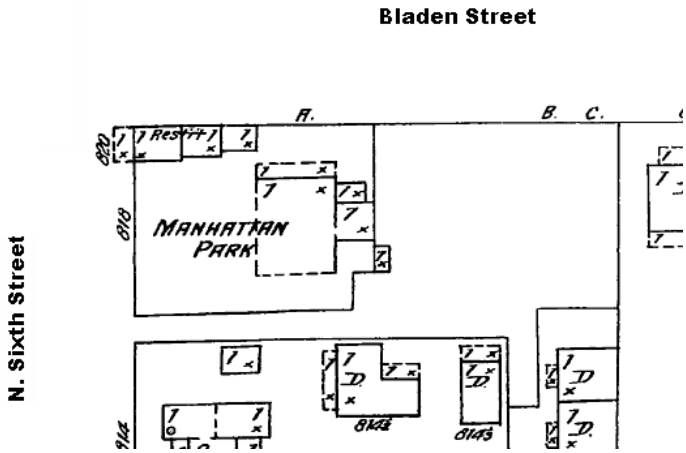
[96] There is confusion among contemporary accounts as well as those given by participants years afterward, but it appears that at least one man, Josh Halsey, lost his life as a result of the activity at Manhattan Park although some accounts indicate that an unnamed man *and* Halsey died at the scene. For more information on activity at Manhattan Park, see Clawson, "Recollections and Memories;" *Wilmington Messenger* November 11, 1898, November 12, 1898, November 13, 1898 and November 14, 1898; "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection; Hayden, *WLI*; Jane Cronly, "Account of the Race Riot," n.d., Cronly Family Papers, Duke University Library, Durham; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 11, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898, November 13, 16, 1898; Prather, *We Have Taken a City*, 124-125; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 716. Thalia Howe, a member of Wilmington's black elite, witnessed a similar event from her home when a black man was shot in the street, his head ripped apart by the gunfire. Thalia's recollections were passed to subsequent generations and provided to the researcher by Howe descendant Cynthia Brown, July, 2004. See also note 71 with letter from Metts regarding shooting of either Wright/ Halsey

[97] Part of the civilian organization under Hugh MacRae and J. Allan Taylor, the men were on the northeast corner of Sixth and Bladen when shots were fired in their direction from Manhattan Park. The men forced black ministers to accompany them throughout Brooklyn as they ordered black citizens to remain in their homes or in the woods before nightfall. Colonel William C. Jones was a former captain of the WLI, and Sterling P. Adams was an assistant engineer for the Atlantic Coastline Railroad. *Wilmington Messenger,* November 11,1898; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 719.

[98] There has been some confusion in the sources as to the number and names of men arrested at Manhattan Hall. Taylor's report to the state adjutant general indicated that four men were arrested. The *Messenger* reported that six men, Henry Nichols, Tom Lane, Wisconsin Edwards, James Hill, S. T. Knight, and William Tate were arrested at the scene. They were later released on the sixteenth since there was no evidence against them. *NC Public Documents*, Adjutant General's Report, 1899; *Wilmington Messenger* November 11, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 16, 1898.

Manhattan Park area after shooting stopped. Note demolished fence and broken windows. The area that was called "Manhattan Park" by the white participants was described as having a dance hall and other buildings enclosed by a tall fence. This report has determined from eyewitness accounts and 1898 Sanborn maps (below) that the block containing Manhattan Park was bounded by Sixth, Seventh, Brunswick and Bladen Streets.

Image: New Hanover County Public Library



protection.[99] Wright also recalled that the ten foot tall fence around the buildings was partially torn down by Ben Turlington in order to get to the black men inside to arrest and throw them in a wagon to take to the jail. [100] The parts of the fence not damaged by Turlington and the WLI were destroyed by a barrage of weapons fire, completely eradicating the fence and opening the Manhattan Park area for the whites to search. The main building was pockmarked with bullet holes, and its windows had been shattered by the time the firing stopped.[101] Evidently there was a large crowd of whites surrounding the Manhattan Park site. Jack Metts recalled that a crowd of citizens had fired first, and "when we [the WLI] fired, the crowd went crazy." [102] Walker Taylor, in his report to the adjutant general of North Carolina, claimed that the shooting was the only killing by the military during the conflict. After this man was shot, a member of the group responsible for his death was quoted by *Collier's*: "When we tu'nd him ovah, Misto Niggah had a look o' 'sprise on his face!"[103]

The WLI, not satisfied that the responsible parties were either arrested or dead, particularly after a shot was aimed at the military company from the direction of Manhattan Park, searched for other shooters. Men speculated that Josh Halsey fired at the men from the Manhattan Park area; consequently, a detail was sent to find him. Private J. F. Maunder recalled that part of the WLI under Sergeant Harriss was lined up in front of Hill Terry's house at 815 North Fourth Street when they were given orders to find Halsey, who they found at home near Manhattan Park and subsequently shot dead.[104] One WLI member, Private William Robbins, told Maunder that he was "sick to his stomach" at the prospect of shooting someone. Maunder then told Robbins to "not show the white feather or I will shoot you myself." After the order to fire on Halsey had been executed, Maunder noticed that Robbins had only "snapped" his gun instead of firing it and that his plunger was out and his cartridges were on the ground. Maunder lived in Brooklyn and later indicated that the trying times of living in that section of town had motivated him.[105]

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[99] "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection; *Contested Election Case*, 344.
[100] "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection.
[101] See photo of Manhattan Park from Hayden's *History of the WLI*; Prather, *We Have Taken a City,* 124.
[102] "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection.
[103] *Collier's Weekly*, November 26, 1898; Prather, *We Have Taken a City,* 124; *NC Public Documents*, Adjutant General's Report, 1899.

[104] Cronly's account of Halsey's shooting indicates that Halsey ran home in fright and then ran from his home via the back door because his daughter begged him to run for his life from the approaching soldiers who then shot him "down like a dog" as he ran. Maunder's account in the WLI Association Minutes indicates that Halsey was given the opportunity to "run the gauntlet" and was shot at by the squad. He was killed immediately. Jane Cronly, n.d., Cronly Papers, Duke University Library, Durham; "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection; Prather, *We Have Take a City*, 124-125.
[105] Another man, Thomas Lane, was arrested and found guilty after a trial on November 16 for shooting at the WLI during the activity at Manhattan Park. The Wilmington *Morning Star* observed that if Lane had not "fired into the military it would not have been necessary for them to have shot Josh Halsey, the negro inmate of the place who was killed as a sequel to Lane's fiendish effort to kill one of the members of the Light Infantry." Maunder, a clerk with M. W. Divine Company, a sash, blind and paint dealer, lived at 624 North Fourth Street, a predominately white neighborhood in Brooklyn near the transition between majority white and black housing. "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 16,1898; Hayumi Higuchi 1897 Map of Wilmington; 1897 *Wilmington City Directory*.

As the day progressed, shots were heard throughout Brooklyn, and contemporary reports point out that groups of emboldened black men encountered groups of white men in armed units. The reports of the day's actions and later accounts by participants read like a list of shootings and deaths.[106] Hayden recounted several killings witnessed by Red Shirts. One claimed he saw 6 men shot and killed at the Cape Fear Lumber Company plant and buried in a nearby ditch. Another Red Shirt told Hayden that 9 were killed by a white man working as a sniper, killing the men as they fled a building after having shot at whites from inside. He also reported that a "youth" shot a "Negro rabble rouser" as the man stood on a dry goods box denouncing the whites near Fourth and Nixon. Hayden's accounting of the shootings also gives the only instance of a body being thrown into the Cape Fear. "An observer" told Hayden that a black man had been shot on the wharf and his body tossed into the river after he "sassed" two white men there.[107] Many of Hayden's accounts give geographical markers to place the shootings in town; however, many shooting anecdotes, as well as some found in the local papers, provide only for an individual being shot, particularly black men for failure to stop for patrols well into the evening hours of the tenth and the early morning hours of the eleventh.[108]

Throughout the day, the rest of town was mostly quiet while fighting raged in the northern sections—"The fighting … was way over in Brooklyn and except that every spare man in the neighborhood stood on the street corners adjacent [to their homes] with guns everything was quieter than Sunday."[109] Analysis of information on the day's activity reveals that only a few reported shootings occurred outside of the Brooklyn neighborhood. One, in particular, is disturbing because it demonstrated premeditation. Hayden stated that a black policeman named Perkins was killed as he left his home in the Dry Pond area by a Red Shirt who claimed he had waited four days to do the shooting.[110] Two other reported shootings, both related to black men who refused to stop for patrols, are the only other instances that describe shootings outside Brooklyn. One report cited by Hayden said that a black man was shot at Front and Princess after being warned not to pass a

[106] Hayden provided accounts of shootings that have not been corroborated by other sources. However, Hayden sought interviews with participants who were otherwise unheard in recollections of the members of the WLI's association or newspaper accounts.
[107] Hayden, *WLI*, 92.
[108] Hayden indicated that a deaf man was shot for failure to stop because he did not hear the command to halt. Hayden, *WLI,* 92; see also *Wilmington Messenger,* November 11, 1898 through November 15, 1898.

[109] William Parsley to "Sal," November 12,1898, Eccles Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.
[110] The reference is the only record of this shooting and the only Perkins in the 1897 City Directory is Dennis Perkins, a black shoemaker who lived at 617 South Second Street. Perkins can be found alive in the 1900 Census at the same location and still working as a shoemaker. If this is the same man, he could have been appointed a special policeman during the pre-election Red Shirt parades but somehow managed to survive the riot and continued to live in a predominately white neighborhood in the home he owned. Perhaps the Red Shirt so angry at the policeman was arrested and later fined for his rowdy behavior in the days preceding the riot and wished to take his anger out on Perkins. This case presents a problem since the Red Shirt interviewed by Hayden clearly believes he shot and killed Perkins however the only Perkins that can be identified in the same area at the same time is clearly alive a year and a half after the riot, still living in a predominately white neighborhood. Perhaps this is an example of the trouble with accepting all of Hayden's writings without substantiation or that the Perkins in question was not listed in the city directory. Haden, *WLI*, 93; 1897 *Wilmington City Directory*; 1900 Census; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 3, 1898; Higuchi 1897 Wilmington map.

picket line. The other, in the *Evening Dispatch,* took place at the corner of Tenth and Princess when a black man refused to stop for a patrol at about eight o'clock at night.[111]

As the fighting continued, word of the riot spread throughout the state and country with telegrams flashing back and forth between Wilmington, Raleigh, Charlotte, and President McKinley in Washington, D. C. Telegrams were sent to the Raleigh *News and Observer* first at 11:00 A. M., and later regular updates were posted at its offices; and people came by to read and discuss the situation.[112] The governor responded by dispatching several other State Guard units to Wilmington. These units began to arrive by train late in the evening and into the following day. First to arrive were the Maxton Guards at 11:00 P.M., and Taylor assigned them to guard the city hospital. The Clinton Guards arrived at 11:30 P. M. and guarded the city jail. The Kinston Naval Reserves arrived at 2:30 A. M. on the eleventh and were assigned patrol duty before they relieved the Clinton Guards at the jail.[113] President McKinley met with staff to discuss the riot but did not move to activate troops because no official request for assistance was sent to him by Governor Russell.[114]

Another part of the violence, with particular ramifications for women and children, was the mass exodus of African Americans that began almost as soon as Waddell's group descended upon the press building. Women fled their homes with children in tow to the outskirts of the town. The women were soon followed by those men who could escape the shooting and patrols through town. Most often, the stopping points or respites for these refugees were the cemeteries and swamps. Reports abound in the records about the disappearance of blacks from the city and the grim conditions of the wilderness in which they hid.[115] The weather conditions on these November days and nights were typical of autumn in North Carolina—mild, but in the space of a few hours, chilly with cold mists.[116] Newspapers reported that the roads were lined with refugees carrying bedding or personal belongings and that it was "pitiable to see the children hurrying in fright after their parents." The refugees then spent the nights of the tenth and eleventh in

[111] Hayden, *WLI,* 92; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 11, 1898.
[112] Prather, 120.
[113] Hayden, *WLI*, 98-99; *NC Public Documents*, Adjutant General's Report, 1899.
[114] *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 11, 1898.

[115] James Cowan wrote that "many negroes were frightened to the point of distraction with the turn of events [and] went to the woods near the city. They thought their lives were in jeopardy." John Metts wrote that "the negroes are frightened out of their wits. Most of them have left town." Edward Wootten's mother wrote on November 21, 1898 that a friend's black laborer, Stephen, was fired for registering to vote, and then, after he was told of the dangers to his life, he "left for parts unknown and is still there, nobody has seen him since." James Cowan, "The Wilmington Race Riot"; John Metts, November 12, 1898, Hinsdale Family Papers, Duke University Library, Durham; E.W. Wootten, November 21, 1898, Wootten Collection, University of North Carolina at Wilmington Library.
[116] Benjamin Keith wrote to Senator Marion Butler on November 17 that "the poor negroes have been in the woods like so many cattle during all this bad weather." Peter Mallett, a white Fayetteville merchant with close ties to Wilmington recorded in for November 10, 1898 that there was "rain and some hail" along with his entry that "war commenced at Wilmington today … negroes suffer" and that it was "cloudy and cold" on the eleventh. The *Messenger* reported that it was "sufficiently cool…to cause suffering" and that the "approaching darkness and a threatening storm added to the dread and horror of the situation." Benjamin Keith, November 17, 1898, Marion Butler Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; Peter Mallett Journal, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; *Wilmington Messenger*, November 13, 1898, November 14, 1898.

the woods. The Raleigh *News and Observer* noted that these people were "thoroughly subdued and frightened" as they filled every road leading from the town "loaded with packs . . . fleeing in the darkness to make their home elsewhere." Other refugees sought protection in the homes of friends and relatives as well as those of whites. Former slaves of the Newkirk family made their way to the outlying home of their former masters near modern-day Landfall. Family tradition in the Newkirk family holds that families of former slaves hid in the home's basement while the whites fed and protected them for as much as a week.[117]

The Reverend J. Allen Kirk of Wilmington's Central Baptist Church, protesting the atrocities against his fellow citizens, related that "thousands of women, children and men rushed to the swamps and there lay upon the earth in the cold to freeze and starve." Kirk hid his own wife and family in Pine Forest Cemetery, designated for black burials, even as he himself continued to move farther away from the fighting, spending time in Castle Haynes, 9 miles from the city.[118] Thomas Rivera, a black undertaker, realized that his life was in danger, and, although he was not slated for banishment by white leaders, he left and spent the night in Oakdale, white cemetery, until things quieted down.[119] Another minister, North Carolina native Reverend Charles S. Morris, gave a speech in January 1899 to the International Association of Colored Clergymen in Boston in which he recounted the horrors of the riot and recalled that thousands of women and children fled into the "darkness of the night, out under a gray and angry sky, from which [fell] a cold and bone-chilling rain" where he claimed that "crouching waist-deep in the icy waters of neighboring swamps . . . terrified women gave birth" to infants that died of exposure. Preaching to this audience, Morris was expressing for northern African Americans the horrors of white supremacy in order to mobilize their political clout to push for federal intervention in the South.[120]

Coup d'etat

While the city streets were filled with bloodshed, local leaders of the Democratic Party moved on their plans to retake control of the government. The Democratic Party was in control of the state legislature. Republican governor Russell, threatened with impeachment and death, was effectively silenced in a political minority. However, control of Wilmington's city government was still in the hands of the Republican Party and would remain that way until the next election, which would not

[117] *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 13,1898; Haywood Newkirk, telephone interview with LeRae Umfleet, March 31, 2006. There are a handful of black and white Newkirks in Wilmington in the 1897 and 1900 city directories and the 1900 census. Bryan Newkirk's will, dated April 2, 1863, listed his slaves by name. Some of the black Newkirks in the census and city directory bear those names. More research is needed to clarify the relationships between the white and black Newkirk residents of Wilmington, New Hanover County, and Pender County. Bryan Newkirk will, New Hanover County Wills, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[118] Kirk, *Statement of Facts*.

[119] Rivera was interviewed by Helen Edmonds on July 20, 1944, and his recollections can be found in her work. Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics*, 168-169.

[120] Morris was a southerner by birth and experienced the terror of white supremacy racism, but he probably was not living in Wilmington during the riot. The 1900 census shows that Morris, age 23, was living in Middlesex, Massachusetts and born in Kentucky, his wife was born in South Carolina and their 11 month old son was born in Massachusetts. Charles S. Morris, "The Wilmington Massacre" in *The Voice of Black America: Major Speeches by Negroes in the United States, 1797-1971,* ed., Phillip S. Foner (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), 604-607.

be held until the following year. Therefore, Wilmington's political elite staged a coup d'etat to retake the city's offices. Citing ineffectual leadership, corrupt officials, and soaring crime, the men justified their actions as for the greater good of Wilmington society. In articles and cartoons circulated throughout the city and state prior to elections, the perceived ineffectiveness of Wilmington's mayor and Board of Aldermen was consistently conspicuous, thus paving the way for the afternoon takeover. [121]

Assured of success, as soon as the first shots were fired, Rountree, a primary facilitator of the coup, began to work to ensure that the amendment to the White Declaration of Independence calling for the resignation of the mayor would be fulfilled. Although not specifically stated in the version of the Declaration passed at the meeting on Wednesday, Rountree and others also hoped that the other members of the Board of Aldermen would follow suit if opposition was strong enough.[122]

Determined to become a driving force in the coup, Rountree spoke with businessman W. H. Chadbourn at the post office during the early stages of the riot. Chadbourn promised to induce the current mayor and board to resign if the businessmen would select a new slate of officials. [123] Afterwards, while in Brooklyn witnessing the early rioting near Fourth and Harnett, Rountree found Iredell Meares and informed him of the proposal that Chadbourn had put forth. Meares, a member of Waddell's Committee of Twenty-Five, agreed with the plan. Rountree sought out Chadbourn again so that the current members of the city's government could be called for a meeting. Rountree then went to the Cape Fear Club to mull over his next step. While at the club, Rountree was asked by another member of the committee, Charles Worth, to attend a meeting of Waddell's Committee of Twenty-Five at the Seaboard Air Line Building to present Chadbourn's offer to the committee. At the meeting, Rountree informed the committee that he could promise the resignations of the mayor and Board of Aldermen if they would select a replacement mayor and board. [124]

In addition to the machinations of Chadbourn and Rountree, another man, Daniel Gore, a member of the sitting Board of Aldermen, contacted the newly elected U. S. representative John D. Bellamy. Gore told Bellamy that he could influence the mayor and aldermen to resign if Bellamy could contact the "gentlemen in charge of matters in Wilmington" and suggest that they select property owners and men of intelligence to serve on the board. Bellamy also attended the early afternoon meeting of Waddell's committee at the railroad offices to present

[121] In 1997, the Research Branch of the Office of Archives and History investigated the claims of corruption, economic downturns, and increased crime. The researchers did not find support for any of these claims. Their findings can be found in Appendix I. For more information on Governor Russell's precarious situation and Democratic propaganda disparaging Wilmington's Republican mayor and Board of Aldermen, see Chapters Three and Four.

[122] During the discussions regarding the amendment to the White Declaration of Independence, former mayor Fishblate had called for the city leaders to resign in more direct language, However, attorneys such as Rountree and Hugh MacRae sought to soften the language and call for the mayor and chief of police to resign instead. At the meeting, Rountree had answered businessman Nathaniel Jacobi that the issue of the resignations of the other members of the Board of Aldermen "would be attended to." Rountree, "Memorandum;" *Wilmington Messenger*, November 10, 1898.

[123] Rountree, "Memoradum;" *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 10, 1898.

[124] Rountree, "Memorandum;" *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 10,1898.

this information to the committee on Gore's behalf. [125]

Fully intending to act in their "elected" capacity as members of the Committee of Twenty-Five to enact the resolutions of the Declaration, Waddell's committee had also worked to persuade Mayor Silas P. Wright and his administration to vacate their posts. Frank Stedman and Charles Worth were selected from the committee to find Wright, the aldermen, and Chief of Police Melton and encourage them to submit their resignations. Wright, in the face of overpowering intimidation in city hall and armed conflict in the streets, disliked resigning under such pressure but agreed to do so. Melton also agreed to resign if he were given the remainder of his salary as police chief. [126]

Waddell's committee considered their options and selected a group of men who would be representatives of their wards and elected to the Board of Alderman should the resignations eventuate. As a group, the committee went to city hall around three o'clock to meet with the existing members who had been called to city hall for a special meeting at 4:00 P. M. by various representatives of the committee, Gore, or Chadbourn. One by one, the old board resigned and voted to approve the entry of a new member to the board so that the old board was phased out into the new.[127] The last to resign was Mayor Wright because he saw that "the business men had expressed dissatisfaction" with his administration and had requested that he step down. Wright subsequently was replaced with Waddell, who was unanimously elected by the new board.[128]

One of the black aldermen forced to resign was John G. Norwood, who had been appointed by the governor to his position to represent the Second Ward during the restructuring of the city's charter in 1897. Norwood was told by the city clerk and treasurer to report at 4:00 to the city's offices on the afternoon of the rioting. Upon his arrival at city hall, Norwood was met by other members of the Wright administration. As they began their meeting, two vacancies on the board were filled by C. H. Ganzer for the Fifth Ward and H. P. West for the Second Ward.[129] Other members of the Wright administration were also compelled to resign, including Chief of Police Melton, resigning after a private conversation with Rountree, who advised Melton to step down because he couldn't guarantee Melton's safety otherwise. Melton recalled that there

[125] *Contested Election Case*, 249.

[126] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 698-699; *Wilmington Messenger,* November 17, 1898.

[127] Bellamy testified that the transition was "done decently and in order without any friction and under the advice of the most learned lawyers of the city." A few resignations were secured from Aldermen after the meeting and their replacements were similarly elected and sworn in. *Contested Election Case*, 20-21, 249; Keith, *Memories*, 112; Minutes of the Wilmington Board of Aldermen, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[128] The new board consisted of C. H. Ganzier and Rev. J. W. Kramer from the First Ward, H. P. West and William H. Sprunt from the Second Ward, Hugh MacRae and J. Allan Taylor of the Third Ward, Charles W. Worth, Preston L. Bridgers from the Fourth Ward, and B. Frank King and A. B. Skelding from the Fifth Ward. Edgar Parmele was selected to replace Melton as chief of police by Waddell's board and M. F. Heiskel Gouvenier was named assistant chief of police. John J. Furlong, member of the machine gun squad, was promoted to police captain. The Wilmington *Dispatch* of November 10, 1898 went to press while shots were still being fired and the coup was taking place. The paper threw support behind Waddell for mayor: "In selecting a man for the chief executive of the city, let the committee not forget the services of our most tried and true citizen; the man who led the citizens this morning and avenged their honor; the man who will have good government and peace or blood—Alfred Moore Waddell." Hayden, *WLI*, 100; Rountree, "Memorandum;" James Cowan, "The Wilmington Race Riot;" *Wilmington Messenger* November 10, 11,1898.

[129] *Contested Election Case*, 20-21.

were 100 to 200 armed men in the corridors of city hall at this time. After he resigned, a new chief was instantly sworn in. Melton told Rountree that he could not get his police force together well enough to restore order and that his resignation would allow the group to get "force enough to restore order." Melton returned home only to be sent out of town the next day.[130]

As bullets were flying through Brooklyn and the city's government fell to armed politicians, men who were privy to the discussions of the Secret Nine, the Merchant's Association, the Committee of Twenty-Five, the White Government Unions, and other organizations established a systematic program of banishment for black leaders and white Republicans. Many of those targeted for banishment were perceived as a threat by the leaders of the white community. The first group of black men identified by the whites was the Committee of Colored Citizens (CCC) assembled to hear the demands of the Committee of Twenty-Five and the White Declaration of Independence. Some of the men of the CCC were summarily found and arrested during the riot while others were arrested or coerced into leaving in the days and weeks following the riot.

During the riot, the WLI cooperated with the banishment campaign by detailing squads to arrest men named by the Secret Nine.[131] Others were allowed to remain in Wilmington as long as they "knew their place." While only the primary leaders of the black community were named as targets for banishment, others were arrested during the activities on the tenth and eleventh for their safety. While the men behind the scenes only wished to see primary obstacles to white rule, such as attorneys and businessmen, leave, others added their own choices for banishment, carrying the arrest and confinement processes into the days after the riot. Much to the coup leaders' despair, this secondary banishment campaign was out of their control and promised to prevent an end to hostilities and cripple the city.[132]

By the end of the day on November 10, the white leaders of Wilmington had successfully manipulated the masses into open warfare. The beneficiaries of the violence were the white leaders who regained control of city affairs through the coup d'etat. In a multitude of ways, the foremost victims of the tragedy were the city's African Americans, who suffered banishment, the fear of further murders, deaths of loved ones, destruction of property, exile into cold swampland, or injury from gunfire.

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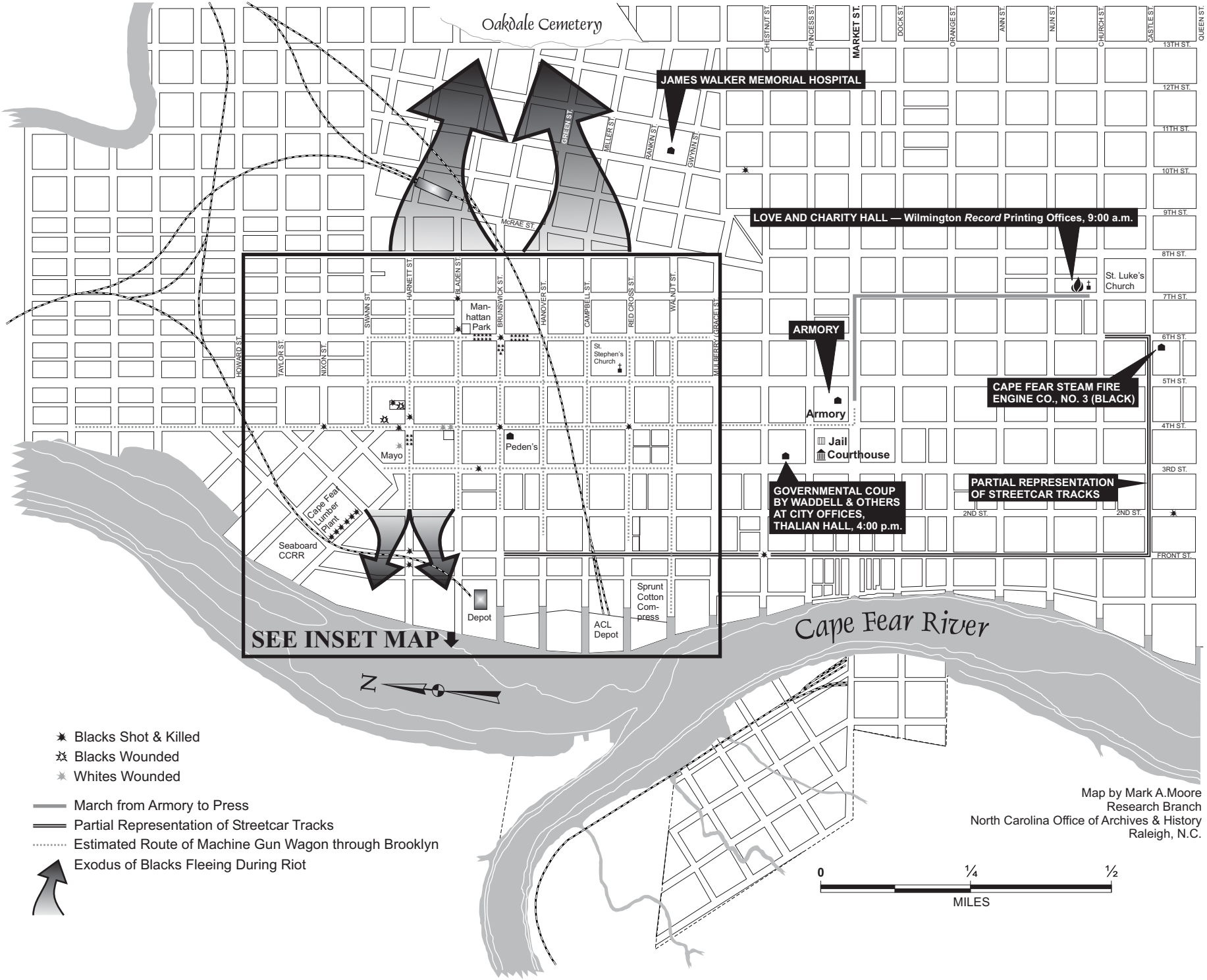
[130] Melton testified that he had heard armed men were headed to city hall to demand resignations and that as the old board was meeting, an armed crowd of men approached the building. Melton also recounted that Rountree "invited me out into the chamber of the board of finance and said that he would advise me to resign; that he thought he had control over the men, but he had just learned that he could not do anything with the men, meaning the Democrats; that he had no control over them, and they would not listen to him, and he would not be responsible for the consequence, and he advised me to resign, and I did so." *Contested Election Case*, 364-5.

[131] J. Allan Taylor led the banishment campaign for the Secret Nine. McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 719-720.

[132] *Wilmington Messenger* November 12, 1898.

Wilmington Race Riot

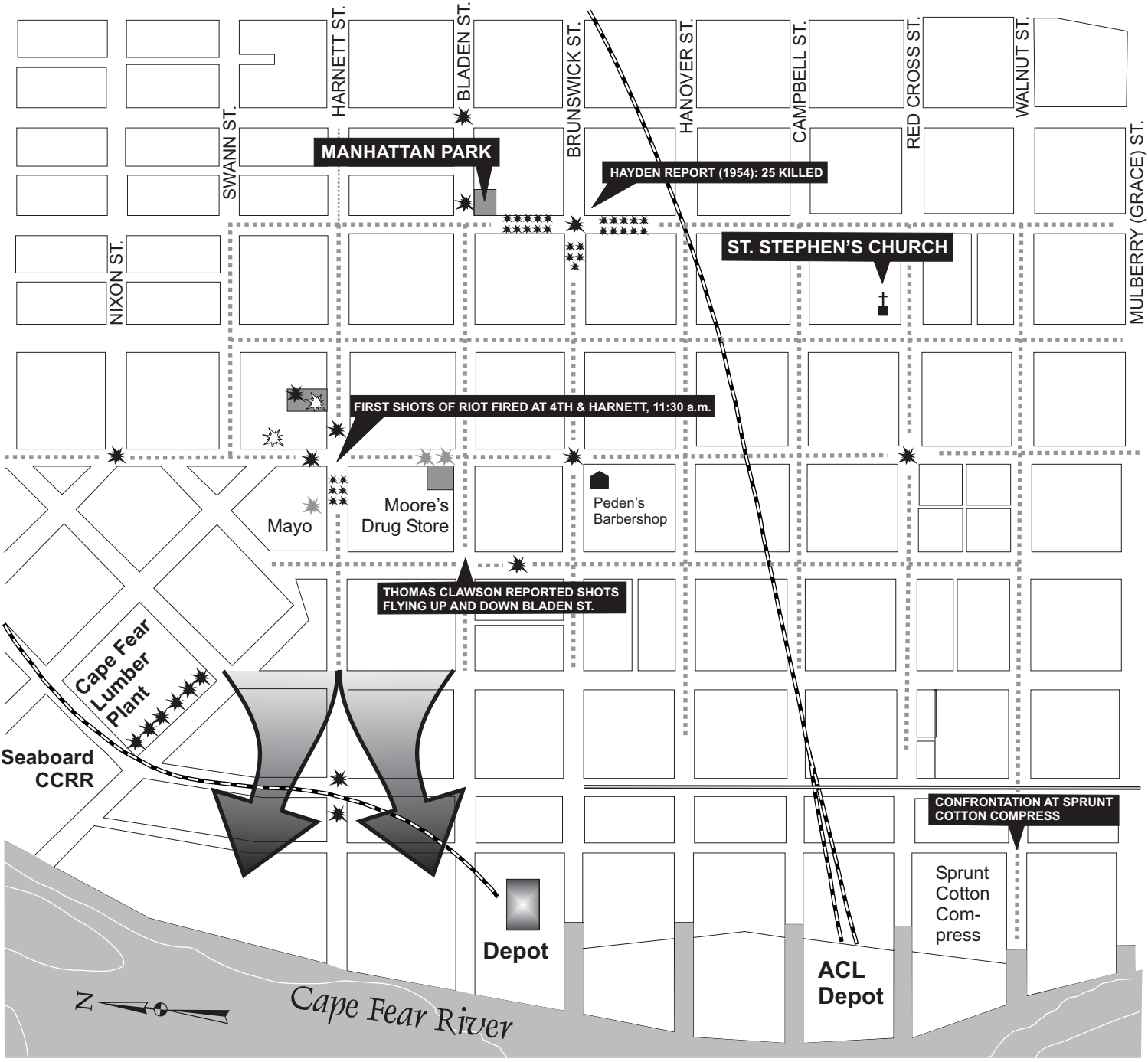
November 10, 1898



Map by Mark A.Moore
Research Branch
North Carolina Office of Archives & History
Raleigh, N.C.

Wilmington Race Riot — Inset

November 10, 1898



Blacks Shot & Killed
Blacks Wounded
Whites Wounded

0 ¼ MILES

Map by Mark A.Moore
Research Branch
North Carolina Office of Archives & History
Raleigh, N.C.

Partial Representation of Streetcar Tracks
Estimated Route of Machine Gun Wagon through Brooklyn

Exodus of Blacks Fleeing During Riot

Chapter 6: Resounding Change

- The paramilitary framework established by white Democratic leaders before the election ran the city in the days immediately following the violence and coup.

- Transfer of control over city affairs from the Fusion administration to the Democrats began on November 10. New municipal officers had instruction from Democratic Party leadership regarding military affairs, banishment, and political patronage.

- Leading African Americans and white Republicans were banished from the city starting on the afternoon of the tenth. Some men were arrested, jailed, and sent out of town the next morning. Others were picked up and escorted to the train station on the eleventh.

- Besides the primary target of Alex Manly, the men selected for banishment fit into one of three categories: African American leaders who were open opponents to white supremacy, successful African American businessmen, and white Republicans or Populists who benefited from African American voting support.

- Other banishment targets were pressed into leaving town for their own safety by groups of whites considered to be rogues in the minds of leaders. Families continued to leave the city voluntarily over the following days and weeks.

- Tallies of the dead began almost immediately with many of the victims named in the newspapers. Other dead went unidentified, and some died after the initial violence on the tenth in random skirmishes or from severe wounds. The day after the riot, men found wounded in Wilmington and its outskirts were taken to the hospital.

- No official count of dead can be ascertained due to a paucity of records from the coroner's office, hospital, and churches.

- White Fusionists throughout the state were affected by the riot and violence. U. S. senator Marion Butler and Governor Daniel Russell experienced personal threats.

- Alfred Moore Waddell and the new board of Aldermen met almost daily to secure the coup and ensure the changeover from a Fusionist, biracial government to one composed of all whites. Waddell's administration sought to end the sporadic shootings and non-sanctioned banishments as well as to return the city to normal, peaceful, operations as quickly as possible.

- One of the changes wrought by the Democrats was the firing of all black municipal employees. Among the first replaced were the policemen and firemen. Two of the fire stations had been all black and were sources of pride for their neighborhoods. Those men were fired and replaced by whites and one firehouse was permanently closed, reducing the effectiveness of fire department response in majority black neighborhoods.

- White Democrats held celebratory parades and gatherings in Wilmington and Raleigh following the election and violence. White ministers on the Sunday following the violence voiced support for the coup and congratulated the leaders.

Chapter 6: Resounding Change

"In this manner wanes the slow night amid threat, uncertainty and bloodshed. On every block the steady trump of guards is heard. As the yellow lamplight pales in the gray morning, the negroes failed to re-appear on the streets." Raleigh News and Observer, 11/13/1898

As night fell on November 10, thousands of men, women and children in Wilmington knew their lives had been forever changed by the Democrats in their quest for victory in the election of 1898. The violence that erupted as a result of Democratic Party machinations fractured the relatively peaceful and progressive city of Wilmington. Many in the city's African American community feared for their lives. Bipartisan politics was dead, and the city soon returned to post-Reconstruction status quo, with wealthy Democrats running county and municipal government. As the end of November approached with the Thanksgiving holiday, families in Wilmington either rejoiced or recuperated.[1] A hostile environment, unfriendly to non-Democrats of either race, persisted. African Americans fared much worse than their white Fusion counterparts. They faced the coming winter with little prospect of improvement, reductions in pay and job availability, and increased blatant racism on a daily basis.

In the immediate aftermath of the violence of November 10, the paramilitary system of action and communication established by Roger Moore, Walker Taylor, and other leaders held sway. Plans for establishing headquarters, safe houses for family members, access to wagons and trains, among other details, had been worked out and thoroughly understood well before the election. Once the violence was initiated on the tenth, the plan fell smoothly into place from the riot alarm being sounded at the first shots, to the guard details on every block that "interviewed" all blacks who tried to pass, and to the transfer of control over the city to military forces.[2] As a result of the governor's call for service, guard units from Maxton, Clinton, and Kinston arrived throughout the late evening and into the night with Taylor assigning the units to guard duty or patrol in various parts of the city. Colonel Taylor, given charge of the city by the governor and state adjutant general, instituted martial law around 2:30 in the afternoon and demanded that all blacks be off the streets before nightfall. Taylor's second in command, Colonel George Morton of the Naval Reserves, was ordered to enforce the curfew. He made his home at 720 North Fourth Street, his base of operations. As many as 400 special policemen were deputized to assist the military units in place in the city.[3] The day

[1] For example, John S. Cunningham of Person County invited Waddell's kinswoman, Rebecca Cameron, and her husband to Thanksgiving dinner at his home so that they could "thank our Father, who has blessed us individually in so many ways, we can thank him for the great victory on the 8th day of November." Another letter to Benehan Cameron, from Thomas Strange of Wilmington, thanked Cameron for his telegram offering assistance during the riot. Strange closed with a note for Cameron to pay the telegram fee because he needed to save every cent. John S. Cunningham to Col. and Mrs. Benehan Cameron, November 11, 1898 and Thomas Strange to Ben, November 16, 1898, Benehan Cameron Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

[2] Patrols established in advance of the riot took on a new responsibility as all blacks passing through the city were met on every corner by a checkpoint that would "hold up and search all negroes going and coming from work." J. F. Maunder recalled that he searched about 25 blacks and found nothing of consequence. "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection.

[3] For information on Moore's activities and the network of guards and patrols, see previous chapters. About 60 Maxton Guards arrived around 11:00 P.M., 40 Clinton Guards arrived a half hour later, and 30 men with the Kinston Naval Reserves arrived at 2:30

after the riot, rumors ran rampant that trouble was brewing at other townships in the county where blacks were attempting to extract revenge. As a result, armed patrols kept up their vigils, assisted by the influx of State Guard troops. On the evening of the eleventh, new mayor Alfred Moore Waddell personally met with armed citizens in the streets and encouraged them to go home. Waddell then had a picket line established by the military along the city's northern perimeter. The next day, November 12, out-of-town military units were withdrawn, leaving the city under full control of municipal leaders backed by the local troops of the Wilmington Light Infantry, who discontinued service on the fourteenth. [4]

The transfer of control of the city's affairs to the hands of the new mayor and Board of Alderman effectively took place on the afternoon of the tenth, but it was clear that the men who drove the Democratic campaign and coup d'etat still directed activity in the city. An article in the *Messenger* five days after the riot claimed "it was all planned in advance," and the "citizens committee is all-powerful still, and while outwardly it is taking little part in affairs, in reality it is standing squarely behind Mayor Waddell and will continue to do so." The writer even hinted that the violence attributed to the Red Shirts and Rough Riders was part of the larger plan—"As long as they were sober the 'rough riders' could be controlled easily enough, but had they had access to an unlimited amount of liquor there would have been many more bodies for the coroner's jury." The article related that the reporter had been told in confidence by Democratic Party leaders that "they never intended to resort to force save as a last expedient." The men confided in the reporter that violence during the voting process would have "given the negroes strong grounds upon which to have contested Bellamy's election." The article concluded that the machinations of the white leaders sounded very "cold-blooded" but that their plans were "grounded in mighty good horse sense" given the state of affairs in the city.[5]

Banishment Campaign

The banishment campaign started on the afternoon of the riot as African American and white leaders were arrested according to the dictates of the Secret Nine. The men selected for banishment fell into several different categories. First, were the African American leaders who were vocal supporters of full participation in government by blacks and open opponents of the white supremacy campaign. Second were African American businessmen and entrepreneurs whose financial successes were galling to the white upper and working classes. Third were white Republicans who benefited from African American voting support. The initial targets were logically

A.M. The Fayetteville Light Infantry was the first to arrive in the afternoon of the riot and brought 86 men to the city. Hayden, *WLI,* 95-7; *Wilmington Messenger,* November 11-14, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 11-12, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 11-12, 1898.

[4] Waddell penned thanks to the military on behalf of the city's citizens for their "prompt and efficient services." Colonel Taylor then responded with a message of thanks to the city's residents who assisted with providing for the needs of the military. Governor Daniel Russell had informed Taylor that he could keep the troops on active duty in the city as long as necessary. However, Wilmington leaders sought to return to normalcy as soon as possible. *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 13-14, 1898.

[5] Despite attempts by Democrats to safeguard the polls, the validity of Bellamy's election was contested by his opponent, Oliver Dockery. The court proceedings, which took place in 1899, will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7. *Wilmington Messenger,* November 15, 1898.

Record editor Alex Manly and his staff. According to family tradition and other accounts, Manly escaped from the city well before the march on the press and perhaps even before the issuance of the White Declaration of Independence. Thomas Clawson, editor of the *Messenger* who had sold the printing press to Manly, recalled that he asked Walker Taylor if he could approach Manly on the ninth and tell him to leave town as soon as possible. Manly's family recalled that Clawson had given Manly the codes to pass through Red Shirt picket lines on the outskirts of the city as well as twenty-five dollars to assist in his escape. According to this tradition, Frank and Alex Manly left the city in a buggy and used the passcode several times as they passed for whites.[6] According to other accounts, Alex's brother Frank and *Daily Record* staff member J. N. Goins were in Wilmington when Waddell began his march to the press. Hearing gunshots, the two fled the city before pickets ordered out by Roger Moore were in place. With Manly and his staff out of the picture, the white leaders moved toward removing other men who could forestall or expose their reclamation of the city.[7]

Following a list provided by the Secret Nine, Colonel Taylor dispatched units of the WLI to find and arrest men slated for banishment.[8] Those who could be located on the tenth were placed in the jail overnight, and the search continued into the following days for other men who evaded capture. Some such as Robert Reardon and James Redmon were never captured.[9] Six

[6] Clawson's account is confusing, but he evidently had worked to save Manly's life the day before the riot. He recalled that a group of men sought to lynch Manly after the White Declaration of Independence was written and that he had informed them that Manly was gone. He boasted that his "trip beyond the dead-line that night caused the negro editors to flee, which made it so the pre-arranged 'lynching' and burning party did not go to Seventh and Nun streets to fall into the ambush set about the Record shop." According to Clawson, this ambush consisted of about "two or three hundred armed negroes" who were hiding in the neighborhood to protect the shop and the *Record* staff. Clawson decided that because of his actions, "the 'lynching party' set for that night of November 9 did not take place, but the very next morning hundreds of enraged and affronted white men smashed the negro newspaper shop." It is not clear if such activity happened on the night of the ninth or if Clawson jumbled his memories of the events. His manuscript is undated and could have been written years after the event. McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 687-8; Clawson, "Recollections and Memories."

[7] Cody, "After the Storm," 31; *Washington Times,* November 22, 1898.

[8] J. Allan Taylor, Walker Taylor's brother, a member of the Secret Nine and the Committee of Twenty-Five, was in charge of the banishment campaign. There are discrepancies in the accounts of witnesses as to the men imprisoned in the jail overnight. Thomas Clawson recalled that black and white leaders were jailed together overnight. Waddell said that seven black leaders were arrested and jailed overnight and were the same men that were marched under protection of the military to the train. Waddell further stated that others, including three whites, had been sent out but were protected from lynching elsewhere and those men were taken under guard to another train. Thomas Cowan, editor of the *Dispatch*, wrote that several whites were interred in jail overnight and that
Waddell and Moore worked together to prevent the lynch mob from taking action. John D. Bellamy said that the men participating in the banishment campaign were not affiliated with the Committee of Twenty-Five headed by Waddell. He further explained that the banishments were carried out by "some self-assumed authority by some young men." Bellamy also observed that "a good number of us" disliked the fact that some of the men were sent out of town. "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection; Clawson, "Recollections and Memories;" *Colliers,* November 26, 1898; James Cowan, "The Wilmington Race Riot;" C*ontested Election Case*, 258.

[9] George Boylan recounted the WLI search for Redmon in 1905: "I think the swiftest thing I remember was the negro Redmon's coat tails. A squad had been sent out to find his house and when we got there, there were two houses just alike and there was some dispute as to which was his house and I jumped out of the wagon just about between the

men were taken into custody on the tenth as they met at Peden's Barber Shop near Sixth and Brunswick. According to white rumors, the men were meeting at the shop to decide how best to retaliate against white aggression. When arrested, the men were "tossed into Burkheimer's wagon like cordwood." [10] Another group of 3 or 4 men were arrested and "jailed for safekeeping" during the action around Manhattan Park even as a fifth man fled the dance hall and was shot dead.[11]

Peden's barber shop, near 6th and Brunswick Streets, site where six black men who were banished were arrested on November 10th.
Image: New Hanover County Public Library

The men taken into custody were transported to the city jail and detained for their safety. A crowd surrounded the jail about 10:30 on the night of the riot and called for the lynching of the men in the jail. The men of the mob that surrounded the jail were predominantly Red Shirts. The armed guards around the jail, placed by Roger Moore and manned by military units under Taylor's command, refused to give in to the mob. Moore's wife recalled that he personally stood guard at the door from 10:00 at night on the tenth until sunrise on the 11th. Walter MacRae, newly appointed acting sheriff, declared that he would not surrender the prisoners and that his authority was backed by many of Wilmington's leading white citizens including Waddell and Moore. Two white clergymen were involved in the riot at several stages, including Father Christopher Dennen of St. Thomas Church, who stationed himself between the mob and the jail entrance. Rev.

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two houses. All we saw was a flirt of his coat tail as he went over the fence. We ran around the square and some through the square and although he had no longer to go than we did, we never did see him and he has never been seen from that day to this. I believe his dog was seen a few days after that down the street but that was one badly frightened negro." A James Redman was listed in the 1897 *City Directory* as a stork clerk working at 519 Campbell, and his home was located at 817 Harnett. A James Redmond is found in the 1900 *City Directory* living at 614 Dickinson and working as a laborer. Reardon was considered an "objectionable negro barber." Reardon knew that he was being sought and reportedly fled "down the sound." In the 1897 *City Directory*, Reardon was listed as a barber at 29 Market Street and is not listed in the 1900 Directory. "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection.

[10] It is unclear which Burkheimer lent his wagon for the arrests. The 1897 *City Directory* lists several Burkheimers, including a large household of men and women living at 208 N. Fourth Street. Hayden, *WLI,* 89.

[11] More on the activity around Manhattan Park on November 10 can be found in the previous chapter. Just as there is confusion in the account regarding the activities around Manhattan Park, there are also multiple references to the arrest and banishment campaign. African American Henry Gause was arrested after the fighting quieted for stealing a gun from a young white boy. Gause reportedly took the gun home and hid it in a mattress. The gun was subsequently found and he was arrested. It is unclear if he was put on a train to leave town. Another black man, Beverly Scott, was arrested on the tenth for parading with a gun in the streets before the election. Other men arrested and jailed were listed in the newspaper on the eleventh: Henry Nicholson, Wisconsin Edwards, James Hill, S. T. Knight, William Tate, and Tom Love. These six were named as men arrested for shooting at the Naval Reserve troops from a house in Brooklyn on the tenth. *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 11, 1898; Zeb Walser, *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of the State of North Carolina, 1897-1898*, 29-32.

Robert Strange of St. James Episcopal Church was informed that a mob was going to the jail and was asked to stop them because lynching men in jail would be a "lasting disgrace" to the town. Strange helped place men from Fayetteville around the jail and then talked the matter over with Waddell who was also on hand. Strange, Waddell, Moore and other leaders remained at the jail until daybreak because the mob repeatedly attempted to lure the guards away from the jail just long enough to break in and kidnap those inside. These leaders obviously felt that their presence at the jail would be the only deterrent to such activity. Strange remarked concerning the riot and events at the jail: "[W]e saw what was needed and what could have happened and when we think of what did happen, we all know that it was the best managed thing that ever did happen." [12]

The black men who spent the night in the jail were marched under guard by Morton's Naval Reserves to the train station early in the morning.[13] According to the *News and Observer,* the men were given tickets to Richmond and told to never return to North Carolina. [14] As for the men sent from the city, it is a useful exercise to understand the background of those taken into custody and targeted for banishment as

[12] Roger Moore's widow recounted Moore's roll in the scenario at the jail: "At night, when a wild surging mob congregated in front of the jail for the purpose of lynching the wretches who were placed there for safe keeping, it was Col. Moore who saved their lives and the city from a stain that would have sullied her fair name for all time. Every effort was made by the mob to get rid of him, even subterfuge was resorted to but without avail. Finally he said 'Men we may as well understand each other; you are here to lynch these men and I am here to prevent it; you can only carry out your purpose over my dead body' and mounting the steps of the jail and placing his back to the door he stood there from 10 o'clock at night until sunrise." Letter to the editor, Mrs. Roger Moore, n.d., Mrs. Roger Moore Collection, University of North Carolina at Wilmington Library; Hayden, *WLI,* 101; *Wilmington Messenger*, 11-14-1898; Clawson, "Recollections and Memories;" "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection.

[13] Wilmington resident James S. Worth participated in the march to protect at least one banished African American man and escorted others to their homes from the outskirts of the city. His letter to his wife after the event explained his actions and provided insight into his conflicted attitudes towards the city's blacks: "You misunderstood me if you thought I meant the negro, as a race, any harm and you would have known I had no ill feelings against them, as a race, if you had seen me taking them home that day – "it is a long walk from Hilton river bridge to 8th & Dawson – but I started from the bridge with about 25 & delivered the last one at 8th & Dawson of course I searched them under cover of my gun & had to take them through the picket lines on the battlefield. I had to escort one of the meanest niggers of all out of town on the train & would not have hesitated to kill him if he had attempted to escape – and yet his life had been promised him & I simply requested to go for his protection – By the way that was the reason I happened to be at the RR bridge at Hilton – the train was stopped there for me to get off. I don't hesitate to say I think it would have been better that some of those allowed to leave should have been killed instead & yet I hardly now think you could imagine I mean to do them any harm. They have not been treated as brutes – of course some have suffered on account of their fears but they have been generally well treated. Of course I didn't shoot at any of them – but would not have hesitated a moment to do so if I had been fired on or if any of those I saw fired on had been outnumbered. I could not bring myself to the point of firing at any of those I saw shot down even though I knew they had been doing all they could to kill white people. I am however sorry that some of those sent out of town were not killed at the time captured. One goes through peculiar changes of feeling at such times – one minute ready to shoot a negro & the next seeing one home safely to keep him from being shot. No – I personally did very little guard duty – as I was in charge of my block & simply detailed the others on the block each night & went off scouting on my own hook & helping out whenever I could. The whole town was so well organized that the military were free to go to the seat of war and the boys behaved like veterans and not anyone flinched under fire or failed in his duty." James S. Worth to Josephine, James W. Worth Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[14] *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 12, 1898.

opposed to those allowed to remain in the city unmolested. Leading targets were Thomas C. Miller, Ari Bryant, Robert B. Pickens, and Salem J. Bell who were arrested for "using language calculated to incite the negroes."[15] These men were also leading businessmen, with Bell and Pickens operating a fish and oyster business, Bryant a butcher shop, and Miller as a money lender and real estate developer.[16] Conversely, other leaders, including many other businessmen summoned as part of the Committee of Colored Citizens, were not slated for removal.[17]

Miller's capture was documented by several accounts. Harry Hayden's history of the WLI explained that Miller was arrested according to dictates of the Secret Nine because of his threat to "wash his black hands in the red blood of some whites" during the campaign. Miller, a wealthy man by Wilmington standards, had worked himself up from slavery to become a financial giant who regularly bought and sold land, loaned money, and entered into mortgages with both blacks and whites. By Hayden's account, Miller first resisted efforts by Police Captain John Furlong to jail him but was nonetheless escorted to the jail in a wagon. Hayden recounted that Miller's daughter followed the wagon to the jail. Miller supposedly declared while en route to the jail that "he would rather be dead than to have to undergo such humiliation." Hayden also recounted that Furlong replied to Miller that if he wanted to die, all he needed to do was to jump off the wagon. Thomas Wright of the WLI reported that when his squad arrived at Miller's home, his daughter was on the porch and said he was not at home. Miller was found to be at home, and, after he was arrested,

Wilmington Light Infantry and Naval Reserve troops escorting captured blacks. From *Collier's Weekly*, November 26, 1898.
Image: North Carolina State Archives

[15] *Wilmington Messenger,* 11-14-1898.
[16] For more information on the lives of Miller, Bryant, Bell and Pickens, see Appendix A.
[17] For more on the lives of men targeted as members of the Committee of Colored Citizens and for banishment, see Appendix A.

Wright observed that Miller was "one negro we could not make keep quiet and he talked and talked until Ed McKoy's gun went 'click click' and when we told him to shut up, he kept a little quieter." [18] Miller later wrote "when I think about it all knowing I am not Guilty it all most drives me mad – just to think how my own people could treat me as they have with out a Cause knowingly." He related that he was "treated not like human but worse than a dog and someday the Lord will punish them that punished me without a Cause." [19]

Another black leader, Carter Peamon, presents an interesting case of banishment. A politically active barber, Peamon escorted white leaders through Brooklyn to encourage black residents to stay in their homes and not cause troubles. Furthermore, Peamon saved the lives of two white men, M. F. H. Gouvernier and Captain James I. Metts, when they were surrounded by blacks. Peamon was then "sent out of the city" on board the Wilmington, Columbia and Augusta Railroad. It was reported that Peamon tried to jump from the train as it reached the outskirts of town and was shot by men on board the train. Peamon's jail time was short, and he apparently was put on the train on the tenth, earlier than the other banished men. The *Evening Dispatch* reported that Peamon was put on the Atlantic Coast Line southbound train and that his life was saved by Metts, who protected him from whites who "would have taken summary vengeance" on Peamon for his attempts to "incite the negroes." Armed men were on the train with Peamon, and, by the time the train reached Hilton Park at the northern edge of town, he was dead, "lying in the woods." A passenger on the train phoned in the report from Hilton of Peamon's death. Details of Peamon's actions on the day are also recorded in a letter from Jack Metts who said that Peamon was the "leader of the crowd in that section." [20]

Several white men were also slated for banishment for their roles in the Republican Party: George French, Mayor Silas Wright, Robert Bunting, John Melton, Charles McAllister, and C. H. Gilbert. Some of the white men were also jailed and were "in danger of severe treatment by red shirts." The *Morning Star* reported that Melton, Bunting, and Gilbert were given protection by the military at the armory because of "grave threats of violence" against them. The paper noted that the "necessity" of sending the 3 men out of the city "is very much regretted by the more

[18] Miller's treatment and arrest traumatized him as did his exile. Miller wrote a letter to John D. Taylor, clerk of Superior Court, regarding a land transaction in 1902. Miller wrote: "I have been treated not like human but worse than a dog and someday the Lord will punish them that punished me without a Cause. I am Well and doing Well the only thing that worries me is just to think that I were not allowed to come to my Mothers funeral she being 95 years of age and the oldest Citizen on Wrightsville sound just to think of it will last me to my grave if I were guilty of any Crime or was a Criminal it would not worri me in the least but oh my god just to think it is enough to run a sane man insane. Col I hope you will pardon me for the way I write you but when I think about it all knowing I am not Guilty it all most drives me mad—just to think how my own people could treat me as they have with out a Cause knowingly. Oh my god." Miller died the following year in Norfolk and his remains were brought to Wilmington for burial. T. C. Miller to Col. J. D. Taylor, July 9, 1902, New Hanover County Correspondence, 1824-1906, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh; "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection; Hayden, *WLI*, 102.

[19] Thomas C. Miller to J. D. Taylor, July 9, 1902, New Hanover County Correspondence, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[20] It is unclear why Peamon was placed on a southbound train when the others were placed on northbound trains. Jack Metts to Elizabeth, November 12, 1898, Hinsdale Papers, Duke University Library, Durham; *Evening Dispatch* (Raleigh),, November 11, 1898; *Wilmington Messenger*, November 11, 1898.

conservative of our people, especially because one of them, R. H. Bunting, is a United States Commissioner, and respect for his office, they say, should have been a protection." The paper concluded that, despite Bunting's position, his "political record in cooperating with the negro element . . . had so embittered many people . . . that it was feared that they could not be restrained from violence." [21] The white men were put on trains on the eleventh and sent to New Bern, where they were ushered further north towards Virginia.[22] Justice Bunting was particularly distasteful to white men because he had married a black woman and they believed "his police courts . . . held the scales of justice so as to favor the negroes and severely punish the whites." [23] His home was "visited" by white men who ransacked the house and hung portraits of Bunting and his wife in the street at Seventh and Market to further incite white supremacy hatred for miscegenation. The day after the riot, Bunting appealed to white leaders for protection and was escorted to the city limits for his protection.[24]

Like Peamon, George French was treated separately from the others. Before French was "found" at the Orton Hotel and escorted to the train by a squad, he was located by Morton earlier during the day of the riot and "asked" to pen support for the use of the Naval Reserves. Morton reported to the adjutant general that he "found the Sheriff at the Orton Hotel, in his room, and notified him of the state of affairs and demanded as a citizen that he go out and preserve the peace." French, as acting sheriff in Elijah Hewlett's stead, "declined" to leave his room but, instead, wrote an order for Morton and Walker Taylor of the Wilmington Light Infantry to "use all force at your disposal to quell the existing violation of the peace in this city."[25] Previous threats had circulated that French was to be hanged on "Church Street, between Front and Surry, directly in front of the old James J. Darby home." In response to the threats, French was hidden by Orton clerk James J. Allen, who said that he had not hidden French "out of any friendship for the 'carpetbagger' but simply to assist in keeping down violence." While boarding the northbound train, French was told to "leave North Carolina and never return again upon peril of his life." While at the station, French was attacked by a group of men who placed a noose around his neck and started to hang him from a light pole on North Front Street. French was struggling for breath and "uttered the Masonic cry of

[21] Bunting was a Deputy Marshall of the United States District Court in Wilmington and was a magistrate in the city. *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898; *Branson's North Carolina Business Directory,* 1897, 448-449.

[22] The *Wilmington Messenger* reflected the sentiments of the campaign when it noted that the root of the "evil" of race relations were "mean white men"—northerners who came to the South and courted black voters. However, some of the white men targeted were Wilmington natives or longtime residents of the city. Melton was a Wilmington native. The New Bern press reported to the *News and Observer* that the Atlantic Coast Line train carrying the white Republicans from Wilmington arrived, and they were escorted from the train to the steamer *Neuse,* which sailed at 6:00 for Elizabeth City. *News and Observer* (Raleigh), 11-12-98; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898; *Contested Election Case*, 360; *Wilmington Messenger,* November 15, 1898.

[23] *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 12, 1898.

[24] Although it was reported that Bunting was escorted to the city limits for his protection, Chief of Police Melton explained that Bunting was held at the cemetery until he was joined by Melton and others. Bunting and the men were then marched under guard through town to the railroad depot where they were sent out of town. Melton observed that Bunting was targeted for verbal abuse once on board the train. *Contested Election Case*, 364-6; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 11, 1898; Prather, *We Have Taken a City,* 140-41.

[25] Zeb Walser, *Biennial Report of the Attorney General of the State of North Carolina, 1897-1898*, 31.

distress." Because of his Masonic ties, French was saved from death by intervention from Frank Stedman, a member of the Committee of Twenty-Five, who indicated to French that he saved him because of their fraternal membership in the Masons. French was so detested because he was seen by the Democrats as "a white politician of influence with the negroes." [26]

The arrest and banishment of Chief of Police John Melton, Populist and leading public figure identified as a member of the Big Six in the campaign, was proclaimed by papers and Democrats. The *News and Observer* reported that he was captured amid "sensation" by a "crowd of rough riders who would have committed violence had not the military interfered."[27] Jack Metts recalled in 1905 that he would "never forget how Melton looked as he sat under a tree at the Armory, he could not eat and when one of the boys went upstairs and took a rope with a noose in it and threw it at his feet, he turned just as white as a sheet." [28] Melton knew that his life was endangered as a result of the campaign propaganda about the Big Six—white men identified as ringleaders of black voters—and the general attitude of white Democrats toward his activities as chief of police. However, he continued to live and work in the city despite the danger. On November 10, Melton observed the march on Manly's press, and, by the time the first shots were fired, he was stationed at city hall where he received reports that squads of 15 to 30 armed white men were spread out all over the city. He then was informed by an officer that "there had been a riot over the railroad and a lot of men killed." The officer could not tell Melton how many had been killed at that point. Melton then received word at city hall "[T]hey were coming over [to] demand the offices, and take them by force if we didn't resign." Melton recalled that after he resigned his office, he went home and was not bothered that night. He did not leave home again until the next morning when he went back to city hall to help with the transition of the new police force led by Edgar Parmele. That day, November 11, Melton was met by G. H. Gilbert and L. H. Bryant just before a mob of about 300 armed whites surrounded the three men to take Melton and Gilbert into custody. Melton asked them why and by whose authority they were acting. In response he was escorted to Squire John Fowler who told Melton to do whatever the mob told him to do.[29]

Melton and Gilbert were then marched up Market Street to the armory where some soldiers joined Melton's escort. They were then marched to "near Seventh and Market" and left there for 10 minutes before being marched to the national cemetery where they were kept under guard until about 1:00 in the afternoon along with Robert Bunting. The 3 were then moved back to the armory and fed. Melton

[26] Other white leaders that assisted in French's rescue were William H. Bernard, F. H. Fechtig, Henry Bauman, Henry Peschau, Henry G. Fennell, H. M. Chase, George L. Morton, Horace Emerson Sr., and M. F. Heiskel Gouvenier. According to Hayden, Fechtig, Bauman, Peschau, and Fennell were in the process of escorting Armond Scott to the train station to board the same train as French when they happened upon the attempted lynching. It is unclear when French was placed on a train; Hayden recounts that French's train ride began on the afternoon of November 11. Contrary to this account, the *Dispatch* states that French left the city on November 10 on the 7:15 P.M. northbound train. *Hayden*, *WLI,* 102-3; *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 12, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 11, 1898.

[27] *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 12, 1898.

[28] "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection.

[29] Melton testified in Raleigh about his experiences during the riot for the court challenge brought by Republican Oliver Dockery against John D. Bellamy for the Congressional election of 1898. *Contested Election Case*, 360-366, 382, 386.

indicated that he repeatedly asked what was to be done with them but received no answers. At 2:00 they were again marched amid yells and shouts from mobs down Market Street and up Front Street to the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad depot.[30] Melton recalled that near the intersection of Princess and Front, a man rushed out of the crowd wearing a "special police badge" and punched him in the temple with a rifle. A. P. Adrian of the WLI intervened and stopped the attacker with his sword. At the depot, the men were forced on the train bound for New Bern. The whites in New Bern had received advance warning that the train was on its way, and leaders there did not allow the men to stop in town. Although Melton knew the New Bern chief of police, he could not get protection since they "hourly expected a similar trouble to that we had in Wilmington." From New Bern, Melton and the others were sent to Elizabeth City by boat and from there to Norfolk by train where they met "some little abuse." From Norfolk, the exiles headed to Washington, D. C. Melton had not returned to the city since his exile and was, instead, living in limbo, calling the town of Magnolia his home. Melton closed his account of his treatment at the hands of the mob by recalling that his captors took "the pleasure of marching me right in front of my wife and children."[31]

Mayor Silas P. Wright was also targeted. He was advised to leave the city on the eleventh, and he requested an extension of a day to collect his effects. Wright was able to make arrangements for his departure quickly and slipped out of town by nightfall on the eleventh in order to avoid treatment similar to that received by Melton, Bunting, Gilbert, and French.[32] Before his departure, Wright was seen riding through town accompanied by James Sprunt as they attempted to "abate the excitement and prevent needless bloodshed." [33] Wright was disliked by the Democratic leaders because he exemplified the concept of relocated northerner who courted black votes. Further, many Democrats claimed he was unqualified for the job.[34]

The harassment of the banished men by Wilmington leaders and other white supremacy advocates did not end at the city limits or as time progressed. Melton, Bunting, Manly, Miller, and Bryant, among others, were tracked as various modes of transport moved them further northward. Short articles in Wilmington and Raleigh papers provided daily updates on the progress of the men with headlines such as "Arrived in Washington," "Keep 'Em Moving," and "Wicked Find No Consolation." [35] Telegrams were sent before the exiles arrived, informing residents of the impending arrivals and forwarding requests to continue to push the men along. The men were pushed further north from Manchester, Virginia, on the fifteenth.[36]

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[30] Later reports of the march for Melton, Bunting and Gilbert indicated that one of the epithets shouted at the men was "white nigger." *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 15, 1898.

[31] Melton refused to provide all details of the campaign and riot that he knew because his family still lived in the city and they had "trouble enough" without his testimony adding "personal controversy." *Contested Election Case*, 360-366, 382, 386.

[32] As they were shoved onto outbound trains, the men were "told in forcible language that if ever again they set foot in Wilmington they would be shot on sight." *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 15, 1898.

[33] *Wilmington Messenger*, November 15, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 13, 1898.

[34] Prather, *We Have Taken a City*, 34, 50.

[35] *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 16, 17, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 15, 1898.

[36] The papers reported that refugee whites, Melton, Bunting, French, and blacks, George Brown, T. C. Miller, and another man with the last name Branch were in Norfolk on November 14. George Brown was severely beaten at the post office although he claimed he had been visiting Wilmington from Canada and working in a confectionary while there.

Although Democratic leaders sought to end the banishment campaign once the few readily identified "troublemakers" were expelled from the city, papers noted that many "are still leaving of their own accord."[37] Many of both races who had been low-level political appointees from city and county government were not forcefully ejected from the city but were encouraged to leave. W. J. Harris, a fifty-year-old white Republican, reported in 1899 that he had no home because he was "run away from it." Harris had been identified as a man who was "white of skin but black of heart" by the newspapers prior to the election, and his departure from the city was considered necessary by leading Democrats.[38] C. P. Lockey, Fusion attorney for the city, also was reported to have left the city in the aftermath of the coup.[39]

Additionally, men such as attorneys William E. Henderson and Armond Scott were informed that they should leave for their own safety. Scott left the city hurriedly on the morning of the riot with the protection and assistance of his brother-in-law Dr. Thomas Mask, white Democratic Party leader Frank Stedman, and a white train conductor. [40] Henderson was notified by a mob of whites the night of the riot that he should leave the city but was allowed to remain for a brief time to put his affairs in order. He and his family were then escorted to the train bound for Richmond. Henderson was seen as a liability by white leaders since he attempted to challenge Waddell at the meeting between the Committee of Twenty-Five and the Committee of Colored Citizens.[41] Young attorney Armond Scott

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It was reported that the men who attacked Brown thought he was Manly but it was later discovered that Manly was in New Jersey at the time of the attack. From Norfolk the blacks went to Baltimore and the whites were not found in Norfolk. Some men of both groups ended up in Washington, D. C., where they sought assistance from the Justice Department and the president. The *Dispatch* reported that one of the exiles thought it would be safe for them to return to Wilmington but that the others knew that "it would be unwise to return." No additional information can be found regarding the actions of these men while in Washington or the response they received from federal officials. *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 13, 15, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 14, 16, 17, 1898; Raleigh *Morning Post*, November 15, 1898.

[37] *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 13, 1898.

[38] Harris learned about the treatment received by Melton and Gilbert and that he was to be visited by a group planning to run him out of town. In response, Harris kissed his wife and left his home. From there, Harris had trouble leaving the city because he had to dodge roving bands of Red Shirts who were looking for him. After he finally escaped the city, Harris spent the next months moving from place to place, including Rocky Point, Goldsboro, Raleigh, Greensboro, and Randolph County. Although Harris had not returned to Wilmington by the time of testimony in April 1899, his wife remained in the city. *Contested Election Case*, 387-91; *Wilmington Messenger*, October 20, 1898.

[39] The Wilmington *Star* noted that Lockey was in Fayetteville, "waiting for the clouds to roll by." *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898.

[40] An oral tradition in Wilmington contends that Scott escaped by being placed in a specially made coffin equipped with air holes that was shipped to Washington, D. C. Shirley Webb Smith, telephone interview with LeRae Umfleet, June 17, 2005; Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics,* 169.

[41] On the morning of the riot, Henderson apparently attempted to offset tensions when, according to the *Dispatch*, he presented several leaders with a letter explaining the actions of the Committee of Colored Citizens: "I feel it my duty to set at rest the public minds as to the action of the colored citizens that was intended to meet the white citizens last evening. The object of that meeting too well known to repeat. We discharged the duties entrusted to us by informing the Chairman, Hon. A. M. Waddell, that we would use our individual influence to carry out the wishes of your committee. The same was mailed to Colonel Waddell. We appointed a committee to search for F. G. Manly and inform him of the facts and to urge him to act at once. We were informed and we believed that Editor A. L. Manly is now and has been out of the city for more than a month. Our committee could not find either of the associate editors, but hoped to find them today. Respectfully, W. E. Henderson." Henderson kept a diary of his experiences. That

was given the responsibility of delivering the CCC's response to Waddell. The missed delivery time, due in part to Scott's actions, was cited by whites after the riot as one reason for the march to the *Record* and its destruction. Scott was also "waited upon by a committee of citizens" who told him to leave the city. It was noted on the eleventh that Scott was escorted out of town by the committee of five men who put him on a southbound train.[42]

The experiences of two other men, John C. Dancy and J. Alan Kirk, illuminate the dilemma facing black leaders. John C. Dancy was the federally appointed collector of customs for the port in 1891, the highest paying federal position in the state. He served as port collector until 1893 when President Cleveland replaced him, only to be reinstated by President McKinley. Many Democrats saw Dancy's appointment as another example of "negro domination." Dancy, like other black leaders, fled the city for his safety but was not identified as a leader to be harassed by the committees, in part because of his federally appointed position and because he had the president's favor. In the immediate aftermath of the riot, Dancy tried to ameliorate black/white relations by publishing a letter in the *Star*. Dancy appealed to fellow blacks to "do nothing that will in the slightest degree inflame new passions or revive old ones." He further made a plea to "be quiet, orderly, submissive to authority and refrain from any utterance or conduct that will excite passion in others" so that they could "keep the peace at all hazards."[43] Dancy returned to the city after peace prevailed. He continued his appointment and served as collector until 1901 when he was appointed recorder of deeds for Washington, D. C. by President Roosevelt, and worked in that position until 1910.[44]

Reverend J. Allen Kirk, recently arrived in the city to serve as pastor for Central Baptist Church in Wilmington, was and African American leader singled out by whites as someone who should leave. As a minister and member of the Ministerial Union, Kirk realized that he was a target. Kirk noted that the Wilmington *Evening Dispatch* threatened before the election, that Kirk, "the negro who came from Boston here to lead the Negroes in their depredations had better take his departure and shake the dust of the city from his feet." On the day of the riot, knowing his life was in danger, Kirk evacuated his family to Pine Forest Cemetery. Kirk described his wife as a heroine in the face of danger as she sent her husband farther away from the violence. Kirk left her in the swamp near the cemetery, boarded a boat, and "sailed down the creek . . . waded the swamp and went through the wood and by-paths nine miles from the city." At that point Kirk stopped at Castle Haynes, where he stayed until Sunday when his family joined him. Kirk then left his family "in a country hut in the

volume is owned by descendants who attended the centennial observances of the riot in Wilmington. At that event, Henderson's descendant, Lisa Adams, shared selections from his diary. *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 11, 1898; 1898 Centennial Observances, November 1998, videocassette, 1898 Foundation Collection, University of North Carolina at Wilmington Library.

[42] Scott was described as insolent when, while questioning a railroad employee on the stand, he noted that the railroad had a policy of helping only white women disembark, thereby forcing black women to manage by themselves in the absence of such "courtesies." Local Wilmington papers reported that Scott was in D. C. by November 13 to plead his case with the president. Scott replied to the report that although he was in D. C., he did not plan to act in any "official capacity" to advocate for federal intervention and that he had "no intention of saying anything to the President." *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 11, 15, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 11, 14, 1898; *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 12, 1898.

[43] *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898.

[44] For more on Dancy, see Appendix A.

swamps of North Carolina" and boarded a northbound train. Once onboard the train, he was met by Red Shirts who threatened him. Kirk met attorney William A. Moore, another Wilmington black evacuee. Moore had planned to get off the train at Wilson but was forced back on the train. Kirk claimed that he distracted the Red Shirts outside of Wilson and that Moore was able to jump from the train and was not found. Although Kirk had planned to get off the train at Weldon, he evaded the Red Shirts at the Rocky Mount stop, secured a horse, and rode all night to Whitakers where he boarded a "freight" to Petersburg. Kirk later wrote that many of the city's ministers were "exiled and scattered over the country from our pulpits and our people, without having time to get our property or our money or any other means of protection for our families." He also observed the power of the network developed by the Democrats to control every facet of North Carolina life. He explained that his ordeal in leaving the state showed the "complete organic strength of this most regretful and dreadful movement going on in North Carolina. The telegraph, the telephone and even it seems the very railroad train knows how to move against the Negro." [45]

Kirk and Dancy exemplified the mass exodus out of the city that followed the riot. During the riot, untold numbers of men, women, and children fled the city to hide in the swamps and cemeteries for their immediate safety. Once the bullet fire stopped, African American residents of the city were hesitant to return to their homes. Despite promises of safety conveyed by white and black leaders, many did not return to the city, choosing instead live in other towns and cities. The papers noted, however, by two days after the riot, "negroes who fled to the woods in droves Thursday and have since been in hiding are coming back into town, many of them in a famished condition," while others were leaving the city "loaded with packs and bundles, fleeing in the darkness to make their home elsewhere." It is unknown how many people fled the city, and, of that number, how many returned to the city permanently. [46]

The banishment campaign effectively removed political leaders and others equipped to counter claims of Democrats regarding municipal mismanagement or dire circumstances facing the city's whites. Further, men "obnoxious" to white Democrats through economic or political success were expelled, as well as Robert Bunting's African American wife and other black women "who have been talking too much."[47]

For whites, the banishment campaign had its costs. The new city leaders had to address the financial burden of the

[45] William A. Moore is listed in the 1897 *City Directory* as an attorney with offices at the corner of Market and Second Streets. His home is given as 413 South Seventh Street. Moore is not listed in the 1900 directory. Attorney William A. Moore addressed the city's African American Spanish-American War recruits in the summer of 1898. Kirk, *Statement of Facts*, 9-16; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*, 341.

[46] A study of the census and city directories might illustrate a change in the city's population over time. A time consuming study, it would perhaps demonstrate the change in the city's population and provide proof that many of the blacks who called Wilmington home in 1910 came to the city after the riot and that those who lived in the city before November 10th moved away. *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 13, 15, 1898; *Wilmington Messenger,* November 13, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898; *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 13, 1898.

[47] Frank Toomer, a black policeman who fled to New Bern during the violence wrote Waddell to ask if he could safely return to the city. Waddell replied that he thought Toomer should not return because he had "made himself very obnoxious to many people." Toomer's request and Waddell's reply were printed in the papers. *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 19, 1898; *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 12, 1898.

banishment process and then had to press for an end of the practice. In wrapping up the final "official" costs of the banishment campaign, the Board of Aldermen paid $61.70 to the Atlantic Coast Line for sending 7 blacks and other whites out of the city on the day after the riot.[48] Further, with black leaders removed from the city, a new set of men had to be found to serve as liaisons between the whites and blacks.[49]

Blacks and whites continued to leave the city over the next few days, and their departures were "allowed" by the Democrats who were satisfied that the "worst and most objectionable leaders in the city" were banished.[50] Papers acknowledged that a citizen's committee was handling the banishment campaign. The *News and Observer* reported on the eleventh that "the committee which has been attending to this war of purification tonight promised to desist" and "lay down their arms."[51]

Differences of opinion on the continuation of the banishment campaign arose between members of the Secret Nine and other Democrats. Hayden credited Hugh MacRae with persuading J. Allan Taylor to stop Red Shirt Mike Dowling from continuing the banishment campaign. [52]

In review, only a small number of prominent white and black leaders were made to leave the city by force. However, a large number, perhaps in the thousands, left in the days and weeks following the riot to make their homes elsewhere. The banishment campaign enabled the white leaders to extend their influence into the core of the African American community and remove those men deemed too dangerous to keep in the city because of the political or economic challenges they posed for whites. Those men banished by force were labeled for life by the ordeal, and, even if they tried to move beyond banishment, North Carolina Democrats with far reaching resources continually plagued their existence.[53]

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[48] Later reports showed that the adjutant general for the State of North Carolina was to pay as much as $1,300 in costs for the services and transportation of the State Guard units brought into the city from other areas. Of that money, $180.87 went to the Maxton company, $112.13 to the Franklinton company, and $259.00 to the Atlantic Coastline Railroad. *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 26, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), December 8, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), December 9, 1898; "Minutes of the Wilmington Board of Aldermen," State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[49] Dancy fit easily into the role of an accomodationist and straddled white and black issues. New ministers had to be found as well. The 1900 city directory listed many new names of men who worked as a minister, many more than could be found in the 1897 city directory.

[50] L. H. Bryant, a white Populist, was 68 and had lived in Wilmington almost half of his life by the time of the riot. He was coerced into resigning his job as superintendent of streets and moved to Magnolia around the first of January, 1899. Bryant, like others, chose to leave in the months following the riot instead of immediately. *Contested Election Case*, 394-5.

[51] *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 12, 1898.

[52] Hayden, *WLI*, 75.

[53] The *Star* continually tracked some of the men, including former mayor Silas Wright. In 1948 the paper informed its readers that a local man received word from an acquaintance in Detroit that Wright, then 90 years old, was living in that city. The last part of the article reminded readers that Wright and others on the Board of Aldermen were forced to resign their offices in 1898 in response to pressures from citizens. *Morning Star* (Wilmington), September 24, 1948.

Men Banished From Wilmington During and After November 10th Violence

Name	Identification	Post riot destination/fate
Bell, Salem J. (black)	Partner in Fish/Oyster Business h) 512 Walnut (1897 C.D.) (CCC)	Banished N&O 11/12/1898: marched to train station by George Morton en route to Richmond
Bryant, Ari (black)	Butcher h) 1010 N. Fifth (1897 C.D.)	Banished N&O 11/12/1898: marched to train station by George Morton en route to Richmond
Bunting, Robert H. (white)	U. S. Commissioner h) 1307 Market (1897 C.D.)	Banished N&O 11/12/1898: on train to New Bern
French, G. Z. (white)	Deputy Sheriff Boarder at Orton Hotel (1897 C.D.)	Banished
Gilbert, C. H. (white)	Policeman h) 213 N. Seventh (1897 C.D.)	Banished N&O 11/12/1898: on train to New Bern
Green, Henry B. (black)	Police Sergeant (CCC)	Banished but allowed to return when near death
Henderson, William Everett (black)	Attorney (CCC)	Banished
Kirk, Rev. J. Allen (black)	Central Baptist Church	Banished
Loften, Issac (black)		Banished N&O 11/12/1898: on train to New Bern
Loughlin, James (white)	Clerk at Front St. Market h) 614 S. Front (1897 C.D.)	Banished N&O 11/12/1898: banished because sold weapons to blacks
Manly, A. L. (black)	h) 514 McRae (1897 C.D.)	Banished
Manly, Frank (black)	h) 514 McRae (1897 C.D.)	Banished
McAlister, Charles (white)	Salesman, A. David & Co. h) 412 N. Front (1897 C.D.)	Banished N&O 11/12/1898: on train to New Bern

Melton, John R. (white)	Chief of Police h) 1215 Market (1897 C.D.)	Banished N&O 11/12/1898: on train to New Bern
Miller, Thomas C. (black)	Real Estate/ Pawn broker (CCC)	Banished N&O 11/12/1898: marched to train station by George Morton en route to Richmond
Moore, William A. (Bill) (black)	Lawyer Wilmington Livery Stable Co. h) 413 S. Seventh (1897 C.D.) (CCC)	Banished but allowed to return?
Pickens, Robert B. (black)	Partner in Fish/Oyster Business h) 317 S. Seventh (1897 C.D.) (CCC)	Banished N&O 11/12/1898: marched to train station by Morton en route to Richmond
Reardon, Robert (black)	Barber h) 29 Market (1897 C.D.) (CCC)	Banished
Scott, Armond (black)	Attorney (CCC)	Banished
Toomer, F. P. (black)	Policeman h) 916 Love Ave. (1897 C.D.)	Banished *Morning Star*, 11/19/1898: fled to New Bern and asked to return, told no by Mayor Alfred M. Waddell Not in 1900 C.D.
Wright, Silas P. (white)	Mayor h) boarder at Orton Hotel (1897 C.D.)	Banished

Key:

CCC = Committee of Colored Citizens summoned by Alfred M. Waddell's Committee of Twenty Five to hear White Declaration of Independence

N&O = Raleigh *News and Observer*

C.D. = Wilmington *City Directory,* either 1897 or 1900 as indicated

h = home address

o = office/business location

** More on these men can be found in Appendix A

Dead and Wounded

Even as Waddell and Moore sought to prevent the deaths of the men imprisoned at the jail, skirmishes between blacks and whites continued into the night. The *Messenger* reported that at about 8:35 on the evening of the eleventh, blacks and whites exchanged gunfire along Belcher's Row in Brooklyn. About an hour later more shots were fired along Fourth Street near Harnett. Sporadic fighting raged through the day on the tenth and into the night, and the dead were left on the streets where they had died.[54] Whites forbade families from tending to their dead and wounded, leaving the dead on their backs in the streets with their eyes open as a warning to others. White doctors asked authorities to explain to all that blacks would be treated at the hospital, and, as a result, a number of black patients were brought into the hospital on the eleventh.[55] On the afternoon of the riot, African American coroner David Jacobs drove through town and moved some of the dead to D. C. Evans funeral home on Second Street near Princess to hold the inquest.[56]

It appears that the men retrieved by Jacobs were the ones who received an inquest. Most likely the bodies were picked up for inquest and burial because they had family in the city with the means to provide for proper burial. Other less fortunate men were buried under the cover of darkness by family members who were unable to pay for burial and grave markers. Of the men who received the inquest, burial for John Townsend, Charles Lindsay, William Mouzon, John Gregory, Josh Halsey, and Dan Wright took place on the eleventh.[57]

Jacobs' investigation was farcical and delayed. He first attempted to hold an inquest at the funeral home on the eleventh at 10:00 in the morning. The morning's review was then delayed until 3:00 in the afternoon. The rescheduled hearing was again delayed until 9:00 on the twelfth and was moved to the courthouse. At the inquest on the twelfth, the coroner's jury consisted of four white men—Colonel John W. Atkinson, E. P. Bailey, J. B. Huggins, William M. Cumming—and two black men, Elijah Lane and J. W. Yarborough.[58] Official coroner's records do not survive,

[54] Hayden made the claim that five or six black men wearing their work coveralls were shot and killed after Mayo was wounded. Their "bodies were allowed to remain stretched on their backs with their eyes open as a warning to other blacks." The *Messenger* reported that although several bodies were moved by coroner David Jacobs to a funeral home, some still "lay last night where the men were shot down." Hayden, *WLI,* 89; *Wilmington Messenger*, November 11, 1898.

[55] The hospital, City-County Hospital, was later replaced by James Walker Hospital. City-County Hospital was located in the same general vicinity as James Walker, in the area bounded by Rankin, Gwynn, Woods, and Dickinson Streets.

[56] The *Dispatch* claimed that "not one of the negroes who were killed was a native of the State but were a delegation brought in from South Carolina prior to the election." This claim cannot be substantiated. *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898; *Wilmington Messenger,* November 14, 1898.

[57] Only two grave markers in Pine Forest Cemetery bear death dates related to the riot. Josh Halsey's entry recorded that he was born around 1846, and died November 10, 1898 of a gunshot and was buried in the Halsey family plot, section C. Sam McFarland's record indicated that he was born in South Carolina around 1850, "died of a gunshot in his body" on November 12, 1898, and was buried in lot M or N, section 2. A review of the cemetery log also proves inconclusive since those two men are the only ones listed. Another person, Samuel Hall, age 12, died of gunshot wounds and was buried December 22, 1898. No information has been found to clarify if Hall received his fatal wound as a result of the riot or some other incident. Parts of the cemetery have disappeared over time and many burials may have gone unrecorded. Further, some private and church cemeteries have also disappeared. Pine Forest Cemetery Records, (microfilm), State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[58] *Wilmington Messenger,* November 11 - 13, 1898; *News and Courier* (Charleston) as quoted in the *Wilmington Messenger*, November 15, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 11-13, 1898.

but the papers reported that, after hearing testimony, the jury and coroner concluded that "the said deceased came to their deaths by gunshot wounds inflicted by some person or persons to this jury unknown." Ten people were called to testify to the jury regarding the events of the violence on the tenth and the causes of death for the men. Among those called were Mildred Clinton, Josh Halsey's sister, who had identified him for the authorities when they viewed his body the previous day. An outside correspondent noted that the testimony was "couched in profoundly vague terms," and the resulting jury verdict was "justified by the evidence" presented. [59]

The *News and Observer* had a correspondent in the city who observed that he had "seen no more grewsome sight than was that presented the morning after the fight." He explained that he watched as men in an undertaker's office on Second Street made wooden coffins for 6 men. He described the scene as the corpses of the dead men, clad in their working clothes, lay on the floor near the carpenters and "around them stood negro women with sad faces." Two days after the riot, the Charleston *News and Courier* reported that "several unpretentious funeral processions in the negro quarters were reminders of the deadly work of the Winchesters." [60]

In response to the call by doctors, representatives of the Red Cross and others traveled through the city late in the day and into the eleventh to tend to the needs of the wounded and take them to the hospital.[61] Several black men who were taken to the hospital were identified. Dan Wright, riddled with at least 13 bullets and left to lie in the street, was taken to the hospital late in the afternoon of the riot and died from his wounds the next day. Taken to the hospital on the eleventh were George Henry Davis (shot 6 times), George Miller (shot 2 times), John Dow (shot 2 times), Alfred White, William Lindsay, Sam McFarland (shot 4 times and died on November 12), and John R. Davis (shot in kidneys and back). On the twelfth, John Brown or J. William Bryan, was admitted with 3 bullet wounds in his left leg and one in his right. [62] Dr. Robert Zachary, resident at the Wilmington City Hospital, gave his colleagues insight into his job as it was affected by the riot when, in 1899, he spoke to the North Carolina Medical Society Convention about his treatments of gunshot victims. His short report of the treatment given men wounded in the riot described treatment and wounds for 2 white and 12 black men who were admitted to the hospital on November 10. Zachary observed that "all except the two white men were shot in the back" and that one of the white men had been shot in the foot. All of the men admitted that day recovered except 2 black men who died soon after arriving at the hospital. Zachary prided himself on the fact that "twelve of the fourteen will perhaps live to tell their grandchildren of their experience in the

[59] The testimony of the various men and women for the inquest jury as printed in the newspapers mirrored the details provided in the description of the riot in the previous chapter. Official records of the Coroner's Office for 1898 have not survived. *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 13, 1898; *News and Courier* (Charleston) as quoted in the *Messenger*, November 15, 1898.

[60] The identities of several of the dead were widely circulated although one Wilmington paper wrote that it was rumored that "not one of the negroes who were killed was a native of the state" but came to the city from South Carolina before the election. *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 13, 1898; *News and Courier* (Charleston) as quoted in the *Wilmington Messenger*, November 15, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898.

[61] *Wilmington Messenger*, November 14, 1898.

[62] The records conflict on the name of this man *Wilmington Messenger,* November 14, 1898.

famous Wilmington race riot, how bravely they stood up and faced the enemy." [63]

As to the actual number of dead, contemporary sources and subsequent accountings have varied greatly. "There has always been a tendency to minimize or magnify the casualties" said Harry Hayden, explaining that many victims were "removed from time to time from places of hiding under buildings, houses and shanties and in the woods" after dying from their wounds.[64] The Wilmington *Evening Dispatch* predicted that an accurate count of the dead would never be recorded. Thomas Clawson, editor of the *Wilmington Messenger*, stated that 10 to 12 blacks died and 2 whites were seriously wounded. George Rountree believed that 6 or 7 blacks were killed. Willie Parsley believed that 12 to 15 were killed. Fayetteville businessman Peter Mallett recorded in his daybook that 8 blacks and several whites were reported dead as a result of the riot. James Worth wrote his wife that "there couldn't have been less than 18 or 20 blacks killed and scores wounded." African American restaurant owner John D. Franklin recalled that he worked with coroner Jacobs and saw 4 dead men at the funeral home plus one man dead at his home on Sixth between Brunswick and Bladen. Franklin also recalled that 2 black men died at the hospital. [65] Rev. J. Allen Kirk wrote that the streets were "dotted" with dead, and a white man informed him that he saw 10 men at the undertaker's office. Kirk also noted that some dead were found later because of the "stench and miasma that came forth from their decaying bodies under their houses." Kirk claimed that an eyewitness told him she believed that more than 100 people killed. In Raleigh it was reported on the twelfth that 10 were dead outright and that at least 25 were seriously wounded.[66] The

[63] Zachary overlooked the obvious, that the men shot in the back did not bravely face the enemy. They were, instead, likely running for their lives from the fighting and were possibly unarmed targets. An article in the *Washington Post* noted that "many of the victims of the election race riots in that place [Wilmington] were taken to the city hospital to have their wounds dressed or their dying moments made easy." The article pointed out that the hospital was on the outskirts of Wilmington and that, during the riot, the "female white assistants, nurses and others took fright and left the hospital in a body." Therefore, not only was the hospital overrun with emergency patients, but many of its staff members were not on hand to assist. Dr. R. E. Zachary, "Gun-Shot Wounds – With Report of a Case of Gun-Shot Wound of Stomach" *Transactions of the Medical Society of the State of North Carolina, Forty-Sixth Annual Meeting*, (Observer Printing and Publishing House: Charlotte, NC, 1899), 134; *Washington Post*, November 14, 1898.

[64] At this point in his narrative, Hayden also provided reports from other eyewitnesses as to the dead. He pointed out that the Coroner held 14 inquests although that many has not been documented due to lack of records. He also recorded the memory of a young man who saw a Cowan Livery Stable wagon drive by his house with twenty dead blacks piled on like "cordwood" and that he later saw twenty bodies at a black mortuary. As an example of the hidden murders, Hayden recounted that a Red Shirt claimed to have witnessed the shooting deaths of six men near the Cape Fear Lumber Company plant and their remains buried in a nearby ditch. Hayden, *WLI*, 92-94.

[65] *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 11, 1898; Clawson, "Recollections and Memories;" Rountree, "Memorandum." "I felt sure that in the event of a collision there would be several hundred [killed] but I overestimated their courage or foolhardiness." Willie to Sallie, [November 12, 1898], Eccles Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; "War commenced/Race at Wilmington today—8 negroes reported killed and several whites—Col. Waddell and best citizens in [ ]. More trouble feared tonight/ Russell French and other scum did keep out of the way—negroes suffer." Daybook, Peter Mallett papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; James Worth to Josephine, November 126, 1898, James S. Worth Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; *Contested Election Case*, 19-20.

[66] Kirk and Hayden both acknowledged that mortally wounded men fled the fighting and were later found

next day it was reported that "before the firing had ceased, half a dozen negroes were biting the duty in death, three white men were wounded and three times as many negroes." These varying accounts from local and statewide sources, many by witnesses, prove that no actual number of dead will ever be known.[67] For the purposes of this report, an attempt was made to identify dead from as many sources as possible and compare those sources to eliminate duplication. The following list provides, with as much detail as possible, the names of dead and wounded men and the location in which they were murdered. The names of some dead will remain unknown whereas others have been identified. Again, due to the paucity of definitive sources on the names of the dead, the locations where murders took place, and conflicting information provided by existing sources, no accurate tally can be made. It is unclear if Wilmington's whites sought to cover up many of the deaths or if they were boastful of the numbers of dead. Another impediment to making calculations is the scarcity of tombstones to mark the graves of men who died immediately as well as those who died from their wounds after languishing in the hospital and homes of Brooklyn.

Pine Forest Cemetery, ca. 1900. Documentation of burials at Pine Forest has been difficult. Many tombstones have been damaged and some burials may not have had stones placed in the cemetery.
Image: New Hanover County Public Library

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dead in a variety of settings. Therefore, an accurate count of people who died as a result of the violence is even more difficult to ascertain since North Carolina did not require the completion of death certificates or regulate burials until later in the Twentieth century. For example, in Wilmington's National Cemetery is Scipio Condring, a Civil War veteran who served in the 128th United States Colored Troops. No information can be found on the cause of Scipio's death, inscribed on his headstone as November 13, 1898. Research into the life of Scipio was inconclusive although it is speculated that his last name was not actually Condring, but instead, some derifavtive of Connelly. Kirk, *Statement of Facts*¸10-15.

[67] The *Progressive Farmer* reported 11 killed and 3 whites wounded. The report of the superintendent of health for the city as published in the paper accounted for eight killed during the riot. Only one white man, William Mayo, was seriously wounded. Mayo's recovery was well documented in local papers in November and December. Another white man, B. F. King Jr., died about four days after the riot from the flu, contracted while patrolling the city. It is unknown if others of either race suffered the same fate. *Progressive Farmer* (Raleigh), November 15, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 15, December 1, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), December 7, 1898; Kirk, *Statement of Facts,* 10-15.

Black Dead/Wounded

This list was compiled from various sources and contains the names of men who were wounded or killed as a result of the violence on November 10. Also included in this list are several unknown deceased men whose place of death has been recorded. Not found in this list are the names of others, or locations of shootings, who have only vague references, such as the report in Hayden's *History of the Wilmington Light Infantry* to the deaths of 25 men near Sixth and Brunswick Streets.

First Name	Last Name	Sources	Notes
Unknown		*Messenger*: 11/11/1898 and 11/14/1898, killed at Carolina Central Tracks west of 2nd on Harnett	Died
Unknown		*Messenger*: 11/11/1898, killed as he shot at whites east of railroad repair shop near Third at 4:00 P. M. on tenth *Messenger*: 11/14/1898, left where he was shot and body still on tracks at nightfall	Died
Unknown		*Messenger:* 11/14/1898, killed at Manhattan Park [Halsey?] Hayden's *History of the WLI*, p. 92	Died
Unknown		*Star*: 11/11/1898, shot dead by guard at 4:30 P. M. on the tenth at Fourth Street bridge after he snapped a musket at the guard *Dispatch*: 11/11/1898, killed on ACL tracks near Fourth Street bridge	Died
Unknown		*Dispatch*: 11/11/1898, killed at Seventh and Bladen [Halsey?] Hayden's *History of the WLI*, p. 92	Died
Unknown		*Dispatch:* 11/11/1898, shot on Fourth near Red Cross, supposed dead	Died
Unknown		*Dispatch:* 11/11/1898, killed at Tenth and Princess at 8:00 P.M. on tenth for refusing to stop for a patrol	Died
Unknown		*News and Observer*: 11/12/1898, killed at railroad tracks early in the morning of the eleventh by a soldier	Died
Unknown		*News and Observer*: 11/12/1898, killed at Tenth and Mulberry (Grace) for failure to stop for a patrol	Died
[Gray]	Bizzell	*Morning Star*: 11/11/1898, shot and died at home on 411 Harnett (where George Davis was found)	Died
John L.	Gregory	*Messenger*, 11/11/1898, died on Third between Harnett and Swann *Messenger*: 11/13/1898, given inquest on twelfth *Morning Star:* 11/12/1898, given inquest on twelfth	Died h) 1301 N. Fifth Street, laborer
Sam	Gregory	*Messenger*: 11/11/1898, and 11/14/1898, died between Harnett and Swann *Dispatch:* 11/11/1898, died at Fourth and Harnett	Died
Josh	Halsey	*Messenger:* 11/12/1898, killed, Bladen near Seventh *Messenger:* 11/13/1898, sister Mildred Clinton testified at inquest on twelfth that body she saw in street was her brother *Morning Star:* 11/12/1898, inquest given *Association of the WLI* mentions his shooting in a couple of places Hayden's *History of the WLI*, p. 92 (Seventh and Bladen)	Died
Charles	Lindsay	*Messenger*: 11/12/1898, among first killed at Fourth and Harnett, buried 11/11 *Messenger:* 11/13/1898, given inquest on twelfth *Morning Star:* inquest on twelfth *Dispatch:* 11/11/1898, listed as "unknown" and first to	Died Age: 25 (1897 tax list)

		die at Fourth and Harnett Hayden's *History of the WLI*, p. 92	
Sam	McFallon	*Morning Star*: 11/12/1898, wounded and taken to hospital—had crawled under house on Fourth between Harnett and Swann—was discovered on eleventh and taken to hospital, expected to die *Dispatch:* 11/11/1898, an unknown man found dead under the house	Died 1897 tax list: Two Simon McFallon, one an elderly father that owned property and another, possibly a son, age 32. Neither listed in 1900 records.
Sam	McFarland	*Messenger:* 11/12/1898, wounded and taken to hospital; *Messenger:* 11/13/1898, died 11/12/1898, shot and thought dead on Harnett at SAL tracks *Dispatch:* 11/11/1898, in hospital *Messenger:* 11/13/1898, gives details of his life, job, work, etc.	Died 1897 CD: h) 512 Taylor, laborer 1897 tax list: age, 47
George	Miller	*Messenger:* 11/12/1898, in hospital *Messenger*: 11/11/1898, to hospital on tenth *Dispatch*: 11/11/1898, in hospital, expected to die	Died
William	Mouzon	*Messenger:* 11/12/1898, among first killed at Fourth and Harnett, buried 11/11 *Messenger:* 11/13/1898, given inquest on twelfth *Star:* inquest on twelfth *Dispatch:* 11/11/1898, listed as "unknown" and first to die at Fourth and Harnett Hayden's *History of the WLI*, p. 92	Died
Carter	Peamon	*Messenger*: 11/11/1898, shot as he jumped off train *Dispatch*: 11/11/1898, body still lying in woods near tracks	Died
Tom	Rowan	June Nash, "Cost of Violence," p. 168 – was a bar owner killed on wharf	Died
John	Townsend	*Messenger*: 11/12/1898, among first killed at Fourth and Harnett, buried 11/11 *Messenger:* 11/13/1898, given inquest on twelfth *Star:* inquest on twelfth *Dispatch:* 11/11/1898, listed as "unknown" and first to die at Fourth and Harnett Hayden's *History of the WLI*, p. 92	Died
Daniel	Wright	*Messenger*: 11/11/1898, 11/12/1898 on his death *Messenger: 11/13/1898*: given inquest on twelfth *Star*: inquest on twelfth *Dispatch*: 11/11/1898, Mayo's assailant, died at hospital on eleventh *Association of the WLI* mentions his shooting Hayden's *History of the WLI*, p. 90	Died 1897 tax list: age, 40 1897 CD: h) 810 N. 3rd, laborer
J. R.	Davis	*Messenger:* 11/12/1898, at hospital, wounded in kidneys *Messenger*: 11/11/1898, taken to hospital on tenth	Wounded, fate unknown
Unknown		*Messenger*: 11/11/1898 and 11/14/1898, wounded and treated at home on Davis Street by a doctor	Wounded, fate unknown
Unknown		*Evening Star*: 11/11/1898, wounded at Front and Castle because refused to stop for patrol, attended by a doctor,	Wounded, fate unknown

		not fatal	
John	Brown	*Messenger:* 11/13/1898, taken to hospital on twelfth	Wounded, fate unknown Several listed in CD and tax list
George Henry	Davis	*Messenger:* 11/12/1898, in hospital *Messenger*: 11/11/1898, to hospital on tenth *Dispatch*: 11/11/1898, in hospital, expected to die Hayden's *History of the WLI*, p. 89	Wounded, fate unknown Several listed in CD and tax list
John	Dow/Daw	*Messenger:* 11/12/1898, in hospital *Messenger*: 11/11/1898, to hospital on tenth *Dispatch*: 11/11/1898, in hospital, expected to die	Wounded, fate unknown
George	Gregory	*Evening Star:* 11/11/1898, given a coroner's inquest—probably same as John L. Gregory who received an inquest	Wounded, fate unknown
William	Lindsay	*Messenge:* 11/12/1898, wounded and taken to hospital on eleventh *Dispatch*: 11/11/1898, same info.	Wounded, fate unknown
Alfred	White	*Messenger*: 11/12/1898, wounded and taken to hospital on eleventh *Dispatch*,: 11/11/1898, in hospital	Wounded, fate unknown Several listed in CD and tax list

Messenger: 11/11/1898, some bodies moved to D. C. Evans Funeral Home by Jacobs shortly after shooting, but others still lay in street at nightfall
Evening Dispatch: 11/11/1898, "In addition to this list there are a number killed not accounted for and who will never be accounted for."

The 1897 city directory also listed a Sam McFarlan, a laborer who lived at 1014 N. Second Street.

Harry Hayden's history of the Wilmington Light Infantry proved a valuable source for oral traditions within the white community regarding the deaths of black men. Hayden's work, written decades after the riot, was based on oral interviews and printed accounts in newspapers and other contemporary sources. Hayden's list has been compared with other sources and some of the deaths reported in his work are found in the list above. Other deaths could not be substantiated.

Hayden's list:

1) Two died at Fourth and Harnett
2) Two others ran into building around corner – George H. Davis was one of them
3) Mayo shot
4) Shooting after Mayo wounding => 5-6 laborers in coveralls killed
5) 1 killed at 6th & Brunswick by machine gunners
6) Dan Wright
7) 6 shot to death at 4th and Harnett (partial duplicate of #1) including John Townsend, Charles Lindsay, William Mouzon
8) John Halsey shot at 7th & Bladen
9) 25 killed by rifle fire after machine gunners shot at near 6th & Brunswick
10) 1 killed when shot at whites from Manhattan Hall (ran gauntlet)
11) Red Shirt claimed 6 shot near Cape Fear Lumber Co plant and buried in nearby ditch
12) 9 killed by white marksman
13) A youth shot "rabble rouser" as he spoke to a crowd near 4th & Nixon
14) Red Shirt reported that a deaf negro killed because he did not hear command to stop
15) 1 killed near Front & Princess because refused to obey command not to advance
16) 1 killed on wharf and tossed into river after "sassed" two whites
17) Red Shirt killed policeman in Dry Pond

18) Walker Taylor told State Attorney General that 11 died but later estimated 20
19) Other authorities contend over 100 because bodies tossed into river or buried in secret
20) Others claim as many as 250
21) Waddell claimed 20 -30 in *Memoirs*
22) J. Daniels, *Editor in Politics* estimated 12
23) Witness account to Hayden of a black man killed on N 4th by Fayetteville Light Infantry immediately after they arrived in city
24) Witness account to Hayden of 20 bodies on Cowan Livery Stable wagon driven by his house and later saw 20 bodies at a mortuary near 2nd and Princess
25) A number of other dead negroes were later removed from time to time from places of hiding
26) Peamon shot when jumped from train

Other Targets

Although the violence was centered in Wilmington, men throughout the state were threatened with bodily harm both before and after the election. A gradual shift in both the racial and political makeup of the state was reflected in the political rhetoric of the white supremacy campaign. Whereas many Wilmingtonians were either killed or banished as a result of the election campaign or the violence on November tenth, a few white men such as Wilmington Populist Benjamin Keith, Senator Marion Butler, and Governor Daniel Russell were assured that they had escaped with their lives. All experienced physical threats, with Keith living in constant fear in Wilmington, Russell barricaded in the Governor's Mansion, and Butler moving between North Carolina and Washington, D. C.

Keith maintained throughout the rest of his life that men such as Furnifold Simmons worked to ruin him financially and politically, even threatening his family well into the twentieth century. Keith managed to keep his prospects open and was appointed collector of customs for the port of Wilmington in 1903 by President Theodore Roosevelt and held on to the position for over 12 years before retiring to his Pender County farm. In the period prior to the riot and in the ensuing decades, Keith continuously was on the defensive in business and politics in order to forestall efforts by Democrats to deprive him of either income or political station. [68]

After the election and the frenzy surrounding the riot, Governor Russell went to Asheville with his wife on November fourteenth for her health. Russell wrote Butler on the twelfth that "Mrs. Russell has been through such a terrible ordeal that I am getting uneasy about her." He was afraid that she was on the verge of a breakdown, and, as a result, he was taking her on the trip "for a day or so." One of the stresses factors weighing upon the Russells was the realization that his "friends in Wilmington" had tried to assassinate him. Their trip was planned to only last two days. While they were there, Russell met with leading Republicans to discuss the party's defeat.[69] Upon his return to Raleigh, Russell found himself isolated from the Republican Party and set to face an aggressive Democratic legislature in 1899. Russell feared that if he resigned or if were impeached, he would not be able to return to Wilmington because there "the devils are breaking up our business and it looks like we will be driven from our home." Uncertain about his future, Russell even asked his friend Benjamin Duke if he could get a job with his tobacco firm in New York. Russell confided in Duke that "being a Republican and living in the South are getting to be too rank to be borne."[70]

When the General Assembly convened in 1899, Russell's biennial message was cautious but addressed the issue of race and politics. Russell denied Democratic Party accusations of "negro

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[68] Keith, *Memories*; Connor, *History of North Carolina: North Carolina Biography* V, 117. Although Keith was respected by some businessmen of Wilmington after the 1898 coup, he had just as many enemies. In 1921, in an attempt to secure reappointment as the collector of customs for the port, Keith penned a long letter to President Warren G. Harding in which he detailed his personal and political trials: "[A]fter destroying my business, they for years tried to ostracize me and my family." B. F. Keith to President Harding, July 5, 1921, photocopy of original owned by Thomas J. Keith.

[69] Discussion of the attempted assassination of Russell can be found in Chapter 4. *Raleigh Morning Post,* November 15, 1898; Governor Russell to Marion Butler, November 12, 1898, Marion Butler Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[70] Daniel Russell to Benjamin Duke, November 19, December 2, 1898, B. N. Duke Papers as cited in Crow, *Maverick Republican*, 136.

domination" under Fusion and gave proof by showing actual statistics of black office holding in both Wilmington and around the state. Throughout the remaining sessions of the legislature, Russell remained relatively quiet and was unable to veto any of the actions of the Democrats as they dismantled most of the Fusionist reforms. Local self-government was eliminated in favor of centralized control of local officials, election laws were rewritten, and a suffrage amendment was on the calendar.[71] Russell did return to Wilmington in 1901 and successfully manipulated several court battles, one of which forced North Carolina's state government, controlled by Democrats, to pay some of its previously repudiated Reconstruction debts.[72]

As a senator, Marion Butler was in Washington for the beginning phases of the 1898 campaign, but, by November, he was involved in attempts to organize and hold together the Populist Party at both the local and national levels. Butler had used his newspaper, the *Caucasian*, to deride Democrats to no avail. After the election, his paper claimed that intimidation, bloodshed, and unlimited financial assets were used effectively to prevent the votes of about 30,000 men from being cast.[73] Once the Democrats regained control of state government, Butler's life was still in danger; as articles in papers and letters from associates made clear the Democratic hatred toward him.[74] During the summer of 1899, Butler studied law and was admitted to the bar, aware that his political career, as well as the life of the Populist Party's influence, was coming to an end. Butler lost his senate seat in 1900, and, although he remained true to the principles of the Populist Party, he joined the Republican Party in 1904.[75]

Waddell and his cabinet

In order to justify their political coup and maintain a measure of public support, Waddell and other white leaders knew that they must restore order to the city, entice blacks to return to their homes and workplaces, and push for validation of the election.[76] Failure to do these things would

[71] The suffrage amendment was proposed in order to limit the ability of African Americans to vote. Further discussion of the disfranchisement amendment will be found in Chapter 7. *Public Documents of the State of North Carolina*, 1899, 3-26; Crow, *Maverick Republican,* 140-1.

[72] Russell died at his plantation in 1908 and received lukewarm eulogies in state newspapers. Crow, *Maverick Republican*, 160-185, 187-8.

[73] James L. Hunt, *Marion Butler and American Populism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 154.

[74] James B. Lloyd wrote Butler that he was afraid someone would try to kill him, particularly after an article was published in the *Charlotte Daily Observer* about Butler. Lloyd urged Butler to get back to Washington as quickly as possible for his own safety. Governor Russell wrote Butler to reassure him that it was not likely that "they will try to assassinate you." Russell did not think Butler was in jeopardy but told him to "be a little careful." James B. Lloyd to Marion Butler, November 13, 1898, Governor Russell to Marion Butler, November 12, 1898, Marion Butler Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[75] Hunt, *Marion Butler*, 161.

[76] The returns from the election held on November 8, 1898 had to be validated by officials as a true account of the votes cast. One requirement was that the returns from each precinct had to be signed by the registrars and others appointed to jobs at the precincts. In the Fifth Precinct of the First Ward, where the ballot counting was interrupted, at least two of the officials were African American and had left the precinct before all of the votes were counted. As a result, they did not sign the final tally sheets of the night. Abram Fulton was called to the courthouse on the Monday following the riot, November 14, 1898, to sign the returns and to receive his pay. Assuring the signatures on the returns was one step in proving the validity of the elections in case of a contested election. The Wilmington *Morning Star* of November 10, 1898, reported that the official vote would be recorded in the clerk of Superior Court's office that day and the official returns were published

surely invite outside investigation or the introduction of federal troops to the city. Consequently, Waddell and his Board of Aldermen met daily to achieve an end to the bloodshed and effect peace in the city.[77] The minutes of the Board of Aldermen reflect the turmoil only marginally and hint at confusion. [78]

Waddell and his Board of Aldermen met officially for the first time on November 11. Eight aldermen—C. H. Ganzier, Rev. J. W. Kramer, Preston Bridgers, W. H. Sprunt, A. B. Skelding, B. F. King, Charles W. Worth, and H. P. West—were present. Waddell's purpose for the special meeting was to "reorganize the police force and take action in keeping peace." New chief of police Edgar Parmele reported that he had only 9 policemen on duty the night of the riot and 4 the morning of the eleventh in addition to the 200 special policemen that he had sworn in the night before. On the motion of Alderman Worth, the board voted to authorize Waddell to "confer with the military as to police in the city" and instructed him to issue "a proclamation for all good citizens to stay at their homes," offering assurance that the city would be fully policed that night. Waddell's cabinet also accepted the resignations of Alderman C. D. Morrell and Superintendent of Streets L. H. Bryant. By the end of the meeting, "the officers of the military were present and the Mayor stated the object of Alderman Worth's motion and explained at some length as to what he wished done." In response, Col. Walker Taylor spoke to the board and "offered the assistance of the military." [79]

The following day Waddell's cabinet again met and selected 37 men to serve as "temporary policemen" for 30 days. The board also voted to extend the ordinance that closed saloons until November sixteenth. Alderman Keith's resignation was accepted before the group adjourned. Waddell's board did not officially meet again until November fourteenth when J. Allan Taylor and Hugh MacRae were elected Aldermen from the Third Ward. The group adjourned until the fifteenth when Waddell and the aldermen decided on committee

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the following day. Because the riot took precedence on the front page, the returns were published only for the congressional election of Bellamy in which he received 289 more votes than Dockery in New Hanover and an overall majority of almost 6,000 votes in the whole of the Sixth District *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 10-11, 1898; *Contested Election Case*, 332-6.

[77] One of the first actions of Waddell and the Board of Aldermen was to assure both Wilmington residents and outside observers that the new administration would create a peaceful city: "To the good white people of Wilmington: The undersigned, upon whom has been placed a great responsibility by the action of his fellow citizens, takes the method of assuring the good people of this city that all the power with which he is invested will be exerted to preserve order and peace in this community, and that power is amply sufficient for the purpose. All well disposed persons are earnestly requested to co-operate with the municipal authorities in every way possible to secure the permanent establishment of good government. The law will be rigidly enforced and impartially administered to white and black people alike. A. M. Waddell, Mayor." *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 11, 1898.

[78] For example, page 15 records the meeting held on the November 10 by Mayor Wright at the home of Alderman Charles Morrell at 12:50 P.M. Clerk William Struthers recorded the actions of Wright's administration to further prohibit alcohol sales even as the riot was underway. On page 16 are the signatures of Democrats who claimed to be sworn in as aldermen and the oath of Waddell as Mayor. The next page has another sworn statement and signature of Waddell as mayor. The signatures on pages 16 and 17 are out of order because the next page, 18, contains the formal minutes of the resignations and replacement elections held at 4 o'clock on the tenth. William Struthers also recorded this information for the transition. "Minutes of the Wilmington Board of Aldermen," November, 1898, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[79] "Minutes of the Wilmington Board of Aldermen," November, 1898, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

appointments and city patronage positions.[80] The next day Waddell's board met to discuss the reorganization of the city fire departments and the purchase of equipment to establish a mounted police patrol. Additionally, the board declared that all city officers who had not tendered their resignations were discharged from their posts. [81]

Waddell's cabinet took another break until November 22 when they met to discuss the timing of the resignation of city clerk and treasurer William Struthers. Struthers had dutifully recorded the minutes of the Wright administration as well as the transfer to Waddell. Struthers took the minutes of the November 22 meeting and recorded that he would resign his office on January 1, 1899. Josh James was elected to replace Struthers at that time. The board also declared the position of city attorney vacant unless the incumbent, Caleb P. Lockey, resigned before December 1. Thomas Strange was elected to replace Lockey at that time. Alderman Kramer made a motion to return the wages of street hands to $1.00 per day. The motion failed, and the street hands were to continue receiving the current pay of 8 cents per hour. Three days later the board met again to discuss bills for transporting both soldiers and those banished from town. It was approved that the board pay the railroad bill for transportation to Richmond for 7 men and to New Bern for 2 in addition to the hotel bills for soldiers. The matter of the pay for street hands was brought up again, possibly after pressure from the employees, and the pay was raised to the $1.00 per day as requested earlier.

A full changeover to a purely Democratic regime emerged slowly by the end of 1898. By December, the resignation of C. P. Lockey as city attorney was in hand, and three aldermen put in office after the coup resigned and were replaced.[82] Fire Chief Charles Schnibben was possibly the only city employee who managed to save his job. Schnibben had been appointed chief under Wright's administration in 1897, and, in December, it was decided that he should remain in place. At the first December meeting, the board received a report that there had been 83 arrests after the riot, with 42 being whites and 41 being blacks. The majority of arrests were for drunk and disorderly behavior. Four whites were arrested for firing pistols in the city, and 3 people were incarcerated for throwing rocks.

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[80] Appointments were as follows: Captain of Police, John J. Furlong; Police Lieutenant, F. Skipper; First Sgt, J. L. Sallings; 2nd Sgt, Joseph R. Davis; 3rd Sgt, J. D. Orrell; Day Janitor for City Hall, R. A. Benson; Night Janitor for City Hall, J. A. Lane; Health Officers, G. W. Cameron and M. Kirchbaum; Superintendent of Streets, J. A. Perry. "Minutes of the Wilmington Board of Aldermen," November, 1898, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[81] The meeting held on November 16 was a special session designed to make "selections of whites to fill places of Negro firemen." New fire department leaders were J. J. Bell, Engineer of Engine Co. No. 2; L. Freemuth, Foreman of Engine No. 2; M. F. Dowling, Foreman of Hose Reel Co. No. 3. Firemen hired included Theodore Swann plus 16 other white men. George Irving was elected cattle weigher. A Raleigh paper ran a headline, "Elimination of Negroes Complete —All of Departments in Wilmington in White Hands," to assure outsiders that Waddell and the city were following through with their pre-election promises. *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 17-18, 1898; Raleigh *Morning Post,* Novmeber 17, 1898; "Minutes of the Wilmington Board of Aldermen," November, 1898, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[82] Party infighting resulted in the resignations and a substantial delay in the selection of replacements. Bridgers and King claimed personal business pressures required them to dedicate themselves to their businesses; Kramer resigned to accept a pastorate in another city. McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 770; *Wilmington Messenger*, November 24 – December 10, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 24 - December 10, 1898.

Rounding out the tallies, 6 whites were arrested for larceny. [83]

The county commissioners were dominated already by a Democratic majority but were hampered by Fusionists at every turn. The Democrats had regained control of the county after a series of court battles in mid-1898, but they had to rely on Fusionists in the sheriff's office and courts to accomplish any tasks. Since Fusionists and Democrats could not cooperate in bipartisan spirit, very little was accomplished by the board led by Roger Moore. Once the municipal government was under Waddell's command, the county government also worked to eliminate any black presence, to ensure the validity of the coup, and to make adjustments to county appointments to become more effective. Just as resignations of the city's black and Republican leaders and employees were coerced, so were resignations at the county level. By mid-December, most of the Fusionists had submitted their resignations and their replacements had been chosen. One county department, the Board of Education, was thoroughly restructured after the coup. The new board, selected by the county commissioners, met on December 13, and decided that school committees would be comprised "exclusively of white citizens" even for black school districts. All blacks who were on any school committees in the county were expected to resign. M. C. S. Noble, white superintendent of schools, also was expected to resign.[84]

Straddling city and county affairs was the Board of Audit and Finance. The board held the purse strings for the city and reported to the county. John Webber, the only black member of the Board of Audit and Finance resigned under duress on November 15. At the meeting where his resignation was accepted, the board, which consisted of H. G. McQueen, C. W. Yates, and S. P. McNair, approved the expenditures of the Board of Aldermen for 100 policemen for a period of 30 days. The board deferred replacement of Webber until a suitable person was identified from the First Ward. The Board of Audit and Finance also accepted formal notice of the resignations of Wright's administration and the election of replacements led by Waddell.[85]

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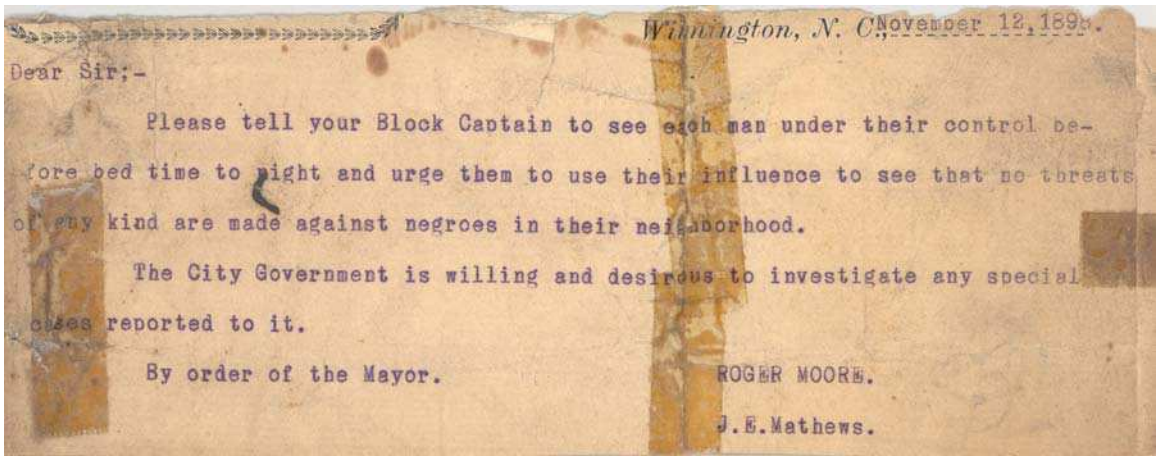
[83] An earlier hearing by Waddell as part of his attempts to control municipal crime through his special mayoral court was the hearing of Thomas Lane, the black man accused of firing at the Wilmington Light Infantry. The WLI and white leaders contended that if Lane had not shot at the military, it would have not been necessary for them to kill John Halsey. Lane was convicted and sentenced to jail time. For more information on Halsey's murder, see chapter 5. "Minutes of the Wilmington Board of Aldermen," November, 1898, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[84] It is unclear if Noble's resignation was demanded. Noble was the son of a Confederate officer and had earned a reputation throughout the state for excellence in the management of the Wilmington schools. He came to Wilmington in 1882 to serve as superintendent of the city schools and earned acclaim for his progressive educational models. By November 1898, he had recently been invited to return to Chapel Hill as a professor of pedagogy with the university. It is unclear if he would have continued to serve as city schools superintendent or if the resignation would have been given regardless of the political climate. Regardless of circumstance, with the departure of Noble, Wilmington's schools lost a strong education advocate for both blacks and whites. New Hanover County Board of Commissioners Minutes, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), December 4, 7, 14, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), December 6, 1898; *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography* s.v., "Noble, Marcus Cicero Stephens."

[85] *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 16, 1898; New Hanover County Board of Commissioners Minutes, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.



Wilmington, N. C., November 12, 1898.

Dear Sir;-

Please tell your Block Captain to see each man under their control before bed time to night and urge them to use their influence to see that no threats of any kind are made against negroes in their neighborhood.

The City Government is willing and desirous to investigate any special cases reported to it.

By order of the Mayor.

ROGER MOORE.

J.E.Mathews.

Instructions from Roger Moore to Block Captains

Dear Sir: -

Please tell your Block Captain to see each man under their control before bed time to night and urge them to use their influence to see that no threats of any kind are made against negroes in their neighborhood.

The City Government is willing and desirous to investigate any special cases reported to it.

By order of the Mayor.

Roger Moore.
J.E. Mathews.

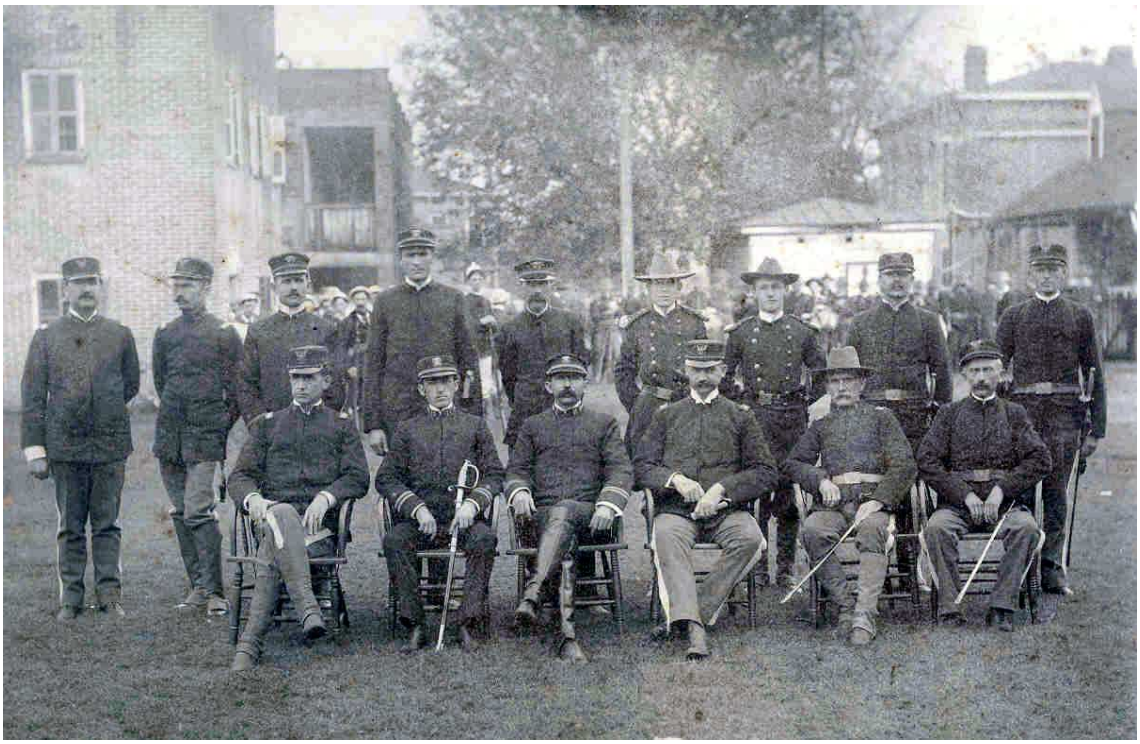
Peace Restored

Still using the newspapers to their advantage, the Democrats, through the official arms of the mayor and Board of Aldermen, sought to end blatant violations of the law in the name of white supremacy. Waddell moved to stop the unauthorized use of weapons by vigilantes. To stop these men and to provide official condemnation of the violence for outsiders, Waddell issued a proclamation that was printed in the papers: "The comparatively few persons in this city who seem disposed to abuse the opportunity of carrying arms which recent events afforded and who are doing some very foolish talking and acting are notified that no further turbulence or disorderly conduct will be tolerated." Waddell's threat carried the backing of the police, and he stated that "no armed patrol will be allowed to appear on the streets except those authorized by the chief of police." Further, the papers echoed the desire of leaders to end the banishment campaign when it noted that "the boys are administration's commitment to peace, Waddell held the first session of city court on November 14 where several whites were tried, found guilty, and fined for disorderly conduct. One African-American, Primus Bowen, had been arrested for "having too much oil in his possession for an ordinary peaceable negro" but was released when it was discovered that he was employed as a lamplighter.[87]

Some black citizens, hoping to return to the appearances of normalcy, tried to return to work amid armed patrols that searched every black man who crossed their

[86] Hayden referenced another proclamation in which he claimed that Waddell also issued this declaration – " Self-Appointed vigilantes are responsible for much of this misery because of the indiscriminate way they have gone about banishing objectionable persons; an in some instances unscrupulous whites have gratified their personal spite in dealing with the negroes." Hayden, *WLI,* 107; *Wilmington Messenger*, November 12, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898.

[87] *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 15, 1898.



"Officers of Battalion in service during race conflict or revolution at Wilmington, November 10th, 1898." Seated, third from left, George Morton, fourth, Walker Taylor, and fifth, T.C. James. The rest of the men in the photo are officers and staff of the Maxton Guards, the Kinston Naval Reserves, and the Sampson Light Infantry.
Image: Cape Fear Museum

lines.[88] Workers, fearful of leaving their factories, were provided with special police units by Waddell to escort them safely home. Following the lead of prominent Democrats, the papers emphasized that the new "administration will guarantee protection to all—white and black—who are worthy of citizenship."[89] One man, Henry Macon, opted to leave town for a short time and secured a note from leading Democrat William Cumming to ensure his safe passage through the city. Dated the day after the riot, the note explained that Macon was "frightened on account of the recent riot" and that he wished to leave town. Cumming vouched for Macon's character as "peaceably disposed and quiet man, and neither took part in the recent riot nor voted in the last election." He described Macon as a plumber who had done a "good deal of work for me in the last three or four years and I have found his charges reasonable, and

[88] Many of the accounts point out that blacks were routinely searched at every street corner, regardless of age or sex. Some of the searches were done by young men and boys who were considered too young to be carrying guns in the armed guard units. Although these searches were intended to find weapons, only a few small items were found such as knives or brass knuckles. Hayden, *WLI*, 93, 105; "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection.

[89] *Wilmington Messenger*, November 14, 1898.

his work good."[90] Conversely, another black employee, known only by his first name of George, worked for James Worth and returned to work by the sixteenth. Worth wrote that George was "back at work again and is happy as can be whistling at his work—I am quite satisfied that he as well as all the best darkies are glad the change has been made."[91]

Democrats celebrate

Letters circulated among prominent Democratic North Carolinians rejoiced in the election victory but some also expressed regret at the violence of November 10.[92] Through it all, the state Democratic Party leaders planned for an immense celebration in Raleigh on November 15. The "jollification" was held at night, with the city illuminated by over 2,000 torches and 500 barrels of tar. Thousands of fireworks were set off along a parade route that wound through downtown. To mark the occasion, the Democratic Party assembled a booklet, *North Carolina's Glorious Victory, 1898*, that provided details of the campaign and biographical sketches of the men who facilitated the victory across the state.[93]

Wilmington whites also began to celebrate both the election victory and the victory over the blacks through violence as soon as the fighting stopped. Recalling Red Shirt parades of the campaign, the military held a parade of five companies of troops on the eleventh in which the men marched throughout the city along with two Colt rapid fire guns and the Hotchkiss gun of the Naval Reserves. White Wilmingtonians cheered the march and the parade, which a newspaper described as a "formidable

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[90] According to the city directories, Macon was a plumber and lived at 508 S. Sixth Street in both 1897 and 1900. By 1903, his occupation listed as laborer. A review of the census indicates that Macon was born around 1870 and was married in 1890. He had three sons and one daughter. He rented his home on Sixth Street, and by 1910 he is not in the county. By that year, all three of his sons had moved to Rocky Mount and were living with their aunt and uncle, Ruffin and Anna Harris, and attending school. *Wilmington Messenger*, 11-11-1898; William Cumming, Pass for Henry Macon, November 11, 1898, Cape Fear Museum.

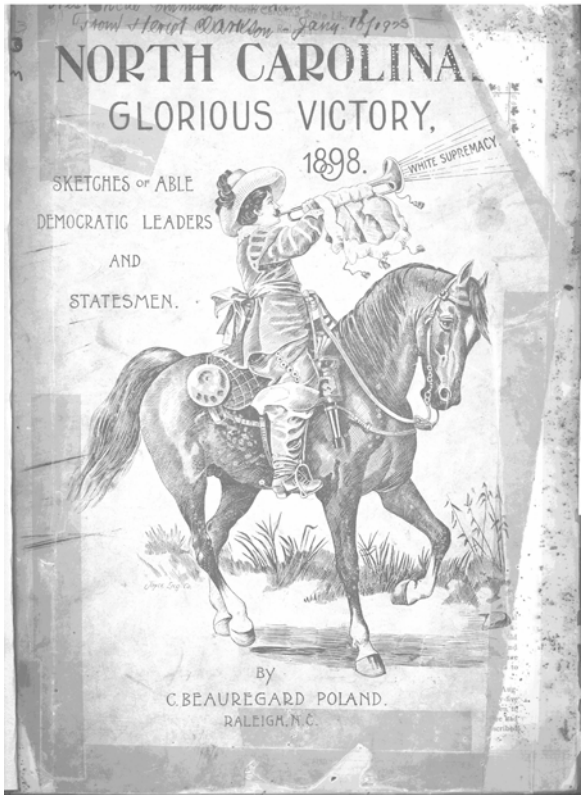
[91] Worth continued that he thought the rest of the "best darkies" were "glad that 'dark town' has been taught a lesson, as one bad nigger will harm the rest." James S. Worth to Josephine, November 16, 1898, James Spencer Worth Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[92] Peter Mallett, a Fayetteville merchant with ties to Wilmington, recorded on the eleventh that he received a telegram from James Sprunt that indicated Wilmington was quiet but excited and that there was "great rejoicing over Democratic victory in N. C." Charles B. Aycock wrote Henry G. Connor on the 11th that he was happy about the election victory – "it is a glorious victory that we have won and the very extent of it frightened me. We shall need wisdom to prove ourselves worthy of it." He then said that he regretted "the Wilmington affair of yesterday greatly." Benehan Cameron of Durham received a note from a creditor in Virginia – "Now that we have white supremacy in North Carolina I hope you will sell your crops and send me a check." Cameron also received correspondence from Thomas W. Strange of Wilmington on the sixteenth which thanked Cameron for his offers of assistance during the riot. However, Strange expected Cameron to pay for the telegram because he was saving every cent and hoped that Cameron would understand his financial "plight." Another letter to Cameron arrived in late December from Julian Carr, Chairman of Durham's Democratic Party. In the letter Carr spoke of the election victory, hoping that "the results of our November victory long abide with us and our children," and provided Cameron with a "souvenir badge of that grand and glorious event." Peter Mallett Papers, Benehan Cameron Papers, and Henry G. Connor Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[93] Part of the city's decorations were a series of "transparencies" that reflected as headlines the sentiments of many Democrats: "It is a hard pill, Governor, but shut your eyes and swallow it," "There is retribution in politics," "Hurrah for Wilmington," "White Supremacy means work for all," and "There's a hot time coming, Mr. Russell." *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 1898; C. Poland, *Glorious Victory, 1898*.

demonstration of the resources for the maintenance of order now at hand." [94]

In their sermons of Sunday, November 13, 1898 Wilmington's white clergy, who had held sway over their congregations during the campaign, justified the campaign and violence. Prior to the riot, ministers had used their influence to achieve the leaders' goals amongst their flocks. For example, Mike Dowling was calmed by his minister, Rev. Christopher Dennen of St. Thomas Catholic Church, who urged Dowling not to upset the schemes of leaders before the riot. T. C. James, leader in the Wilmington Light Infantry claimed that ministers of every denomination supported the efforts of men to secure the coup.[95]



North Carolina's Glorious Victory, 1898

Excerpts of sermons by prominent ministers were printed in the papers the following week. The main themes were the redemption of the city, victory and duty. Greatest attention was paid to Rev. Peyton H. Hoge of the First Presbyterian Church who offered Biblical justification for the coup in a passage from Proverbs: "He that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city." Hoge explained that "since we last met in these walls we have taken a city." The whites, he said, now had a responsibility to rule with deliberate, cool-headed, self control buttressed by legislation to limit black suffrage, and to do their duty to the black race through educational and spiritual uplift. Rev. A. D. McClure told his congregation that they "must now join heart and hand to secure by lawful means order out of confusion." Rev. J. W. Kramer of the Brooklyn Baptist Church claimed that "whites were doing God's service" and Rev. Blackwell of the First Baptist Church drew comparisons between the victory of whites over blacks in battle to the victories of angels over the devil and his "black robed angels." Additional special services for the soldiers were held on Sunday afternoon at the armory. [96]

[94] *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898.
[95] Hayden, *WLI*, 75.

[96] Hoge was quoted as saying the "process" of the preceding week was an "act of stern necessity." The prominence given to Hoge's sermon in the newspapers prompted historian Leon Prather to use Hoge's Biblical quote—"we have taken a city"—for his in-depth book on the coup and violence. Black ministers and lay people "consulted" with white authorities to ensure that their services wouldn't be interrupted, and they were encouraged to counsel moderation to their congregations. It is unclear if the sermons given in the black churches were monitored or scripted by whites but all contain similar strains of language, mainly that of accommodation and submission to white domination. *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 15, 1898; *Wilmington Messenger*, November 15, 1898.

Also assisting in the post riot jubilation were Wilmington's white women, who had been supporting their husbands as they marched on nightly patrols and attended white supremacy meetings. The women, dressed in white gowns, had participated in the pre-election parades, prepared coffee for their block guards while on patrol, and maintained their support for their husbands in trying times. After troops began to arrive in the city, Wilmington's women became hostesses to out-of-town guard units and reporters. The most visible support by the white women of the city was the effort to feed the soldiers in town for the riot. Mrs. Thomas C. James, wife of the WLI's captain, oversaw the accommodations and provisions for the visiting military companies. Mrs. Edward Wootten wrote her son that she had been at the armory washing dishes while the military was in town and that the men ate in the armory yard at long tables as the ladies waited on them. She served food for three days, declaring "you never saw so many dishes to be washed and then they were needed for more men before we could get them washed." [97] Harry Hayden, writing decades later, praised the women who had remained at home without protection while their men were out in the fray and then stepped into action to feed the men: "[C]offee was prepared in 50-pound lard cans, buckwheat cakes with plenty of butter and stacked high on large platters, and fried ham and eggs and bacon and sausage were served the guardsmen in bountiful supply by the housewives." [98] On the day of the riot, the WLI was marched on patrols around town. J. D. Nutt's unit was taken by wagon to Frank Maunder's home at 624 North Fourth Street, where Mrs. Nutt "gave us something good to eat." [99] In response to the activities of the city's women to feed the troops, the Maxton Guards posted a letter in the newspaper thanking the ladies for their "kind and considerate attention" to the needs of the men while in the city.[100] Afterward, one woman wrote to the *Star* to ask the paper to print the names of the men who "volunteered to preserve the peace on Thursday night." The paper responded that the compilation of such a list would be the equivalent of the white city directory.[101]

Repayment for Services Rendered

Waddell and the city's leaders were overwhelmed by men within the city requesting appointment to the police force, firefighting units, or other positions in return for their support of the campaign.[102] Attempts were made to make good on the promises of hiring white laborers instead of blacks. There were, however, problems related to the exclusion of highly qualified African Americans in favor of lesser experienced whites who whites did not have the educational background or experience necessary to fill clerical public positions.[103] The *Wilmington Messenger* reminded city leaders of their promises to followers two days after the fighting ended when a writer observed in its pages that the "white laboring men in this city have not been treated fairly in the past." The article objected to hiring black laborers when

[97] Mrs. Wootten to Edward, November 21, 1898, Wootten Papers, University of North Carolina at Wilmington Library.
[98] Hayden, *WLI*, 105.

[99] "Minutes of the Association of the WLI," North Carolina Collection.
[100] *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 16, 1898.
[101] *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 15, 1898.
[102] "Quite a number of applications for various city offices were handed in to the Board but action was deferred." It was a pact between the leaders and the followers that after the election and coup, those who were most loyal and of greatest service to the Democratic cause would be repaid. *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 15, 1898.
[103] Prather, *We Have Taken a City,* 144.

whites were unemployed and it "hoped . . . that it will not end in empty declarations but in deeds."[104] Leaders gave prompt attention to the police and fire departments. The rewarded white men who had been instrumental in assuring an election victory and the violence of November 10 with paid positions on these forces. Red Shirt leader Mike Dowling was a newly appointed firefighter but he was discharged for drunkenness shortly after hire in March 1899.[105] Other personnel issues also appeared when two policemen were suspended for intoxication while on duty in February 1899.[106]

Previously an all-volunteer operation with both white and black firehouses, the fire department had been reorganized in November 1897 and made an official, paid department of the city. As part of this changeover, the fire equipment and tools proudly acquired by donation and hard work were given to the city for the use of the fire departments.[107] The all-black Cape Fear Company under Valentine Howe, which boasted some of the best equipment in the state, was one of the first stations to see a complete change after Waddell and his board came into power. On November 15, 1898, all black firefighters were fired, and white men were hired in their place. This takeover of a source of pride within the black community proved as galling as other aspects of the coup since the men lost not only their valuable equipment, results of their labors on behalf of the greater community, but their income as paid firefighters, and a camaraderie that developed among the firefighters and the neighborhoods they served. At least one new firehouse, the Phoenix, was closed and not reopened after the coup. The end result was that firefighting capabilities in the black

[104] *Wilmington Messenger*, November 12, 1898.

[105] Dowling was also made president of the newly formed White Laborer's Union when they met on November 24 with over 100 members in attendance. At the meeting, the Union adopted a constitution and by-laws and passed a resolution to counter attempts by Waddell's administration to curb spending. The resolution took issue with the attempt to lower salaries for some city employees: "We . . . uncompromising laboring men, who worked and voted to place the Democrats in power . . . have been shocked and surprised" by the pay cuts. They further challenged the city leaders to maintain the wages paid by the previous Fusion administration. Following on the heels of this declaration, Waddell's administration stopped attempts to lower municipal worker wages. This debate reached Raleigh, and later in November, a Raleigh paper observed that the city should keep its course in adhering to all of the pledges of the White Declaration of Independence: "[I]t remains to be seen whether the community will stand on the declarations it has made" regarding white workers. The paper concluded that, if the city wanted to be "progressive," it should hire only whites since it considered black labor stagnant and without merit. On March 6, 1899, Dowling was suspended until the Mayor's office could hold a formal inquiry in which Dowling could attend a meeting with the Board of Aldermen and plead his case. In response, Dowling sent a reply to the Board informing them that they could "go to Hell." The Board of Aldermen then dismissed Dowling for "incompetency, drunkenness, and insubordination." *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 24, 1898; Raleigh *Morning Post*, November 31, 1898; Minutes of the Board of Aldermen, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh .

[106] Another Red Shirt leader, Theodore Swann, was rewarded with a job in the Waddell administration. On February 6, 1899, C. L. Frost and J. D. Hargrave were discharged for being drunk while on police duty. Minutes of the Board of Aldermen, State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh; *Contested Election Case*, 383.

[107] The Cape Fear Steam Fire Engine Company No. 3, the best-equipped crew in the city, met before the changeover to a paid department, and decided to give their engine, horses and other equipment to the city. The Phoenix Hose Reel Company in Brooklyn had just moved into a new fire house in 1894 and had purchased a new hose wagon in February 1898. After the riot, the Phoenix company was disbanded and the firehouse was torn down in 1900. Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*, 191 - 198.

sections of town were severely diminished.[108]

Besides municipal and county patronage positions, some repayment of political debts was done in social circles. For example, Congressman John Bellamy "entertained" with a meal and fellowship the men of the Second Regimental Band as thanks for their support of his "cause" in the election. For many of the men, the evening with Bellamy would be the first time they entered, on almost equal footing, the social world of Wilmington's elite as they were entertained in Bellamy's dining room and parlors. Such social elevation could thrust men from anonymity into the limelight and translate into financial boons.[109]

Problems soon cropped up among the city's newly hired white workforce, particularly in the lumber mills, factories, and other jobs traditionally held by black laborers. Employers found a poor work ethic among white employees, particularly those in the mills, and others who observed that black workers were the "least troublesome labor" were proven correct.[110] White workers also expected higher pay. Even before the election, the papers speculated that white workers taking over traditionally black jobs would be hired at the same pay scale as their predecessors—wages that many would feel were less than adequate. After the "boycott" of black labor began, Waddell remarked to a northern reporter that he thought it would be better if black workers left the South for northern employment, but acknowledged that there was "a certain class of black labor that we could not well get along without." Those invaluable workers, in Waddell's opinion, were cooks, laundresses and stablemen: "I expect the whole south would have dyspepsia in a week if we had to live on northern cooking, we are so used to the southern way of preparing dishes." Waddell concluded that "wages are very low in the south and I doubt if we could get white men to come down here and work for anything like the negroes receive."[111]

African American life in Wilmington was changed irrevocably with the loss of a political voice in city government and a concerted effort to downgrade black employment prospects. Municipal jobs were patronage positions, given to political supporters after a victory by the mayor and aldermen. Because most municipal positions—certainly the most lucrative and best—were restricted to white workers after the coup, many blacks who had traditionally relied upon the city for income were now unemployed. For example, in 1897, the city's fire department hired sixteen African American firemen to staff the two all-black fire stations. In 1898, those positions were converted into white jobs, and one of the fire stations was closed. Further, at least twelve of the city's regular police officers were African American, and, following the coup, those men were also out of a job. For these two high-profile municipal job categories, workers lost a source of moderate income with no hope of finding an equivalent position. The change in city employment from a mixed-race staff to an all-white one gradually trickled down to clerks and janitorial workers.[112]

Further changes were on the horizon for the city as trends developed that favored

[108] Melton testimony, *Contested Election Case*, 370; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 191-198.
[109] *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 16, 1898.
[110] Prather, *We Have Taken a City,* 146; R. Beverly Mason to Bess, November 8, 1898, John Steele Henderson Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.
[111] *Asbury Park Evening News,* November 21, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), October 28, November 2, 4, 1898.
[112] "Minutes of the Wilmington Board of Aldermen" State Archives, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

whites over blacks at every turn. The main tenets of Jim Crow legislation were already in effect in other regions of the South.[113] The aftermath of the riot and coup constituted resounding change. As the climate of the city was altered, blacks were removed from visible participation in city operations, and many sought work elsewhere, leaving the victors in control for generations to come.

[113] Louisiana and other southern states already had legalized segregation and voting restrictions in place for African Americans.

Chapter 7: Destiny of a Race

- State leaders failed to react to the violence in Wilmington. Governor Daniel L. Russell's Adjutant General was the only member of his Council of State to play a role in suppressing the violence of November 10. No state investigation took place.

- President William McKinley held a cabinet meeting to discuss violence in Wilmington and Phoenix, South Carolina, and discussed the possibility of sending troops into the state to calm the violence. No troops were sent because McKinley received no request for assistance from Governor Russell. The President was assured by Wilmington leaders that peace had been restored despite receiving numerous letters requesting help.

- A federal investigation was opened by the U.S. Attorney General's Office in response to the claim of federally appointed commissioner Robert Bunting that he was forcibly ejected from the city. The files were closed with no indictments in 1900.

- In another attempt to bring Democrats to justice, Oliver Dockery unsuccessfully challenged the election of John D. Bellamy to the U. S. House of Representatives.

- Members of Wilmington's African American community attended church on the Sunday following the violence to hear ministers deliver sermons emphasizing appeasement and obedience.

- African Americans nationwide rallied to the cause of Wilmington's blacks and held meetings to pressure President McKinley's administration into action. However, many leading black figures were split on the best solution to the "Negro problem" and no nationwide campaign materialized.

- Wilmington Democrats rationalized their actions and countered claims of Republicans throughout the country at every opportunity. Whites maintained their control over the city through intimidation and threats to Republicans and blacks.

- Democrats solidified their control over city government by securing a rewritten city charter from the new legislature in January 1899. Under the new charter, Waddell and the Board of Aldermen were officially elected into office in March 1899 with no Republican resistance.

- A new suffrage amendment to disfranchise black voters through literacy tests and poll taxes was added to the state constitution by voters in 1900. Charles B. Aycock was also elected governor that year. The Democratically controlled state legislature overturned Fusion legislation and placed control over county governments in Raleigh. New election laws were constructed to limit Republican power in the 1900 election.

- African Americans in Wilmington adjusted to the societal changes, redefining a position for themselves under Democratic control seated in the white supremacy movement and Jim Crow legislation. Among the consequences were inequities in public education funding and the replacement of black laborers by whites on the city's docks and elsewhere.

Chapter 7: Destiny of a Race

"The destiny of a race is not in the keeping of one President or one party or one epoch of history. I have an abiding faith in the future." Timothy Thomas Fortune to Booker T. Washington, December 17, 1898

The news of the riot traveled throughout the state across by telegraph and through letters. Leading the effort to publicize the events in Wilmington was Raleigh editor Josephus Daniels. The *News and Observer* carried headlines from Wilmington, Raleigh, and Washington, D. C., to show that statewide and national interest focused on Wilmington. Within a week of the violence, John Spencer Bassett, history professor at Trinity College in Durham, wrote to colleague Herbert Baxter Adams that the riot was "justifiable at no point." Monitoring the campaign and violence from his academic tower, Bassett observed that Wilmington's black population was "cowed" and that most whites in the state did not believe the accusations of "negro domination" thrown about by Democrats. Bassett saw the irony in the situation, writing that when Waddell, who had just led a mob to destroy the *Record* press, was made mayor, his first order of business was to demand an end to the violence: "If he [Waddell] had any sense of humor he must have split his undergarments laughing at his own joke." [1]

State and National Reaction

Governor Daniel L. Russell first learned of the crisis in the city by a series of telegrams from Walker Taylor and George Morton. He reacted by sending troops from nearby towns to the city. But Russell's hands were tied by political maneuvers of the Democrats, who had threatened impeachment, and by Red Shirts, who had threatened bodily harm. Two days after the riot, a newspaper observed that many "freely predicted that Governor Russell will be on his good behavior henceforth in view of the Democratic Legislature which is elected." [2] After the election and the coup, Russell considered resigning his office even after Democrats relaxed their impeachment rhetoric. However, he did not resign, and the Democrats began to move forward with their agenda despite the fact that Russell still had two more years in office.[3]

The Democratic Party's effort to silence and threaten Republicans and Populists was effective. Other members of state government followed Russell's example, remaining quiet and uninvolved. As part of his Fusion campaign, Russell had tried to bridge differences in Republican, Democratic, and Populist Party leadership circles by distributing political appointments across the parties. Thus, once the Democrats began their campaign, Russell may not have been able to communicate well with some of his Council of State members. Russell regularly called meetings of his council, and, on November 10, 1898, the council met but only to discuss a printing contract. None of their official minutes address the problems in Wilmington before or after the violence.[4] One member of Russell's council, Attorney General Zebulon

[1] John Spencer Bassett to Herbert Baxter Adams, November 15, 1898 from the Herbert Baxter Adams Papers, Johns Hopkins University as quoted in McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 749.

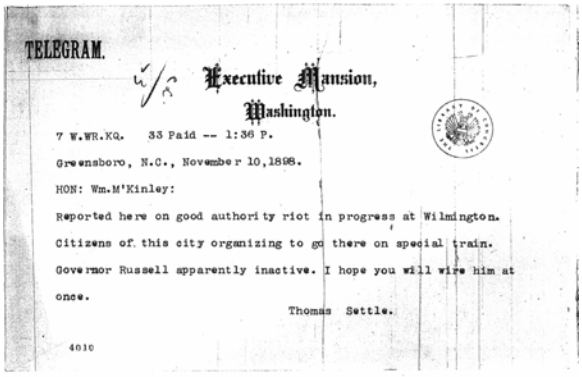
[2] *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898.

[3] Murmur of impeachment made it to the papers as soon as the dust settled from the election and violence. The *Messenger* asked its readers if it was possible that the newly elected Democratic legislature would impeach Russell in 1899. *Wilmington Messenger,* November 12, 1898. For more on the impact of the 1898 election on Russell's administration, see Crow, *Maverick Republican*, 134-188.

[4] Minutes, 1898-1899, Council of State, Governor's Papers, State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

Walser, could have followed the lead of the national attorney general and assisted in the investigation. However, it appears that no investigative action was taken by the office.[5] Assuming the largest role as far as state government was concerned, Adjutant General Andrew Cowles aided Walker Taylor at the request of the governor when Russell ordered out the state militia companies in the region.[6]

At the national level, President McKinley had been warned before the election by men such as Senator Jeter Pritchard and his appointed Collector of Customs in the Port John C. Dancy, that the city was armed and that violence was expected at any time. McKinley received word via telegram of the conflict and held a cabinet meeting to discuss the situation.



TELEGRAM.

Executive Mansion,
Washington.

7 W.WR.KQ. 33 Paid -- 1:36 P.

Greensboro, N.C., November 10,1898.

HON: Wm.M'Kinley:

Reported here on good authority riot in progress at Wilmington. Citizens of this city organizing to go there on special train. Governor Russell apparently inactive. I hope you will wire him at once.

Thomas Settle.

4010

Telegram to McKinley from Thomas Settle, November 10, 1898.
Image: William McKinley Papers, National Archives microfilm

McKinley's sources were limited to newspaper reports since no communication came to the president from the governor's office. McKinley and Secretary of War Russell Alger also met for two hours to discuss the situation. In a press conference after the meeting, Alger called the affair a "disgrace" to the state. He said that they had received news of 8 dead and would have sent troops had Russell requested the assistance. North Carolina papers called the threat of sending in troops a "crime," and implied that the use of federal troops was an offense similar to military occupation during Reconstruction after the Civil War. Delegates from Wilmington on both sides of the issue, plus others acting on behalf of Wilmington's black citizens, visited and corresponded with McKinley and his staff repeatedly after the violence ended.[7] Over

[5] A review of the attorney general's records do, however, show a significant rise in litigation throughout the state regarding contested elections and the refusal of some incumbent appointed and elected officials to surrender their offices to newly elected Democrats after the November 1898 elections. State Attorney General's Office, Central Files, correspondence, Letter Books and Closed Case Files, 1898-1900, North Carolina State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

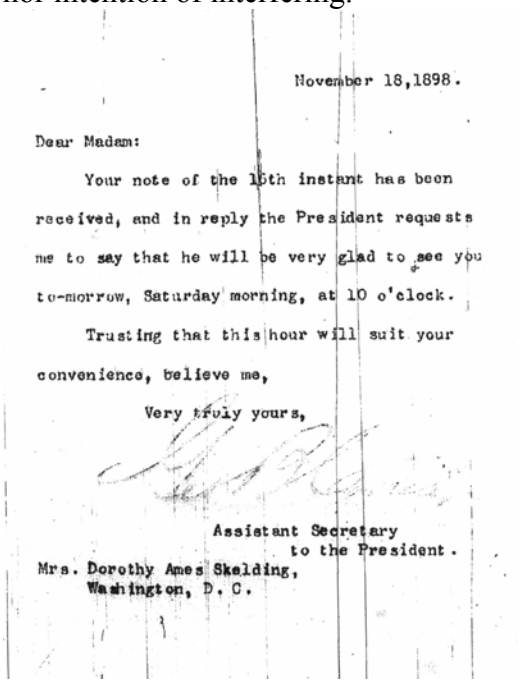
[6] *Annual Report of the Adjutant-General of the State of North Carolina for the Year 1898*; Daniel Russell Governor's Papers, State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[7] The *Washington Post* reported that a dozen men from Wilmington were in Washington attempting to meet with the president concerning the rioting. The men had arrived the day after the riot, and other "refugees" were scattered throughout the city staying with friends and discussing the events in North Carolina. Julian S. Carr, chairman of the Durham County Democratic Executive Committee and wealthy industrialist, penned a note to President McKinley that was published in the papers. Carr's letter explained that white men "are leading the victorious column this morning and will rule North Carolina . . . no need of troops now." The actual letter received by McKinley from Carr was much less flowery. He told McKinley not to send troops to the state and made "no apologies for being a Southern Democrat." Carr offered to help the president "in solving the question" and promised to be in Washington as soon as needed to discuss the issues. Carr staked his claim as an important businessman when he stated that he employed 1,000 men, "largely colored and they would die for me." He closed with saying that he was "in position to answer for the South and especially North Carolina" to the president. A small postscript informed McKinley that Carr paid large sums of money in taxes and, as a result, felt that "no one is more interested in good stable government." *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 14, 1898; *Wilmington Messenger* November 12, 1898; Julian S. Carr to President

the next few days, McKinley receivied letters written by Wilmington's African Americans begging for help and by others pleading with the president on behalf of the blacks in the South.[8]

The letters to McKinley reflect a spectrum of responses to the violence and the desire for governmental involvement. Out-of-state correspondents stressed the patriotism of African Americans as they appealed to McKinley's honor and implored intervention: "[I]f there needs to be a standing army, please send one." Letters from Wilmington reflected a different tone and demonstrated the fearfulness of the city's blacks: "[A]re we to die like rats in a trap?" Three days after the riot, one correspondent who said that she could not "sign [her] name and live" wrote a detailed account of the violence, intimidation and banishment campaign. At the top of her letter she asked the President to "send relief as soon as possible or we perish." In the body of her note, she explained that many in the city would gladly go to Africa because of the violence: "[T]oday we are mourners in a strange land with no protection near. God help us." Another correspondent who was "afraid to own [his] name" wrote to McKinley that blacks were overpowered "with the rapid fire of the guns, and they had cannons, in wagons, and they set fire to almost half of the City." [9]

Harry Hayden of the Wilmington Light Infantry, writing well after the event, recorded that McKinley met with Mrs. A. B. Skelding, wife of one of the members of the Group Six who was privy to the plans for the coup. According to Hayden, Mrs. Skelding was a native of Ohio and neighbor to the president when they were young. She visited with the president in Washington after the violence to explain her views of the situation, and counseled that the "Wilmington Rebellion" was necessary to return the city to white rule. Hayden quoted the President as saying that he understood the issues at hand and had "neither the wish nor intention of interfering." [10]



November 18,1898.

Dear Madam:

Your note of the 18th instant has been received, and in reply the President requests me to say that he will be very glad to see you to-morrow, Saturday morning, at 10 o'clock.

Trusting that this hour will suit your convenience, believe me,

Very truly yours,

Assistant Secretary
to the President.

Mrs. Dorothy Ames Skelding,
Washington, D. C.

Record of Dorothy Skelding meeting with McKinley, November 19, 1898.
Image: Papers of William McKinley, National Archives microfilm

McKinley, November 12, 1898, McKinley Papers, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[8] A collection of letters received by McKinley is held in the Department of Justice files for 1898 in the National Archives. One of the letters was written to Marcus Hanna, Ohio U.S. senator and McKinley confidant, by S. E. Huffman of the United States Anti-Mob and Lynch Law Association who asked Hanna to use his influence with the President to facilitate an investigation of events in Wilmington. S. E. Huffman to Marcus Hanna, November 29, 1898, Department of Justice Files, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

[9] Letters to President McKinley, General Records of the Department of Justice, National Archives. For full text of this and other letters, see Appendix J.

[10] Hayden, *WLI*, 98.

The newspapers and Democratic Party leaders kept abreast of the events in Washington in order to prepare for the possibility of federal intervention. Two days after the riot it was reported that the president had consulted with his attorney general and cabinet on the matter but that "it was too late to interfere" since, as far as they knew, all was quiet. The president and his advisors stressed that the troops would be called out only if hostilities in the city or state began anew. Compounding the situation was the fact that hostilities had also broken out in neighboring South Carolina. Some speculated that the two unsettled areas, when taken together, could in time warrant federal intervention.[11]

Federal troops were, in fact, moved from nearby Fort Caswell into the city, but, by the time they arrived, relative calm was re-established through martial law, and the new city leaders were working to encourage peace. Those federal troops saw more trouble later in the month when about 30 black workers who were working on the fort got into a "row" with several soldiers stationed there. The resulting fight ended with a stabbing of one soldier. Other soldiers tried to retaliate against the workers, and a guard detail had to be established to protect the black men.[12] Some speculation has arisen that the president failed to step in because the recent victorious end of the Spanish-American War had engendered national unity and patriotic fervor, North and South, which many did not want to upset.[13] Some southerners contended that

[11] The Democratic campaign was successful in stirring violent racist sentiment throughout the state. Cities such as New Bern and Wilson expected violence at any moment, and expressed anxiety similar to the fears that gripped Wilmingtonians. On the night of November 9, a riot almost broke out in Wilson. Only after a biracial meeting on the tenth and the outbreak in Wilmington was violence averted. Prior to the election, there was a violent outbreak in the Lumberton area. Called the Ashpole Riot in the Kinston *Daily Free Press,* the violence was contained to late October. Violence broke out before election day in Phoenix, in Greenwood County, South Carolina. On November 6, 1898, four black men were lynched by about 100 white men after they were implicated in killing a white man the previous day. Further news of the violence in South Carolina reported that about ten black men and one white were killed outright, and many of both races were wounded on election day. A number of whites fled the area and made their way to Washington, D.C., to plead their case with the president. Regarding the unrest, the *New York Journal* indicated that the "race problem in the South has cast a shadow over the entire land by the recent bloodshed in the Carolinas." Therefore, as advocates for federal intervention in Wilmington sought to thrust the city's violence into the national spotlight, the murders in South Carolina were added to the discussions. Thus, the response was diffused as the two incidents grew to be seen as examples of a larger, endemic problem of racial friction. *New York Journal* as quoted in the *Farmer and Mechanic* (Raleigh), November 29, 1898; *Farmer and Mechanic* (Raleigh), November 15, 1898; *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 11, 12, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 10, 11, 18, 1898; *Morning Post* (Raleigh), November 13, 1898; *Daily Free Press* (Kinston), October 24, 1898.

[12] Hayden, *WLI*, 98; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 28, 1898.

[13] An example of the new bond between the North and South was a speech given by President McKinley in Atlanta as part of a "peace jubilee." McKinley said that "sectional lines no longer mar the map of the United States" and that "the cordial feeling now happily existing between the North and the South" would be helpful if the two sections faced "new problems now pressing upon us" together. Some African Americans took exception to the speech, particularly since McKinley held an "incomprehensible silence" on the issue when he did not acknowledge the "race problem" in the South and the recent violence. Former North Carolina Republican Reconstruction politician Albion Tourgee wrote McKinley that he feared the violence heralded the opening of a new chapter in race relations in which blacks were "again placed under the heel of race prejudice in the United States. " Tourgee saw a larger sweeping national movement tied to the Spanish-American War that enabled national leaders to ignore southern blacks and leave them to the devices of southern whites. An example of northern

the advancement of federal troops into the state would be an insult similar to that of Reconstruction and would drive another divide between northern and southern interests.[14]

Legal Strategies to Address Violence

In response to the troubles in the two Carolinas, U. S. Attorney General John Griggs and other Washington officials determined that an investigation was necessary. Wilmington papers reported that U. S. senator Jeter Prichard planned to propose a congressional investigation of the violence when the session reconvened in January 1899. North Carolina's Democratic press asserted that investigation by Congress would threaten a newly discovered North—South unity extolled by President McKinley and "intensify race feelings in the south and…make the negro problem still more difficult." [15] At the same time, Oliver Dockery contested the election of John D. Bellamy to Congress as a representative from North Carolina's Sixth District which included Wilmington.

As a result of increased correspondence and a call to action by

African American reaction to McKinley's speech was reprinted in the Wilmington *Star* after the meeting of the Afro-American Council in Washington, DC. The Council cautioned blacks that "the time has come for the colored men to act; to act with firmness, calmness and after due deliberation." *News and Observer* (Raleigh), December 15, 1898; Timothy Thomas Fortune to Booker T. Washington, December 17, 1898 as quoted in Louis R. Harlan, ed., *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, 13 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972-1989), 4:535; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), December 30, 1898; "Open letter to President McKinley by the colored people of Massachusetts," October 3, 1898, Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, African American Pamphlet Collection; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 750.

[14] Hayden recounted that a "hotheaded Wilmingtonian" had telegraphed federal officials that if troops were sent into the city, "caskets should be included in their equipment" because fellow citizens "would not brook any outside interference." Hayden, *WLI*, 98.

[15] The "Negro Problem" had multiple facets. As W. E. B. DuBois observed in 1897, that although he and other contemporaries "ordinarily speak of the Negro problem as though it were one unchanged question . . it is not one problem, but rather a plexus of social problems, some new, some old, some simple, some complex." DuBois attributed most of the problems faced by blacks in economics, politics and education to their collective history as slaves and second class citizens after emancipation. He later claimed that the country had experienced a re-birth of the caste system for blacks similar to that which existed under slavery. DuBois summarized three arguments by which whites justified the new caste system in which blacks were second class citizens without equal rights: enfranchisement of blacks was a mistake, African Americans are inherently inferior to whites, and a final resolution to the race problem will be "open and legal recognition" of black inferiority. Intellectuals on both sides of the color line began to use the phrase – "negro problem" or "negro question" – as a catch-all for topics ranging from education and disfranchisement to strains on north-south relations. Governor Daniel Russell biographer Jeffrey Crow defined the "negro question" as a "shibboleth for disfranchisement" by whites. Owen Aldis of Chicago wrote Thomas Nelson Page that "this North Carolina affair shows that neither this generation nor the next will ever be through with the dangers arising from the negro." He also observed that he did not believe "that the education of the intellect of the negro will alone solve the problem." Another writer, Thomas H. Carter of Charlottesville, concluded that "the idea of the north that the [Civil] war solved the negro problem" was wrong and that the "problem" still persisted with no answer. Discussions of the "negro problem" persisted long after the Carolina riots faded from the papers. *Wilmington Messenger*, December 6, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), December 9, 1898; W.E.B. DuBois in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1898 reprinted in *W.E.B. DuBois Speaks: Speeches and Addresses, 1890-1919,* 2 vols., ed., Philip S. Foner (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970), 1:104-108; W.E.B. Dubois in the *Proceedings of the National Negro Conference* in New York, 1909 as re-printed in Foner, *W.E.B. DuBois Speaks,* 196-199; Owen Aldis to Thomas Nelson Page, November 10, 1898, Thomas H. Carter to Thomas Nelson Page, Thomas Nelson Page Papers, Duke University Library, Durham; Crow, *Maverick Republican*, 138.

leading blacks and some whites nationwide, Griggs instructed his subordinate, the United States Attorney General's District Attorney for the Eastern District of North Carolina Claude Bernard, to investigate the situation in North Carolina.[16] On December 3, 1898, U. S. Attorney General John Griggs directed Bernard to investigate the reports of murder and the accusations by Robert Bunting of mistreatment and forced removal from Wilmington of a United States commissioner. Griggs informed Bernard that "complaint is made that organized and armed bodies of persons, by violence, intimidation, and threats, deprived certain citizens . . . of rights and privileges guaranteed to them under the Constitution and laws of the United States." Griggs wanted Bernard to find out if Justice Robert Bunting was truly ejected from the city by force and threatened with death if he returned. If so, Griggs saw this treatment as "a most flagrant and high handed violation of the criminal law of the United States" that required "immediate and energetic prosecution." [17]

Bernard replied to Griggs that he had no credible information save newspaper accounts nor had he received complaints from Wilmington citizens. He did, however, request the assistance of Griggs' office in bringing justice to those who violated the law using "high handed revolutionary methods."[18] In response, Attorney General Griggs and Assistant Attorney General James E. Boyd traveled to Raleigh to provide additional support for Bernard's investigation. But by December 12, Griggs and Boyd had returned to Washington, D. C. without a call for a grand jury.[19] Wilmington whites were pleased to learn that Griggs entrusted the case to his assistant Boyd, a man who 30 years earlier had been arrested for support of the Ku Klux Klan. [20] Possibly bolstered by support from Washington and despite his lack of witnesses, Bernard soon subpoenaed several men and called a grand jury.[21] Men such as George Z. French, Flavel Foster, and Robert Bunting were reportedly asked to give testimony. Despite the work of Bernard to secure testimony that surely implicated many men of Wilmington, the grand jury was discharged on December 17 without hearing from those witnesses. [22]

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[16] Griggs evidently took the matter seriously and assisted Congressman George White in his efforts to propose legislation in 1899 and 1900 to make lynching and murder by mob rule treasonable offenses punishable by execution. The major impetus for Griggs' investigation was the experience of federal commissioner Robert Bunting concerning his treatment and banishment by Wilmington leaders. Benjamin Justesen, *George Henry White: An Even Chance in the Race of Life* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), 278-9.

[17] Griggs to Bernard as quoted in McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 556-7 and found in the papers of the Attorney General's Office, General Records of the Department of Justice, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

[18] B. F. McLean, attorney and U.S. commissioner of justice for the eastern district, had also written to Griggs and others in Washington just after the election to describe intimidation by the Red Shirts and to ask if those men would be liable for prosecution. Bernard to Griggs as quoted in McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 757-8 and found in the papers of the Attorney General's Office, General Records of the Department of Justice, National Archives, Washington, D. C.; McLean to Griggs, November 9, 1898, General Records of the Department of Justice, National Archives, Washington, D. C. as quoted in Prather, *We Have Take a City*, 153.

[19] *Wilmington Messenger,* December 16, 1898.

[20] *Wilmington Messenger*, December 9, 1898.

[21] Records from the Eastern District Attorney General's Office do not survive to document Bernard's activities. A survey of records from the office located in the Regional Records Center in Atlanta reveals that correspondence records, grand jury records, and dockets from Raleigh have not been preserved. Details of Bernard's Grand Jury investigation can only be found in newspaper sources.

[22] *Wilmington Messenger*, December 20, 23, 1898.

Griggs apparently encouraged Bernard well into 1899 to persist. As a result, Bernard requested the assistance of undercover agents to infiltrate the white community and find the "rough and toughs" who were "incited and led and directed by other men of high official and social standing." Bernard continued that the city was "the storm center from which emanated most of the election crime and intimidation, for one entire Congressional District as well as other parts of this state."[23] The investigation languished until August 1900 when a new acting attorney general told Bernard to stop investigation because it was "inexpedient" to send undercover agents to the city. Bernard was instructed to justify his reasons for continuing the investigation. With the loss of federal support, Bernard closed the case files.[24]

Concurrent with the investigations by the United States attorney general, Oliver Dockery, the Republican candidate who lost the election for U.S. House of Representatives for the Sixth District to Wilmington Democrat John D. Bellamy, worked to overturn the election. As early as December 6, 1898, Wilmington papers said that Republican Oliver Dockery had employed attorneys to contest Bellamy's election in the House of Representatives and in the court system.[25]

Dockery notified Bellamy that he would challenge the election in December of 1898 because, he claimed, the election was not fair and was conducted fraudulently in some sections of the district. Dockery then began to take testimony from voters and election officials from throughout the Sixth District. Dockery's attorneys sought to demonstrate Red Shirt intimidation before the election and at the polls, as well as call to task the actions of men in Wilmington during the riot. Bellamy's attorneys aimed to remove the riot from the arguments since it occurred after the election and to show that the actual elections were carried out with little violence and intimidation. In instances where there were clear violations of election law, Bellamy's attorneys sought to discredit the witness. Dockery's attorneys were often frustrated by difficult witnesses favorable to the Democratic Party who would not fully answer questions. Pre-election intimidation led several Republican witnesses to acknowledge that they could not speak about all that they knew because they were fearful of the consequences for themselves or their families.[26] Newspapers across the state carried news of the proceedings and often reprinted portions of testimony, adding further to the public nature of the inquiry.[27] Despite setbacks, Dockery managed to file testimony in the House. Both he and Bellamy filed briefs on the case according to House rules, but no action was taken on the House floor on the

[23] Claude Bernard to John Griggs, April 22, 1899, General Records of the Department of Justice, National Archives, as quoted in McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 759.

[24] Acting Attorney General to Bernard, August 30, 1900, General Records of the Department of Justice, Instructions to United States Attorneys and Marshals as quoted in McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 760.

[25] *Wilmington Messenger*, December 6, 1898.

[26] For more information see *Contested Election Case of Oliver H. Dockery vs. John D. Bellamy from the Sixth Congressional District of the State of North Carolina.* The contested election case testimony has been very helpful in providing extra details of the events leading up to the violence of November tenth as well as those of that day. Most helpful was the testimony of former chief of police John Melton and several African American election officials.

[27] Most of the information concerning the contested election and testimony has been found in either newspaper accounts or the bound volume, *Contested Election Case,* in Bellamy's personal library at the Bellamy Mansion in Wilmington. Some contradictory testimony, unflattering to Bellamy, not found in the bound volume or in Democratic newspapers was found in the *Union Republican* of March, 15, 1900.

matter, and Bellamy took his seat in Congress.[28]

African American Reaction

In the weeks after the riot, Wilmington's black churches looked for answers while white congregations rejoiced. African American minister J. Allen Kirk noted that while a funeral was being performed at Central Baptist Church, the building was surrounded by whites who thought Kirk was in attendance. Kirk explained that the whites had visited ministers and other church leaders on the Saturday following the riot to find out what sermons would be preached on Sunday. Kirk, from a distance, and others in Wilmington sought to persuade blacks to "try by all means to keep the peace…ever trusting God." [29]

Kirk realized that the black ministers were leaders in the community and that whites planned removal of the ministers from the city to assure that the blacks who remained would be "better and obedient servants." [30] African American church leaders approached white leaders and were told that their services would not be interrupted. The sermons given on the Sunday following the riot contained elements of acquiescence and acceptance of their congregants' new situation as second-class, endangered, citizens. One correspondent who begged the president to interfere on her behalf informed him that "to day (Sunday) we dare not go to our places of worship."[31]

At Central Baptist Church, Pastor A. S. Dunston urged his congregation to "let the past bury the past" because "what is done cannot be undone." He wished for his followers to "be still, be quiet" and "all will be well." At St. Stephen's A. M. E. Church, home to one of the city's largest congregations, Pastor J. T. Lee had fled the city, and the sermon was given by Deacon L. B. Kennedy. Deacon Kennedy's sermon warned his flock to "watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation" as they did their duty to "obey God's laws," and to "do as the authorities direct." Following a similar strain of thought, Pastor E. R. Bennett of St. Mark's Protestant Episcopal Church reminded members to obey the law and Jesus' instruction to "[R]ender unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the

[28] A list of contested elections filed in the House Documents of the fifty-sixth Congress listed the calendar of filings for the *Dockery v Bellamy* case. However, in 1901, another House Document, *A Historical and Legal Digest of All the Contested Election Cases in the House of Representatives,* does not list the *Dockery vs Bellamy* case as being heard by a Committee on Elections in the Fifty-sixth Congress. Further, John D. Bellamy, in his autobiography, admitted that Dockery requested that Congress not permit him to take his seat in the House ,but, because of fraternal ties with many influential Washington insiders, among them Attorney General Griggs, he was able to escape investigation. An article in the Wilmington *Morning Star* in July 1899 indicated that Dockery's representative was in Washington filing papers on the case. The paper also stated that Republicans were focusing their attention on contesting the Bellamy election as well as assisting in contesting the election of Virginia Democrat, William Rhea. According to the *Digest of Contested Election Cases,* Rhea's contest was heard by a committee who ruled in his favor. United States House of Representatives, *House Documents*, "Letter from the Clerk of the House transmitting a List of the Contested Election Cases in the Fifty-Sixth Congress," Document No. 23, 56th Congress, 1st Session, December 5, 1899; Chester H. Rowell, *A Historical and Legal Digest of All the Contested Election Cases in the House of Representatives of the United States from the First to the Fifty-Sixth Congress, 1789-1901*, House Document No. 510, 56th Congress, 2nd Session, 1901, 581-2; Bellamy, *Memoirs of an Octogenarian*, 139-141.

[29] Kirk, *Statement of Facts,* 11, 15-16.

[30] Kirk, *Statement of Facts,* 11, 15-16.

[31] Unidentified author to President William McKinley, November 13, 1898, General Records of the Department of Justice, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

things that are God's." He contended that they should "obey first and argue afterwards" because "God will protect His own." Other congregations heard similar arguments, including Mt. Zion Afro-American Methodist Church where Pastor J. W. Telfair preached a funeral sermon for Sam McFarland, a casualty of the riot. Telfair described the tenth as a catastrophe wrought by God and that the congregation should "obey the law and keep the peace." Chestnut Street Presbyterian Church's pastor, J. A. Bonner, also preached submission to the will of God and white authority. At Christ Colored Congregational Church, F. C. Ragland's sermon encouraged members to "love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you and pray for them that abuse you." He also reminded the congregation of the abiding words spoken by their enslaved forefathers when he said that "God will avenge us" because "in His hands shall it rest," and that "He will act in His own good time." Ebenezer Baptist's minister also preached on following the letter of the law. St. Luke's African Methodist Episcopal Church, next door to the burned out remains of Manly's press, heard its minister, M. L. Blalock, discuss the fiery trials of Biblical figures and claim that "if the negro trusted in God and minded his own business . . . all would be well." [32]

In line with the ministers' pleas, blacks tempered their reactions in ways designed to restore peace, prevent further deaths, and encourage others to strive for calm. A letter from S. B. Hunter, a Wilmington resident and church leader, published in the papers endorsed appeasement. He explained that he voted without incident and that he believed the city's black women were as responsible as any other group for the violence. He claimed the women's threats against black men, challenging the men to violence, helped to fuel the conflict. [33] John C. Dancy, black Republican leader in local and state politics, explained that he tried to work with Manly to appease whites before the riot. He was quoted as saying that he was not forced out of town by whites but had left after calm was brought to the city. He urged that "people exercise good judgment" in order to relieve the "perturbed situation in the state" because he felt that "calm reason may appease." [34]

On the national level, following the rioting in the two Carolinas, conferences were held throughout the nation to protest against the Democrats' actions in the South.[35] One of the main organizing forces

[32] It is unclear how the newspapers were able to access such detailed snippets of all the sermons given at such a wide variety of African American churches, but, in printing the passages from the various ministers, the papers reinforced submission to whites to non-churchgoing blacks and demonstrated to whites that black leaders who remained were encouraging others not to retaliate. The article containing the sermon extracts was written by a correspondent from the *Baltimore Sun* and published in Wilmington, Raleigh, and Baltimore. The article could have been another Democratic propaganda tool. *Wilmington Messenger*, November 15, 1898; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 15, 1898; *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 15, 1898.

[33] *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 15, 1898.

[34] Throughout the post-violence period, Dancy walked a fine line between his black community and his attempts to hold the respect of white leaders as he sought to bridge the gap between the two and prevent further violence and hatred. Dancy's son wrote his memoirs and recalled that his father had been out of town on the day of the riot and that his step-mother frantically gathered her children to evacuate the city. *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 23, 1898; John Dancy, *Sand Against the Wind*, 69-70.

[35] The election day violence in Phoenix, South Carolina, and Wilmington's violence two days later were viewed by many northerners as evidence of the troubled nature of Southern black/white relations. Further evidence for these reformers were the laws on the books in many states, including Louisiana and Georgia, which limited African American suffrage.

behind these meetings was Timothy Thomas Fortune, an African American editor and activist in New York.[36] Fortune was well known in African American circles and corresponded regularly with Booker T. Washington. He called for changes to national laws to address failures of whites to protect the lives of black citizens in southern states. Further, in response to calls for black disfranchisement, Fortune argued that if blacks were to be removed from voting, that representation in the House of Representatives should be reapportioned to reflect the diminished voting population of southern states.[37]

The largest of the meetings was held on November 17, 1898, in New York at the Cooper Union. At the meeting, arranged by Fortune to coincide with similar meetings in other states, over 6,000 people Fortune and other African American leaders speak on the violence. Accounts of the "indignation meeting," as it was called by the Democratic press, were circulated to a multitude of outlets, including North Carolina papers. The meeting adopted a series of resolutions that protested the violence, derided state governors of North and South Carolina for

Editorial Cartoon, *New York World*, November 13, 1898.
Image Courtesy of Cape Fear Museum

their inaction, and pressured politicians for justice. One of the leading proposals that came from the meeting was an amendment to the U. S. Constitution to enable the president to step in and protect citizens from

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An issue of the *Literary Digest* published in New York at the end of November, combined the violence of the two states when it opened its long article on "Race Troubles in the Carolinas" with the statement that "more than thirty persons are said to have been killed . . . in North and South Carolina." "Race Troubles in the Carolinas," *Literary Digest* (New York), November 26, 1898.

[36] The Raleigh *Morning Post* noted that there was a concerted effort in many major cities to coordinate meetings throughout the northern states. At a meeting in New York, the city's ministers met to condemn the riots, and some argued that new Wilmington mayor Alfred M. Waddell, South Carolina politician Ben Tillman, and Wilmington's new police chief Edgar Parmele should be lynched. The ministers also took up collections to help Wilmington blacks. Meetings were held in Buffalo, New York, to press the president to "interfere in behalf of oppressed negroes in North and South Carolina." Yet another meeting took place in Asbury Park, New Jersey, in which Alex Manly figured prominently. Manly spoke at the meeting and explained his editorial. Attendees prepared a resolution to be sent to the president asking for assistance and took up a collection to help Manly. According to a telegraph sent to the Wilmington *Star* from someone in New York, Manly was not asked to speak at some meetings because it was claimed that "his ideas are of a somewhat radical nature and after a conference with him it was decided that he had better not deliver an address as his feelings might get the better of his prudence." *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 17, 24, 25, 1898; Raleigh *Morning Post*, November 15, 1898.

[37] *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 13, 1898; *Chicago Tribune*, November 18, 1898; *New York Times*, November 14, 1898; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 751; *Wilmington Messenger,* December 2, 1898.

mob rule without requests for assistance from governors.[38]

One of the speakers at the Cooper Union gathering who gained national and local attention was white activist Elizabeth Grannis. Grannis' speech challenging the color line was, like Manly's editorial, misquoted throughout the South, and she was ridiculed in the press. Hatred of Grannis grew to the point that secret meetings were held in Virginia and North Carolina to formulate speeches proclaiming white male disgust at her remarks. News of the organized hatred reached Grannis, and, on December 2, 1898, a letter from her was published in the *Wilmington Messenger.* In it, she defended her position even as she explained the mis-quote. The editor appended to her letter his own paternalistic observations that Grannis had simply chosen to be in the wrong place and in the wrong company. [39]

Other speakers, while just as controversial, did not attract equal attention. The Reverend W. H. Brooks believed the trouble was rooted in the white upper classes and that, when a few blacks "of the worst sort committed outrages," the whole of the black population suffered. Referring to Wilmington, he said that whites were "too strong" by virtue of the use of guns, telephones, and telegraphs. He urged blacks to remain vigilant and strong: "[O]ut of his trials and difficulties shall yet be developed a honest manhood" – bide their time but not to "die alone" in the last resort. [40]

Fortune's grassroots offensive against white supremacy faltered. Other black leaders seeking to ease tensions began to push for a stop to such meetings because, as one editor phrased it, "over zealous indignation meetings do the race irreparable harm."[41] William Henry Baldwin Jr., railroad magnate and Tuskegee trustee, wrote Booker T. Washington that he thought "Fortune and his kind are wrong . . . and, if they are allowed to go on as they have been, [they] will cause a bad setback to their people." Although some believed that Fortune was going about matters the wrong way, he shared the view that something should be done to address the violence. He expressed sympathy for Washington's position as a peacemaker and lamented that Washington had not been invited to speak on the issue in any major forum. Baldwin also noted that in Virginia, black railroad employees were being forced out of their jobs—"it never would have occurred but for the Wilmington troubles."[42]

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[38] The powers of the president to step into state matters were limited by both the Constitution and historical precedent. The rights of states to manage their own affairs were still hotly debated topics decades after the Civil War. President Theodore Roosevelt's failure to intervene following the Atlanta Riot in 1906 was attributed by some analysts to precedent set by McKinley. Following suit, McKinley's precedent should have been the action of President Cleveland in 1894 when he called out Federal troops to intervene in a railroad labor strike. Cleveland's crutch for calling out the military was that the mail services were being interrupted by stopped rail traffic. McKinley had no such recourse except for the intervention of the mob in their removal of federal commissioner Robert Bunting. *Chicago Tribune*, November 18, 1898; *New York Times*, November 14, 1898; Charles Crowe, "Racial Massacre in Atlanta, September 22, 1906," *Journal of Negro History* (April 1969): 167.

[39] Peter Mallett of Fayetteville noted in his day book that he read in the papers of an "excited meeting of negroes last night at Cooper Union." He also noted that they were "enflamed to wild excitement by a speech of Mrs. Grannis an old abolition hussy—should be lynched." Day book entry, November 18, 1898, Peter Mallet Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill. *Wilmington Messenger,* December 2, 1898; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 21, 1898.

[40] *New York Times,* November 14, 1898.

[41] Letter to editor from black editor, *Washington Post*, December 4, 1898.

[42] William H. Baldwin, Jr. to Booker T. Washington, December 4, 1898, as quoted in Harlan, *Booker T. Washington Papers*, 4: 525-6.

The Wilmington violence held far-reaching implications for blacks nationwide. The response of national black leaders such as Fortune and Washington was split between radical and conservative elements. The division, largely one of personal philosophy among black intellectuals, but it was also a boon to whites who sought to divide black opinion. A good example can be found in the Washington *Post* where Fortune was cast as an anti-Booker T. Washington radical and was misquoted. Fortune apologized to Washington, with whom he had a close relationship, about the *Post* interview, realizing that white newspapermen were sometimes less than honorable in their intentions. [43] The divide between black activists and intellectuals continued for years and reduced cohesion among black leadership.[44] Still, black leaders across the country united in advocating better treatment of blacks in the South—"we deplore the sad and barbarous incident at Wilmington, N. C. which has blacked the fair name of the Old North State."[45]

When local and national efforts failed to relieve pressures exerted by Democrats, Wilmington blacks left the city. The exodus continued into December, with the newspapers reporting that over 1,000 blacks had left since the violence in November. Reports said that many bought railroad tickets to points north of Richmond and south to South Carolina and Georgia, while others moved to rural New Hanover and surrounding counties. White men who depended upon rental income from black tenants saw a n immediate drop in revenue, particularly in the Brooklyn neighborhood. The paper sought to put a positive spin on the article by observing that many whites were filtering into the city to replace the lost black population. The editor surmised that as many as 250 to 300 whites had arrived recently in the city from other counties and that those new arrivals were filling the rental houses and searching for jobs "of all classes" vacated by blacks.[46]

Democrats Practice Damage Control

Wilmington Democrats sought in every way possible to counter the claims made by blacks nationwide. Alfred Moore Waddell's narrative in *Collier's Weekly*, published on November 26, 1898, became the standing story—whites performed an act of revolution to wrench the city from the

[43] Timothy T. Fortune to Booker T. Washington, November 30, 1898, as quoted in Harlan, *Booker T. Washington Papers*, 4:523-4.

[44] In a December 1898, article in the *Wilmington Messenger,* a black editor of the Africo-American Presbyterian in Charlotte "rakes" Booker T. Washington and "the able men of the black race who are in sympathy with that wise man" in an article. Another foreboding observation about the Charlotte editor is that the white press noted that he wrote "pacifically in places but the general tone leaves the impression of sore-headedness and growling," indicating that whites were paying close attention to black press and the tone of its product. In January 1899, Booker T. Washington was informed by Edward Clement, one of his white supporters in Massachusetts, that opposition to Washington's methods was growing among blacks. Clement told Washington that he was "impressed with the protests of such men as Dubois and Dunbar against the new outburst of intolerance in the South." Fortune's meetings, plus the networks established by men such as Washington and Dubois, provided the groundwork for what would eventually lead to the formation of other organizations such as the Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the twentieth century. Edward Clement to Booker T. Washington, January 2, 1899, as quoted in Harlan, *Booker T. Washington Papers*, 5:5; *Wilmington Messenger*, December 23, 1898.

[45] The Afro-American Council and several conferences of the African American Methodist Episcopal Zion Church met in the spring of 1899 and issued proclamations and memorials denouncing the violence. *Wilmington Messenger*, May 16, 1899, *Morning Star* (Wilmington), May 5, 1899.

[46] *Wilmington Messenger*, December 6, 1898.

brink of lawlessness and chaos.[47] Others, such as William Chadbourn, the white Wilmington Republican and businessman who converted to the Democratic Party under immense pressures, traveled to Chicago to dispute claims published by Wilmington exile William Henderson in the Chicago *Daily Blade*. Henderson was not banished from the city by force but was told to leave within hours of the first shots during the riot. An African American attorney, Henderson recounted his experiences for *The Freeman*, an Indianapolis paper. Henderson challenged the Democratic claims of negro domination of municipal offices and suggested that the reason for the violence was that the Democrats craved power. Henderson described the violence, as well as the flight from the city for his family.[48] In response, Chadbourn maintained that the unrest in Wilmington was due to the inefficient Fusion government and the Manly article. He said that he knew of no reason for Henderson to leave, countering Henderson's claims of threats against his life. Chadbourn contended that the solution to the problem was to establish limits on black suffrage. Ever the businessman, as leader of the city's chamber of commerce, Chadbourn's interview closed with claims that Wilmington was one of the most progressive cities in the south.[49] A. G. Ricaud, a former mayor and law partner of Governor Daniel Russell, gave an interview to the Baltimore *Sun*. Ricaud had relocated to the North and was a respected businessman but was enlisted to throw his support behind Waddell's administration. Ricaud's interview expressed his support for white supremacy but denounced bloodshed even as he favored a suffrage amendment to limit black voting rights.[50]

White Democrats also worked to ensure that their banishment and intimidation campaign succeeded in preventing the return of men who could effect change. The *Messenger* on December 20 warned banished men that to return would be to "tread on dangerous ground" and singled out Republican George Z. French. Another article justified the banishment process as law: "[P]ublic sentiment is primary law; primary law banished certain corrupt and offensive men from this community." The paper also warned blacks who might have "failed to comprehend or have forgotten the 10th of November" that "white men are determined to govern this city and county" and that "the 10th of November will prove to have been child's play to what the consequences will be to the negroes" if "insolent lawlessness" or "midnight deviltry" arise. The paper urged "decent" black residents to rid the community of troublemakers. [51] When one banished man, African American butcher Ari Bryant, returned home in June 1899, he discovered that whites were still willing to kill black men who challenged their authority. After the whites held a meeting to plan reinforcement strategies, armed white men surrounded Bryant's home with the intent to whip him and, if he had not escaped

[47] For a discussion of narratives of the riot, including that of Waddell, see Appendix M.

[48] Henderson recorded his life experiences in a diary that is currently in possession of family members. The diary was not available for research in the course of this report but, according to excerpts read by a descendant during the 1998 centennial commemorations in Wilmington, it contains valuable information relative to the riot, his escape, and life after Wilmington.

[49] *The Freeman* (Indianapolis), December 3, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), December 25, 30 1898; *Wilmington Messenger* December 27, 1898.

[50] *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 16, 1898. The article states that Ricaud had served as mayor from 1891 to 1893.

[51] *Wilmington Messenger,* December 20, 1898.

before their full arrival at his home, killing him.[52]

Legislation to Affirm Coup

As protests against the actions of November 10 spread throughout the country, and local whites marshaled arguments to justify their actions, the newly elected North Carolina legislature opened its first session in January 1899. One of the new legislature's central goals was to reverse Fusion reform at every level. Wilmington's leaders took a pivotal role in some of the changes, including a complete overhaul of the city's charter because, under the existing charter, Governor Russell could again nominate Republicans to posts on the Board of Aldermen at the next election in March, 1899.

Anticipating the changes to the charter, the Wilmington Chamber of Commerce met on December 1, 1898 to discuss proposals for the upcoming legislative session. The chamber saw opportunity to lobby for other projects at both the state and national levels, including appropriations to improve the harbor and navigation along the river.[53] At their meeting, the Chamber appointed a five-member committee to draft a new city charter, and "confer and advise with the representatives to the General Assembly."[54] As soon as the new legislature convened, George Rountree introduced the changes to the charter, and, after some dispute in both Wilmington and the legislature, the new charter was passed into law on March 4, 1899.[55] The changes were a complete repeal of the Fusionist alterations to the charter in 1895 and 1897. The 1899 charter solidified Democrats' control over the city. Aldermen were to be popularly elected from each ward, primaries were to be held in response to public demand, voter eligibility could be more easily challenged, and safeguards against voter fraud were strengthened. A lucrative salary was re-established for the mayor.[56] Further, the charter empowered the mayor to force unemployed "vagrants" to leave the city or work on the city's streets for thirty days if they failed to find a job.[57] Subsequent to the legislature's changes to the city charter, municipal elections were held in March 1899, and the new Board of Aldermen was elected to serve for a two-year term. Few blacks registered to vote in the election, and no Republican candidates were nominated in the two predominantly black wards, thereby

[52] Some reports circulated through town that Bryant had been forewarned of the arrival of the mob and had been "harbored" by A. J. Taylor, white businessman. Taylor subsequently proclaimed he was not involved other than encouraging Bryant to leave the city. Bryant felt that instead of just administering a whipping, the mob intended to "pepper him with bullets from Winchesters." Another report from earlier in 1899 warned former chief of police John Melton not to return because another exile had tried to return and he had been frightened into leaving again because "one night voices were heard and forms were seen ominously circumambulating around his house . . . [it was] never learned whether it were Rough Riders or ghosts that made the manifestations." *Wilmington Messenger*, March 31 and June 18, 21, 23,1899.

[53] *Wilmington Messenger* December 6, 1898.

[54] *Wilmington Messenger* December 6, 1898.

[55] Party infighting among Wilmington Democrats led to some problems in the months immediately following the violence and coup. McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 771-773.

[56] The 1866 charter established the mayor's salary at $2,000 per year, but the 1895 and 1897 changes lowered the annual salary to $1,000. The 1899 charter raised the salary to between $1,200 and $2,000 per year. *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1866, 1895, 1897*. For more notes on the changes to the city charter over time, see Appendix C.

[57] As Mayor, Waddell received an annual salary between $1,200 and $2,000 according to the 1899 charter. Subsequent changes were made to the charter at the 1901, 1903, and 1905 sessions. *Private Laws of the State of North Carolina Passed by the General Assembly at its Session of 1899* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton and E. M. Uzzell, 1899), 591-596.

giving the Democratic ticket no opposition. Therefore, with the changes to the charter made by the legislature at the recommendation of the city's leaders, the coup was affirmed, and those men brought to power as a result were legitimized in their positions for another two years in office. [58]

To further solidify Democratic control over county governments statewide, on March 6, 1899, the legislature ratified "An Act to Restore Good Government to the Counties of North Carolina." The act applied to New Hanover and 12 other counties, primarily those with black majorities or near majorities. The law removed the election of county commissioners from popular vote and placed the responsibility with justices of the peace appointed by the General Assembly. This Act singly rejected local self rule by popular vote as created by Fusionists and replaced it with local government controlled by the legislature. Democrats, as a result, were able to ensure the success of their agenda and their candidates in future elections.[59]

The Democrats also laid plans to carry the 1900 elections. The legislature of 1899 moved quickly to revise statewide election laws for the 1900 elections. At the head of the Democrats' election reform agenda was a plan to vest control over elections in both a seven-man State Board of Elections and in local county boards of elections. The new boards would have the power to appoint registrars and other election officials and redraw precinct lines as they saw fit. Further control over voting structure came as the Democrats redefined registration processes to make voter qualification and registration more difficult and make challenges to voter eligibility easier for Democrats. [60]

Fulfilling campaign promises, the Democratic legislature passed its first measures to legislate segregation. The first of the new Jim Crow laws—segregation of train compartments—was passed by the 1899 legislature after debate and discussion over wording. The action ushered in a series of "separate but equal" legislation efforts wherein virtually all aspects of interaction between African Americans and whites were legally codified. [61] In Wilmington, Jim Crow legislation was immediately applied to the trains and trolleys but was later applied to other aspects of life, including the courts. In 1903, a local court judge ruled that blacks and whites must use separate Bibles when being sworn in to give testimony.[62]

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[58] The new Board of Aldermen were C. L. Spencer, J. M. Woolard, William E. Springer, Henry P. West, Hugh MacRae, J. A. Taylor, C. W. Worth, John Harriss, C. C. Parker, F. A. Montgomery, and J. F. Littleton. Alfred Moore Waddell was unanimously elected mayor. Minutes of the Wilmington Board of Aldermen, 1899, State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), March 14 – 24, 1899.

[59] McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 775-776; House Journal, 1899; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), March 1-6, 1899.

[60] *Public Laws of North Carolina, 1899*; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 784-5.

[61] Legislation associated with Jim Crow, or segregation, eventually applied to all aspects of life. Politicians sought to segregate textbooks for schools, cadavers sent to white and black medical schools, all public facilities and, eventually, they sought to force blacks into separate housing and communities. Helen Edmunds, *Negro in Fusion Politics,* 189-190; James Leloudis, *Schooling the New South,* 137; C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 100-102; Williamson, *Crucible of Race,* 253-254; Edward Ayers, *The Promise of the New South,* 429.

[62] Wilmington whites consistently reworked the rules for segregating the city's street cars and, in 1907, after passage of a new street car law, blacks boycotted the system, reducing patronage by 50 to 75 percent. The transportation companies were concerned about the impact the boycott might have but were reassured that it would not last because similar boycotts in other cities had been only temporary. Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 268-269.

Disfranchisement

After the euphoria of election victory settled and the state returned to relative calm, calls for disfranchisement of the black vote arose. The *News and Observer* proclaimed that the "the lessons of the recent past teach that it is neither prudent nor wise to delay a permanent solution of the suffrage problem." As the voice of the Democratic Party, the paper acknowledged that "the people have voted to put an end" to black suffrage and its complement of "problems" for white voters. Further, the paper saw the overwhelming Democratic victory as a mandate for the new legislature to "settle once and all time the question of regulating suffrage."[63]

In response to the call by Democratic Party leaders for limits on suffrage, the General Assembly manufactured legislation under the hands of George Rountree, Francis Winston, and others as a solution to the perceived "problem" of black voting.[64] The suffrage amendment went through several mutations before it was ratified by the General Assembly on February 21, 1899. The amendment was based on similar legislation passed in other states and relied on recent court decisions that supported the rights of states to disfranchise citizens through literacy tests.[65] Opposition to the bill came from Populists who claimed that the scheme's plan to disfranchise those who would fail to qualify to vote possibly would ensnare some white men and remove their ability to vote. Democrats conceded that some whites would have to sacrifice their vote for the greater good of the white population. The final version of the suffrage amendment required voters to pass a literacy test and pay a poll tax. To assure skeptics that illiterate whites would not be disfranchised, the amendment included a grandfather clause: "[N]o male person who was on January 1, 1867, or at any time prior thereto, entitled to vote under the laws of the state in the United States wherein he then resided, and no lineal descendent of such person, shall be denied the right to register to vote at any election in this State by reason of his failure to pass the education qualification." A codicil to the grandfather clause was that it was only effective through December 1, 1908. After that date, all men who were not already registered would have to pass the literacy test. The amendment as constructed in the legislature went to the voters for passage during the November general elections.[66]

Blacks reacted to the suffrage amendment in various ways, reflecting the ideological split between various national factions. Men such as Wilmington's John C. Dancy, who sought peaceful accommodation of the stronger white demands for limited suffrage, voiced their concerns cautiously. Over 80 of these men, including Dancy and Congressman George White, met in Raleigh ask that legislators not "blunt our aspirations, ruin our manhood

[63] *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 23, 1898.

[64] In this context, the "negro problem" centered on the rights of blacks to vote, and the argument was made that blacks should not have been given the right to vote as soon as they were granted freedom after the Civil War, but, instead, the right to vote should be earned through dutiful employment and proper education. For an argument posited by whites concerning black suffrage, see Rountree's "Memorandum of My Personal Reasons for the Passage of the Suffrage Amendment to the Constitution" in the Henry G. Connor Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

[65] In an 1898 court case, *Williams v. Mississippi*, the United States Supreme Court sanctioned the right of a state to disfranchise its citizens by means of a literacy test. The primary purpose of the test was aimed at eliminating the black vote, but the court declared it legal because the law never mentioned race. Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 304.

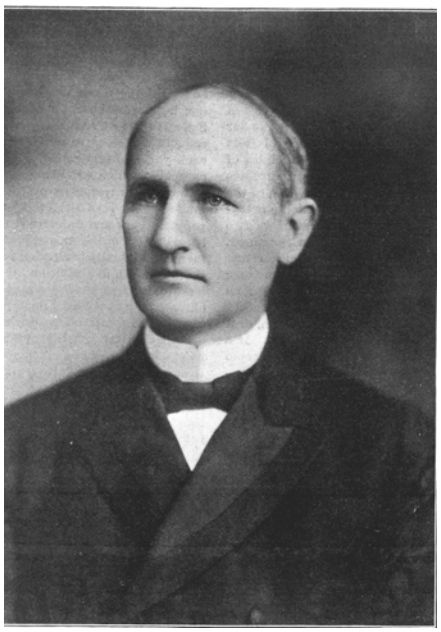
[66] *Wilmington Messenger,* December 2, 1898; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 780-9.

and lessen our usefulness as citizens, but guarantee us an equal chance with other men to work out our destiny." The request represented a compromise within the black community because more radical leaders such as George White preferred to promote emigration from the state should the Democrats make their lives in the state "intolerable." [67]

Despite the efforts of black leaders to temper Democratic Party leaders in the legislature, the suffrage amendment went to the voters as a referendum in 1900. Because of the 1899 legislature's multitude of changes to Fusion legislation—all intended to reverse the gains made for average voters—blacks were unable to use their collective voice at the polls in 1900. And because few were willing to brave the Red Shirt intimidation and register to vote, the overall outcome favored the Democrats.[68]

1900 Election

The 1900 election season and subsequent Democratic victory closed the door on Republicans and their involvement in state politics. At the top of the election season agenda was ratification of the suffrage amendment to limit black voting. Furnifold Simmons led the Democratic campaign that again manifested itself in print, speeches, and intimidation. The Raleigh *News and Observer* led the way among newspapers; popular speaker and gubernatorial candidate Charles B. Aycock traveled throughout the state with other speakers to preach the Democratic Party mantra of white supremacy; and Red Shirts again were on the ride, using intimidation and fear to maintain solidarity of whites and repression of blacks.



Governor Charles Brantley Aycock
On November 11, 1898, Aycock wrote that the 1898 election victory was "a glorious victory that we have won and the very extent of it frightened me. We shall need wisdom to prove ourselves worthy of it." He concluded his letter by stating that he "regret[ted] the Wilmington affair of yesterday greatly."

Charles B. Aycock to Henry G. Connor, Henry G. Connor Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill. Image: North Carolina State Archives.

As a result of the violent and wel-organized Democratic campaign of 1898 and the ensuing changes to state government, Populists and Republicans were in disarray. Both parties acknowledged that the issue of race was problematic and minimized the topic in their campaigns. Even as early as October 1898, Populists had realized that courting black voters had once been necessary, but, in light of the success of the white supremacy platform, such methods were now "inadequate and

[67] White eventually relocated to the north and founded Whitesboro, New Jersey for the resettlement of Wilmington refugees. McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 782.

[68] Crow and Hatley, *Black Americans in North Carolina and the South*, 149.

unadvisable."[69] In Wilmington, Benjamin Keith tried unsuccessfully to revive the Populist Party for the 1900 elections through attempts to unite men who were opposed to the activities of Red Shirts. Populists saw much danger in the Red Shirt campaign and feared that further encouragement of Red Shirts by Democrats would lead to voter intimidation statewide, as well as "riot, slander, abuse, physical violence and general anarchy." They attempted to diffuse the crux of the Democratic Party's campaign— white supremacy and fear of "negro domination"—by removing it from the stage. Fusionist Jeter Pritchard acknowledged that "candidacy of colored people at this time for local offices would do more to assist the Democrats in their unjust and unwarranted assertions, than all other causes combined."[70]

Governor Daniel Russell and the Republicans also strove to counter Democratic assertions of negro rule. In early 1900, Russell said that if Southerners had accepted more readily the early terms of Reconstruction, Congress would not have been forced to press black suffrage on southerners in the Fifteenth Amendment. He argued that the suffrage amendment proposed in North Carolina sought to negate the federal amendment and challenged northern Republicans to become more involved in assuring the rights of blacks as they had done after the Civil War. Russell's arguments were misinterpreted by many whites in North Carolina, who chose to believe that he was, at heart, in support of the suffrage amendment. The resulting squabble in newspapers separated Russell further from the Republican Party. Because of such misunderstandings, the disjointed party could not mount an offensive against the emboldened and more powerful Democratic campaign leader Furnifold Simmons.[71]

Simmons and his Democratic Party workers followed the same plan as 1898, adding the suffrage amendment into the mix. Red Shirts, White Government Unions, rallies, and print campaigns followed much of the same pattern. However, the tone was stronger and focused on maintaining the upper hand gained by victories in 1898. In a July 1900 rally, speakers proposed to remove the black vote from politics through "peaceful methods" but reserved the option of force "if a conflict comes."[72]

Throughout the 1900 campaign, Wilmington was quiet because Republican, Populist, and black opposition had already been crushed. Non-Democratic whites still were intimidated and blacks continuously were told not to let troublemakers into their community. The Democratic tickets in the county were unopposed, and only a few eligible black voters who remained in the city registered to vote. New Hanover had the fewest votes of any other county in the state against the suffrage amendment with only two votes cast against it and 2,967 cast for it.[73] Democrats also manipulated the gubernatorial election: New Hanover had returned a Republican majority in every governor's race from 1868 until 1896 with only one exception but in the 1900 election,

[69] Joseph M. King to Marion Butler, October 25, 1898, Marion Butler Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

[70] Hal Ayer to Marion Butler, December 30, 1899, Marion Butler Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Jeter Pritchard to Charles N. Hunter, January 26, 1900, Charles N. Hunter Papers, Duke University Library, Durham.

[71] Crow, *Maverick Republican,* 145-148.

[72] Washington *Post,* July 27, 1900.

[73] The overall state totals in November, 1900, for approval of the amendment was 182,217 votes for the amendment and 128,285 against the amendment. The counties where the amendment was defeated were western counties with black minorities such as Wilkes, Rutherford, Anson, and Henderson. *Wilmington Messenger,* August 5, 1900; R. D. W. Connor, ed., *A Manual of North Carolina*, (Raleigh: Ussell & Co., 1913), 1016-1018.

the county was overwhelmingly Democratic for Aycock as governor. The violence, plus changes to the charter, election laws, and county government had all combined to eliminate the black voice in political matters. Not one of the "black" counties voted against the suffrage amendment, showing the wide-reaching effects of the birth of white supremacy in 1898. The result—one party rule—took root in the state and Republicans did not elect another candidate to statewide office for 70 years.

Historical Voting Statistics for New Hanover County

Governor

Year	Total Vote	% of Vote Democrat	% of Vote Republican	% of Vote Other	Plurality Dem/Rep
1868	5,799	38.5	61.5		1,337 (R)
1872	5,875	38.5	61.5		1,353 (R)
1876	4,610	35.2	64.8		1,366 (R)
1880	3,708	36.74	63.3		990 (R)
1884	4,629	37.8	62.2		1,127 (R)
1888	4,740	39.7	60.2	0.1	976 (R)
1892	3,960	61.8	33.5	4.7	1,121 (D)
1896	2,218	40.8	57.8	1.4	927 (R)
1900	2,966	99.9	0.1		2,960 (D)

President

Year	Total Vote	% of Vote Democrat	% of Vote Republican	% of Vote Other	Plurality Dem/Rep
1868	6,258	36.6	63.4		1,678 (R)
1872	5,322	35.3	64.7		1,568 (R)
1876	4,628	35.3	64.7		1,117 (R)
1880	3,638	39.5	60.5		762 (R)
1884	4,639	37.6	62.4		1,149 (R)
1888	4,726	39.6	60.4		986 (R)
1892	3,946	61.0	38.0	1.0	908 (D)
1896	5,283	39.8	60.2		1,083 (R)
1900	2,307	97.4	2.6		2,187 (D)

Source: Donald Matthews, *North Carolina Votes: General Election Returns* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1962)

Moving Forward

For residents of Wilmington who were not members of the White Government Union, Red Shirt brigade, or the Democratic Party, recovery from the 1898 election campaign and violence was difficult. Most of these men and women, primarily African Americans, maintained a tenuous existence as wage earners in the households or on the docks of white employers. Upper-class African American families maintained their property ownership, but their sons and daughters began to move away from the city.[74]

Former Democrats who had switched to Fusion tried to salvage their political and social standing. Frank Dempsey, a white man, was forced to resign his position on the New Hanover County Board of Education and later wrote in the papers that he would not "be led off as [he] was before by designing men and intend not to serve in any office in which a negro [was] with [him] in said office." Wilmington grew increasingly hostile to white non-Democrats, and many men sought to make peace with the new Democratic power brokers or—like W. J. Harris and L. H. Bryant—to simply leave the city because of hostilities.[75] The Democratic Party also tried to keep other people under its thumb. When a rumor circulated that President McKinley planed to return George French to the city as postmaster, local businessmen sent a petition to McKinley—"Mr. French has rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the citizens here, and his presence . . . would roughly jar the peace . . . that now possesses the community." They also threatened French, who, they contended, was "sufficiently aware of the temper of the white people of Wilmington to know that it would not do for him to return to this city even with a United States commission in his pocket."[76]

The "negro problem" continued even after the disfranchisement amendment was ratified. Many felt the answer to the "question" was two-fold—disfranchisement and proper education. Some white educators such as Charles L. Coon attempted to provide what they deemed a proper education for blacks—primarily the training to be good workers. Reflecting the sentiment in newspapers and intellectual discussions in both black and white circles, John J. Blair, white superintendent of New Hanover County schools in 1905, believed that the "solution of the race problem" was in the proper education of African American boys and girls. He thought black education should teach a student "how to live and how to labor … to sustain himself and aid others, to gain from his books a reasonable amount of learning and receive lasting lessons in morals and manners."[77] Conversely, men such as Alfred Moore Waddell thought that whites should quit trying to educate blacks because it would not solve "social and political evils." Such men who became known as exclusionists pointed out the failure of black education—for it made blacks more assertive. They perceived that new generations of blacks were not complacent but instead were "indifferent, unreliable, untrained, and indolent" as a result of an educational system that promoted equal education for both races.[78]

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[74] For a good overview of Wilmington's African American community, see Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*.

[75] For articles demonstrating how Wilmington's climate changed for non-Democrats, see the *Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 16, 17, 1898, and the *Wilmington Messenger,* November 16 – December 7, 1898. *Contested Election Case,* 387, 394.

[76] *Wilmington Messenger* August 1, 1899; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), August 3, 1899; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 790.

[77] Blair quoted from *Wilmington Messenger*, June 7, 1905 as found in Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 154.

[78] Waddell as quoted in Leloudis, *Schooling the New South*, 177-8.

Changes for African American Education

Despite the differing opinions expressed regarding African American education, Wilmington boasted some of the best educational options for blacks in North Carolina. The city was home to a series of well established public and private institutions for both primary and secondary learning. Many of the city's graduates moved to universities and colleges elsewhere in the state and nation. [79]

Progressive educator and county school superintendent, M. C. S. Noble left the city in 1898. His departure was a setback for the city's educational system. While in Wilmington, Noble, a graduate of the University of North Carolina, proved himself to be a man of great insight and an advocate of equality in education. He left Wilmington in 1898 and moved back to Chapel Hill to become a professor. Noble understood that the education of whites and blacks should parallel each other. He thought that if whites were shown that blacks could be well educated and could use their education for the benefit of society, relationships would improve over time. He argued that Orange County should fund a black educational institute "in the shadow" of UNC because "a good, practical, successful school right before their [white students at UNC] eyes from day to day [would] be a compelling argument for negro education which [would] bear fruit when these students [took] their place as men in the public affairs of the state." [80] Noble envisioned a school that would combine practical skills education, such as carpentry and trades, with literary studies. Noble's ideal school was loosely tied to the model proposed by many educators who applauded the success of the Tuskegee Institute. As a result, African American schools began to focus on trades and the goal of producing better workers.[81]

Analysis of the impact of the 1898 campaign and violence on schools in Wilmington and New Hanover County is difficult because many records have been destroyed over time. However, the minutes of the New Hanover County Commissioners and the records of the State Department of Public Instruction document spending for schools before and after the violence of November 1898. Better teacher pay encouraged the recruitment and retention of good teachers; low teacher pay resulted in lower teacher recruitment standards. Low

[79] For more on Wilmington's educational system, see Appendix E.

[80] M. C. S. Noble as quoted by James Leloudis in *Schooling the New South: Pedagogy, Self, and Society in North Carolina, 1880-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1996), 200. It is interesting to note that Noble, in writing the history of public education in North Carolina, failed to mention the growth of Wilmington's schools when discussing the progressive nature of statewide education in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Noble apparently made the early start on his career as a result of the progressive nature of his work in Wilmington. Despite his progressive steps in the city school system, Wilmington's black students still suffered financial setbacks and reflected a larger problem for black education statewide. M. C. S. Noble, *A History of the Public Schools of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930).

[81] Leloudis explained that the vocational curricula of Booker T. Washington's highly successful Tuskegee Institute offered white educators an option for improving black educational programs. Training blacks to be good workers in trades and agriculture became a major focus designed to addressed what whites perceived as the needs and desires of blacks. "Industrial education promised to cultivate a new sense of self and social place among African American school children, convincing them to accept their subordination as a normal and inevitable fact of life." Aiding in the development of vocational training was the arrival of Jeannes teachers in the first decades of the 20th century. Funded by a northern philanthropist, Jeannes teachers traveled the state and taught students and teachers on a variety of topics. Leloudis, *Schooling the New South,* 148, 182, 184-185.

funding also resulted in an inadequate supply of textbooks and materials. Financial disparity among the schools was legitimized in statewide legislation in 1883 and 1885 when the Democratic legislature codified local practices. The legislation authorized school districts to distribute tax revenue along racial lines. Historian James Leloudis declared that "this method of financing stood to cripple black education." [82] Again, after regaining full control of state government through the 1900 election, Democrats sought to limit funding for black schools through two bills in 1901. Governor Charles Aycock felt that black education was the answer to the "negro question" and used his influence to quash the legislation. He insisted that whites could not continue to rule through "force and repression" and that whites had a vested interest in black education.[83] Despite attempts by men such as Aycock to advocate for educational standards, the trend of reduced school funding persisted. The only way Wilmington's black schools were able to provide any degree of higher education to students was through northern benevolence and the determination of local African American leaders to press for the best options for their children.[84]

There were two districts for whites and two for blacks in the city.[85] Although black school-age children outnumbered white school-age children both before and after November 10, 1898, the city's schools for black students were regularly given less funding for maintenance, books, and salaries than were the white schools.[86] The gap between funding for white schools and black schools grew wider after 1898.[87] White

[82] The 1883 legislation became known as the Dortch law for the state senator, William Dortch of Goldsboro, who introduced the bill. The Dortch law was denounced by many African American leaders and was eventually declared unconstitutional. Subsequent legislation in 1885 reworked the Dortch law and gave leniency to local districts to distribute their wealth as they saw fit. Leloudis, *Schooling the New South*, 121-122.

[83] Aycock realized that limiting school funding based on racial taxation possibly would invite federal intervention. He also advocated that black students be properly educated through curriculum and care tightly controlled by North Carolina whites. Aycock chose to promote fully the separation of the races in education to, in the end, benefit the black race to fit them into their subordinate role, peacefully forcing the black population into a different set of rules for education. Leloudis, *Schooling the New South*, 177-180; Connor and Poe, *Life and Speeches of Charles B. Aycock.*

[84] Donations for salaries, supplies, and school buildings for Wilmington and elsewhere in North Carolina came from northern benefactors such as George Peabody, James Gregory, the American Missionary Association, and, later, from the philanthropy of Julius Rosenwald, whose funds contributed greatly to the construction of school buildings in the 1920s. Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 144-173.

[85] The two white districts were Hemenway and Union School. The two black districts were Peabody and Williston.

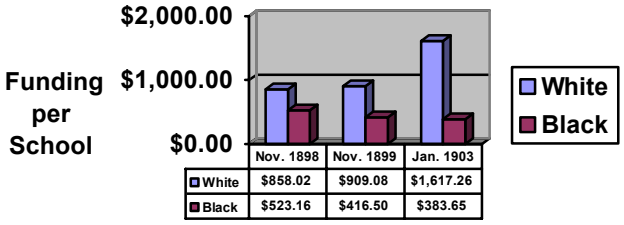
[86] In July 1898, there were 1,763 white students (55 percent of all white school age children in the county) enrolled in Wilmington public schools and 2,290 black students (51 percent of black school age children in the county). The property values of the white schools in the county totaled $37,250.00 and the property values of the black schools totaled $12,850.00. Report of Superintendent M. C. S. Noble to State Department of Public Instruction, July, 1898, Superintendent's Reports, Records of the Department of Public Instruction, State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[87] In July 1899, the number of students of both races declined to only 1,188 white students (57 percent of all white school age children in the county) and 2,110 black students (47 percent of all black school age children in the county). However, property values increased to $76,690.00 for white schools and $17,500.00 for black schools. The numbers gap again deepened in 1900 and 1901. By 1901, 40 percent (1,175) of the African American school-age children in the county attended school and 63 percent (2,087) of the white school-age children attended schools. That year, white school properties were valued at $82,600.00 and black school properties were valued at $18,050.00. Leloudis noted that the result of low funding for black schools resulted in "overcrowded, ramshackle classrooms."

educators, administrators and politicians justified the disparity by again referring to the amount of taxes paid by whites and blacks.[88] Because whites traditionally paid more taxes for property and businesses, their taxes were considerably more than those of blacks who owned little taxable property.

Statistics reflect inequity in funding for the black schools. In November 1898, white schools were given $858.02 to operate whereas black schools were given $523.16. Operating costs included maintenance, textbooks, wood for heat, janitorial services, and other standard operations. A year later, white schools received an average of $909.08 per school, and black schools received $416.50 per school. By January 1903, the figures grew still more disproportionate with white schools receiving $1,617.26 and black schools receiving $383.65 per school in the city district. Statewide, black teachers were paid significantly less than white teachers, and school buildings for blacks received much less funding for construction and repair. The following table shows funds provided to Wilmington schools for all expenses except teacher salaries. White schools consistently received more funding even though black schools served more students. The difference grew dramatically from a gap of just over $300 per school in 1898 to over $1,200 per school in 1903. [89] Although Wilmington is at the center of this study, the effects of the white supremacy campaign did not affect the city's schools disproportionately when compared to other schools in the state.[90]

Wilmington City School Disbursements



The difficulties faced by African American schools were exacerbated by low teacher pay. Before the coup and violence of November 10, 1898, Wilmington's black teachers were paid an average of $1.20 per month less than white teachers.[91] A year later, white teachers in the city received $7.08 more than their black colleagues. By 1900 the disparity was even greater, with

Report of Superintendent of New Hanover County Schools to State Department of Public Instruction, July, 1899, July 1900, July 1901, Superintendent's Reports, Records of the Department of Public Instruction, State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh; Leloudis, *Schooling the New South*, 211.

[88] References to amounts of taxes paid by both races as reason for differences in school funding can be seen in contemporary literature generated by reports of the Department of Public Instruction as well as in newspapers, letters and legislative actions. Tables in the *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina for the Scholastic Years 1898-99 and 1899-1900* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1900) show the amounts apportioned to white and black schools according to taxation and property valuations for the county. Data for the report was culled from the reports filed by the county superintendent.

[89] Minutes of the New Hanover County Commissioners, State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[90] In 1927, an article published in *The Crisis*, published by W. E. B. DuBois for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, showed that African American schools in North Carolina were still funded at rates significantly lower that white counterparts. Leloudis, *Schooling the New South*, 226.

[91] The average pay for white teachers in November, 1898 was $36.84 and $$35.64 for black teachers. Minutes of the New Hanover County Commissioners, State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

Average Monthly Salaries of New Hanover Teachers by Race

	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905
White	36.23	38.40	53.39	52.50	38.00	44.00	48.38	48.38	42.70
Black	35.23	35.38	38.55	36.58	29.00	30.00	32.60	30.10	35.00

Average Monthly Salaries of North Carolina Teachers by Race

	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905
White	22.01	23.81	25.24	24.80	25.40	26.79	28.37	29.05	31.40
Black	19.90	20.75	21.12	20.48	22.07	22.19	22.64	22.27	23.00

Source: Annual Reports of the North Carolina Superintendent of Public Instruction

municipal white teachers earning almost $16 per month more than blacks.[92] Men were routinely paid more than women, and administrators, who were also teachers, received higher pay. However, race skewed the formula. For example, Mary E. Cook, white principal at Union School was the teacher with the highest pay at $60 for her work in November 1898. John A. Holt, black principal at Williston, was paid $40 that same month.[93]

The city's African American leaders pressed the Board of Education for improvements to the school system. In 1920, a group of leaders appealed to the board to improve education across the board for the city's blacks: "The negro citizens respectfully appeal to your body for a larger, more adequate, more intensive personal interest in the education of our people by your people."[94] Such requests reflected a growing effort across the state to improve traditionally African American school districts through better funding, better organization of African American teachers, and improved curriculum.[95]

Employment

The "White Labor Movement," was characterized by organized groups of white workers who sought employment in fields traditionally dominated by black workers, received much attention after the coup.[96]

[92] Average white pay in November 1899 was $39.83 and average black teacher salaries were $32.75. In 1900, the average salary of white teachers was $52.50 and $36.58 for African Americans. Minutes of the New Hanover County Commissioners, State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh; Report of Superintendent of New Hanover County Schools to State Department of Public Instruction, July 1900, Superintendent's Reports, Records of the Department of Public Instruction, State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[93] For more information on Wilmington's teachers and their pay, see Appendix E. Minutes of the New Hanover County Commissioners, State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[94] *Morning Star* (Wilmington), June 11, 1920.

[95] Another white philanthropist, Julius Rosenwald, helped to fund the construction of around 767 schools in the state beginning in 1915, including seven in Wilmington. The North Carolina Teacher's Association, founded by Wilmington's Charles Moore in 1880, did not gain in membership and collective strength until 1900. Thomas W. Hanchett, "The Rosenwald Schools and Black Education in North Carolina, *North Carolina Historical Review*, October, 1988, 387-444; Percy E. Murray, *History of the North Carolina Teacher's Association,* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, [1984]), 15-19, 33.

[96] The White Laborer's Union held a meeting on November 21 and persisted as an organized force into the following year. Union members sported lapel pins and adopted their goal, "to aid and assist white men in obtaining situations and work which previously had largely been occupied by negroes." The Union accomplished its objective by forming committees to visit businessmen and encourage white hiring. The Union also pressured the county into opening a night school to educate white children who were working during the day. Democratic Party leaders sought to control the Union and warned it not to get involved in politics, drawing a connection between union involvement in politics and the failures of the Farmers' Alliance. *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington),

Not only did the Wilmington Chamber of Commerce work to ensure the hiring of whites and the firing of blacks, but others in the state watched the labor movement in Wilmington closely. Newspapers reported that the Union had secured permanent jobs for over 60 white men and anticipated placing many more with leading manufacturers in the city. Across the board, blacks saw themselves replaced by white workers, many of whom agreed to do "disagreeable and arduous work." White laborers streamed into the city from the countryside, motivated in part by sinking prices for farm products. To promote white employment, the newspapers promised to print the names of white workers and their fields to assist employers who needed mechanics, draymen, masons, carpenters, and other skilled workers.[97]

Among the jobs dominated by African American labor before November 1898 were stevedores, dock workers who loaded and off-loaded goods between ships and warehouses along the shore. Beginning in 1891, stevedores had to register and post a bond to operate. Typically, there was a "boss" stevedore who organized several other men under his supervision. One of the requirements placed upon the bosses was the obligation to promptly handle contracts and to pay employees accordingly. Between 1891 and 1898, of the stevedore bonds issued, seven were issued for whites and three for blacks. One of the black firms was Waddell and Newkirk, operated by Cato Waddell and Thomas Newkirk. Another was operated by Andrew J. Walker and Charles Forman. The black firm with the most staying power was Lee, Starnes, and Company, operated by Joseph Starnes, Major Lee, Fred Williams, and John Turner. Joseph McFarland and Henry Robinson joined the operation in 1895. Lee, Starnes, and Company must have been one of the more organized and profitable stevedore companies because, in 1898, two of its African American principals, Major Lee and Henry Robinson, partnered with two whites, J. W. H. Fuchs and W. W. Harriss, to establish the Wilmington Stevedore Company. The Wilmington Stevedore Company soon became the major source for stevedore labor. By 1900, the Wilmington Stevedore Company was an altogether white operation with no mention of either Lee or Robinson.[98]

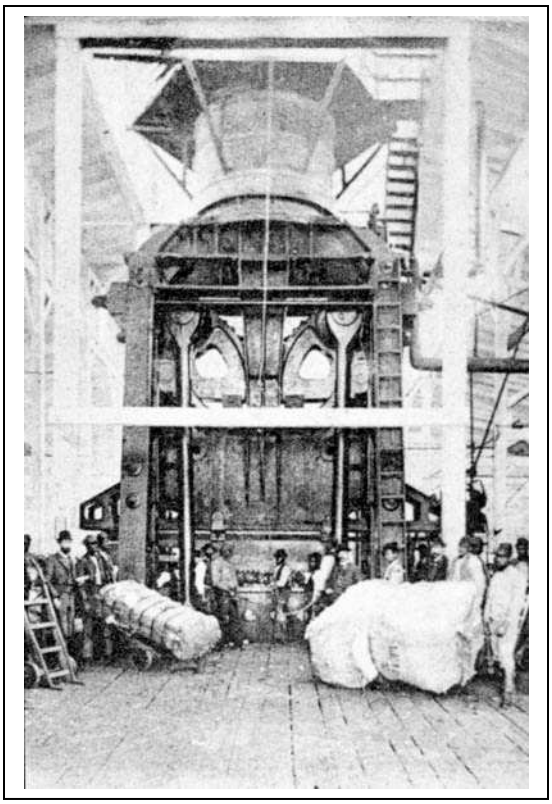
Not all employers abandoned their black laborers in the face of the pressures of the White Labor Movement. James Sprunt maintained his practice of hiring black workers at his cotton compress. Within three days of the riot, his businesses were again operating and ships were coming into port. Newspapers made a point to show that the city and its businesses were recuperating from the riot. However, all was not well in the shipping businesses since many African American draymen still had not returned to work. This point was particularly troublesome for Sprunt and his compress because Sprunt faced immediate financial loss if his crews could not off-load ships waiting at anchor. On November 13 it was reported that Sprunt

November 21, 1898; *Wilmington Messenger*, February 7, March 5, 7, 1899.

[97] "If Wilmington shall find that white labor can be successfully substituted for colored, other towns will not be slow to follow her lead." The paper also noted that the topic was of statewide interest to blacks and whites alike. A brief complaint was made in the *Messenger* when it was discovered that an all-black crew led by a black foreman had secured a contract to tear down an old building on Front Street when white workers were available. Further analysis of the changes in the labor market for African Americans can be found in Chapter 8 and Appendix N. *News and Observer* (Raleigh), December 15, 1898; *Morning Star* (Wilmington), February 3, 1898; *Wilmington Messenger*, February 21, March 18, 1899.

[98] New Hanover County Official's Bonds, State Archives, Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

Sprunt Compress Employees
Image: New Hanover County Public Library

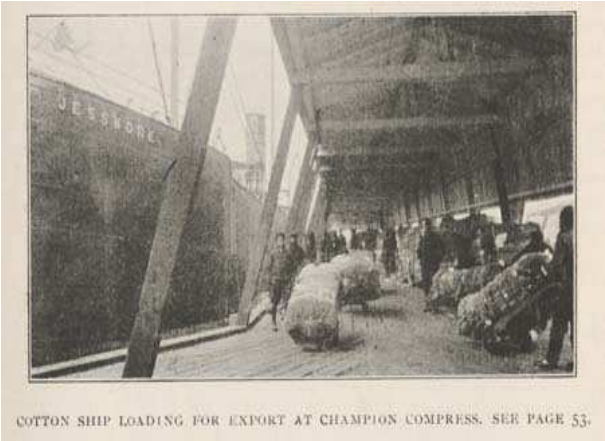


Sprunt Compress Workers
Image: New Hanover County Public Library

had only two-thirds of his workforce on hand and that shipping was being "greatly retarded" because nine ships were waiting to be cleared. It was expected that the contract for off-loading seven of those ships would expire before they could be docked. To encourage a return to normalcy for workers, Sprunt offered a rare interview to the papers in which he said that he thought quiet and peaceful blacks would not be harmed. He hoped that black workers could be convinced of their safety so they could return to work and resolve the current labor shortages. Sprunt clearly wished for his experienced, trusted, African American employees to return to work even at a time when the white labor movement was fiercely promoting the hiring of white men over black.[99]

[99] Further study of Sprunt's voluminous corporate records at Duke University might shed light on the company's labor force, although the company apparently continued to employ African American stevedores into the twentieth century. The compress ledgers have active records for accounts and receivables, as well as refererences to cotton brought in and shipped out for most days of November, 1898. There are no entries for November 10 because, evidently, no work was done. As indicated by other sources, work was stopped the day of the riot. Entries pick up again on the next day with business as usual. Lura Beam, a northern teacher who moved to Wilmington in 1908, noted that local African Americans highly respected the "local cotton king." A Sprunt employee recalled that Sprunt would "provide things for the black people," particularly at Christmas time when he would fill barrels with food and give each employee a full barrel for the holiday. Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 325*; Morning Star* (Wilmington), November 13, 1898; Alexander Sprunt and Son, Account Ledgers, November, 1898, Duke University Library, Durham; Lura Beam, *He Called Them by the Lightening*, 15-36; Block, *Wilmington Through the Lens of Louis T. Moore,* 251

"Weighing Cotton on Compress Docks"
Image: Lower Cape Fear Historical Society



Sprunt Compress Workers, 1902

Image: Wilmington Up-to-Date: The Metropolis of North Carolina Graphically Portrayed. Compiled under the Auspices of the Chamber of Commerce. Electronic Edition., *Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

African American stevedores, Wilmington wharf, 1920's
Images Courtesy of New Hanover County Public Library

Complete Change

As the Wilmington community settled in to cope with the changes wrought by November 10, one editor became philosophical: "The eyes of the world are upon us and we must keep up the record we are making as the only city on record that has overthrown corruption and established good government in the short space of eight hours." [100] Other publications in the state acknowledged that the events in Wilmington marked the beginning of a larger phenomenon: "Negro rule is at an end in North Carolina forever. The events of the past week in Wilmington and elsewhere place that fact beyond all question."[101] With those two sentences, the editors of the Raleigh *Farmer and Mechanic* wrote a prophetic statement—whites and blacks across the state, and arguably across the nation, watched the white supremacy campaign grow unchecked, men robbed of their civil liberties at the polls, violence and murders in broad daylight, and municipal government overthrown by force, all without consequence for the perpetrators or solace for the victims. "Negro rule," the term for black Republican voting strength in Wilmington, was ended by the Democratic Party through violence, intimidation, and murder. Statewide, Democrats took ownership of the violence and used it repeatedly to stifle political ambitions of blacks—re-telling the tale became a feature of future campaigns. [102]

An indicator of the heightened sense of violence in the city can be found in the 1903 city directory. That year was one of the first in which the directory contained a section to identify locations of fire alarm call boxes plus instructions for how many taps were needed to identify an emergency. For example, 5 taps in the box called an extra hose wagon to the fire and 6 brought an extra engine. The "riot call" consisted of 10 taps and general alarm was 12 taps. Of 34 call boxes in the city, 15 were in the north side of town with only 7 on the south side and the rest in the downtown business district or the outlying industrial areas. The locations and instructions imply that Wilmington's officials anticipated trouble more often in the traditionally black section of town and stationed enough boxes in that area to ensure that if violence or danger erupted, a call box was nearby. [103]

The prospects of equal civil rights for African Americans were darkened as a result of the events of 1898. As the newly elected Democratically controlled General Assembly enacted the state's first Jim Crow legislation in 1899, North Carolina joined the rest of the South in undermining the efforts of Republicans, both before and after Reconstruction, to equalize the races in education, employment, and political involvement. Future generations of Democratic Party politicians built upon the foundations of discrimination and economic disadvantage established in 1898.

The Democratic press heralded the twentieth century and the election of Democrats throughout the state as the beginning of a great dynasty for the state and an era of growth. Indeed, the state did prosper as Democratic businessmen, satisfied that their party was now in control of government, turned their minds from political intrigue to financial matters. However, the prosperity was short lived, limited largely to upper- and middle-class whites, and did not trickle down to the African American or poor white communities.

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[100] *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington), November 12, 1898

[101] Raleigh *Farmer and Mechanic*, November 15, 1898.

[102] Leslie H. Hossfeld, *Narrative, Political Unconscious, and Racial Violence in Wilmington, North Carolina*, (New York: Routledge, 2005), 6.

[103] 1903 *Wilmington City Directory.*

Chapter 8: Rebuilding

- For Wilmington's African American community, the consequences of the violence of November 10, preceded by months of white supremacy rhetoric and followed by institutionalization of Jim Crow oppression, are difficult to measure but did include political and economic change.

- African Americans lost their political standing as a result of the 1898 campaign and violence. Disfranchisement followed in 1900; the Republican Party severed its ties to its black voters.

- Research using city directory and census data, shows that Wilmington's African American entrepreneurs and skilled workers suffered economic setbacks after 1898 but slowly rebounded. Low-paid laborers were the largest category of workers.

- Out-migration following the violence negatively affected black's ability to recover.

- Blacks who remained in the city created self-supporting community clusters within predominantly black neighborhoods with black businesses for black customers.

- Black property owners were a minority of the overall black population in the city before the riot, but property owners were more likely to remain in the city. No proof of white seizure of black property has been found, and surviving records demonstrate that African Americans continued to buy and sell property after 1898 without coercion or losing money.

- The African American leaders who remained in the city following the riot were older than their white counterparts, and, as they aged, leadership patterns changed for the respective communities.

- Analysis of city residential patterns for transition areas between majority black neighborhoods and majority white neighborhood identified several highly integrated neighborhoods before the riot. After the riot, integrated neighborhoods were smaller, and transition areas between white and black neighborhoods were pushed away from the city center.

- Changes for African Americans included an end to traditional Jonkonnu Christmas celebrations. Emancipation Day celebrations were cancelled in 1899 but revived in later years.

- An African American collective narrative developed to recall the riot and placed limitations on black/white public relationships. White stories of the riot claimed that the violence was necessary to restore order. The white narrative was perpetuated by historians.

- Wilmington's race riot marked a new epoch in the history of violent race relations in the U.S. Several other high-profile riots followed the model set by Wilmington, most notably Atlanta (1906), Tulsa (1921), and Rosewood (1923). All four communities dealt with the aftermath of their riots differently. Although whites in Tulsa and Atlanta addressed the violence, murders, and property destruction soon after the riots, Wilmington whites provided compensation only for the loss of the building housing Manly's press.

Chapter 8: Rebuilding

"To build may have to be the slow and laborious task of years. To destroy can be the thoughtless act of a single day." -Winston Churchill

The toll of events such as those that occurred in Wilmington cannot be easily measured. To understand the impact of such a traumatic event on a city is a multifaceted, difficult effort. How did the violence of November 10, preceded by months of white supremacy rhetoric sponsored by the Democratic Party and followed by years of Jim Crow oppression, veiled threats, and further violence—affect the city's African American residents? Consequences for that sector of the community were wide ranging and touched all facets of life: political, economic, and cultural.

Political Consequences

The political ramifications of the coup were clearly visible by the spring of 1899, when the newly elected, Democratically controlled legislature convened and the city held municipal elections. Further evidence of the firm grip the Democrats had on Republican and black voters was the solid victory of Democratic candidates and the disfranchisement agenda in the 1900 elections. Disfranchisement removed from the voter pool the majority of African American voters—the broad political base of the Republican Party. After sound defeat at the polls and the passage of the disfranchisement amendment, the Republican Party acknowledged that it must disavow its connection to its black voter base and make itself "lily-white." Without the large black voter base, Republicans lost the ability to elect statewide officials, and, as part of their efforts to reinvent the party, they chose to refrain from distributing patronage positions to African Americans. The placement of prominent African American leaders in lucrative and influential patronage positions had long been an important method of advancement in Wilmington and the state, but, after the 1900 elections, the practice was effectively ended.[1] It has been argued that once African Americans lost their political voice, they re-focused their energies on economic and educational progress.[2]

Economic Consequences

To address the economic impact of 1898 on Wilmington, the North Carolina Office of Archives and History worked with the Institute of African American Research at the University of North Carolina

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[1] Robert Kenzer, *Enterprising Southerners Black Economic Success in North Carolina, 1865-1915*, 105-6. Kenzer also posits that because no blacks held seats in the state legislature or held the power to vote objectionable politicians out of office, legislation favorable to black interests was rarely introduced, and resistance to legislation such as Clarence Poe's land segregation scheme of 1915 was nonexistent. Although African Americans had no votes in the legislature, black leaders managed to influence sympathetic politicians in a variety of ways. Booker T. Washington opposed Poe's scheme and worked with other black leaders to make sure the bill failed. Adaptation to the political framework imposed upon blacks by whites became key to ensuring that blacks received a modicum of benefit from democratic government. Collector of customs for the port in Wilmington was one of the highest-paying patronage positions in the state.

[2] Hayumi Higuchi, "White Supremacy on the Cape Fear," 140; Kenzer, *Enterprising Southerners,* 125. Kenzer observed that blacks of all socio-economic backgrounds were able to attain college educations and, as a result, pursued careers in business and private enterprise rather than trades. He concluded that achieving higher education for all blacks, regardless of pre-emancipation status, was a unifying goal for the community rather than one that divided upper and lower classes of blacks.

Tabulation of Summary Data from the 1897 and 1900 City Directories

	1897			1900		
	Total	*Black*	*White*	*Total*	*Black*	*White*
Population	7,673	49%	51%	8,124	44%	56%
Occupation Listed	6,481	3,478	3,003	5,703	2,497	3,206

Of the total population listed in the city directory, a slightly smaller number listed their occupation in their entry. It is assumed that if no occupation was listed, the individual was not employed. A more detailed study of the directory data will be made available upon completion of work by Tod Hamilton.

at Chapel Hill to study city directories and census data.[3] Economics doctoral student Tod Hamilton took the lead in the project and oversaw data entry and managed the databases to provide the Wilmington Race Riot Commission with multiple reports concerning the data for Wilmington. A summary of Hamilton's directory findings can be found in this chapter and more detail can be found in the Appendix.

New in-depth, computer-aided analysis of the 1897 and 1900 city directory data provided revealing information about the city's economic environment for the black community. Entries for both races in the residential section of the directory ,including all associated information such as occupation and addresses for businesses and residences, were entered into a database.[4] Concern was expressed that the data may have been skewed along racial or gender lines by the publishers when the directory was compiled. However, after review of the data, it was clear that the directories were relatively reflective of the city's racial diversity both before and after the violence of 1898.[5] Because of this conclusion about the city directory data, and because the directories are the only known data sets containing information about black employment so soon before and after November 1898, they were used to draw some conclusions about the impact of both the violence and the white supremacy campaign on the city's African American economic outlook.[6]

Consolidation of the data into 15 occupational categories reflective of the peculiar business climate associated with Wilmington's port status demonstrates that the city offered a diverse working environment for the city's African

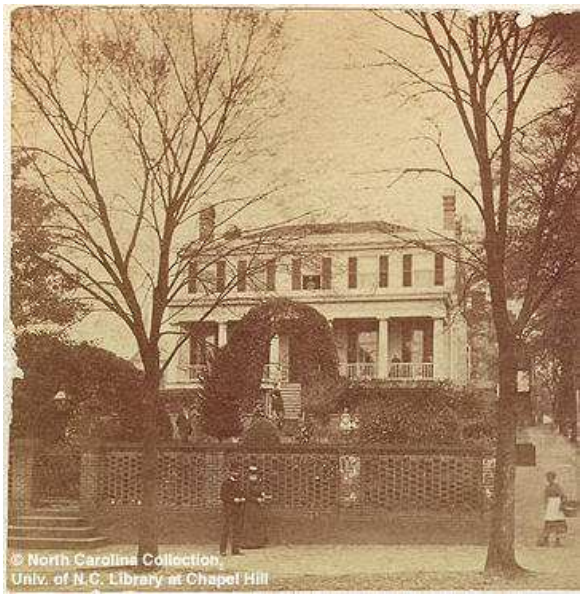
[3] The first comprehensive study of occupations using the city directory was done by Hayumi Higuchi for a master's thesis at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1980. Another study of the city directory data was completed by Sue Cody for a thesis at the University of North Carolina at Wilmington in 2000. Further study of city directory data was performed for this project in 2002, prior to the joint project with UNC-CH. Cody cited the considerable drawbacks to using the directory data. Cody surmised that the directories were incomplete lists of city residents and were, at best, only a sample of citizens, skewed by race, gender, geography, and age.

[4] This portion of the study did not take into account gender or age since those two variables were not provided by the directories. However, some occupations traditionally held by women have been identified, and some marginal conclusions about their work experiences can be drawn from the directory data.

[5] Both directories were compiled by the same company. It can be assumed that the data collection methods that would skew whether or not someone was entered into the city directory were similar for both directory years. It is therefore safe to assume that people from any given occupation or neighborhood would be equally as likely to be included or excluded from both directories, making the directories mutually comparable.

[6] The only other available information on occupation would be from the census, but the 1890 census was destroyed by fire in Washington, D. C.

Americans. [7] In 1897, a total of 3,478 African Americans recorded their occupations in the directory. Of those, the two largest categories were washerwomen, butlers, or other domestic houseworkers (1,087) employed by white households and the general laborers (1,326).[8] It is unknown what types of work were most represented by men who reported their occupation as laborer, but laborers generally received low pay, had minimal degrees of job security, and are typically classified as unskilled. These two categories—laborers and domestics—together represented 68 percent of the city's African American employment.



DeRossett House, ca. 1872. Although the image is of the grand house and family, just inside the photo can be seen the family's washerwoman with her basket.
Image: North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

[7] When working towards a classification scheme for grading occupations, most economists have used the standards developed by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. However, those standards do not easily apply to Wilmington. One example can be seen in the category of unskilled labor, which included stevedores, draymen, and laborers. In Wilmington, many stevedores received higher pay than day-laborers and occupied a higher social status because of their jobs at Sprunt's cotton compress. Further, draymen were self-employed and often owned their wagons and horses, placing their working status above laborers and some stevedores. Additionally, building trades represented a long-standing tradition of carpentry by some of the city's most respected and wealthy African American families. For this study, stevedores, carpenters, and those in maritime and railroad trades were singled out to reflect the specific roles those occupations played in the overall life of the city. Food service workers were singled out to study because they represented an up-and-coming trend in the city and reflected some of the first post-1898 entrepreneurial movements.

[8] Of the 1,018 domestic workers, 971 were employed in jobs such as washerwoman, housemaid, maid and cook—jobs traditionally reserved for African American women who worked for white employers in white homes. There were 511 cooks and 421 washerwomen or laundresses in the 1897 city directory. Oral histories of many African American families are peppered with memories of at least one family member who worked for a white family. The pay was low but afforded a guaranteed income, which helped families when male incomes were either nonexistent or were unstable due to seasonal employment. Other interviewees recalled that it was an important status symbol to work for a prominent, wealthy white family and recalled that employment with pride. The category also includes nurses. It is unknown if the modern interpretation of the occupation of nurse as a trained health service provider is appropriate for all individuals. Alternative interpretation of the term could be that these women provided child- or elder-care services in white homes, implying less educational training and pay. Wilmington did have a hospital at the time, but the composition and number of its staff is unknown. A newspaper account from the day of the violence indicated that the hospital staff was predominately white. For oral histories by Wilmington African Americans, see the Behind the Veil Project at Duke University or the files of the Cape Fear Museum, Wilmington, North Carolina.

African American Occupations by Category from 1897 and 1900 Wilmington City Directories

Occupation Category (sample occupations listed)	**1897**	**1900**
Laborer Laborer, Scavenger, Janitor	1,326	1,524
Domestic Butler, Cook, Steward, Waiter, Laundress	1,087	133
Railroad Worker Car Coupler, Porter	198	131
Cargo/Transport Trades Drayman, Driver, Stevedore, Teamster	179	150
Skilled Artisans/Trades Blacksmith, Brickmason, Printing trades, Watchmaker, Plumber, Stonecutter	145	105
Building Trades Builder, Carpenter, Contractor, Painter	143	133
Service Barber, Butcher, Boot and Shoemaker, Hostler, Merchant Tailor	119	82
Retail Grocer, Huckster, Provisions, Salesman	63	57
Professional Attorney, Educator, Minister, Doctor	59	67
Foodservice Baker, Cook-shop, Restaurant, Saloon	45	32
Government Postal Worker, Health Officer, Police	39	9
Industrial Engineer, Machinist, Miller	35	43
Clerical Bookkeeper, Clerk, Manager	21	19
Maritime Boatman, Sailor, Ship Carpenter	10	11
Cotton Industry Grader, Sampler, Tier	9	1
Total Occupations	3,478	2,497

The remaining 32% of the city's black workers in 1897 were employed in skilled, retail, service, government, and professional occupations. Of these, the greatest number were associated with the railroads, building trades, skilled trades, and with work associated with the port as stevedores, draymen, and drivers.[9] These categories together were represented by 665 workers, well over half of the non-domestic workers or unskilled laborers in the city.[10] Two of these categories, skilled artisans and building trades, represented areas that traditionally offered prosperity to African Americans in the city. Some of the city's oldest and wealthiest African American families such as the Howes, Norwoods, Howards, and Sadgwars had their roots in the city's building trades well before the Civil War, and fathers passed the trade to

[9] Stevedores and draymen were a unique category of workers in Wilmington. Traditionally considered unskilled workers by the U. S. Department of Labor, these workers were held in high esteem in Wilmington because of their importance to the port. For the import/export trade, the faster these men could load or off-load a ship meant real money to the brokerage and manufacturing firms in the city and elsewhere in the world. Their skills were prized and because of the importance of the trade, bonds were required of stevedores to ensure that their work would be done in a timely manner and that their employees would be promptly paid. This concept adds another level of confusion to the understanding of the stevedore/drayman trade. Stevedores are generally understood to be the workers who loaded and off-loaded the ship cargoes. Draymen and teamsters transported cargo between the docks and homes, railroad depots, or warehouses throughout the city. Draymen commanded one horse or mule, and teamsters used a team of animals to pull larger loads. Draymen worked toward purchase of their equipment in order to maximize profit and the purchase of other drays to hire other drivers to work for them.

[10] There were a total of 3,478 black workers reported in the city. Of that number, 2,344 were domestic workers or laborers. The remaining workforce, 1,134 workers, was dominated by this skilled category of railroad workers, building tradesmen, skilled artisans and tradesmen, and port drivers.

sons for many generations. Similarly, the Hargrave family had long been in the city as blacksmiths and prospered for many generations until the advent of the automobile age made their trade obsolete.[11] However, unlike the Hargraves, skilled artisans and tradesmen whose professions included plumbers and tailors, would persist in the city as it evolved into the modern age.

Another group of workers, those who worked in retail, service, and restaurant occupations, would lead the African American community into the twentieth century. These workers were most often self-employed and entrepreneurial, working as barbers, grocers and butchers but also were supported by others who worked as boot and shoemakers, hostlers, provisions dealers, and sales clerks. The food or restaurant business was an integral part of the industrial city, providing meals for workers through a variety of facilities known as cook-shops, eating houses, or restaurants.[12] Some of these shops were located in close proximity to the business district in order to serve the lunchtime needs of workers.

Government workers were relatively few in 1897 (39), and the number changed over time because the campaign of 1898 specifically targeted those types of employees. These types of jobs included postal workers, who were appointed through the patronage system, and city and county employees who worked the police, health, and fire departments.

Washerwoman, 1920s
Image: New Hanover County Public Library

Street vendor or washwoman, 1920s
Image: New Hanover County Public Library

[11] For a history of some of the major builders in the city, see Bishir, "Black Builders in Antebellum North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* (October 1984) and *The Bellamy Mansion, Wilmington North Carolina*: A*n Antebellum Architectural Treasure and its People,* (Wilmington, N.C.: Preservation North Carolina, 2004); "Landmarks of Power: Building a Southern Past in Raleigh and Wilmington, North Carolina, 1885-1915" *Southern Cultures,* (2000), as well as relevant sections of Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle.* For a good history of the Hargrave family's business, see Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle* and Kenzer, *Enterprising Southerners*.

[12] Charles Fisher, in his oral history of Wilmington, recalled that before he was born in 1919 his mother would make sandwiches and pies to take by wagon to sell to the workers at the cotton compress. The workers would then pay his mother for their lunches on the weekends. The funds earned by his mother's lunches supplemented the money made by his father who worked as a wood dealer, most likely a seasonal job. Charles Fisher Oral History File, Cape Fear Museum, Wilmington, N. C.

As a result of the power wielded by the state's African American congressman George White, North Carolina had more black postmasters than any other state. While Wilmington's postmaster, William Chadbourn, was white, he was a Republican and had made it a policy to reward local blacks with well-paying jobs in the post office as clerks and carriers. Black postmasters, letter carriers, and clerks became targets of the white supremacy campaign of 1898, and, after Democratic victories in 1898 and 1900, the number of black postal workers steadily declined. [13] There were nine postal workers in the city in 1897 and by 1900, the number had dropped to four.

The occupational category with the highest level of status and economic impact was the professional category. Professional positions required a higher level of educational training, and men and women in those positions were well-known throughout the city. In 1897 there were 59 professionals in the city. Of that number, the largest groups were educators (33) and ministers (15).[14] Most of the educators were female teachers but there were also three principals, including at least one woman, and one "professor." There were only five doctors in the city and only one African American attorney was listed in the city directory for the year.

Changes in the 1900 City Directory

By 1900, the city directory reflected the dramatic changes that swept through the city as a result of the 1898 white supremacy campaign and the violence of November 10. The directory contained occupational listings for 2,497 African American workers, almost 1,000 fewer than the 1897 directory. A comparison of the directories shows the immediate changes that took place in the city as a result of the white supremacy campaign, the violence, the mass exodus, and the attempts by whites to change hiring practices to favor white employees over black. At first glance, it is obvious that there was a downward shift in all directions when occupations are tied to status and economic factors. There were fewer skilled tradesmen, domestics, builders, clerical workers, retail, service, and railroad workers, but there were more laborers, professionals, and industrial workers.

White supremacy banners hang along the wharf behind Maffit's Chandlery. Physical reminders of white unity against "negro domination" persisted into the 20th century. Many black-owned businesses left the core of the downtown commercial district in the years following the violence and black retail employees lost jobs to white clerks and workers.
Image: Lower Cape Fear Historical Society.

[13] Benjamin Justesen observed that black postal workers were targeted by the white supremacy campaign because they were the "most widely visible of all federal appointees outside Washington" and they "received their jobs because of their political connections." Benajmin Justesen, "Black Postmasters and the Rise of White Supremacy in North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, (April, 2005), 193-227.

[14] There were three principals, one professor and twenty-nine teachers, most were women.

African American Occupation Changes in the 1897 and 1900 City Directories

Occupation Category (sample occupations listed)	**Loss (-) or Gain (+)**
Laborer Laborer, Farmer, Scavenger, Janitor	(+)
Domestic Butler, Cook, Steward, Waiter, Laundress	(-)
Railroad Worker Car Coupler, Porter	(-)
Cargo/Transport Trades Drayman, Driver, Stevedore, Teamster	(-)
Skilled Artisans/Trades Blacksmith, Brickmason, Printing trades, Watchmaker, Plumber, Stonecutter	(-)
Building Trades Builder, Carpenter, Contractor, Painter	(-)
Service Barber, Butcher, Boot and Shoemaker, Hostler, Merchant Tailor	(-)
Retail Grocer, Huckster, Provisions, Salesman	(-)
Professional Attorney, Educator, Nurse, Minister, Doctor	(+)
Foodservice Baker, Cook-shop, Restaurant, Saloon	(-)
Government Postal Worker, Health Officer, Police	(-)
Industrial Engineer, Machinist, Miller	(+)
Clerical Bookkeeper, Clerk, Manager	(-)
Maritime Boatman, Sailor, Ship Carpenter	(+)
Cotton Industry Grader, Sampler, Tier	(-)

The largest category of workers was by far that of the laborers, representing 1,524 workers. One significant change can be seen in the dramatic reduction in the number of domestic employees, down to 133 from over 1,000. The domestic worker category rivaled the laborer category in numbers in the 1897 directory but the numbers are distinctly lower in the 1900 directory. It is unclear why this number is so much lower. Most jobs classified as domestic that were listed in the directory were for cooks, a role traditionally reserved for women. However, more domestic jobs were listed in the 1900 directory than in the 1897 directory that were considered typically male roles (butler, waiter, bell boy, etc). The disparity in this category is even more vivid when traditionally female jobs are viewed across categories. The numbers of cooks, nurses, teachers, laundresses, and maids declined significantly, and the percentage of men working in domestic jobs increased slightly.[15]

[15] It is unclear why the numbers of women working in domestic jobs declined at such a high rate. Speculation has arisen that perhaps the white employers sought to hire white female workers in their stead. A study of the city directory for white domestic laboring workers does not support that conclusion. It has also been surmised that women of all occupations were under-represented in the 1900 city directory. However, it must also be noted that a rise in commercial steam laundries coincided with the drop in the numbers of black washerwomen. There were a few small Chinese laundry operations as well. The Wilmington Steam Laundry was operating in 1897 and grew in prominence. Another laundry service, City Laundry, was founded around 1906. African American laundresses typically required a week to clean a household's laundry by hand and would pick up and deliver the laundry themselves. The City Laundry began to advertise that they could pick up by 10:00 in the morning and deliver by 4:00 in the afternoon. Such competition surely affected the client base for many laundresses. For information on the changing lives and work of laundresses, see Tera W. Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors After the Civil War*,

Although most categories of workers dropped in numbers, some categories such as clerical, retail, and the service industry, lost fewer workers than did the skilled artisans, cotton industry, and railroad worker categories. The number of industrial workers increased, possibly reflective of the city's changing nature as an industrial city that needed skilled industrial workers, regardless of race. Employment in the maritime trades also increased by a single worker, but the occupational titles reflected in the broad category reflected some growth in maritime trades for black workers. In 1897, maritime workers were deck hands and boatmen. By 1900, some workers had achieved the higher paying, more rewarding, status of captains and pilots.

An interesting shift occurred within the professional category in the 1900 directory. Although the overall figure increased, the detailed data is mostly reflective of a loss of educators. By 1900, there were only 16 educators identified in the directory as compared to 33 in 1897. The city had lost only one African American principal and the "professor" remained. The overall decrease in the number of education professionals was offset by an influx of ministers; the city saw an increase to a total of 40 ministers across denominations from 13 in 1897. It is unknown why so many ministers came to the city following the violence, particularly since the number of churches remained constant.[16]

African American Entrepreneurship

Analysis of the directory data compiled by Hamilton shows that a number of the city's African American entrepreneurs, men and women who owned and operated their own businesses or worked independently, experienced a decline in occupational status in the years immediately following the riot. However, the evidence shows that a few other entrepreneurial-minded individuals managed to overcome challenges and improved their lot by opening new businesses in the year following the violence.[17]

In order to more fully comprehend the business nature of the city, the computerized directory lists generated by Hamilton at the Institute of African American Research at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill were again consulted. In both directories there were a considerable number of entries for men and women who provided a second address for their businesses. In 1897, there were 102 business addresses provided for African American establishments such as grocery stores, barbershops, restaurants, butcher shops, shoe shops, and other establishments that required a storefront. By 1900, however, the number dropped to 78, indicating a significant decline in the number of black-owned businesses with secondary addresses in a business district. In 1897, most addresses for black-owned businesses were in the primary business district along South Front, North Second, Market, and Princess Streets. By 1900, the orientation of the black businesses had changed. Not only were the businesses different, but many were also relocated. The greatest numbers of businesses were in the traditionally African American

(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 53-57, 208.

[16] More study of the ministers, on an individual level, both before and after the riot, is needed in order to determine if new ministers arrived in the city from elsewhere after 1897 or, instead, that current residents became ministers.

[17] Cody and another researcher in the Office of Archives and History, Dennis Daniels, studied the business section of the city directory to find trends in business ownership among African Americans before and after the violence. Both researchers saw a reduction in overall occupations and numbers of businesses. For a more detailed analysis of city directory data, see Appendix.

neighborhood of Brooklyn along North Fourth Street. Although some businesses remained in areas popular in the 1897 directory, the overall numbers were significantly lower. For example, in 1897, there were 76 black businesses located along street in the city's central business district. By 1900, the number was down to 33. A slight increase was seen in the numbers of businesses located in the Fourth Street business district. By 1946, the African American community had worked to revive its black businesses and boasted 196 businesses, ranging from 63 grocers and 22 barbers to 6 doctors and 50 beauty parlors. Reverend J. Irving Boone of Central Baptist Church led an effort to advertise the successes of the city's black entrepreneurs. As such, Boone published directories of black businesses in the city in 1945 and 1946. Boone profiled some of the business leaders, and others touted their history in the city in their advertisements. Shaw's funeral home still operated in the city, having been in business for 50 years and had branched into operating funeral parlors in 10 other cities. Some of the business leaders arrived after 1898. For example, the Red Cross Shoe Shop and the People's Shoe Shop had been in operation for over 25 years. A survey of the directory demonstrates that many of the black businesses established for black consumption managed to prosper and survive over decades following the violence.[18]

Most of the city's black workers, however, were laborers employed by whites. These workers were the ones most affected by the white supremacy campaign's promises of jobs for white workers. Skilled workers saw the most losses in the city over the years following the coup. By the time the 1902 city directory was printed, skilled, semi-skilled, and transportation workers had been displaced, and the number of unskilled and unemployed workers had grown. Cody surmised that when combined with the changes to the city's demographics as a result of a continuous out-migration by blacks, black residents were either forced from higher status, i.e. higher paying jobs, to those of lower pay as unskilled workers, or, "those in higher-status occupations left and blacks migrating into the city took unskilled jobs." [19]

Professional positions in the city were dominated by attorneys, doctors, teachers, and ministers before the violence. Of the leaders banished from the city, most were from these categories. As a result of the banishment and intimidation campaign, four attorneys left the city, and no African American attorney practice law in the city until 1902. By 1902, the professional blacks in the city were still predominately teachers and ministers plus three doctors. Mid-level professional jobs, mainly those of postal clerks, were also affected. In 1897, there were nine blacks affiliated with the postal system in various positions and by 1902 only two remained. [20]

Out-migration from the city posed problems for both white employers and the local black community. A continued exodus of black workers plagued the city into 1899

[18] R. Irving Boone, ed., *Negro Business and Professional Men and Women: A Survey of Negro Progress in Varied Sections of North Carolina* v. 2 (Wilmington, by the author, 1946); R. Irving Boone, ed., *Directory of Negro Businesses in Wilmington and Southeastern North Carolina* (Wilmington: by the author, 1945).

[19] Cody, "After the Storm," 99-100. Cody also acknowledged that it was possible that methods of data collection for the city directory changed over time and comparison across directories is not a dependable paradigm. The issue of migration will be discussed further later in this chapter.

[20] Postal workers had been targeted by the white supremacy campaign as especially dangerous workers since they came in daily contact with white women in public situations. The documented black postal workers of 1902 were employed in behind-the-scenes jobs and did not deal with the public. Cody, "After the Storm," 106-108.

and the turn of the century.[21] Author and former Wilmington resident Charles Waddell Chesnutt told a Boston newspaper in March 1901 that his sources in the city told him that since the "massacre," as blacks called it (whites called it the "Revolution"), over 1,500 of the "best blacks" had left the city.[22] The "best blacks" referred to by Chestnutt were most likely entrepreneurs who closed their businesses and moved because they saw better opportunities in other parts of the state or nation.

The 1900 census reflected the out-migration of the city. The city's black population dropped by over 900 people in the ten years between 1890 and 1900, and, for the first time since the Civil War, whites outnumbered blacks in the city. While the black population decreased during these years, the white population increased. The out-migration from Wilmington and New Hanover preceded the nationwide Great Migration by almost a decade, but, as some historians have noted, racial violence such as that experienced in Wilmington may have been a contributing factor as important to the impetus to leave as that of an economic downturn.[23]

Comparative review of the 1880 and 1900 census for other states shows that the numbers of blacks born in North Carolina yet living in other states increased substantially in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Other states such as New York, Virginia, Delaware, and Maryland also saw an increase in the black populations from North Carolina. The state with the largest overall increase in the number of blacks born in North Carolina was Pennsylvania—the number of North Carolina blacks living that state jumped from 629 in 1880 to 4,862 in 1900. New York followed a similar pattern with 1,270 in 1880 to 5,866. The

[21] For the problems that the out-migration caused James Sprunt, the city's largest employer of African American labor at his compress, see Chapter 7.

[22] *Boston Evening Transcript*, March 20, 1901. A study of the Great Migration by Carter G. Woodson has pointed out that the African Americans who packed and left the south beginning in 1916 were most often the better-educated and skilled workers. Chestnutt's observation about Wilmington's early out-migration forecasted the coming trend. Statistical study of migrant groups during the Great Migration supports Woodson's theory—one out of every six literate blacks left the South between 1890 and 1920. Carter G. Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration*, 147; Alferdteen Harrison, ed., *Black Exodus: The Great Migration from the American South* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1991), 46; E. Marvin Goodwin, *Black Migration in American from 1915 to 1960: An Uneasy Exodus* (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), 10.

[23] During the Great Migration which began in 1916 and lasted until roughly 1930, thousands of African Americans left southern states for northern cities. Most historians and government studies pointed to economic factors as the main reason for the migration – wartime industry needed laborers. However, further study has shown that many of the migrants sought to find less hostile environments in which to live, work, and raise families. For a good overview of the Great Migration, see Alferdteen Harrison, ed., *Black Exodus: The Great Migration from the American South* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1991). Stewart Tolnay and E. M. Beck, in an essay in Harrison's *Black Exodus*, contended that blacks exposed to "high levels of lethal violence" chose to leave. Harrison, *Black Exodus,* 31. The U. S. Department of Labor published a study of the migration in which the Department determined that the migration was due to "general dissatisfaction with conditions, ravages of boll weevil, floods, change of crop system, low wages, poor houses on plantations, poor school facilities, unsatisfactory crop settlements, rough treatment, cruelty of the law officers, unfairness in courts, lynching, desire for travel, labor agents, the Negro press, letters from friends in the North and finally advice of white friends in the South where crops had failed." U. S. Department of Labor, *Negro Migration in 1916-1917* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), 11-12. It is very plausible that all of these types of troubles cited as reasons for the Great Migration could be translated into the types of reasons that Wilmington's residents decided to leave after the violence of 1898 and the imposition of segregation.

influx of African Americans from Wilmington into Brooklyn stirred New York ministers to action and made headlines in local papers. The *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* noted that there was an increasing number of blacks from the south because of "unsettled conditions" there. [24]

Most of the African American workers who left the city were employed as laborers, cooks, washerwomen, porters, and nurses. The void left by the removal of these workers from the city was partially filled by other workers moving into the city. One major business in the city, that of the naval stores and turpentine industry, suffered as a result of the exodus. In 1901 the *Messenger* included a brief article to explain an "Exodus of Turpentine Hands." The article stated that two "coach loads of negro turpentine hands" left the city for Florida's turpentine regions. The article also reported that other black workers would soon follow this first set and that "labor [was] already scarce" and the exodus would "make the scarcity all the greater." Sprunt's cotton compress operations suffered the loss of workers earlier than the turpentine trade. By August 1899, Sprunt had shortages of employees because over half of his workforce was in New York city, employed as hotel workers. A former black worker from Wilmington told a *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* reporter that he did not think many of Sprunt's former employees would return to the city because "they can't get over the idea that their lives will be threatened again" if they returned to Wilmington. The article continued that women and girls had also left Wilmington and their exodus had resulted in a "lack of domestic servants" and that white women "say they can't get help now." The article also stated that many of the refugees now living in New York owned homes in the city that they couldn't sell or rent, and that they had lost money in "bank troubles" in the city. [25]

Percent of NC-born residents in given states that were non-white		
State	1880	1900
New York	56 (1,270)	68 (5,866)
Pennsylvania	45 (629)	74 (4,862)
District of Columbia	63 (497)	62 (1,891)
New Jersey	52 (306)	77 (3,586)
Ohio	62 (2,376)	60 (1,998)
Virginia	44 (10,213)	50 (27,994)
Connecticut	65 (334)	67 (876)
Delaware	23 (17)	53 (89)
Massachusetts	72 (645)	72 (2,573)
Rhode Island	73 (118)	66 (297)
Louisiana	77 (4,708)	79 (3,867)
Maryland	39 (484)	49 (1,622)
South Carolina	40 (7,942)	24 (6,654)

A concentration of refugees from Wilmington can be found in Whitesboro, New Jersey. Congressman George Henry White realized that men and women living in Wilmington could not prosper in a post-1898 environment and encouraged northward migration. White's vision of a black town for Wilmington refugees was realized in 1901 when his organization, the Afro-American Equitable Association, purchased land in Cape May county New Jersey for settlement. Whitesboro emerged as an example of the success of black towns and their residents when all worked to developed "group self-reliance and solidarity that enriched local civic pride,

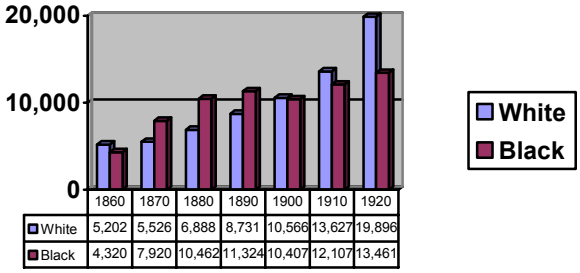
[24] *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (New York), January 30, 1899. The article discussed growth in the A.M.E. church in Brooklyn as a result of the influx of African Americans who had been members of a large A.M.E. church in Wilmington that had a building worth $40,000. The church referenced in the article was probably St. Stephen's.

[25] *Wilmington Messenger*, January 5, 1901; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (New York), August 25, 1899.

purpose, and duty." A review of the census for Whitesboro and Cape May County in 1900 and 1910 reveals the names of many African Americans born in North Carolina who had relocated the region. Further, many of those listed can be tied to Wilmington roots. Surnames such as Sadgwar, Fales, Yarborough, Green, Scott, Spaulding, Pearsall, and Merrick all have clear ties to Wilmington. One banished man, McClain Lofton, is found in Cape May in 1910.[26]

The initial shock to the economic system for the African American community was overcome by those who remained and rebuilt an infrastructure that supported the black community from within. Difficult to document, but evident from study of city directory and census data, is a small influx of African American workers into the city following the turn of the century.[27]

Wilmington Population by Race



	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920
White	5,202	5,526	6,888	8,731	10,566	13,627	19,896
Black	4,320	7,920	10,462	11,324	10,407	12,107	13,461

With the help of new and old residents, black businesses developed in predominantly black neighborhoods and catered to black customers. The community clusters became self-contained, self-supporting units of interdependence and sustainability for their residents. As recalled by one longtime resident of the city, black neighborhood businesses in the era of Jim Crow were places blacks could go to get credit in hard times and places where they knew they would not be made to feel uncomfortable on the basis of skin color.[28] Through the development of such adaptive networks, the African American business community rebounded in the early 20th century, and compelled one author to conclude that by 1915 Wilmington represented a "relatively attractive business environment."[29] It is important to remember that a corollary of an economic system in such a community is that neither the business owner nor the customer grew financially and both remained within a rather small circle of debt and wealth.

Further study of the African American economy of Wilmington in the early twentieth century has shown that the immediate downturns of the late 1890s and early 1900s were being reversed by the advent of the first World War.[30] For example, by 1915, over 31 percent of the city's businesses were operated by blacks whereas in 1897, that figure was just over 20 percent. The most substantial growth in black businesses, evident from a study of the 1915 directory, was in the number of

[26] Clement Alexander Price, "Home and Hearth: The Black Town and Settlement Movement of Southern New Jersey," in Wendel A. White, *Small Towns, Black Lives: African American Communities in Southern New Jersey* (Oceanville, New Jersey: Noyes Museum of Art, 2003), 172-173; 1900, 1910, 1920 census for Cape May County, Middle Township, New Jersey.

[27] According to the census, the African American population of the city increased after 1910 but at a slower rate than that of the white population. Godwin, *Black Wilmington,* 19.

[28] Countless oral history interviews with lifelong residents of the city recount fond memories of community support through neighbors helping neighbors in difficult times, in child rearing, economic support, church activities, and a broad spectrum of other social and cultural activities. Among the oral history interviews are those compiled by the Behind the Veil Project at Duke University.

[29] Kenzer, *Enterprising Southerners,* 65.

[30] John L. Godwin, *Black Wilmington and the North Carolina Way*, 14.

African American grocers.[31] This finding supports the theory that neighborhood businesses developed to support localized needs. The mobilization efforts associated with the shipyards and the war effort then began to play a role in African American employment, with sizable numbers working in skilled trades again.

One of the groups that remained in the city was the small number of African Americans homeowners. These black property owners were encouraged to hold their ground. The local newspaper advised: "I counsel not to leave your bought and paid for homes and whatever little is dear and belongs to you …. If you possess any property in Wilmington don't sell just now. Keep it till things tone down and you can get a fairer price if you sell at all."[32] As one researcher found, black property owners were less likely to leave and were most able to adapt to the changed political and economic landscape of white supremacy. Carrie Taylor Wright, daughter of African American deputy collector of customs John E. Taylor, explained that her father remained in the city after the violence because he "had all his earnings here. My grandfather was here. He owned all the property, so there was no reason for him to leave. This was home." [33]

Property Ownership

The best way to understand the African American community's ability to increase and maintain wealth before the violence of 1898 is through analysis of property ownership. Statewide, about 4,000 African Americans owned real estate in 1870 and the number steadily increased as the years progressed. However, on average, most African Americans did not own the house or property where they lived. That said, urban property ownership among African Americans in North Carolina did increase at a faster rate than rural property ownership between 1875 and 1895.[34] Pushing the increase in urban ownership were the efforts of local groups, within towns like Wilmington, that sponsored their own organizations to assist local workers in acquiring property through mortgages. By 1897, 1,016 African Americans owned real estate in the city.[35] Tracing ownership of and transfer of property by African Americans is extremely problematic since property could be transferred in a number of ways that were not documented in the deed books. [36]

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[31] Kenzer, *Enterprising Southerners*, 65.

[32] Wilmington *Morning Star*, November 15, 1898.

[33] Cody, "After the Storm," 156; Transcript of interview with Carrie Taylor Wright, February 8, 1981, Oral History Files, Cape Fear Museum, Wilmington, N.C.

[34] Kenzer noted that "every ten years from 1865 to 1915 black landowners as a whole would gain ownership of about 1 percent of the value of real estate in North Carolina, even though the black percentage of the state population would actually decline." He observed, however, that "adverse social, economic, and political circumstances prevented most blacks from becoming landowners by 1915." Another study has shown that in North Carolina the number of blacks owning homes jumped from 15 percent of the population to 26 percent of the population owning homes by 1910. In 1910, Wilmington ranked sixth in the state in black home ownership rates behind leading towns such as Elizabeth City, Fayetteville, Kinston, New Bern, and Washington, and was well ahead of Charlotte and Durham. Kenzer, *Enterprising Southerners,* 10, 20, 34; Loren Schweninger, *Black Property Owners in the South, 1790-1915* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1990), 180-181; U. S. Department of Commerce, *Negro Population, 1790-1915*, 473.

[35] Cody, "After the Storm," 124.

[36] As an example, Robert Kenzer noted that of the 293 black men who owned land in Halifax County in 1870, none were mentioned in recorded deeds in the county for the period between emancipation and the census. Other methods for transfer of property could be through gift, court transaction, bequest, and quit claims, among a host of other obscure methods. Kenzer, *Enterprising Southerners*, 11.

Some previous discussions of the riot have touched on the claims by Wilmington's displaced African American residents that their property was seized and given to poor whites. One often-cited source of their claims is a vivid scene described in *Hanover, Or Persecution of the Lowly, A Story of the Wilmington Massacre*, the thinly-veiled fictional account published in 1900 by David Bryant Fulton.[37] Soon after the riot, Alex Manly speculated that whites conspired to deprive African Americans of their property. Manly's son Milo perpetuated his father's claims as late as 1977 and cited losses for his father and wealthy Wilmington black business leader Thomas C. Miller. [38]

For researchers, the accepted method for researching property ownership and transfers is by following deed transactions. However, Milo Manly expressed the concerns of African Americans when he stated that checking deed records and other legal materials in the New Hanover County court house would prove fruitless because records had been "altered or stolen or lost" to the point that it could never be proven that his father and others ever owned disputed property. Whether Manly's claims are founded in truth is open to debate; however, for the purposes of this and other projects, what is left in the written records is all that survives from the period to provide an understanding of African American property ownership in the city both before and after the riot. [39] One fact also cannot be overlooked—by 1900, the number of African Americans owning real estate in the

[37] Excerpt from *Hanover*: "She had reached the gate of her cottage, from which she had fled on the night of November 10 to escape insult and murder. A white woman sat upon the steps knitting, her children playing in the yard. The colored woman stood and momentarily gazed in amazement at the intruder upon her premises. 'Well, whart du you want?' said the white one, looking up from her work and then down again. 'That's the question for me to ask. What are you doing in my house?' . . . 'Niggers don't own houses in dis here town no mo'; white uns air rulin' now' . . . 'You poor white trash; I worked hard for this house, and hold the deed for it, so you get out!'" David Bryant Fulton, *Hanover: Or the Persecution of the Lowly, A Story of the Wilmington Massacre,* 110.

[38] Milo Manly, when asked about his father's property, said that it was sold for failure to pay taxes, although Alex Manly tried to prove he paid the taxes on the property. Sue Cody researched Manly's deed records and found reference to one property in his name prior to the riot. That property was held jointly with Frank Manly and John Goins. The men purchased the property between Dawson, Wright, Ninth, and Tenth Streets in 1897 for $100, mortgaged it for $20 in 1899, paid off the mortgage in 1902, and then transferred it to Manly's father-in-law F. C. Sagwar in 1907 for $10. Manly and his wife Carrie acquired another property in Wilmington in 1907 but later transferred the property to other family members in four transactions between 1909 and 1915. Miller's holdings were much more extensive and cannot be easily summarized. For a review of Miller's real estate holdings before and after the riot, see Appendix A. Cody, "After the Storm," 118, 135; Prather, *We Have Taken a City,* 159-161; General Index to Real Estate Conveyances, New Hanover County, North Carolina State Archives; A.L. Manly et al to George Lutterloh, February 4, 1899, New Hanover County Deed Book 34, page 628.

[39] A series of duplicate deeds, arranged by block, can be found in the William B. McKoy Collections of the Lower Cape Fear Historical Society. The deeds are not indexed and some are in fragile condition. McKoy, attorney for the city, mortgage companies, and insurance firms, also was an integral part of the development of the White Government Union in the city during the 1898 campaign. Since discovery of the collection and its contents, some have speculated that McKoy contrived plans to duplicate mortgages for African American properties and slowly dupe African Americans out of their properties by a variety of methods. The collection is voluminous and unindexed and a thorough study of its contents would be a valuable contribution to an understanding of the development of early twentieth-century Wilmington. It is unclear how many of the mortgages were for whites or blacks, or if, as some suggest, the names on the mortgages are of real or imaginary people. McKoy also interfiled family histories, business records, political records, and other information in with the deeds. Further research in this collection is needed to understand McKoy's role.

city dropped to 1,004, an overall loss of only twelve landowners from the year before the riot.[40]

A detailed analysis of the deed books was started by Sue Cody in 2000.[41] Cody sought to find out if blacks owned much land in the city before 1898 and if they were forced to sell their land after the violence for a loss. Because Wilmington was such a large city with a large sample of landowners, even within the African American community, Cody chose to narrow her scope of research by several methods. First, Cody studied deed transactions for African Americans who owned real estate according to the 1897 tax records. She then further limited her study by analyzing property purchases and sales in the seven years prior to the riot and the seven years following the riot for names beginning with A through J. Her initial study led her to conclude that "African Americans owned a significant amount of property both before and after the violence and that there was not a significant spike in the number of sales immediately following the violence." [42] Cody further found both gains and losses in the sales of property by African Americans following the riot for all categories of property holders—banished, voluntary migrants, and those who stayed. Cody's work was continued for this report from the remainder of the alphabet and the findings were similar.[43] The official records do not support a conclusion that Wilmington's black property owners were forced to sell their holdings en masse in the seven years following the riot, nor did they, on average, lose money when they sold property.

The surviving records, primarily deeds, do not support the claim that was originally made in 1898 and perpetuated into the modern era that whites openly redistributed black property among themselves. However, other, less clear, methods of divesting property from black members of the community should be investigated. One example is that African American and white businesses such as funeral homes and others accepted mortgages for payment from members of the African American community.[44] If someone defaulted on repayment of the mortgage, the businesses or money lenders could then confiscate the property, sell it, and deduct for their services the amount owed from the sale with the residue going to the borrower who could not pay his debt.

A partial explanation for the property seizure myth may rest in the fact that, after 1898, African American property seized and sold for nonpayment of a debt often would fall into the hands of white purchasers through legal actions. Perhaps such activity evolved into a memory of wide-ranging changes in black ownership of property; that is, a few examples grew to be perceived as the norm instead of the exception.

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[40] Cody, "After the Storm," 124; New Hanover County Tax Records, 1900.

[41] Cody speculated on how troublesome forgery of the complete set of New Hanover County deed books would be and determined that such an undertaking would be daunting, difficult, and impracticable. Cody, "After the Storm," 141-2.

[42] Cody also studied three specific groups of people within the city: men of the Committee of Colored Citizens, those in the culled "A-J" deed list who were out of town at the time their property was sold as well as property transfers of those were banished. Cody concluded that most of the men of the Committee of Colored Citizens were not affected by property loss after the violence and did not suffer losses as a result of devaluation or sale. Cody's sample yielded sales for gains and losses by those who left the city following the violence and sold their property from a distance. Cody, "After the Storm," 119-120, 127, 133.

[43] For more details of the deeds analysis, see Cody, "After the Storm" and Appendix L.

[44] Shaw Funeral Home engaged in such a practice, and its proprietors continued to acquire and sell properties after the turn of the century. A detailed analysis of all of the Shaw deeds would be necessary to determine how many were related to mortgages for repayment of services rendered by the funeral home.

Census Analysis

Tod Hamilton, an economics doctoral candidate affiliated with the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, has initiated a study of census statistics for the Wilmington area over all years for which data is available. Hamilton's preliminary findings are found in this chapter, and a full report of his analysis can be found in the appendix. The tables below contain summary statistics for the Wilmington area's black and white population, as well as the overall black and white population for the state.[45] Hamilton's findings provide insight into the situation facing Wilmington's population as it moved into the twentieth century. These findings pull together, in statistical format, what can be learned from the census about the city's economy, working environment, educational opportunities, and social framework.

Wilmington's African American community always prided itself on its educational heritage and the impact that educators had on the city's students. The statistical data show that the educators—despite a reduction in the number of teachers, wages, and overall funding for school management following the 1898 campaign—succeeded in providing the basics of education in less-than-ideal situations.[46]

The first set of variables shed light on Wilmingtonians' literacy rates. The city's African American population was above the state average for full literacy in 1880 but fell below the state average in 1900, only to surpass the state average again by 1910 and in 1920. Wilmington's illiterate black population numbered near or above the statewide average until 1920 when it had a smaller percentage of illiterate blacks than the rest of the state. Wilmington whites consistently remained well above the state average for full literacy and below the state average for the number of illiterate individuals. The New Hanover County educational system—although it underwent a significant reduction in funding for black schools—managed to produce a significant number of literate African Americans.

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[45] Hamilton assembled the information using data from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) compiled by the Minnesota Population Center at the University of Minnesota. The sample used for this study is a 1-in-200 national random sample of the population. Consequently, the sample size is small. The sample consisted of 173 individuals in Wilmington and the surrounding area in 1900.

[46] For more on reductions in school funding and the city's educational system, see Chapter 7.

Data for Wilmington African Americans Compared to North Carolina African Americans

Variable	1880		1900		1910		1920	
	Wilm.	NC	Wilm.	NC	Wilm.	NC	Wilm.	NC
Fully Literate	20%	17%	35%	37%	58%	57%	73%	67%
Partially Literate	6%	7%	6%	8%	2%	6%	1%	2%
Non-Literate	74%	75%	59%	55%	39%	37%	25%	30%
Owned/Mortgaged Home	--	--	35%	27%	27%	34%	43%	35%
Occupational Score	9.60	8.67	8.06	9.5	8.97	9.99	10.44	9.75
SEI (social/economic index)	7.20	6.66	7.07	8.1	7.77	9.14	9.72	9.43

Data for Wilmington Whites Compared to North Carolina Whites

Variable	1880		1900		1910		1920	
	Wilm.	NC	Wilm.	NC	Wilm.	NC	Wilm.	NC
Fully Literate	78%	71%	88%	79%	92%	85%	95%	90%
Partially Literate	3%	7%	3%	5%	2%	4%	.2%	1%
Non-Literate	19%	23%	9%	15%	5%	11%	5%	9%
Owned/Mortgaged Home	--	--	50%	60%	55%	58%	53%	60%
Occupational Score	9.74	8.51	8.53	9.80	12.01	10.89	12.85	11.37
SEI (social/economic index)	11.29	9.28	7.90	11.40	14.79	12.60	16.20	13.92

The second data set provided detail concerning home ownership. More individuals within Wilmington's African American population than elsewhere in the state owned homes, as can be seen in the 1900 figures. Again, this number indicates that large numbers of the city's black property owners were not being pushed into selling their holdings immediately after the violence. However, a slump in ownership can be seen by 1910, with the area's average home ownership rate falling below the state average. The slump was overcome by 1920, with, once again, more African Americans in Wilmington than in other portions of the state owning property.

For the city's white population, the figures for ownership remained relatively constant, rising slightly in 1910 but declining slightly in 1920 while white ownership in the rest of the state held steady with only slight variation over the three decades. The increase in white ownership was 5 percent in 1910 whereas the decrease in black ownership was 8 percent. (Further research in deed books is needed to see if there is a correlation between a decline in black property ownership and an increase in white ownership.) The trend was

Comparison of Home Ownership for Wilmington Area and State

Variable	1900		1910		1920	
	Wilm.	NC	Wilm.	NC	Wilm.	NC
Owned/Mortgaged Home (African American)	35%	27%	27%	34%	43%	35%
Owned/Mortgaged Home (White)	50%	60%	55%	58%	53%	60%

reversed by 1920, with the black losses of 1910 wiped away and gains jumping to well over the 1900 level. White ownership saw a 2 percent decline that year.

The last two data sets are figures assigned by economists based upon occupations and a calculation derived from occupation and other indicators to provide the social/economic index score (SEI). The occupational scores are developed based on a ranking system that places a higher score, or number, for higher paying, higher status jobs. Therefore, occupations such as attorney, doctor, or teacher have higher scores than those of laborer, maid, or janitor—the higher the score, the higher the pay. Similarly, the SEI scores are reflective of the social and economic status that is tied to an occupation—the higher the score, the more respected that individual (or group) will be in the community.

The average occupational score and SEI for Wilmington-area African Americans in 1900 and 1910 was lower than that of the rest of the state's African American workers, this likely reflects both the white supremacy's campaign promise to hire white workers over black, and the exodus from the city of many skilled workers who sought employment elsewhere. By 1920, the scores had increased to above the state average, probably indicative of the influx of industrial workers and related occupations during the wartime buildup. These figures show that the majority of Wilmington's black workers were employed in low paying jobs with little prestige when above the statewide figure by 1910 and maintained the increase through 1920. Again, the jump could well be due to the strong focus placed on improving the plight of white workers compared to their counterparts in the rest of

Data for Wilmington African Americans compared to North Carolina African Americans

Variable	1880		1900		1910		1920	
	Wilm.	NC	Wilm.	NC	Wilm.	NC	Wilm.	NC
Occupational Score	9.60	8.67	8.06	9.5	8.97	9.99	10.44	9.75
SEI (social/economic index)	7.20	6.66	7.07	8.1	7.77	9.14	9.72	9.43

Data for Wilmington Whites compared to North Carolina Whites

Variable	1880		1900		1910		1920	
	Wilm.	NC	Wilm.	NC	Wilm.	NC	Wilm.	NC
Occupational Score	9.74	8.51	8.53	9.80	12.01	10.89	12.85	11.37
SEI (social/economic index)	11.29	9.28	7.90	11.40	14.79	12.60	16.20	13.92

the state. The occupational score for the Wilmington area's white workers was below the state average in 1900 but jumped well white workers following the 1898 campaign. It is interesting to note that the occupational score and SEI for both Wilmington's black and white residents were in close proximity in 1900, with only a few tenths separating the two scores. By 1910, the disparity between the two sets of scores is much larger, with Wilmington's black population staying at much the same level. By 1920, the numbers for the occupational score were slightly closer, with whites still working in more higher paying jobs than blacks. The SEI score difference, however, is great in that year, with nearly 7 points separating the two races, indicating that whites enjoyed a higher status level and economic return with their jobs.

Case Studies

Demographic study of some of the key participants in 1898 shows that a shift took place in the city over the decade following the riot. A primary reason for this shift was that of the 33 men who were members of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned by whites, most were over the age of 40, with the largest majority of the men over 50. Many of the men on the committee remained in the city and withstood the changes in society created by the whirlwind of 1898. Some of the men, such as Daniel Howard, John G. Norwood, and Thomas Rivera, were longtime leaders of the community and died within a few years of the riot, leaving their estates to children or relatives who then moved from the city once their connection to Wilmington's stable past was gone.[47] Within the white community, most participants in the Democratic Party campaign were also over 40 although the average age of the men who were part of the Secret Nine was 37. Many of these leading white men were related to each other either by blood or marriage, further strengthening their ties to each other and the community. The aging black population with entrenched history in the city was replaced by a younger group with less of a connection to the city's infrastructure, and the younger white population built upon its already tight network of family and business relationships.[48]

Case studies of seven of the major African American targets provide a tangible understanding of the amorphous concept of shifting economic roles. Analysis of Daniel Howard, John G. Norwood, Isham Quick, Thomas C. Miller, John Goins, Elijah Green, and John C. Dancy provides insight into many of the changes that faced Wilmington's residents after 1898. Of these men, only one, Thomas C. Miller, was physically banished by the white leaders of the mob and coup d'etat on November 10. John Goins, an employee of Alex Manly's *Record*, left the city because of his association with the paper. The rest of the

[47] Daniel Howard died in 1909 and left the bulk of his substantial estate to be divided equally among his living children. By the 1910 census, only two of his sons were living in the city, and both were renting their homes instead of living in property they owned as a result of their father's estate division. John Norwood's children were also scattered after 1898, with only two of his sons living in the city in 1900. By 1910, all of his sons were living in northern states. Rivera's adopted son, Thomas, moved his father's undertaking business to Durham in 1906, the year his father died. For more information on these and other African American families, see Appendix A.

[48] Approximate ages for the men were taken from the 1880 and 1900 census. Men such as Junius Davis, John Crow, Hardy and Henry Fennell, William R. Kenan, James Sprunt, William B. McKoy, Donald and Hugh MacRae, Iredell and Thomas Meares, Roger Moore, George Morton, Walter Parsely, George Rountree, Walker and J. Alan Taylor, Alfred M. Waddell, and Charles Worth were all inter-related through intermarriage or blood kinships.

men were impacted in various ways by the changes wrought by the violence and the unfriendly climate that followed.

Daniel Howard

Daniel Howard rose to prominence in Wilmington in the 1870s and 1880s. He led the Giblem Lodge, took an active role in Republican politics, led Emancipation Day celebrations, and served on various boards. He backed local black entrepreneurs in railroad development and life insurance enterprises. He also helped to establish the Metropolitan Trust Company, one of the most successful black enterprises in the city. Howard's occupation changed over time from drayman in 1870, to county jailer in 1880, to house carpenter in 1900. Howard owned property valued at almost $2,900 in eight locations in the city according to the 1897 tax listings. According to the 1900 tax listings, he retained his properties, which either held their value or increased slightly.

Howard died in 1909 at the age of 74, and in his will he divided his estate among his first and second wives and several children. Howard's will emphasized that his children should "share and share alike" and included a provision for the sale of some property so that the funds could be evenly divided among the siblings. Therefore, some of Howard's long-term property wealth was diminished for subsequent generations because some property was sold, and as other properties were subdivided as many as four or fives times. Consequently, the wealth and prosperity Daniel Howard had worked so hard to develop after Emancipation dissipated soon after his death and did not filter down to his children. By the 1910 census, only two of his sons were in the city ,and neither owned the homes where they lived. One son lived with his father-in-law while working as a carpenter, and the other was a "scavenger" and lived on the outskirts of town in a rented house. However, one of Howard's sons, Benjamin, did reflect the changes brought on by improvements to the city's African American community after World War I. In 1924, he followed his father's example, helping to establish the Colored Chamber of Commerce. By that time, he had assumed a position as a letter carrier for the United States Postal Service and was paying a mortgage on his home. [49]

Howard's detailed estate record, provided by his executor for an explanation of income and expenses, is a telling snapshot of the city. Howard's estate saw income from his investment in the Virginia Life Insurance Company, the Wilmington Saving Trust Company, and the Atlantic Banking and Trust Company, as well as from the members of Giblem Lodge and property rentals and sales. The estate record indicates that Howard invested in both African American and white businesses and banks. Disbursements from his estate reflect a dependence on white professionals, but yet an attempt to use African American sources whenever possible. Howard used both white and black doctors for his treatment but relied on whites for his groceries, legal services, and the *Evening Dispatch* for newspaper services because, presumably, those services were not adequately supplied by the black community. Even though the African American business community had developed to service the needs of black residents, many, such as Howard, had to

[49] Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 4, 23, 239, 294, 301-2, 319, 491; United States Census, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920; Daniel Howard will and estate records, New Hanover County records, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina; New Hanover County Tax Records, 1897, 1900, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.

seek white businesses to accomplish their tasks.[50]

John G. Norwood

John G. Norwood was also a leading member of the community, serving as senior warden to St. Mark's Episcopal Church and as a longtime member of the Board of Directors of Pine Forest Cemetery. Norwood owned a great deal of land in Wilmington, totaling over $3,000 in value in 1897. By 1900, however, his property values had dropped to just over $2,700. Norwood was a carpenter throughout his life, and he provided educational opportunities for his seven children, enabling them to become carpenters, politicians, teachers, and musicians. In 1900, Norwood was 72 years old, and his son Charles, a carpenter who had been unemployed for the last six months, was living with him. One of his other sons was living in the city, owned his own home, and worked as a mail carrier. Norwood died in 1906 and in his will decreed that his property would be divided among his widow and children. By the 1910 census, none of his sons were living in the city. Two lived in New York, one lived in New Jersey, and another lived in Philadelphia. The sons rented their homes and held various jobs, including salesman, carpenter, letter carrier, and collector at the customs house in Philadelphia. Just as Howard's estate was divided among his sons, such was the fate of Norwood's property. However, Norwood's sons and their families were all gone from the city within four years of their father's death and had improved their lives somewhat, working in professional and semi-professional fields in several different northern states. For Wilmington, however, the male branches of the Norwood family tree—potential generations of leadership in the community—were gone.[51]

Isham Quick

Study of Isham Quick and his family provides another avenue by which to understand the impact of 1898. Quick was born in South Carolina and had moved to Wilmington by 1867. It is unclear if he was a slave or a freeman before the Civil War (there were a large number of men and women of the Quick family that were free in 1860 South Carolina). By 1870, Quick was working as a drayman and had acquired real estate valued at $300. Quick remained a drayman for the rest of his working life and was able to support a large family throughout his lifetime, sending his children to school as he continued to acquire more property. Throughout his life, Quick acquired and sold multiple properties throughout the city, though in both the 1897 and 1900 tax records, he was listed as owning only two properties. The properties were valued at a total of $800 in 1897 but declined in value by 1900 to a total worth of $750.

Quick died sometime after 1910 and by the 1920 census, his children were less active than their father in business affairs. Most of his family remained in the city after their father's death, although one son, Isham, may have moved to New York by 1910. Two of his sons were working as draymen, and another was a porter with the Atlantic Coastline Railroad and two were renting their homes. Quick's wife and son William were able to maintain ownership of some property according to the census and

[50] Daniel Howard estate records, New Hanover County estates, North Carolina State Archives.

[51] Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*, 446-7; United States Census, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920; John G. Norwood estate records, New Hanover County Estate Records, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina; New Hanover County Tax Lists, 1897, 1900, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.

1915 tax list. One of Quick's daughters, Cornelia, had moved in with William F. Dodd as his "adopted daughter" and was working as a nurse. No copy of Quick's will has survived in the official county records but, just as with Norwood and Howard, the property he acquired through hard work did not pass on the next generation. It is unclear how or why these next generations were unable to become property owners like their fathers, particularly when they inherited property by estate division.[52]

Elijah Green

Elijah Green provided a unique portrait of a man who remained in the city and prospered despite the changes forced by the white supremacy campaign. Green was employed as a stevedore at the Sprunt-owned cotton compress and was able to keep his job, eventually earning the title of foreman at Sprunt. Green was a trusted Sprunt employee and a leading African American. As a result, he was enlisted by Sprunt in August 1899 to travel to New York and Philadelphia in order to persuade as many as 100 of Sprunt's former workers to return to the city with promises of employment. It is unclear how many workers he encouraged to return. Green was part of a large extended family that included many well-connected leaders in the African American community. He owned his home and other properties in the city both before and after the riot and was able to overcome personal tragedy (all three of his children preceded him in death by 1900) to help his extended family by opening his home to nieces and nephews. Green died at the age of 75 in 1930 and left his estate to his wife Emma. Green was an active member of his church, Price Chapel A.M.E. Zion, and, before the 1898 campaign, was an active member of the Republican Party. [53]

Thomas C. Miller

Two of the men in the case study were removed from the city by the effects of the riot. The first, Thomas C. Miller, was forcefully banished and managed to find a life for himself in Norfolk, Virginia before his death in 1903. A native of the city, Miller developed considerable holdings by the time of his eviction from the city.[54] Although Miller left the city on November 11th, his wife, adult son, and minor children remained in Wilmington. His wife, Annie, was also a native of the city and worked to manage Miller's vast property holdings on his behalf after he left. Despite the distance and difficulties, he recorded some deeds after he left and she won a court case as executrix of his estate.[55] Annie managed

[52] In depth studies of all of the deeds associated with the fathers and their offspring might provide insight into how the sons were divested on the properties over time. United States Census, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930; New Hanover County Tax Lists, 1897, 1900, 1915.

[53] Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 399; United States Census, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920; *New York Times*, August 26, 1899.

[54] According to the 1897 and 1900 tax lists, Miller owned property valued over $3,000 in 1897 and by 1900, his property was valued at just over $5,500. Miller continued to buy and sell land after his banishment although the rates and quantities of transfers were greatly reduced when compared to his pre-November 1898 activity. New Hanover County Tax Lists, 1897, 1900; Cody, "After the Storm," 136-140.

[55] State Archives, New Hanover Estates Records, Thomas Miller: Annie Miller, wife and executrix of Miller's estate, took legal action on behalf of his estate in 1903. The first was against Andrew and Mary Pierce for non-payment on mortgage loan, her attorney was Marsden Bellamy. She won the suit and the land was sold to Walker Taylor for $675.00. Miller was due $537.27 on the account but was paid only $486.68 after payments to court ($23.95), past taxes ($139.37) and attorney fees ($25.00) were paid. The sheriff removed Pierces from property so Taylor could occupy it. In a second case, Annie Miller also

the estate for Miller's heirs in both North Carolina and Virginia. At least some of his children remained in the city and his son, Thomas, seemed to benefit in a small degree from his father's wealth. Thomas Miller, Jr. lived in his father's first home on North Sixth Street until his death in 1913 and his heirs sold the property in 1947.[56]

Miller was left distraught by what happened to him on November 10th and 11th and undoubtedly felt betrayed by men, black and white, that he had known since childhood. In a 1902 letter Miller discussed both business matters and his treatment with the white clerk of court, John D. Taylor. Miller asked Taylor to "pardon . . . the way I write . . . but when I think about it all knowing I am not Guilty it all most drives me mad – just to think how my own people could treat me as they have without a Cause knowingly. Oh my God." Miller had explained that he was treated "worse than a dog" but that he was "doing well" although he was not allowed to come to the city to his mother's funeral. Miller ended the letter as a "heartbroken" man. [57] Miller surely knew that he was still an example for other blacks in the city because an 1899 article in the Wilmington *Messenger* stated that "there are two elements . . . among the negroes . . . the kindly, affectionate, faithful, sober, well-meaning class and the low, vicious, unprincipled, saucy, bullying dangerous class . . . there are not many Tom Millers among them, but when revolutions set in the Toms are politely invited to pack and go and keep going." Miller's body was returned to the city after his death for funeral services and burial at Pine Forest Cemetery.[58]

John Goins

Another man who was forced to leave the city in search of a new life following the violence of 1898 was John Goins. Goins was not a native of the city and was one of the youngest men affected by the riot. Only 29 at the time of the riot, Goins had worked himself up from a

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filed suit against A.J. Taylor for non-payment of a loans owed by him to Thomas Miller dating from 1894, 1895, 1896. There are no records in the file as to the conclusion of the case.

[56] New Hanover County Public Library, T. C. Miller House File, Thomas Miller, New Hanover County Estate Records, North Carolina State Archives, New Hanover County Administrator's Bonds, North Carolina State Archives, New Hanover County Tax Lists, 1897 and 1900, North Carolina State Archives, New Hanover County Deed Book Index for Grantees and Grantors, North Carolina State Archives, Thomas Miller Death Certificate, City of Norfolk Death Records, Library of Virginia; Annie E. Miller administratrix of Miller estate and guardian of Charity Miller, City of Norfolk Corporation Court Record of Fiduciary Bonds, Library of Virginia.

[57] T. C. Miller, Norfolk, Virginia, to John D. Taylor, Clerk of Superior Court, Wilmington, July 9, 1902: "I have this day rec'd a letter from Mr. WM Cumming in regards to a Judgment of Mask and Reynolds and in reply I'll say among the few both white and colored Dr. T.R. Mask has treated me right and I mean to treat him the same as I have all ways did others and if god be my helper I shall continue to do so not withstanding the way I have been treated etc for I have been treated not like human but worse than a dog and someday the Lord will punish them that punished me without a Cause. I am Well and doing Well the only thing that worries me is just to think that I were not allowed to come to my Mothers funeral she being 95 years of age and the oldest Citizen on Wrightsville sound just to think of it will last me to my grave if I were guilty of any Crime or was a Criminal it would not worri me in the least but oh my god just to think it is enough to run a sane man insane. Col I hope you will pardon me for the way I write you but when I think about it all knowing I am not Guilty it all most drives me mad – just to think how my own people could treat me as they have with out a Cause knowingly. Oh my god. Col please [cancel] the Judgment against Dr. Mask & Reynolds – I remain your heart broken Servant as usual/ T.C. Miller" New Hanover County Correspondence, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.

[58] The article discussed preventing independent thinkers in the black community from prospering. Wilmington *Messenger,* November 30, 1899. Wilmington *Star*, March 27, 1903.

background as a South Carolina farm laborer with little education to working with Manly's press. By 1900, he was living with the Manly brothers and other "exiles" from North Carolina in Washington, D. C. and was working as a commercial printer. He remained in the city and continued to work as a printer for the next several decades, eventually finding a wife and securing a stable life for himself as a self-employed printer. Goins exemplified the improved conditions met by many men who fled the city as a result of November 10, 1898. A young man, Goins found another life in another city and built upon the business foundations he established in Wilmington. Other young men who left the city after the riot and found opportunity to prosper in other parts of the country were attorneys William Henderson and Armond Scott.[59]

John C. Dancy

Another highly successful African American who was present in the city at the time of the riot was John C. Dancy. Dancy was part of a larger family from Tarboro and enjoyed wide political connections and mutual respect of whites and blacks before the riot and had just come to the city for his second term as Collector for the Port in 1898. Because of his status as a federally appointed employee with political connection in Washington, D. C., Dancy escaped the violence of 1898 since the white leaders of the coup knew interference with Dancy would certainly result in federal intervention. Dancy left the city for a short while around the time of the violence but returned to serve his term as Collector until he was appointed to be the Register of Deeds for the District of Columbia by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1902. Dancy became an influential spokesman for African Americans respected by many on both sides of the color line. In his speeches Dancy emphasized the need for African Americans to focus on improving the race as a whole even as he lauded the efforts of a wide spectrum of other leading blacks from Booker T. Washington to Frederick Douglass. Quite wealthy by the time of his death in Washington in 1920, Dancy exemplified a leadership formula that defined the limits of his accommodation of the tenets of white supremacy rhetoric. His connections and desire to bridge the gaps between the races extended to his son who became a leader in the Urban League.[60]

Mapping the City

Japanese scholar Hayumi Higuchi, while in graduate school at UNC-Chapel Hill in the 1970's, studied the changes in residential patterns in the city using the city directories from 1897, 1902, and 1905.[61] Higuchi found that in 1897 the core of the city was dominated by whites in a triangular pattern beginning with Ninth at Market working outward to Second at Dawson and at Campbell. One small exception could be found in two neighboring streets, North

[59] United States Census, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 462-3; Cody, "After the Storm."

[60] Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 384-6; Booker T. Washington Papers, Livingstone College; John C. Dancy, Jr., *Sand Against the Wind*, 60-71, 75; Louis T. Harlan, ed., *Booker T. Washington Papers*, v.5, 123-4; Powell, William,ed., "John C. Dancy," *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography.*

[61] Higuchi plotted every residence in the directory by race and then determined the percentage of race by street to understand the racial make-up of the city. If a street had fewer than 15% black occupants, it was considered a white street; if a street had 85% or more black, it was considered a black street. Other increments of the percentage of black residents on a street were also marked: 75-84%, 60-74%, 40-59%, 25-39%, 15-24%, 0-14%. The maps were not included in her original thesis but were shared for use in this work. New maps based on her work are included in this report.

Fourth and Princess near Market Street, where the racial mix was evenly distributed among whites and blacks. At the edges of this triangle were transition streets where blacks comprised as much as half of the population before the neighborhood became predominantly black. The transitions between predominately black neighborhoods and majority white neighborhoods were one to two blocks in length with higher concentrations of interracial neighborhoods along sections of South Sixth Street between Ann and Castle Streets and down Castle Street to Third. The area in which a predominately white neighborhood encroached on a predominately black neighborhood was the section of Brooklyn where the fighting broke out on November 10th. More white families than black lived along North Fourth Street but most of the cross streets were either predominantly black or transitional neighborhoods with a mixture of white and black residents. This encroachment and mixing may have played a role in the buildup of tensions that erupted on November 10th. Many of the men who claimed that their wives could not safely walk the streets lived in this neighborhood.

Higuchi analyzed two twentieth century directories in the same manner and noted the most change in occupation patterns by 1905 instead of immediately after the violence. By this time, the predominantly white sections of town had spread out and the transition blocks between the black and white sections were pushed further toward the perimeters of town. The small grouping of integrated neighborhoods along North Fourth and Princess near Market had disappeared. The large number blocks containing both black and white residents along Sixth and Castle Streets also disappeared with the concentration trending more toward a white majority. The area along North Fourth Street in Brooklyn was still a transition zone with slightly more encroachment by whites into cross streets and onto North Fifth Street.

Overall, Higuchi's findings demonstrated the outflow of the city's African American residents away from the city center and the increase in white population as reflected in the census. Furthermore, she demonstrated the changes reflected in the attitudes toward blacks as neighbors. The city became more and more segregated with the advent of Jim Crow. Prior to the violence of 1898, the core of the city, including the business sector, was dominated by white residents but a few African Americans were able to maintain a foothold with land and homes acquired in traditionally white neighborhoods. However, after the violence of 1898 and the development of a more hostile environment for African American businesses and families, members of the African American community physically stepped back from their white neighbors and moved to the perimeter of the city. Just as the economic climate changed for the city's African Americans as many developed businesses for their own race, their neighborhoods also changed, becoming less integrated and more homogeneous. A new perspective of the violence of November 10th emerged through analysis of Higuchi's work because she demonstrated that the whites and blacks of Brooklyn lived in close proximity to each other in 1898 and became mortal enemies as neighbor shot neighbor.

Societal Change

Every facet of African American life was affected by the events of 1898. One of the first celebrations after the violence would have been the Christmas holiday season and the tradition of Jonnkonnu. Jonnkonnu was a custom dating to slavery in which blacks would dress in outlandish outfits, parade through white neighborhoods,

knock on doors and usually walk away with sweets or coins. The survival of Jonnkonnu in Wilmington after slavery was remarkable and by the 1880's the celebration had peaked in participation.[62] However, the violence of 1898 marked an end to the long tradition as Waddell's Board of Aldermen decreed on December 26, 1898 that "the wearing of disguises of any kind by any person or number of persons, whether in the form of masks or otherwise on the streets or other public places of the city is hereby prohibited." The new law was enforced by police arrest and $10 fine.[63] By mid twentieth century, oral tradition in the community among older African Americans agreed that the end of their Jonkonnu celebrations was due to the violence of 1898.[64] Whites took over the celebrations, with young boys following the "Coonering" tradition and enjoying the ritual for themselves as early as 1905.[65]

A second celebration that was cancelled as a result of the violence was the annual Emancipation Day observance. The celebration routinely took place on New Year's Day each year, with festivities including a parade, speeches and music. By 1874, a permanent organization had been created to organize the event and chairmen annually were selected to plan the celebration. The planning and preparations took place throughout the year and Emancipation Day was seen as a highlight of the year by many who recalled slavery. One of the largest commemorations took place in 1895, with a parade through the center of town and speeches given in a packed Thalian Hall. Wilmington's white newspapers routinely covered the event, but coverage became sporadic after November 1898. It is unclear if the January 1899 celebration, to be led by Andrew Walker, Luke Grady, James Howe, Elijah Green, and John Holloway, took place. The Wilmington *Messenger* noted that the parade was not held, but services could have taken place in churches. The local leaders reorganized and by 1902 the day was once again marked by speeches, parades, and music.[66] Emancipation Day celebrations declined nationwide around 1910 although they persisted in Wilmington with regularity until mid-century. The decline in commemorating the day has been seen by

[62] For a detailed description of Jonkonnu in North Carolina, see Elizabeth A. Fenn, " 'A Perfect Equality Seemed to Reign': Slave Society and Jonkonnu," *North Carolina Historical Review*, (April 1988), 127-153.

[63] Laws with similar wording had been passed during the height of the Ku Klux Klan movement in order to discourage the use of masks to protect men who threatened or attacked blacks in the 1870's. This ordinance was clearly designed to affect the Jonkonnu celebrations. Minutes of the Board of Aldermen, December 26, 1898, Wilmington, North Carolina, North Carolina State Archives.

[64] Fenn, "Slave Society and Jonkonnu,"

[65] William B. McKoy, *Wilmington, N. C.: Do You Remember When?* (Greenville, S.C.: Privately Published, 1957), 141-145.

[66] Most Emancipation Day celebrations were held in local churches instead of public spaces such as Thalian Hall. Historian Fitzhugh Brundage has called early Emancipation Day celebrations a way for blacks to "celebrate their history and participate in civic life in ways that had been impossible during slavery." He contended that the commemorations were "an unmistakable challenge to white understandings of the past." Historian Mitch Kachun suggested that, despite racial violence throughout the South, Emancipation Day celebrations persisted "to a greater extent than one might expect." However, Kachun explained that, instead of public spectacles lauding the merits of African American citizenship and pressing participants to push forward in every way, speeches urged "racial harmony" and statements meant to appease whites. Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 3-6; Wilmington *Messenger* January 3, 1899, January 2, 1903; Wilmington *Star*, January 2, 1898; W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (Belknap Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2005) 10; Mitch Kachun, *Festivals of Freedom: Memory and Meaning in African American Emancipation Celebrations, 1808-1915* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 178-181.

one historian as a normal shift in cultural focus, one in which the community saw a greater purpose in working toward the current issue of regaining access to civil rights that had been taken away.[67]

The effect of the riot on the Masons and other fraternal orders is largely unknown but, since fraternal orders were the cornerstone of community and provided benevolent assistance, it can be surmised that their role became more pronounced and vital to the development of an independent African American community.[68] Masonic lodges in North Carolina opened soon after the Civil War; and the primary members of the lodges were landowners and skilled tradesmen. In fact, more than half of Giblem Lodge's members were landowners. There was a close connection between membership in a lodge and economic success. Communities such as Wilmington that were supported by a strong and active lodge benefited financially. However, Giblem experienced a major shift in membership by the turn of the century. Only five of its officers in 1900 had been members for more than ten years and many of the lodges founding members and established leaders were no longer involved in the organization. Due to the shift in membership, and reflective of the fact that many of the lodges new members lacked institutional memory or were financially secure landholders, the overall economic status of lodge members was lower in 1900 than when the lodge was founded in 1870. [69] Despite the changes of faces within the lodge, Giblem's members aided the business community by housing businesses in its large hall at the corner of Eighth and Princess Streets and renting portions of its other properties to black businesses.[70] Further, the lodge continued to participate as a part of the larger statewide and national organization to provide death benefits to members' widows and children.

A bulwark of the African American community was the network of religious institutions that developed in the city over the decades following emancipation. Prominent churches such as St. Stephen's A. M. E. Zion, St. Mark's Episcopal, and Christ's Congregational (later Gregory) shepherded their congregations through the aftermath of the riot and provided a core of stability for the city's African American community. Just as the black business community learned new methods to adapt to the purchasing power of their customers, churches developed methods to help many of the city's residents through the difficulties of newfound unemployment and poverty well into the twentieth century.[71] Despite financial declines among the city's African Americans, parishioners maintained their churches, keeping the buildings and grounds in good repair and providing consistent improvements. The churches funded their activities through various methods, including local fundraisers as well as

[67] Kachun, *Festivals of Freedom,* 260.

[68] Wilmington supported a number of fraternal organizations in addition to the Masons for both men and women. The second largest male organization was the Odd Fellows. Women also created fraternal clubs of their own, most of which were benevolent or charity organizations. For a detailed description of many of the clubs and societies that prospered in Wilmington, see Bill Reaves' *Strength Through Struggle.*

[69] Membership in the lodge was contingent on prompt payment of monthly fees. Failure to pay the fees resulted in revocation of membership. Kenzer found that only about 1/3 of the new members of Giblem Lodge owned real estate whereas almost half of the lodge's founders owned property in the city. Kenzer, *Enterprising Southerners,* 69-72.

[70] Kenzer, 73.

[71] St. Mark's Episcopal Church operated several missions in the city including a school on Harnett Street and a supervised summer playground facility on North Eighth. Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 135-6.

sending ministers to visit northern churches and donors. [72]

It is unknown what path local church leaders followed in the months following the riot but the national A .M. E. Zion church, led by men such as North Carolina's Bishop James Walker Hood, sought to bridge the gap between opposing viewpoints within the church as to how African Americans should deal with the "race question." At one extreme was Booker T. Washington who preached temporary surrender of voting and civil rights in favor of educational improvement. Opposing Washington were others such as Timothy T. Fortune who pressed for nothing less than full equality for blacks and justice for those who had been hurt by white mobs. The A.M.E. Zion church chose to encourage a middle-of-the-road path – encouraging education, economic prosperity and dedication to a long-term goal of equality and unlimited freedoms for blacks. [73]

Although several ministers had been targeted to leave the city as a result of their active participation in Republican Party politics, many remained. Of these some likely took a less conspicuous position in political debate or sought to adopt a stance considered less militant in the eyes of whites. In 1915 the ministerial union, which was dissolved in 1898, was re-formed. The new union followed the example set by the earlier group and sought methods to organize the city's churches in order to provide leadership to the community in all matters, religious and civic.[74]

A study of the leading churches in the city, based upon the 1897, 1900 and 1903 city directories, shows that most of the city's African American church congregations survived the violence and continued to function in various sectors of the city.[75] Only one congregation in the city – St. Thomas Catholic Church – was racially integrated in the years surrounding the violence. However, the white members of the congregation turned the church over to its black members in 1911 when the new St. Mary Church was completed.[76] Some

[72] In 1899 Mt. Olive was undergoing remodeling. In 1901, St. Mark's raised funds for its programs and for repairs to the chancel and rectory through a presentation of a melodrama at the Opera House and by sponsoring a trip by its pastor to Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New Jersey. Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 112, 134.

[73] Bishop William J. Walls, *The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church: Reality of the Black Church*, (Charlotte, N.C. : A. M. E. Zion Publishing House, 1974), 507-511.

[74] The ministerial union was dissolved after the coup and violence of 1898 because it was perceived by white leaders that the ministers who participated in the union worked to develop Republican Party backing within their congregations as well as to organize a united, and potentially armed, resistance to the white supremacy campaign. As evidence, white leaders pointed to the ministerial union's public support of Alex Manly as well as the fact that several ministers were also leading members of the county's Republican Party. For more on the ministerial union's involvement in pre-election matters, see Chapter 4. Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 143.

[75] Andrew Kraft studied Wilmington's churches in his geographic study of the city. Two of his maps charted the city's white and black churches using the 1897 and 1903 city directories. Comparison of his maps indicated that some African American churches, found in the 1897 city directory either moved or were displaced by white churches by 1903. However, study of the lists of churches in the city shows that he incorrectly identified two churches, St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church and the Fifth Street Methodist Episcopal Church as African American churches when, in fact, they were white churches. A new comparison of the city's churches before and after the violence of 1898 using the city directories, Sanborn maps and Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle* shows that although some churches went through some reorganization and name changes following 1898, the locations and basic religious framework established before 1898 remained in place following the violence. See chapter 1 map of African American churches.

[76] Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 121 – 122; Wrenn, *Wilmington, North Carolina: An Architectural and Historical Portrait,* 224-227.

smaller churches, such as Mount Calvary (also known as Mount Moriah) moved around within the city in the years following the riot before they established a firm base. One immediate problem facing some of the churches was a steep decline in attendance. The congregations of all churches diminished in size in the immediate weeks and months following the violence because of the mass exodus of blacks from the city. Because of the out-migration that occurred following the violence, local oral tradition holds that St. Stephen's lost about 800 members, about half of its congregation.[77]

Collective Memory

As the men, women and children who were in the city in 1898 aged, knowledge of the violence and coup was maintained within the community. The narrative, or explanation, of what happened and why it happened varied according to the age, sex, race, and economic position that narrators occupied in the 20th century. Most white upper class families maintained that the coup and violence were necessary evils and that they did what was necessary to end municipal corruption and dangerous conditions. Some African American families, particularly those that remained in the city through the exodus, informed their children about the riot and warned children to be wary of whites. Still more African Americans moved to the city after the violence from the countryside to fill the vacancies left by migration. These newcomers, many of whom arrived fully understanding the ramifications of Jim Crow legislation and racial hatred, learned to adapt and live in the city separated from whites in a way never experienced until the cataclysm of November 1898. [78]

The African American story of the riot took shape, in part, as an object lesson on the lengths whites would go to in order to achieve their agenda. The stories also helped to educate future generations about the difficult relationships between whites and blacks in the city, particularly learning which whites were sympathetic to the plight of blacks. For example, Lura Beam, a white northern teacher who arrived in Wilmington to teach African American students between 1908 and 1910, observed that her students "hated the mass of white people but they were proud of learned people, the local cotton king, his home, his family and his horses." She also noted that they had "contempt" for the foreigners in town. Despite financial hardships, her native students were proud of their Cape Fear heritage. [79]

Providing further insight into the culture of post-1898 Wilmington, Beam demonstrated that she also learned to be wary of local native whites. As a white woman and outsider who entered the tense world of post-1898 Wilmington, Beam experienced perils as a teacher and was warned by another white teacher from Massachusetts that there was a "policy" that

[77] Attempts were made to study the records of some of the city's African American A.M.E. churches for this project. The early records of St. Stephen's are scant and in poor condition – the earliest ledger dated to 1898 and recorded Sunday school information. Other records for the church date to the twentieth century. Overall, the records of St. Stephen's do not provide much detail about the church's congregation before or after the riot. The records of St. Luke's cannot be located. The church experienced a catastrophic fire during the mid-twentieth century and its records could have been destroyed at that time. A search of the records at the Heritage Hall at Livingstone College did not provide any additional information. Interview with Reverend John Burton of St. Stephen's April 31, 2004.

[78] For more information on the memory of the riot and its long-term impact on the city, see Leslie Hossfeld, *Narrative, Political Unconscious and Racial Violence in Wilmington, North Carolina* (New York: Routledge, 2005) and Appendix M.

[79] Lura Beam, *He Called Them by the Lightening*, 15, 18, 27, 36.

dated to the Civil War regarding black/white interaction in the city. That teacher had been in Wilmington during the riot and she told Beam where 23 murders had occurred and that fires had burned along streets that she walked and that many families still in the city had to run for their lives during the riot. Because of such simmering undercurrents, Beam sensed the "smell of fear" in Wilmington. Blacks related horrors of 1898 to her such as stories of hiding in marshes and swamps where men pretended to be cypress trees as they hid from bloodhounds that were sent into woods to find them. One family recounted burying their silver and never recovered it. Beam learned to be wary of whites and blacks would not speak to her in the street to protect both her and themselves lest someone would perceive that a white woman was endangered or that she fraternized with African American men.[80] Beam's "education" into black/white roles and relationships was undoubtedly repeated throughout the city for newcomers of all races, ages, and occupations.[81]

As for the white narrative of the violence and coup, Wilmingtonians suggested that their actions had been necessary to restore order to the city. In the years that followed, the city attempted to attract new businesses and capital in order to diversify its economy according to the New South model. The 1900 city directory boasted that the city's population had grown since 1897: "In view of the vicissitudes through which Wilmington has passed since our last publication, this gain is not only gratifying but surprising."[82] In this veiled reference to the violence, the directory compilers boasted about the city's ability to grow despite the troubles of Negro rule and the violence necessary to restore order. In 1902, the city's Chamber of Commerce produced a pamphlet designed to attract outside capital. The pamphlet heralded that it was not the "mission in these pages to devote any space to details connected with the early history of Wilmington. Our business is not with the past, but with the present."[83] Realizing the potential hazard of referencing the riot to potential investors, the organization simply chose to ignore it. The clearest allusion to the violence came in a discussion of the city's attributes which favored manufacturing: "The local government is now based upon strict ideas of economy consistent with safe and secure progress." Three years later, the local press

[80] Beam, *He Called Them by the Lightening,* 28.

[81] Another story of how the violence of 1898 affected the African American community has come from the family history of Gwendolyn Cottman. Cottman's family genealogy, *Just Us*, details her family's lives over several generations. Dispersed within the pages is an underlying story of how her family's collective memory of 1898 affected how children were reared, how family history was told, and how children viewed elderly members of the community who recalled the horrors of 1898. An interesting topic appeared in Cottman's work—the existence of vacant homes in Brooklyn. Cottman never knew why the homes were vacant but research into several homes indicated in her work in the neighborhood around North Tenth/McRae/North Ninth/North Eighth Streets is insightful. A study of the block book, census, Sanborn maps, and tax lists for blocks 327, 310, and 297, blocks referenced by Cottman, show that in the 1920s there were several properties owned by blacks but were considered "vacant and open." It is unclear why some people owned homes in the city but yet left them fully furnished, unlocked and open for years. Cottman points out that these homes were later torn down by the city. More research is needed to understand how or why some African American property owners such as Timon Council maintained ownership of property in the city but lived in other parts of the state. Council owned property at 1107 N. Ninth Street in the 1920s but lived in Cumberland County. Gwendolyn Cottman, *Just Us* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, Inc., 2002), 62-64, 75-76, 81-87, 222; 1925 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Wilmington; 1920 and 1930 census.

[82] Wilmington City Directory, 1900, n.p.

[83] *Wilmington Up-to-Date: The Metropolis of North Carolina Graphically Portrayed* (Wilmington: W.L. De Rossett, 1902), n.p.

suggested that the end of rioting marked the beginning of "an era of prosperity which has advanced the city greatly commercially, and this era still holds forth and is bringing increased progressiveness and prosperity to Wilmington."[84] The differentiation between past political conditions and contemporary conditions suggested that the city had changed hands without referring to the means or the cost of the takeover. The city's businessmen advocated silence on the issue, but the local mentality attributed prosperity to the violence.

As the city's leading white businessman and amateur historian, James Sprunt chronicled the event in his landmark history of the Cape Fear published in 1916 and still used as a standard reference by many historians:

> *The year 1898 marked an epoch in the history of North Carolina, and especially the city of Wilmington. Long continued evils, borne by the community with a patience that seems incredible, and which it is no part of my purpose to describe, culminated, on the 10th day of November, in a radical revolution, accompanied by bloodshed and a thorough reorganization of social and political conditions. .... It was only under stern necessity that the action of the white people was taken, and while some of the incidents were deplored by the whites generally, yet when we consider the peaceable and amicable relations that have since existed, the good government established and maintained, and the prosperous, happy conditions that have marked the succeeding years, we realize that the results of the Revolution of 1898 have indeed been a blessing to the community.*[85]

Sprunt's narrative reflected the traditional story of the violence as developed by participating and leading whites to justify their actions. This concept – that the armed overthrow, or revolution, was necessary to restore order and prosperity to the city – has become the standard belief for many as to why the violence occurred on November tenth. However, after careful study it is clear that such a simple explanation cannot suffice for all members of the community nor was it truly the reason for the violence.

The causes and effects of the riot, neatly packaged by Wilmington's elite became the standard story for inclusion in all statewide histories by historians such as R. D. W. Connor, J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, and Samuel A. Ashe. These men chronicled the history of the state during the first half of the twentieth century, and their prevailing assumptions regarding Wilmington's African American population were clouded by previous authorship and close association with some who participated in the coup and violence.

As generations of Wilmingtonians have shared the stories of 1898, historical fact and fiction have merged, creating alternative narratives that combine hearsay, fact, fictionalized accounts, and episodes from other parts of the city's history. An often repeated story is that the heads of black men who died on November 10 were placed on pikes along the major entrances to the city. No historical data has been found to prove such activity happened in 1898. However, such displays were found in and around the city in 1831 following the hysteria that blossomed in the region as a response to the 1831 Nat Turner insurrection in Virginia.[86] Harry Hayden fueled the confusion when, in his works, he referenced the 1831 events. Hayden stated that blacks and "white agitators" would have done well to delve into the city's history, remarking

[84] "The 'Riot' Seven Years Old," Reaves Clippings, New Hanover County Public Library.

[85] James Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River, 1660-1916*, 554-555.

[86] Charles Edward Morris, "Panic and Reprisal: Reaction in North Carolina to the Nat Turner Insurrection, 1831 *North Carolina Historical Review* (January 1985) 62:29-52.

that rioting in the city was rampant in 1831 with a number of "unruly negroes put to death." He recounted that in 1831, the heads of men killed because of supposed ties to slave insurrection conspiracies were placed on pikes in conspicuous areas as a warning to others "bent upon stirring up racial tensions."[87]

Wilmington's Riot and Racial Clashes in the South

Racial tensions and explosions of violence directed against African Americans were not uncommon in the South at the turn of the twentieth century. The fear and actuality of slave uprisings prior to the Civil War and the growth of spontaneous lynch mobs of the late 19th century created a cult of violence. Although clashes between more than one black and more than one white have been called race riots, historian Paul Gilje has sought to clarify the term and the overall phenomenon of rioting in the United States. Gilje defined a "riot" as "any group of twelve or more people attempting to assert their will immediately through the use of force outside the normal bounds of law." [88] Gilje further noted that the first race riots were white invasions of African American communities but, after World War II, African Americans used the riot as a tool to vent their frustration with failures in social, political and economic progress. However, Gilje and other historians have noted that white rioters killed blacks while destroying black property and that such riots were followed by a suppression of the black voice in politics and the media whereas black rioters usually only destroyed white property and their actions rarely led to bloodshed. [89] In order to distinguish between the two types of upheavals, historian H. Leon Prather suggested alternative and more appropriate labels for the racial clashes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century: massacre, pogrom, or race war.[90]

Wilmington's riot followed a model of white invasion into black neighborhoods, loss of black property, and the deaths of black citizens plus the creation of a virtually silent African American population. Wilmington's riot was the first of its kind in the industrial age although there were scores of lynchings taking place throughout the South each year. Prior to 1898, three noteworthy race riots took place in the South. Of these, two were in 1866 in response to Reconstruction woes in Memphis, Tennessee and New Orleans and the third, in Danville, Virginia in 1883, occurred much as Wilmington's riot – during election season and in response to attempts by blacks to exercise their full rights as citizens in public spaces. [91]

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[87] Another interesting oral tradition is that there were truly guns in the basement of St. Stephen's AMEC Church. The tradition holds that the weapons were stored in a concealed entrance to an underground tunnel or crawlspace created beneath the church by members who constructed the building. Hayden, "Introduction to the Wilmington Rebellion," 35-36.

[88] Paul Gilje, *Rioting in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 4.

[89] Charles Crowe, "Racial Massacre in Atlanta September 22, 1906," *Journal of Negro History* 54 (April 1969): 150; Gilje, *Rioting in America*, pg. 155.

[90] In discussion of November 10, 1898 in Wilmington, Prather has also added the term, coup d'etat to the lexicon. In his groundbreaking study of the riot, *We Have Taken a City,* Prather argued that the violence and resignations of the Board of Aldermen under duress constituted nothing less than an armed takeover of the city's government. H. Leon Prather, "Race Riots," in *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, ed. by Charles Reagan Wilson and William Ferris (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989): pg. 1496.

[91] Gilge, *Rioting in America*, 96-7; James G. Hollandsworth, Jr., *An Absolute Massacre: The New Orleans Race Riot of July 30, 1866* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001); Jane Dailey, "Deference and Violence in the Postbellum Urban South: Manners and Massacres in Danville,

The year 1898 marked a turning point in violent race relations across the country. At the same time Wilmington was dealing with its violence, Phoenix, South Carolina underwent a violent episode in which at least 13 men, including one white man, were killed by white mobs. After Wilmington's riot, followed closely in the press throughout the country, other states experienced similar unrest within a short span of time. Within 25 years of Wilmington's riot, at least six other major race riots occurred throughout the country in which blacks lost their lives, property, and experienced ever tightening controls on their rights. In all cases, the numbers of black dead were never fully tallied with estimates ranging from as few as seven dead in the Springfield, Illinois riot to as many as 500 injured in Chicago. Massive property damage and a mass exodus of blacks also followed. [92]

The Atlanta Riot of 1906 closely resembled the building tensions and outbreak of violence in Wilmington. Atlanta had struggled to recover from the Civil War and re-invent itself as a "New South" city. Attempts to revitalize the city faltered until the turn of the twentieth century and the violence in 1906 reflected growing tension between whites and blacks regarding segregated public spaces. The white rioters focused their attention on destruction of the upwardly mobile, successful black businessmen of the city. Additional impetus for the violence was linked to reports of black-on-white sexual assault. [93]

Although Georgia and Atlanta had experienced numerous lynchings, the violence in 1906 broke with tradition as white leaders looked to the model established by Wilmington's white leaders as they forced black businessmen from the city and took political control of the city. In fact, during political rallies, gubernatorial candidate Hoke Smith explicitly indicated

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Virginia," *Journal of Southern History* 63 (August 1997), 553-590.

[92] The riots in chronological order: Atlanta, GA (1906), Springfield, IL (1908), East St. Louis, IL (1917), Chicago, IL (1919), Tulsa, OK (1921), Rosewood, FL (1923). Ray Stannard Baker, *Following the Colour Line: An Account of Negro Citizenship in the American Democracy* (New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1908); Charles Crowe, "Racial Violence and Social Reform: Origins of the Atlanta Riot of 1906," *Journal of Negro History* 53 (July 1968): 234-256; Charles Crowe, "Racial Massacre in Atlanta September 22, 1906," *Journal of Negro History* 54 (April 1969): 150-173; Tera W. Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors After the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); Allison Dorsey, *To Build Our Lives Together: Community Formation in Black Atlanta, 1875-1906* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004); Gregory Mixon, *The Atlanta Riot: Race, Class, and Violence in a New South City* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005); Scott Ellsworth, *Death in a Promised Land: The Tulsa Race Riot of 1921* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982); Alfred L. Brophy, *Reconstructing a Dreamland: The Tulsa Riot of 1921: Race Reparations, and Reconciliation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); R. Thomas Dye, "The Rosewood Massacre: History and the Making of Public Policy," *The Public Historian* 19 (Summer 1997): 25-39; Maxine D. Jones, "The Rosewood Massacre and the Women Who Survived It," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 76 (Fall 1997): 193-208; Phillip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker, 1619-1973* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974), 136-7, 144.

[93] Don Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South: Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston, Mobile, 1860-1910* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 13, 34-37, 318; Gregory Mixon, *The Atlanta Riot: Race, Class, and Violence in a New South City* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 86; Charles Crowe, "Racial Violence and Social Reform: Origins of the Atlanta Riot of 1906," *Journal of Negro History* 53 (July 1968), 158, 236; Tera W. Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors After the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), pg. 124-126, 178-179; Allison Dorsey, *To Build Our Lives Together: Community Formation in Black Atlanta, 1875-1906* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 159.

his willingness to recreate the violence that had overturned Fusion rule in Wilmington.[94] The bravado of the Atlanta campaign suggests that the lack of governmental response to the violence in Wilmington gave Southerners implicit license to suppress the black community under the right circumstances, as, for example, in response to a perceived black crime wave. Just as Wilmington whites used newspapers to assist in their attempts to regain power, Atlanta's leaders used Georgia papers to fuel the flames of the impending riot and subsequently to provide a modicum of calm and justification for the violence.[95]

Following the Wilmington and Atlanta riots, southern states experienced relative calm since whites had gained a strong footing in their control over blacks through Jim Crow legislation and intimidation. White lynch mobs still held both whites and blacks in check. However, by the 1921 Tulsa riot and the 1923 Rosewood riot, the threat of black-on-white sexual assault still proved to be a strong force in instigating violence that spread to include large numbers of black victims and black property loss. Further, the lack of state and federal response to vigilante violence demonstrated a tolerance of such behavior by white leaders, nearly sanctioning the activity through nonintervention.[96]

Tulsa's riot represented likely the most violent racial clash in American history. After an initial encounter between whites and blacks outside the city's jail on the night of May 31, 1921, whites prepared their invasion. The Tulsa police department deputized dozens of whites who murdered African Americans. White mobs looted black homes before setting them on fire. Blacks attempted to defend themselves by taking up arms against the white invasion, but the state militia entered the African American enclave known as Greenwood and disarmed blacks and confined them to city parks, leaving their homes and families unprotected. Thirty-five blocks, the heart of the city's black community, were destroyed. Estimates of the death toll vary from 75 to 300. Legal scholar Alfred L. Brophy emphasized the role of the state guard in facilitating the destruction of the black community, in a manner not entirely different from the activities witnessed in Wilmington and Atlanta.[97]

Whereas some Wilmington whites believed that the riot marked a positive turning point in the city's history, those in the white communities in Atlanta and Tulsa recognized the need to present their riots as aberrations and placate the black community. Their efforts appear to have been directed more toward potential investors rather than black victims, particularly given the hollow effort toward compensation. Historian Wayne Mixon contended that Atlanta's commercial-civic elite orchestrated the riot to impose their vision of the city's future. Atlanta and Tulsa presented an image of a repentant white leadership that had restored the pre-riot order disrupted by the violence of the lower class of whites. In Atlanta, the Committee of Ten was formed to illustrate to outsiders that order had been restored and that white elites cared for their black neighbors. The Civic League and the Colored Cooperative were established to facilitate communication between the races. The Committee of Ten distributed relief, but their efforts reflected a

[94] Mixon, *The Atlanta Riot*, 69-70; Crowe, "Racial Violence and Social Reform," 243; Hunter, *'Joy*, 124.
[95] Ray Stannard Baker, *Following the Colour Line: An Account of Negro Citizenship in the American Democracy* (New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1908), 5.
[96] "A Documented History of the Incident Which Occurred at Rosewood, Florida, in January 1923" presented to the Florida House of Representatives, December 22, 1993.
[97] Ellsworth, *Death in a Promised Land*, chapter 3.

desire to restore paternalistic relations between whites and blacks. Blacks were expected to depend upon white elites for all of their needs. Many expressed their lack of confidence in white paternalism with their feet, fleeing the city for more hospitable northern communities.[98]

A Tulsa grand jury blamed African Americans for the riot, contending that there was no eminent threat of white violence. Despite receiving most of the blame from the white community, blacks actively pursued restitution, filing five million dollars worth of claims with the city; only one claim was honored. Within two years, more than one hundred suits had been filed stemming from property damage during the riot. Whites attempted to appease blacks on the one hand and steal their property on the other. One hundred thousand dollars was donated to relief rather than reconstruction of Greenwood. Simultaneously, the Tulsa Real Estate Exchange was formed in order to buy the scorched earth of Greenwood, relocate African Americans farther north, and replace black businesses with industrial development. County judges blocked the efforts, and it became clear that African Americans would have to rebuild on their own. In the years that followed the riot, Tulsa became a haven for the Ku Klux Klan, further isolating the city's African American community.[99]

In context, Wilmington's riot can be considered to be the first of its kind—an all-encompassing event that resulted in white invasion of African American neighborhoods, an unknown number of black deaths, property destruction, armed overthrow of a legally elected city government, and the marginalization of black political and economic concerns.[100] Future white-on-black race riots grew in scope, affecting many more African Americans and destroying much more property as whites grew bolder in the face of little opposition or retribution. The post-riot responses of the cities' white leaders reveal local concerns about race relations and, more importantly, progress. Inaction by state and federal governments validated the riots and demonstrated that white supremacy would triumph. White Wilmingtonians tended to search for greater good – peace, good government, safe streets, healthy business climate – served by their riot, whereas Atlantans and Tulsans pursued a policy of compensation that offered outsiders the appearance of peace and understanding between the races.[101]

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[98] Mixon, *The Atlanta Riot*, pg. 117-119; Baker, *Following the Colour Line*, pg. 14.

[99] Alfred L. Brophy, *Reconstructing a Dreamland: The Tulsa Riot of 1921: Race Reparations, and Reconciliation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pg. 95-97.

[100] Other attempted governmental overthrows have come to light in the course of this report. Many examples are reflective of the municipal upheaval that was commonplace throughout the South during Reconstruction, particularly during military occupation. However, after the end of Reconstruction and into the twentieth century, there have been points in the histories of many cities where local mob rule forced its hand. Wilmington's event, unlike many others, was completely successful and was not overturned by federal or state forces at any point whereas many of the other coup d'etat attempts failed to have staying power. Events in San Francisco (1856), Athens, Tennessee (1946), Plaquemines Parish, Louisiana (1919), New Orleans (1874), and the Brooks-Baxter War in Arkansas (1874) have been reviewed.

[101] An unapologetic white business community of Wilmington quietly collected funds to "compensate the several negro lodges which owned the *Record* building that was accidentally burned." The men raised $690 and presented the funds to a black representative of the lodges because destruction of the building had not been the intention of the action but, instead, the destruction of the *Record*'s office property. At the same time, the papers lauded another black man who had acquired the destroyed press and had offered to melt it down to create souvenirs for sale. Another article praised the White Laborer's Union and remarked upon a wonderful new

gavel, carved from a wooden table in the destroyed *Record* office, presented to the Union from workers at the Wilmington Iron Works. Wilmington *Star,* February 3, 1899, March 17, 1899.

The Battlefield

William Cullen Bryant

Truth, crushed to earth, shall rise again;
The eternal years of God are her's;
But Error, wounded, writhes with pain,
And died among his worshippers.

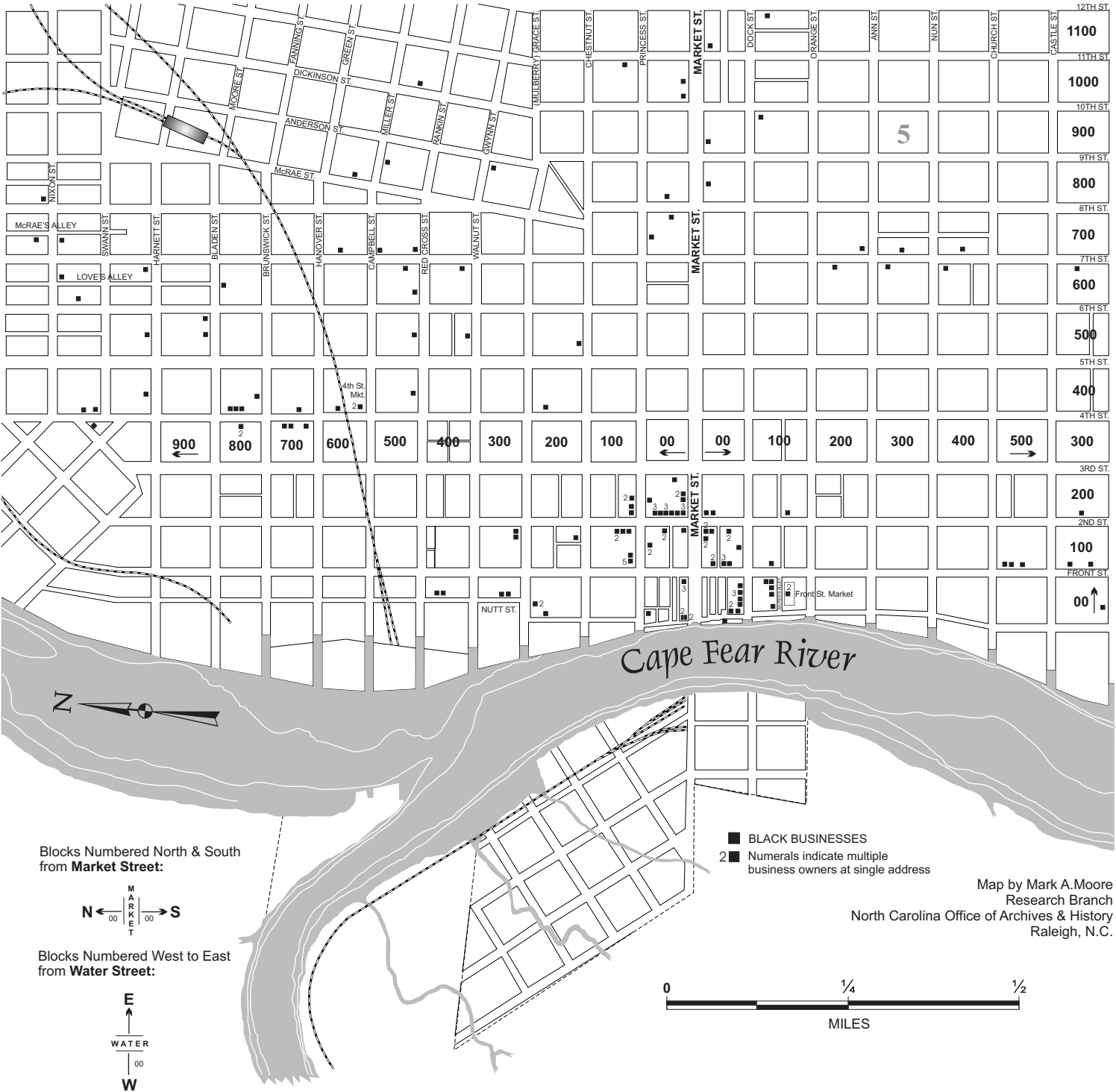
Yea, though thou lie upon the dust,
When those who helped thee flee in fear,
Die full of hope and manly trust,
Like those who fell in battle here.

Another hand thy sword shall wield,
Another hand the standard wave,
Till from the trumpet's mouth is pealed
The blast of triumph o'er thy grave!

** Portions of Bryant's poem were quoted in a speech given by an African American minister at the protest rally organized by Timothy T. Fortune on November 17, 1898 in New Jersey. The poem was originally published in the *United States Democratic Review,* v.1#1, printed in New York by J & HG Langley, in October, 1837.

Black Businesses — 1897

Wilmington, N.C.



Blocks Numbered North & South from **Market Street:**

N ← 00 | MARKET | 00 → S

Blocks Numbered West to East from **Water Street:**

E ↑ WATER 00 W

■ BLACK BUSINESSES

2■ Numerals indicate multiple business owners at single address

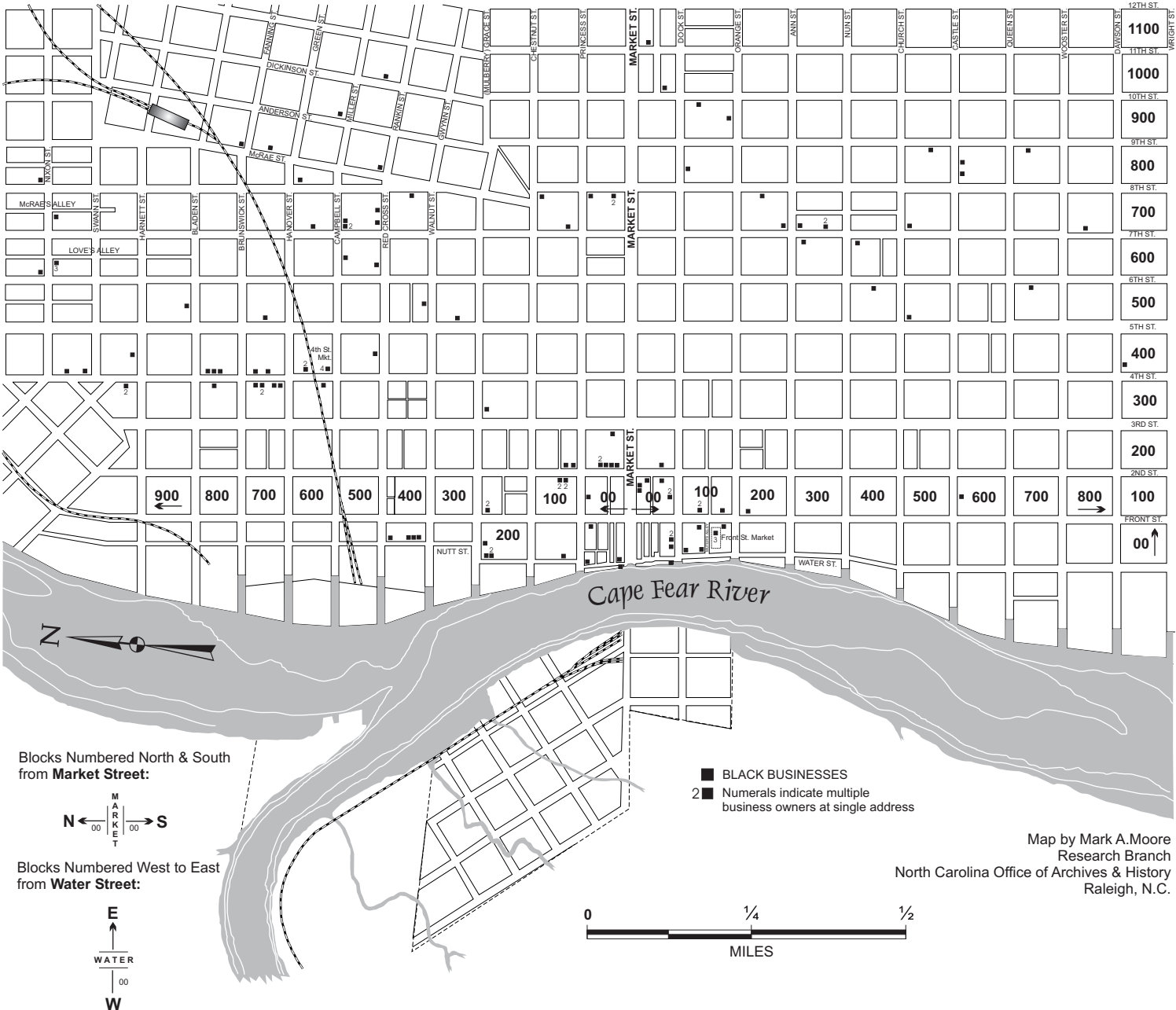
Map by Mark A.Moore
Research Branch
North Carolina Office of Archives & History
Raleigh, N.C.

0 ¼ ½

MILES

Black Businesses — 1900

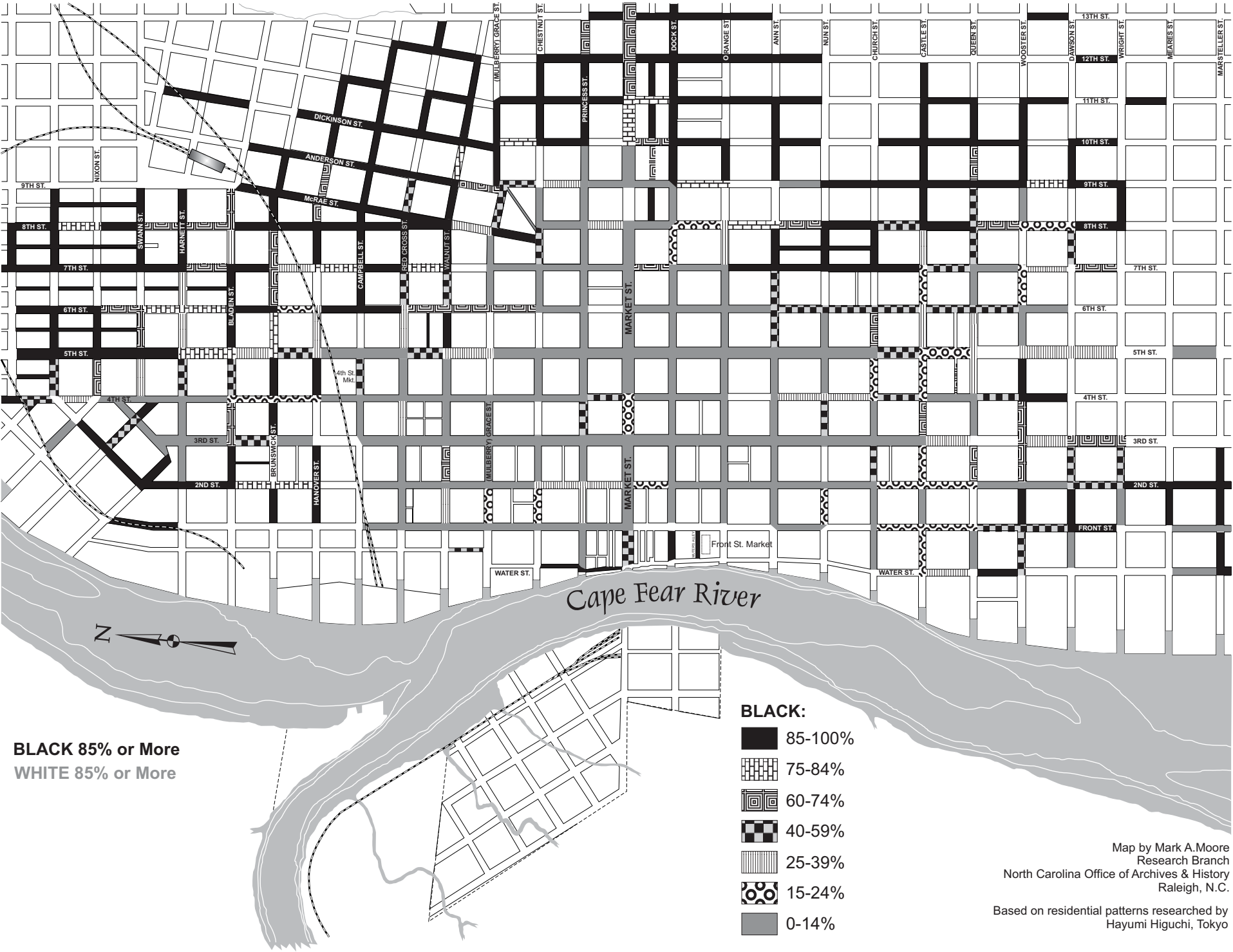
Wilmington, N.C.



Map by Mark A.Moore
Research Branch
North Carolina Office of Archives & History
Raleigh, N.C.

Residential Patterns by Race — 1897

Wilmington, N.C.

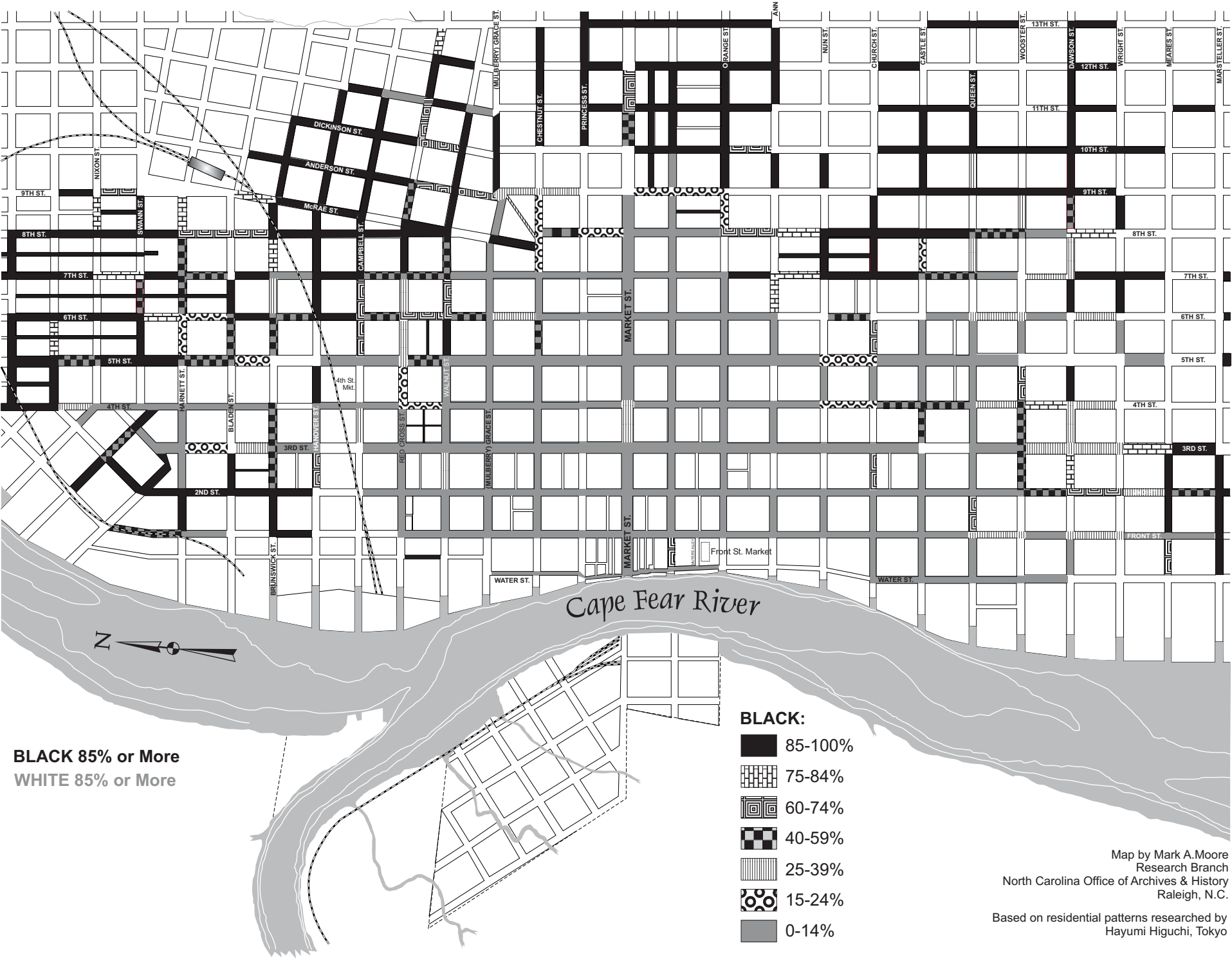


Map by Mark A.Moore
Research Branch
North Carolina Office of Archives & History
Raleigh, N.C.

Based on residential patterns researched by
Hayumi Higuchi, Tokyo

Residential Patterns by Race — 1905

Wilmington, N.C.



Map by Mark A.Moore
Research Branch
North Carolina Office of Archives & History
Raleigh, N.C.

Based on residential patterns researched by
Hayumi Higuchi, Tokyo

APPENDIX A

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Biographical Sketches of Key Figures

Alston, J.H.

A member of the Committee of Colored Citizens, at the age of 27 in 1898, Alston has not been located in the 1860, 1870, or 1880 census or the 1897 city directory. Alston was listed in the 1900 city directory as a physician with an office at 701 N 4th Street and his home at 808 N 4th Street. Alston was listed in the 1900 census as living at 918 North 7th Street (age 29) with his wife Sarah (age 24). Alston has not been found in subsequent census schedules either.

Sources: Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm," 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County tax records.

Ashe, Richard

A member of the Committee of Colored Citizens, Ashe was 39 at the time of the riot. Ashe has not been found in the 1860 or 1870 census but in 1880 he lived in Wilmington with his father Simon, a woodcutter, and worked as a laborer in a brickyard. Both father and son were born in North Carolina. Ashe was listed in the 1897 and 1900 city directory as a laborer and lived at 910 Castle Street. Ashe was active in community life and served as a director of the People's Perpetual Building & Loan Association. In the 1890 tax list, he did not own taxable property. In the 1897 and 1900 tax lists Ashe owned property valued at $250. Ashe moved to Washington, DC, by the time the 1900 census recorded that he, wife Mary and three daughters were living in a rented home while he worked as a janitor. The family remained in Washington where, by 1910, Ashe was a janitor at a police station. Ashe's father, Simon, remained in Wilmington and in 1900, he was 84 years old.

The words "home sick" are written on the CCC summons found in Waddell's papers.

Sources: Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm," 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County tax records.

Salem J. Bell (Salen, S. J.)

A member of the Committee of Colored Citizens, Bell was approximately 43 in 1898. He was a partner in a fish and oyster business, Bell & Pickens, with Robert Pickens. Their business catered to both individual and wholesale interests and was located on Water Street at the Front Street Market. During the rioting on November 10th, Bell was one of six men "marched" to train bound for Richmond and forced to leave town. He was probably targeted because he was an active member of the Republican Party and his business was competition for other fish dealers on Water Street. A native North Carolinian born to parents also born in North Carolina, Bell has not been found in the 1860 census and most likely was enslaved. In the 1870 census, he was 15 and lived in Holden Township where he worked as a domestic servant in home of white Dr. Elisha Porter and was reported as illiterate. By 1880, Bell was married to Ida E. (age 21) and was working as a turpentine hand. In 1890, he owned 4 acres in Wilmington valued at $200. In 1897, his home was at 313 S. 7th Street. In the 1900 city directory and census, his wife still lived at the house they owned on South 7th and his son (also named Salem Bell) lived at 905 Green Street and worked as a laborer. In the 1900 census, Ida reported that she was widowed. Although she reported that she owned her house, it was mortgaged. By 1918, the house on South 7th was occupied by James Walker.

Bell has not been clearly identified in the 1900 or 1910 census. One possible entry for Salem was a man listed as a laborer in 1900, an "opener" in an oyster shop in 1910 and laborer for a club in 1930, all in Fairfield Connecticut.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm," 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County tax records.

Brown, Henry

A member of the Committee of Colored Citizens, Brown was 42 at the time of the riot. Brown was a barber and active political leader. He operated Brown & Pearson Barbers at 122 Princess Street with James Pearson and lived at 512 Walnut Street. According to the 1900 city directory, Brown & Pearson still

worked as barbers at 122 Princess and he still lived on Walnut Street. Brown has not been conclusively identified in census records prior to 1900 but he may have lived in Harnett Township in 1880. In the 1900 census, Brown was recorded as a North Carolina native who owned his home on Walnut. Brown's wife, Sophia was born in North Carolina to a mother born in Georgia and a German father. The census also listed a son, Cecil Smith, age 21, in Brown's household.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm," 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County tax records.

Brown, John H.

A member of the Committee of Colored Citizens, Brown was 36 at the time of the riot and was working as a Health Officer for the city and as a barber. Brown's workplace was located at 213 Princess Street and his home was at 519 Brunswick Street. In 1890, Brown owned property valued at $400. By 1900, his taxable property value had increased to $475. By the 1900 city directory, Brown was working as a carpenter and still living on Brunswick. Brown has only been identified in the 1880 census. In that year, he lived in Wilmington with his father Alex and worked as a laborer. Both father and son were born in North Carolina.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm," 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County tax records.

Bryant, Ari (Ira R., Arie)

Bryant was one of 6 black men "marched" to train and forced to leave town and was targeted because he was an active member of the Republican Party. The Wilmington *Messenger* claimed that he was targeted because he "was looked upon by the negroes as a high and mighty leader. He was of vicious temperament towards the white people and counseled his race to strife… inciting the blacks to violence." At the time of the riot, Bryant operated a butcher shop at the Front Street Market. Bryant tried to test his banishment by returning to Wilmington in June 1899. A mob of armed men met at his home to force him to leave again; forewarned, Bryant left before mob arrived and hid at home of neighbor, Andrew J. Walker. When he left the second time, Bryant boarded a train for Norfolk, possibly to meet with TC Miller and then planned to settle in Philadelphia.

Bryant lived on North Fifth between Bladen and Harnett in 1879 but moved to 1010 N. 5th Street by 1897. In 1900, Bryant was no longer in the city but his wife, Isadora, still lived at the house and operated a cookshop at 1106 N. 4th Street. By 1918, the Bryant home was the residence of J.H. Pickett, white and by 1924, S.J. Cherry, white, lived there. The 1948 city directory listed the home as the residence of Alex Merrick, black.

Bryant has not been located in the 1860 census and was probably a slave. In 1870, 17 year old Bryant lived in the household of black laborer LeRoy Hubbard (born in Kentucky) and his wife Harriet (born in NC) along with David Bryant (age 4), Cemante Bryant (age 10) and Amelia Bryant (age 14). His Freedman's Bank Application, dated July 15 1873, revealed that he was born in Wilmington, and lived on Swann between 5th and 6th, was age 21, had a brown complexion, and that his father was Thomas and mother was Harriet. He also listed siblings David, John, Samantha and Amelia. In the 1880 census, Bryant was listed with his wife Agnes and was working as a butcher.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm," 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County tax records; Reaves, *Freedmen's Bank Applications*; Wilmington *Messenger*, June 18, 23, 21, 1899.

Bryant, L. H.

L. H. Bryant was Superintendent of Streets in 1898 and was fired from his job after Waddell assumed the Mayor's office. L.H. Bryant has not been identified in the census. Louis Bryant was listed in the 1897 tax list as owning property valued at $900 but the value dropped to $600 in 1900. A will for Lewis Bryant was probated in New Hanover County in 1915. A white L. Bryant was listed in the 1880 census as 49, working as a carpenter and married with two children.

Robert H. Bunting

Bunting was one of the white men marched to the train station and banished from the city. At the time of the riot, he was 41 years old and was Justice of the Peace for the US Circuit Court at 113 N. 2nd Street and lived at 1307 Market Street. He was targeted because of the way he ran his court and white Democrats claimed he had married a black woman.

According to the 1880 census for Wilmington, Bunting worked as a store clerk and was born in North Carolina to parents also born in the state. By 1900, Bunting lived in Washington, D.C. with his wife (who was listed as white in the census) and one year old son, who was born in North Carolina. Bunting was working as a day laborer. They were not listed in the 1900 city directory.

In December, 1898, the Wilmington *Dispatch* reported that RH Bunting and John Melton were at 318 Pennsylvania Ave. a "cheap lodging house" in Bowery section and have "kept their tracks well covered and only after persistent efforts was their address discovered" -- revealing that North Carolina Democrats were consistently following the movements of banished individuals and that the banished men tried to evade investigation.

Sources: Prather, We Have Taken a City; Reaves, Strength Through Struggle; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm," 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County tax records; Raleigh News and Observer, November 12, 1898; Wilmington Dispatch, December 28,1898

Carroll, John

A member of the Committee of Colored Citizens, Carroll worked as a janitor for the city. According to the 1897 city directory, Carroll lived at 412 Brunswick Street and was not listed in the 1900 directory. In 1880, there were at least 9 black men by that name in North Carolina and none lived in New Hanover County. In 1900, there were several men by that name in other states who listed their birthplace as North Carolina; no John Carroll was listed as living in New Hanover in 1900.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm," 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County tax records.

Carter, Dr. William M.

Carter's occupation in the 1897 directory was listed as "herbal" doctor and he was a boarder at 511 N. 7th. In 1900, two men named William Carter lived in Wilmington; one worked as a day laborer and the other was a vegetable huckster.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm," 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County tax records.

Dancy, John C.

Dancy was a conservative black leader and was respected by some whites after the rioting for his attempts at placating tensions. Dancy was commended by the *Dispatch* for his "conservative speeches" during the 1898 campaign and it reported that he was "much disturbed over the condition of affairs in the State." In the article (11/23/1898) Dancy was quoted as saying that he was not forced to leave the city and was not "interfered with during the entire disturbance." He is further quoted as saying that he left after quiet was restored. He also is credited with attempting to coerce Manly into recanting his article.

John Dancy was born in Tarboro in 1857 as the son of a free black whose parents had been manumitted. Dancy's father was a well-respected builder and contractor, who also served as a county commissioner after the war. Dancy was educated first at home and later entered Howard University in 1873. He left school before completing his requirements due to the death of his father. Dancy returned home and began a short career as an educator since he soon became involved in politics. Dancy served in various political capacities throughout his lifetime, most notably serving as an active participant in activities of the Republican Party from 1880-1890 as candidate for office, national convention delegate and campaign spokesman. Another of Dancy's significant contributions was his involvement with the African Methodist Episcopal Church and editorship of the church newspaper, the *Star of Zion*, for many years. Dancy served in other roles as well, all for the benefit of the black community, including serving as a trustee for Livingstone College. Dancy died in 1920 and details of his life can be found in his son's memoir, *Sand Against the Wind*, published in 1966. His son shared Dancy's vitality and was also

politically active, becoming an integral member of the actions of the Detroit Urban League for many years. Dancy was profiled in Chapters 6 and 8 of this report.

Dancy was listed in the 1900 census as renting a home with his large family in Wilmington at 413 N. 8th Street.

For more on Dancy, see William Powell, *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, Vol. II, 1986; John Dancy, III, *Sand Against the Wind*; Dancy, John C., ed. The AME Zion Quarterly Almanac (1894) online, Library of Congress: http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgibin/query/r?ammem/murray:@field(DOCID+@lit(T0A17)).

Davis, Henry

Henry Davis was listed in the papers as one of the wounded black men in the violence on November 10th. There are three men with the name Henry Davis listed in the 1897 city directory and all worked as laborers: 1) 321 S. 4th; 2) 409 Hane's Alley; 3) 807 S. 9th. There are two men with that name in the 1900 city directory and one of those was also in the 1897 directory. A search for "Henry Davis" in the 1880 census shows that there were five men with that name in Wilmington. In 1900, there were four men with the name Henry Davis in the New Hanover census: 1)321 S. 4th, drayman, age 53 in Wilmington 2) Inmate in county jail, age 55; 3)Henry Davis, Sr, (58) and Henry Davis, Jr., (32) in Federal Point Township.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm," 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County tax records.

Dow, John

John Dow was listed as one of the black men wounded in the violence on November 10th. He has not been found in the census, 1897 or 1900 City Directory. There was, however, a William Dow, born in North Carolina in 1875, listed as renting his home at 1106 Love's Alley with his wife and working as a day laborer.

French, George Z.

George Z. French was a white man who was influential in Wilmington Republican politics and was targeted for banishment by leading Democrats because of his influence with black voters. He was banished from the city on November 11th. At the time of the violence, French was 66 years old. French relocated to Wilmington after the Civil War from New England. He was born in Maine. In the 1870 census, he was listed as President of Excelsior Plantation in Holden Township, New Hanover County. In 1870, his real estate was value at $50,000 and his personal property was valued at $8,000. There were several families with the last name French in Wilmington and New Hanover County, all immigrated to the city from the north. French was listed in the 1897 city directory as living at the Orton and he was the Deputy Sheriff. After banishment from Wilmington, French relocated to Rocky Point, Pender County, where he occupation was listed as farmer and line supervisor. He owned his home/farm. He has not been found in the 1910 Census.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm," 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County tax records.

Gause, Henry

Henry Gause was reported in the papers as being arrested and banished from Wilmington on the 11th. However, the only Henry Gause in North Carolina in the 1900 census was living in New Hanover County in Wilmington. According to the census, this Henry Gause was unmarried and lived at 413 Nixon Street, worked as a day laborer and was born in North Carolina. This Henry Gause was 35 at the time of the 1898 violence and, in 1897 paid taxes on a property in Block 337 valued at $175. In 1880, there were two Henry Gause living in New Hanover County. The Henry Gause who was living in the city in 1900 was listed as living in Harnett Township and working as a servant. The other Henry Gause was ten years older (would have been 45 at the time of the riot), worked as a drayman, and was married with a daughter (wife Lucy, age 27in 1880 and daughter Ella, age 3 in 1880).

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm," 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County tax records.

Gilbert, Charles H. (white)

A white policeman in 1898, Gilbert was banished from the city probably because of his ties to the Republican administration of city government. Gilbert and other white men were put on a train to New Bern on the 11th and were pushed further northward, out of the state. The 1897 city directory listed Gilbert as living t 213 N. 7th Street.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm," 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County tax records; Raleigh *News and Observer,* November 12, 1898.

Goins, John

Goins was a member of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned to hear the demands of Waddell's Committee of 25 on November 9, 1898 and was targeted because he worked for Alex Manly at the *Daily Record.* Goins was not listed in the 1897 or 1900 city directory. Goins was probably born in South Carolina in 1869. By 1900, Goins lived in Washington DC and worked with Alex Manly as a printer. He remained in the city and continued to work as a printer but was married and self-employed by 1920. Goins' profile can be found in Chapter 8 of this report.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm," 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County tax records.

Green, Elijah

Green was a member of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned to hear the demands of Waddell's Committee of 25 on November 9, 1898. He was also an Alderman from the 5th Ward and was forced to resign his position on the Board on November 10, 1898. At the time of the violence, Green was 41 years old. Green was born in South Carolina. Green was active at Price Chapel AME Zion Church. Green remained in Wilmington and continued to be a community leader until his death in 1930. He worked at Sprunt's Cotton Compress and also operated a grocery store at 323 S. 7th Street in 1900. Green lived and operated his store in the south side of Wilmington instead of Brooklyn (in the northern section where the bulk of violence on November 10th occurred).

A search from Green in the North Carolina State Archives revealed in the Homestead & Personal Property Exemptions, for New Hanover County in 1902 that Green lost a court case on 9/15/02 – Isaac H. Smith and George H. White (Craven County) v James H. Young and Elijah M. Green. The verdict in the case was that Green had to pay $83.75 and Young pay $83.50. As part of the case, Green's property in Wilmington was itemized in an Homestead Exemption. At that time he owned property in Block 80, Block 81, and Block 23, all valued at $300 each. When those properties were combined with the value of his home and furnishings, the total value was $11,65l.00.

Green was part of large and influential family in Wilmington. There were many Green family members involved in local business interests and, prior to 1898, they were politically active in Republican politics. Green was also profiled in Chapter 8 of this report.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm," 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists; New Hanover Homestead and Personal Property Exemptions.

Green, Henry C.

Henry Green was a member of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned to hear the demands of Waddell's Committee of 25 on November 9, 1898. Green worked as a butcher at the 4th Street Market in Brooklyn and was active in Republican politics. His home was at 607 Campbell Street. Green was an active member of St. Mark's Episcopal Church. Green died in 1907.

Green, Henry B.

African American Henry B. Green was targeted by Democratic Party leaders in 1898 because he was a sergeant on the city police force. As a result, Green left Wilmington and moved to Philadelphia. Green was 57 at the time of the violence. Green was allowed to return to Wilmington in 1899. He was extremely sick and asked to return to his home – he said he preferred to "die here than among strangers in Philadelphia." He subsequently died on May 26, 1899.

A veteran of the Civil War, Green enlisted in Company A of the 40th regiment of the U.S. Colored Troops in 1866. Green was born in Raleigh and after his discharge in 1869, he moved to New Hanover County.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists

Green, James P.

James Green was a member of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned to hear the demands of Waddell and the Committee of 25. Green was listed in the city directory as a laborer and he lived at 720 Church Street. By 1900, he listed his occupation as driver. In the 1860 census, Green was a free black living and working in the city as a carpenter. He died in 1913.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists

Green, Josh

Josh Green was a member of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned to hear the demands of Waddell and the Committee of 25. Green was listed in the 1897 and 1900 city directory as a coal and wood dealer. He was a member of Mt. Nebo Church, a Mason, and a member of the Odd Fellows. Green lived at 612 Bladen Street. And his wood business was located on Orange Street. In 1890, Green owned taxable property valued at $200. His property was valued at $310 in 1897 and it increased in value to $345 by 1900. By the 1900 census, Green owned his home on Bladen and lived with his wife and son John, an architect.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists

Halsey, John

Halsey was listed as one of the black men killed as a result of the violence on November 10, 1898. He has not been found in the 1880 census. There were four Halsey households listed in Wilmington in 1880 but no John. He is not listed in the 1897 city directory.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists.

Henderson, William E.

A member of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned to hear the demands of Waddell's Committee of 25 on November 9, 1898. Henderson was a young African American attorney who had recently arrived in the city. He moved to Wilmington in 1897 and purchased a home in 1898 after establishing a good law practice. He was targeted for banishment because he supposedly made "incendiary" speeches before the election and had befriended Manly. Henderson was not escorted under armed guard to the train station but was given a couple of days to get his affairs in order before leaving. After his hasty removal from Wilmington, Henderson spent some time in Salisbury with family but eventually relocated to Indianapolis where he had relatives. He became an outspoken advocate of black rights and welfare and continued his law practice. A descendant of Henderson has his diary from 1898 and shared portions of his recently uncovered diary during the centennial celebration.

As an attorney, Henderson represented controversial figures in city politics. On June 9, 1898, it was reported in the Wilmington *Star* that he represented Police Officer R.H. Benson against Chief of Police Melton at special meeting of Wilmington Board of Aldermen.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists; Wilmington *Star,* June 9, 1898.

Holloway, John

John Holloway was a member of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned to hear the demands of Waddell's Committee of 25 on November 9, 1898. Holloway was a Post Office Clerk, a director of the Metropolitan Trust Company and a railroad entrepreneur, serving as president of the Wilmington, Wrightsville and Onslow railroad. Holloway was born in Virginia and grew up in Robeson County. He served as a member of the North Carolina House of Representatives in 1887/1889. He was involved in Wilmington politics and was a community leader, and a member of the Masons. In the 1900 city directory, he was listed as a clerk living at 810 N. 7th Street.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists

Howard, Daniel

Daniel Howard was a member of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned to hear the demands of Waddell's Committee of 25 on November 9, 1898. He was active in Wilmington politics, serving as a member of the Republican Executive Committee, a director of the Metropolitan Trust Company and a director of the People's Perpetual Building and Loan Association. His home was located at 312 N. 6th Street. Howard was profiled in Chapter 8 of this report.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists.

Howe Family

The Howe family descended from Anthony Walker Howe and Tenah Howe. According to family tradition, Anthony was the son of an Ibo chieftan in Africa. He was purchased as a young slave by a white slaveowner with the last name Walker. The Walker slaves were sold to Robert Howe after his death. Anthony was a carpenter and builder. According to tradition, Tenah was a Tuscarora Indian adopted as a baby by the Howe family. The white Howe family allowed Tenah to marry Anthony Walker but the couple had to agree that all children born to the couple would have the last name Howe. Anthony was granted his freedom by Howe. Anthony and Tenah had five children survive into adulthood: Anthony, Pompey, Alfred, Isabella, and Polly. All of the Walker/Howe children were taught carpentry skills and were free blacks, working in Wilmington prior to the Civil War. Anthony Walker/Howe died in 1837 and Tenah died in 1852. Their descendants became prominent members of the community and were leaders after the Civil War.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists; Interview with Cynthia J. Brown, Howe descendant.

Howe, John Harriss

John Howe was a member of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned to hear the demands of Waddell's Committee of 25 on November 9, 1898. Howe was a contractor and builder, living at 116 Castle Street. John H. Howe died in 1902. He was an active member of St. Mark's Episcopal Church. He remained in the city after the violence.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists.

Howe, John T.

John T. Howe was a member of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned to hear the demands of Waddell's Committee of 25 on November 9, 1898. Howe worked in various careers, serving

as a mail carrier and teacher before serving in the North Carolina House of Representatives in 1897. In 1897, Howe was an agent for Alex Manly's *Daily Record*. His home was at 308 Castle Street. Although he was affiliated with Manly, he was not forced to leave the city, probably because of his family's long ties to the city.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists.

Jacobs, David

David Jacobs was a member of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned to hear the demands of Waddell's Committee of 25 on November 9, 1898. In 1898, Jacobs was working as a barber as well as county coroner. In 1897, his home was at 914 S. 2nd Street and his business was located at 15 Dock Street. Jacobs was born in 1851 and died in 1905. He was still working as a barber on Dock in 1900. He was an active member of Mt. Olive AME Zion Church.

Jacobs was listed in the 1870 census as living in the household of African American carpenter Thomas Allen and working as a barber's apprentice. Jacobs lived next door to his future wife, Mary Battle. By 1880, Jacobs and Mary were married and listed as the head of a household that included two sons and his wife's parents (George and Hester Battle) and sister (Virginia Battle). By 1900, Jacobs was listed in the census as renting his home at 916 S. 2nd Street. Also living with Jacobs were his two adult sons, his wife and a boarder. Jacobs was 46 at the time of the violence in 1898.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm," 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists.

Jeffries, William L.

Jeffries was born in Pittsburgh and graduated from Lincoln University. He was amember of the staff at the *Record*. He was not found in the city directory or census for New Hanover before or after 1898.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists; Wilmington *Star,* December 10, 1898.

Jones, David R.

David Jones was a member of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned to hear the demands of Waddell's Committee of 25 on November 9, 1898. Jones was employed as a drayman and was a director of the Metropolitan Trust Company. In the 1897 city directory, he lived at 210 McRae Street and by 1900, he had moved to 510 Swann Street. Jones was listed in the 1900 census as working as a drayman who owned his home. Also living with Jones was his adult son, Albert, who worked as a day laborer, and his grandson Eddie. Jones was 54 at the time of the violence in 1898 and his son Albert was 22. David Jones paid taxes on property in Block 307 in 1897 and 1900 valued at $50.00. Albert Jones paid taxes on property in Blocks 34, 60, 47 and 31 valued at a total of $1,050 in 1897 and 1900.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City;* Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle;* 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists.

Keith, Benjamin F.

A white member of the Fusionist Board of Aldermen, Keith was listed as a Silver Democrat or Populist at various times. He was forced to resign his position on the Board following the violence. He was not present at the 4:00 changeover of the government on November 10th but later resigned. A successful businessman, Keith experienced immense pressure and intimidation during the 1898 campaign by Democrats and Red Shirts to "convert" to the party publicly. Keith maintained his resolve and withstood the pressures despite personal and financial ruin as a result of the Democratic campaign. Keith wrote of his experiences to Senator Marion Butler as well as other political figures. He also wrote an autobiographical sketch of his life entitled Memories. Keith lived at 407 Walnut Street. Keith has been further profiled in Chapter 3 of this report.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists.

Kirk, Rev. J. Allen

Kirk had recently arrived in Wilmington in 1897 to serve as minister of the African American congregation at Central Baptist Church. He became involved in political activities and was warned to leave the city in the *Dispatch*. He wrote propaganda-type piece on event of 1898 (online at Documenting the American South) entitled *A Statement of Facts Concerning the Bloody Riot in Wilmington.* Kirk detailed his escape from the city and conditions that existed prior to the election. Members of the Sadgwar family claimed that Reverend Kirk did not live in Wilmington at the time of the riot and that he did not "experience" the riot. More on Kirk can be found in Chapter 6. He was not listed in either city directory.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists; Kirk, *A Statement of Facts Concerning the Bloody Riot in Wilmington*; Oral history interview with Mabel Sadgwar Manly and Felice Manly, Cape Fear Museum.

Lane, Thomas

Thomas Lane was arrested on November 10th, 1898 during the violence because white rioters identified him as the man who shot at the Wilmington Light Infantry. He was put on trial before Waddell and was sent to jail after he was convicted as the shooter. Although he did not kill anyone, he was blamed for the shooting of John/Josh Halsey. Halsey was murdered by the Wilmington Light Infantry near Manhattan Park. For more information on the shooting at Manhattan Park, see Chapter 5 of this report. Lane was not found in the 1880 census of Wilmington or the city directories.

According to the Wilmington *Star*, in 1915, a Susan Lane returned to Wilmington from NY to 513 S. 12th Street but "didn't have claim to property" and was moved out by police because "others had claim to property." It is unknown if Susan was related to Thomas Lane. It is also unknown how long Lane served in jail or if he was released at a later date.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists; Wilmington Star, November 16, 1898, October 9, 1915.

Lee, Rev. JW [I.W.]

A member of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned to hear the demands of Waddell's Committee of 25, Lee was targeted because he was Chairman of the New Hanover County Republican Party Executive Committee. The 1897 city directory listed Lee as the minister for the large congregation of St. Stephen's AME Zion Church as well as working as a laborer. In 1897, Lee lived at 804 McRae Street but, by 1900, he had moved to 101 S. 13th Street and was not listed as minister for St. Stephen's.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm; 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists

Loften/Loftin/Lofton, Isaac
Loftin, McLean [McLain]

An African American man by the last name Lofton/Loftin was one of the black men arrested on the 10th and banished from the city on November 11, 1898. He was targeted because of his activity in support of the Republican Party and the white leaders claimed that as a merchant in the city he tried to purchase weapons for blacks in the community. There may be some confusion in the sources and Isaac and McLean may either be the same man or two individuals confused by the records over time. Research on the two has not been able to determine this point.

According to his Freedman's Bank Application, dated April 23, 1873, Isaac Lofton was born in Middle Sound, NC, and his residence was at Scott's Hill. Lofton reported that he was a farmer, married to wife Lecie, and had no children. His father was Jessie Hansley and his mother was named Hannah. Lofton

retained ownership of his land on West Scots Hill Road as late as 1919 and possibly returned to the city's outskirts to live on Dock Street near 15th Street by 1901. Lofton was 48 at the time of the violence.

McLean Lofton was active in city affairs and served the community various roles, including as a director of the Metropolitan Trust Company. In the 1897 and 1900 tax lists, McLain Loftin owned property in block 482 valued at $500. McLean was found living in Cape May County, New Jersey in 1910 along with other Wilmington/North Carolina refugees.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists; Wilmington *Star,* February 12, 1919; Wilmington *Messenger*, June 6, 1901.

Loughlin, James

A white clerk at the Front Street Market, Loughlin was targeted because of his support of Fusion politics and claims that he tried to sell weapons to blacks. Loughlin was probably one of the white men escorted to a train to leave town on the afternoon of November 11th.

Loughlin was not found in Wilmington in the 1880 census and there were 109 other men by that name in the U.S. at the time, with some born in Ireland. Loughlin lived at 614 S. Front in 1897. A man with the same name was listed as a carpenter living at 514 S. 2nd Street in the 1900 city directory. In 1900, Loughlin is recorded in the census as living at 514 S. 2nd Street and working as a carpenter.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists.

Mallett, Alex

Mallett was a member of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned to hear the demands of Waddell's Committee of 25 on November 9, 1898. He was 48 at the time of the violence. Mallett was listed in the 1897 city directory as a packer and lived at 604 Campbell Street. By 1900, Mallett had moved to 14 N. Front Street and was employed as a Porter. In 1897, he paid taxes on a property in Block 237 valued at $1,200. Mallett was listed in the 1880 Wilmington census as a store clerk living with his grandmother on Campbell Street. Mallett was listed in the 1900 census as renting his home at 212 S. 7th Street. Mallett was born in North Carolina.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists.

Manly, Alexander L [Manley]

Manly was born near Raleigh in 1866. Family tradition held that his father was Governor Charles Manly. There is some confusion about Manly's father and he may have been Governor's Manly's grandson or nephew instead. Manly's legal father, Trim, was a slave on the Governor's plantation. Family tradition also held that Alex's mother Corrine was an enslaved maid in the household. Manly and his brothers were well educated and attended Hampton Institute. Alexander was listed in the 1880 census living in his father's household in Selma. Family tradition has held that Manly resented his heritage and that hatred may have driven him to react so strongly to Felton.

Manly was the target of the Democratic campaign in 1898 and his printing office was destroyed by the mob led by Alfred Moore Waddell in 1898. Soon after the publication of his contentious article in August, 1898, the owner of the building, M. J. Heyer evicted the business. At the same time, a group of black men surrounded the press to protect it from impending destruction by a white group of men. Manly then retaliated by proposing that blacks boycott white businesses. On the night prior to the riot, a Red Shirt mob searched for him but was unsuccessful in finding him. Manly would have been lynched or shot by the mob on the 10th had he been found but, because he was informed of the threat to his life, Manly and his brother Frank escaped the city. Some accounts record that he left prior to the violence but others indicate he left on the day of the riot. Tradition holds that he was given the passcode and money to leave town by Thomas Clawson and that he and Frank were light-skinned enough to pass as white through the

checkpoints armed by white men. Other, contradicting, evidence indicates that he may have left the city much earlier. Another report indicated that he was notified of the approach of the mob by his youngest brother, Thomas, age 11. Thomas was reportedly as light-skinned as Alex and, because of this fact, he was able to learn about the impending danger to his brother from Red Shirts while they were marching toward the press. Recently, it was published in a history of St. James Church that Robert Strange personally escorted Manly out of the city in his carriage.

Manly relocated to Washington, DC by 1900 and rented a home at 1607 11th Street. Family tradition holds that he was first given asylum by Congressman George White. According to the 1900 census, Manly lived in Washington, DC with his brother Frank (born 1869), brother Henry (born 1879), boarder John P. Meyers (born in South Carolina in 1877), and boarder John Goins (born in South Carolina in 1869). Manly listed his occupation as a journalist. His brother Henry listed his occupation as commercial printer along with the Meyers and Goins. Manly had another younger brother, Thomas, who was approximately 11 at the time of the violence and who apparently lived in Wilmington also. Thomas later married Mabel Sadgwar, daughter of Frederick Sadgwar and sister to Caroline, Alex Manly's fiancé in 1898. Mabel said that Thomas passed as white most of his life. Mabel and Thomas moved to Pennsylvania after their marriage and he worked as an electrical engineer. Mabel and Caroline were the daughters of prominent community leader and Wilmington native Frederick Sadgwar, Sr. (See Sadgwar's entry for more information on that family)

Manly was involved in Wilmington civic life as an active member of Chestnut Street Presbyterian Church and was engaged to Caroline Sadgwar at the time of the violence. Caroline was educated at Gregory Normal School and attended Fisk University in Tenneesse. A talented singer, Caroline toured the world with the Fisk Jubilee Singers. Caroline was performing in England at the time of the violence and, as soon as she returned to the United States, she married Alex Manly while he lived in Washington, D.C. soon after the violence in the home of Congressman George White. They later moved to Philadelphia where they had one son, Milo and Alex worked as a painter.

While in Wilmington, Manly lived at 514 McRae Street with his brother Frank. Manly and Caroline were able to return to the city for visits with her family many years after the violence although he may have traveled under disguise. He definitely returned to the city in 1925 for Frederick Sadgwar's funeral.

Manly and his son Milo maintained that property he owned in Wilmington was seized for non-payment of taxes. No confirmation of this activity has been found.

Manly became active in many activities after leaving Wilmington. He was a leader in the Afro-American Newspaper Council and most likely knew Timothy T. Fortune, prominent African American editor in New York. Manly also knew Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois. He helped to establish the Armstrong Association, a forebear of the Urban League.

Manly was described by his sister-in-law, Mabel Sadgwar Manly in an oral interview recorded by Beverly Smalls in 1985. In her interview she indicated that David Bryant Fulton worked for Manly at the *Record* for a short time and that he was the son of Levinia Robinson Fulton, one of the founders of the Congregational Church in Wilmington.

Manly has also been profiled in this report in Chapter 4. Transcripts of the interview are on file at the Cape Fear Museum. Additional information on Manly has been compiled by historian Robert Wooley for a forthcoming book about the controversial printer.

Manly knew the importance of the black vote to Wilmington. In 1895, soon after he and brother Frank assumed ownership and management of the *Record*, he wrote: "The air is full of politics, the woods are full of politicians. Some clever traps are being made upon the political board. In North Carolina the Negro holds the balance of power which he can use to the advantage of the race, state, and nation if he has the manhood to stand on principles and contend for the rights of a man."

Sources: Susan Block, *Temple of Our Fathers: St. James Church (1729-2004)*; Umfleet conversation with Robert Wooley, Summer 2004; Wilmington *Record,* September 28, 1895, original in the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Wilmington *Dispatch,* August 25, 1898; Wilmington *Messenger*, August 25, 1898; Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists.

Manly, Frank

Alex Manly's younger brother, Frank relocated to Wilmington to work at the *Record*. Frank worked as a journalist but also managed the business finances. Frank later moved to Alabama by 1920 and taught at Tuskegee Institute for Booker T. Washington. While in Wilmington, Frank lived with Alex at 514 McRae Street and, after they were exiled from the city, he lived in the same home with his brother in Washington, D. C. and listed his occupation as journalist.

Sources: Susan Block, *Temple of Our Fathers: St. James Church (1729-2004)*; Umfleet conversation with Robert Wooley, Summer 2004; Wilmington *Record,* September 28, 1895, original in the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Wilmington *Dispatch,* August 25, 1898; Wilmington *Messenger*, August 25, 1898; Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists.

Mask, Dr. Thomas R.

Thomas Mask was a member of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned to hear the demands of Waddell and the Committee of 25 on November 9, 1898. Mask was 36 at the time of the violence and had recently returned to the city after serving briefly with the 3rd Regiment of North Carolina troops in the Spanish American War. Mask was educated at Leonard Medical School in Raleigh. Mask was listed in the 1897 and 1900 city directory as living at 510 S. 7th Street. Mask was listed in the 1900 census as living at 510 S. 7th Street in a home he owned with his wife and two sons. After the violence of 1898, Mask became a community leader and held positions in community and civic organizations until his death in 1911. Mask was respected by Thomas C. Miller, who wrote in 1903 that "he has treated me right."

Mask's brother, John H. W. Mask, relocated in Wilmington and also worked as a doctor after he graduated from Leonard Medical School in 1898.

Sources: New Hanover County Correspondence, North Carolina State Archives; Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists.

McAlister, Charles

McAlister was a white man escorted to a train for New Bern on November 11, 1898. The papers recorded that McAlister "burst into tears" on the train as they left the city and that he left a wife and five children behind. McAlister worked as a salesman for A. David and Company and may have been targeted because he sympathized with blacks in the city and tried to assist with protecting them, especially by selling them weapons. McAlister lived at 412 N. Front Street in 1897 and was not listed in the 1900 directory.

Sources: New Hanover County Correspondence, North Carolina State Archives; Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists.

McMillan, William D.

McMillan was the African American Superintendent of Health for the city and was fired after Waddell's administration took control of the city on November 10th. According to the 1897 city directory, McMillan lived at 414 Dock Street. He was not listed in the 1900 directory.

Sources: New Hanover County Correspondence, North Carolina State Archives; Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists.

Melton, John R.

John Melton was the white Chief of Police in 1898 and was forced to resign his position in city government before he was arrested and banished from the city. Melton's capture and banishment is detailed in Chapter 6 of this report. He was a Populist.

In 1880, Bunting was living in Wilmington with his wife Augusta and three daughters and worked as a butcher. He was listed in the 1897 directory as living at 1215 Market Street. He was listed in the 1900 directory as still living on Market but with no occupation. By 1910, Melton was living in Wayne County.

Melton tried to return to the city in 1899 and the *Messenger* recounted the harassment he received: "his house was haunted … one night voices were heard and forms were seen ominously circumambulating around his house … the returned pilgrim took the hint and went hence again … we have never learned whether it were Rough Riders or ghosts that made the manifestations."

Sources: New Hanover County Correspondence, North Carolina State Archives; Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists; *Messenger* March 31, 1899

Miller, George

George Miller was one of the black men who was reported as wounded as a result of the violence on November 10th. He was shot twice and died at City Hospital. Miller was listed as living in Cape Fear Township in 1880. He is not listed in the city directories. He was 28 at the time of his death.

Sources: *Dispatch*, November 11, 1898; New Hanover County Correspondence, North Carolina State Archives; Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists.

Miller, Thomas C.

Thomas C. Miller was an African American leader targeted for banishment because of his activity in the Republican Party and, as oral tradition speculates, because he was one of the most successful businessmen in the city – owed money by blacks and whites. Miller was quoted in a Washington paper as threatening to wash his hands in white man's blood before nightfall on day of riot. Miller's arrest and banishment is discussed in Chapter 6 of this report. Miller was deeply affected by the arrest and banishment and asked to return in 1899. His request was denied. He still maintained business contact with individuals in the city and his wife and son remained to handle much of his affairs. In 1901, Miller gave Marsden Bellamy power of attorney to handle his local affairs. Miller died in 1903 of paralysis resulting from a stroke in Norfolk. His remains were brought back to Wilmington for a funeral at his home on 6th between Walnut & Grace with services by Rev. Dr. Carmichael (rector at St. John's Episcopal Ch.) and burial at Pine Forest. It was speculated at the time of his death that he left an estate valued at $10,000 although he had been disposing of his real estate in the city before his death.
Miller's death certificate listed his occupation s saloon keeper and that he lived at 176 Queen Street. The record also listed that he and his parents were born in North Carolina. Miller was 52 when he died.

Annie E. Miller, wife of Thomas C. Miller, was made executrix of his estate and bounded with Thomas Rivera and Thomas R. Mask to administer estate. The value of estate was estimated to be $1,000. His heirs were Thomas Miller, Jr., Roscoe Miller, Susie Miller, Lula (Louisa) Miller, Charity Miller, and Annie E. Miller (wife). All of his children except for Thomas were minors under the age of 21. Annie swore in court that Thomas died without a will and agreed to provide necessary documents to Superior Court to settle estate. Annie also filed as executrix of his estate in Virginia .

Annie Miller, executrix of Miller estate, took legal action on behalf of his estate in 1903 against Andrew and Mary Pierce for non-payment on a mortgage loan. Her attorney was Marsden Bellamy; she won the suit and the land was sold to Walker Taylor for $675.00. Miller was due $537.27 on account but was paid only $486.68 after payments to court ($23.95), past taxes ($139.37), and attorney fees ($25.00) were paid. The sheriff removed Pierces from property so Taylor could occupy it. Annie Miller also filed suit against A.J. Taylor for non-payment of a loans owed by him to Thomas Miller dating from 1894, 1895, 1896; no records on file as to conclusion of case.

In 1880, he was a Deputy Sheriff with a wife Sally, 30. His son, Thomas Miller, Jr. was 4. Two boarders, Amelia Toomer, age 50 and Cornelia Toomer, age 16 lived with the Millers on Castle Street. In 1889, Miller operated a saloon and restaurant at 15 S. Water Street, the only one operated by a black person of 18 such establishments in the city at that time. His home was at 216 Castle. He was listed in the 1897 city directory as operating a business dealing in real estate and as a pawn broker at 7-9 Dock Street and he still lived on Castle. His son, Thomas C. Miller, Jr. worked for his father in that year. (His son was listed in

the 1900 directory with no occupation and living at 309 N. 6th Street. Miller has not been located in the 1900 census.

Miller became a reference point for whites and blacks in the city to recall what whites were willing to do against blacks that challenged white supremacy: "there are two elements… among the negroes… the kindly, affectionate, faithful, sober, well-meaning class and the low, vicious, unprincipled, saucy, bullying dangerous class…. there are not many Tom Millers among them, but when revolutions set in the Toms are politely invited to pack and go and keep going."

T.C. Miller and his family is connected to the Sadgwars, Riveras, Howes, Colletts, and other prominent New Hanover County families. Annie Miller married Fred Sadgwar Jr. by 1910. The 1910 census indicates that she was 36 and was born in North Carolina. T.C.'s daughter, Charity, also lived in the household. Charity was seven in 1910 and had been born in Pennsylvania. Annie Sadgwar died in 1946. It is likely that Annie managed T.C.'s estate holdings with her husband, Fred, for Charity and other Miller children. Tracing deeds for the Millers and Sadgwars, two of the city's largest black landowning families, would help in understanding the ultimate division of T.C.'s property.

The Miller House on 6th Street was built for him and was inherited by son; remained in the Miller family till 1947 when bought by Fredrick Sadgwar, Jr., step-father to T.C.'s younger children, as rental property and Sadgwar family owned house until 1988.

While in Norfolk, Miller operated a barroom and in 1901 he purchased property along with Thomas McCauley. He and his son lived in the city according to the 1903 Norfolk City Directory.

References to Miller or son:

Star, 3-1-1872: T. Miller m. Margaret Johnson announcement

Freedmen's Bank Application: 8-11-1873

Star, 4-7-1898: two 2 frame dwellings at 1006 and 1008 Castle destroyed by fire – one owned by T.C. Miller was vacant and other (1008) owned by John Norwood and occupied by Jane Cowan; both were insured

Star, 12-4-01: TC Miller and SM West, executors for an estate to Ed. Roan by deed on 2-4-1864, lot on west side of 7th between Red Cross and Campbell for $1

Dispatch, 13 July 1896: Mrs. T.C. Miller died at 216 Castle, funeral at St. Luke's

State Archives: New Hanover Colored Marriage Register 1872-1891:

- Thomas C. Miller, age 23 married Sallie Washington, age 19 April 25, 1873, minister and witness information "erased" for only his entry;
- Thomas C. Miller, age 33, married Tenah Howe, age 26, January 28, 1885 at St. Luke's with Minister L.D. Kennedy presiding, witnesses: David Williams, Munroe Byrd, Thomas A. Knight;
- Thomas C. Miller, Jr., age 18, married Charlotta Harriss, age 18, August 28, 1893, witness information blank

Sources: Wilmington *Messenger*, March 31, 1903;Wilmington *Morning Star,* March 27, 1903; New Hanover County Correspondence files: letter from TC Miller to J.D. Taylor 7/9/1902; 1889 City Directory; New Hanover Administrator's Bonds, North Carolina State Archives; New Hanover Estates Records, North Carolina State Archives; Wilmington Messenger, November 30, 1899; TC Miller House File, New Hanover County Public Library; Norfolk City Directory, 1903; Norfolk City Death Certificates; Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists.

Moore, William A. [Bill]

Moore was a member of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned to hear the demands of Waddell and the Committee of 25 on November 9, 1898. Moore worked as a lawyer and was targeted for removal from the city because of his political activity and his occupation. Moore was one of several leaders, all subsequently banished that signed a resolution in January, 1898 to repeal compulsory vaccination laws. A controversial figure, the law offices Moore shared with George White on the corned of 2nd and Market were broken into and vandalized.

Moore was involved in starting the Wilmington Livery Stable Company. In 1897, his office was on Market at 2nd Street and his home was at 413 S. 7th Street. There are several men with the name William Moore living in Wilmington at about the same time, making identification difficult.

The Wilmington *Star* reported that his father was an escaped slave, Rev. Thomas Jones, from New Bedford Massachusetts. Moore was living at the sound near the time of his death.

Sources: New Hanover County Correspondence, North Carolina State Archives; Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists; Wilmington *Dispatch*, 1-26-1898; Wilmington *Star*, 6-10-1890, 6-8-1897.

Norwood, Charles

Charles Norwood was County Treaurer in 1898 and was forced to resign his position as a result of the coup on November 1898. Norwood's father was John G. Norwood of Wilmington. Charles moved from the city and relocated to New York where he worked in the customs service at the port. By 1910, Norwood was living in Philadelphia with his family. His brother William also relocated to Philadelphia and worked as a building laborer. The Norwoods are profiled in Chapter 8 of this report.

Norwood, John G.

John G. Norwood was an Alderman under Silas Wright and was forced to resign. Norwood worked as a carpenter and lived at 202 Walnut Street. Norwood was a wealthy and was active at St. Mark's Church. Norwood is profiled in Chapter 8 of this report.

Peamon, Carter [Pearmon, Pearman]

Peamon was a member of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned to hear demands of Waddell and the Committee of 25 on November 9, 1898. Peamon was active in the Republican Party and operated a barbershop. On the day of the violence, Peamon was killed. More information on his death can be found in Chapter 5 of this report. He was not listed in the 1897 city directory. Peamon's brother Moses was listed as a barber at 820 N. 4th and his home was located at 9126 N. 8th Street. Peamon and his brother shared a barbershop. Moses was also forced to leave the city on the day of the violence. Peamon has not been located in the census.

A man with the name Carter Payman (age 45) was located in the 1870 census. This made was born in South Carolina and was working as a laborer in Mobile, Alabama at the time. If this is the Carter Peamon who was murdered in Wilmington, he would have been 73 at the time of the violence. George Peamon, probably related to Carter, was in Wilmington by 1880 and working as a barber. He lived at 719 N. 4th Street, was born in North Carolina and was 19 years old. George moved to Norfolk by 1900 and continued to work as a barber. Moses Peamon, Carter's brother was listed as a barber, working at 916 N. 8th Street and living at 820 N. 4th Street. A Moses Payman was listed in the 1870 Wilmington census with his mother Susan. Both were born in Virginia and they lived in the household of Eliza Mabson.

Sources: Wilmington *Star* 11-15-1893, 11-12-1898; Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm; 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists

Pearson, James

Pearson was a member of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned to hear the demands of Waddell and the Committee of 25 on November 9, 1898. Pearson was a barber and politician and operated a barbershop at 312 N. 6th Street. Pearson was not forced to leave the city and remained in business. His home was at 310 N. 6th Street.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm; 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists

Pickens , Robert G.

Pickens was a member of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned to hear the demands of Waddell and the Committee of 25 on November 9, 1898. He was 44 at the time. He was targeted because

of his activity in the Republican Party. Pickens was forced to leave the city and was placed on a train on November 11, 1898. He operated a fish and oyster business with Salem Bell, also forced to leave the city.

Pickens purchased by mortgage property on Block 119 from white attorney Aquila Marshall in 1896 for $700. In 1899, with $96.25 due on mortgage, Marshall foreclosed and sold property at auction for $395 to Godfrey Hart who then re-sold it to a black teacher for $750. The Pickens home at 720 Ann was residence of Thomas Knight from 1918 until 1938,

Pickens was listed in New Hanover County in 1880 census. By 1900, he was living in Newport News with family. He worked as a coal trimmer and rented him home with wife Amelia and large household, including 5 boarders from NC, all boarders were males and all worked as coal trimmers.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists

Quick, Isham

Quick was a member of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned to hear the demands of Waddell and the Committee of 25 on November 9, 1898. He has been profiled in Chapter 8 of this work. Quick was a wood dealer/drayman in 1897 and lived at 313 N. 9th Street. Quick remained in the city with his family after the violence.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists

Reardon, Robert

Reardon was a member of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned to hear the demands of Waddell and the Committee of 25 on November 9, 1898. Reardon was targeted for banishment but escaped the city before he was captured. Information on his banishment can be found in Chapter 6 of this report. Reardon operated a barbershop at 29 Market Street in 1897. By 1900, he had moved to Washington, DC and was working as a barber. Reardon was born in South Carolina and was 35 at the time of the violence. In the 1900 census, he listed that his father was born in Ireland.

In 1895, Reardon was the manager of the black pavilion at Ocean View. In 1895, he operated an intelligence bureau, the Wilmington Intelligence Bureau and Advertising Agency, in the city and had "erected a neat building" for an office on 2nd between Dock and Orange. In 1897, he was referred to as "Professor Reardon," a "tonsorial artist," and was planning to open barber shop at Carolina Beach.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists

Rivera, Thomas

Thomas Rivera was a member of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned by Waddell and the Committee of 25 on November 9, 1898. Rivera was a long-time resident of the city and worked as an undertaker. He was active in Republican politics and served on the board of the Wilmington Colored Educational Institute. His home was at 516 Red Cross Street. Rivera was born in 1826 in Wilmington and had operated a grocery store at 22 N. Front. By 1879, he worked as an undertaker at 304 Princess Street. In 1898, he helped to develop the Peabody School. He was an active member at St. Stephen's AME Zion Church and died at his home in 1906. Rivera's niece was Annie E. Miller, wife of Thomas C. Miller. Rivera has been profiled in Chapter 8 of this report.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm; 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists

Sadgwar, Frederick

Sadgwar was one of the black men summoned to hear the demands of Alfred Moore Waddell and the Committee of 25 on November 9. 1898. His children, who were young at the time of the riot, did not realize that he was one of the men who attended the meeting. Family tradition holds that Sadgwar worked for Walter Parsley at the time of the violence of 1898 and was taken by surprise by the extent of the rioting on November 10th. Further, the family believed that the "better whites" such as Parsley had no part of the

violence. However, Parsley was a member of the "Secret Nine," the group that planned the coup and whose actions led to the violence. The family has recalled that Parsley, although privy to the plans of the white leadership, protected the Sadgwar family at their home on the 10th. The family has maintained that the protection given them by whites extended into the 20th century to insure their safety. Some of the Sadgwar children were in school when the rioting began and were escorted home, unmolested, by their older brother, Ted, who was in his 30's and worked with their father as a carpenter. The Sadgwar family was close to the Chestnutt family, and Frederick's children grew up with relatives of David Waddell Chestnutt, author of *Marrow of Tradition.* Family tradition also states that the Sadgwar men helped to protect the white missionaries who were in Wilmington teaching at Gregory.

Sadgwar was born in Wilmington and worked as a building contractor. He was on the board of directors for the Wilmington Livery Stable Company and United Charities. Sadgwar lived at 15 North 8th Street on property purchased by his father. He worked as a mail carrier in 1883.

Sources: Mabel Sadgwar Manly and Felice Sadgwar interview, transcript in files of Cape Fear Museum; Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists

Scott, Armond

Scott was one of the Committee of Colored Citizens and was charged with delivery of the Committee's reply to Waddell by 7:30 on the morning of November 10th, 1898. Scott was unable to reach Waddell's home because of white patrols and placed the letter in the mail instead. Scott was targeted for banishment because he was an attorney. He was a member of a prominent Wilmington family and local residents, white and black, reportedly helped him escape from the city. Discussion of his escape can be found in Chapter 6 of this report. Scott graduated from Johnson C. Smith University in 1896 with a law degree. At the time of the violence in 1898, Scott was 25 years old. After his escape from Wilmington, Scott relocated to Washington, DC., where he later became a Judge appointed by President Roosevelt and continued in the position under Truman and Eisenhower. Despite his escape, Scott returned to city to visit family often. Scott reportedly wrote his memoirs, "Up from Hell," and are in the possession of descendants.

In the 1880 census, Scott was listed in Wilmington living with his father, Benjamin, who was born in Virginia. Scott was not listed in the 1897 directory but his father operated a grocery store at his home on 519 Walnut. Scott was listed in the 1900 census in New York and working as an elevator man. By 1910, Scott had relocated to Washington, D.C. and was working as an attorney and renting a home with his wife and infant son. Scott remained in the city for the 1920 and 1930 census. By 1920, he owned his home in that city. By 1930, his son was employed as a teacher and Scott's property was valued at $16,000.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists

Shephard, Frank

Shephard was listed as one of the black men wounded as a result of the violence on November 10, 1898. He lived with his mother Cornelia in the home of Thomas Stevenson, white, in 1880. Shephard was 18 and worked as a hostler.

Stevens, Willis ("Drake")

According to the New Hanover County Board of Commissioners Minutes for May 3, 1897, the Board decided to pay $8.80 for tools and materials for Willis Stevens so that he would not become a ward of the county. It was "understood that the tools shall at all times be the property of the county and his keeping them will depend on his good behavior." An article in the Wilmington *Messenger* dated May 4, 1897 noted that Stevens, also known as Drake, previously had been declared insane and ordered to the asylum but County Attorney Marsden Bellamy has secured Stevens' release. The terms of his release included that he be gainfully employed in his trade as shoemaker. He "promised the board to go to work with the understanding that if there is any more foolishness his tools will be taken away from him." It is unknown was "foolishness" led to his institutionalization and no court records can be found to provide details. On October 2, 1898, an article in the Wilmington *Morning Star* and the *Messenger* described the scene at a precinct in the First Ward when Stevens tried to register to vote. His ability to vote was

challenged by Democrat Rev. J. W. Kramer at the polls and the paper reported a riot at the precinct. Kramer declared that Stevens was insane and ineligible to vote. The *Messenger* belittled Stevens as a "half-witted negro who imagined a year or so ago that he had a cinch on the mayorality." Before any other African Americans could step in, Stevens continued to insist on his ability to register and threatened a lawsuit. At this point, Carter Peamon, a barber and community leader, stepped in to advocate on behalf of Stevens in the face of several Red Shirts, including S. Hill Terry. Peamon and Terry got into a scuffle in which Peamon snatched a knife out of Terry's hands. The scuffle was settled and then Peamon told Rev. Kramer that he wished he could "slap the jaws of every white man." It is unclear if Stevens was allowed to register but the fortitude of the white registrars and Red Shirts probably prevented his registration. Drake has been profiled in Chapter 4 of this report.

Taylor, John E.

Taylor was the Deputy Customs Collector for the city in 1898 and served in that role for a total of 25 years. His home was at 122 N. 8th Street. Taylor was born in 1858 and was a graduate of Howard University. In 1896, he was made City Clerk and Treasurer. Taylor owned a great deal of property and was president of the Metropolitan Trust Company. Taylor has been profiled in Chapter 8 of this report.

Telfair, Rev. James W.

Telfair was a member of the Committee of Colored Citizens summoned to hear the demands of Waddell and the Committee of 25 on November 9, 1898. Telfair was a minister at Mt. Zion AME Church and was a Mason. His home was at 615 Walnut Street. Telfair had been a slave of the deRossett family and later worked as a manager at the Sprunt Cotton Compress. Telfair remained in the city after the violence and died at his home in 1914. He remained a minister after the violence.

Telfair was 60 at the time of the violence and had worked in the city as a ship's carpenter in 1870 and as a stevedore. In 1897 and 1900, he owned taxable property valued at $750 dollars in blocks 223 and 96.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists

Toomer , Frank P.

Toomer was a policeman in the city under Mayor Silas Wright and was one of the black men banished from the city on November 11, 1898. In late November, 1898, Toomer wrote Waddell from New Bern to request to return to the city. Waddell responded that Toomer should not return because he had been "obnoxious" to people and it was best for him to stay away. Toomer was not found in the 1880 Census although there were several people with that surname in the county. Toomer lived at 916 Love Avenue in 1897. Toomer married Rose Wilson in 1871 in Wilmington.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists

Walker, Andrew

African American community leader Andrew Walker was an Alderman from the first ward under Silas Wright and was forced to resign during the coup led by Waddell on November 10, 1898. Walker owned a considerable amount of property in the city and worked as a stevedore. In 1880, Walker (age 29) lived in the city with his sister Polly and worked as a stevedore. By 1890, Walker owned taxable property in 3 blocks worth $1,400. By 1897, his property values had remained constant at $1,450 and by 1900, the value had increased to $2,100 including the addition of an extra property. Walker lived at 1107 N. 5th Street. Walker had been an officer in the 3rd Regiment, North Carolina Volunteers for the Spanish American war but returned to Wilmington in June, 1898. Walker was active at Central Baptist Church and died in 1907.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm; 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists

Webber, John H.

Webber the African American member of the Board of Audit and Finance and was forced to resign after the coup led by Waddell on November 10, 1898. Webber was 43 at the time. Webber owned property in block 267 valued at $350 in 1897 and 1900. Webber was listed as a laborer in the 1897 and 1900 city directory. Webber lived at 719 Hanover Street. In the 1918 and 1924 city directories, he was listed as a woodworker. He was not found in the 1870-1880 census but was listed in 1900 as a day laborer. Webber served as president of the Phoenix Hose Reel Co. #1 from 1895-96. In 1890, he was President of the Young Men's Republican Club. Webber worked for Chadbourn Lumber Company for 38 years.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists

Wright, Daniel

Wright was one of the black men killed on November 10, 1898. His murder was recounted in Chapter 5 of this report. Wright had been a member of the New Hanover County Republican Executive Committee and his home was at 810 N. 3rd Street in 1897. Wright was listed in the 1880 census as a worker in the rice fields near Wilmington. On November 28, 1898, it was reported in the Wilmington *Star* that the remains of black man John S. Wright, drowned in Cape Fear, were found near Navassa, after he had been missing for two weeks. It is unknown if the two men were related.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists

Wright, Silas P.

Silas Wright was the white Republican Mayor of Wilmington and was forced to resign his office during the coup led by Waddell on November 10, 1898. Wright was then banished from the city. Wright was a boarder at the Orton in 1897. Originally from Massachussets, Wright had relocated with his wife to Wilmington by 1870 where he worked as a revenue collector. By 1900, Wright had moved to Knoxville, Tennessee and was renting a home while he worked as a doctor. More on Wright can be found in Chapter 5 and 6 of this report.

Sources: Prather, *We Have Taken a City*; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*; 1860-1930 census; 1897, 1900 city directories; Bill Reaves Collection, New Hanover County Public Library; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington;" Cody, "After the Storm;" 1890, 1897, 1900 New Hanover County Tax Lists

APPENDIX B

AFRICAN AMERICAN CHURCHES IN WILMINGTON

African-American Churches in Wilmington

First Baptist Church

Congregation broke away from larger white church in 1864 and worshipped at a church on Walnut St. between 4th and 5th streets
1870 Rev. F.H. Hill
1886 worship held at corner of 7th and Red Cross
1892- ? Rev. F.H. Spells
1895 New building constructed at 5th & Campbell
1903 Rev. A. W. Wilson
1906 Rev. John Henry Rhoe
1974 destroyed by fire and rebuilt later on same spot
No newspaper references 1896-1900
Parent Church to Shiloh, Mt. Roney, New Hope, 5th Ave. Baptist

Central Baptist Church

Organized 1883 and 1st services were in the Baptist Mission Church (at Camp Lamb) but buildings were destroyed by fire and new building constructed at current location in 1888
Arson fire damaged building in 1896; building was insured
Rev. J. Allen Kirk became pastor, 1897
No newspaper references, 1897-1900
1900 new pastor
1903 Rev. W. D. Hood
1904 new pastor

Ebenezer Baptist Church

Organized in 1868, 1st building south of 7th St. church
1896 Rev. C.P. Johnson
1903 Rev. John D. Sasser
1909 Rev. Obediah W. Moore
Moved from downtown in modern era
Parent church to Shiloh, Mt. Nebo, Providence (Brunswick Co.)

Shiloh Baptist Church

1884 Dedicated new church building
1889 Rev. Justin D. Fulton of Brooklyn, NY lectured congregation to stay put and not leave the south "settle down with patience and industry to fight the battles of life"
1898 Rev. W.R. Slade and "New Era Institute" held at church
No newspaper references 1899-1905
1903 Rev. C. L. Menefee
1914 new building
1955 destroyed by fire

Mt. Nebo

Founded 1911

Mt. Calvary Missionary Baptist Church

Organized in 1894 as Mt. Moriah AME Zion and re-organized several other times
Named Zion Baptist when located at 8th & Harnett
Relocated to 7th & Brunswick and renamed Mt. Calvary in 1939
1956 New building
Church history: "A Brief History of Mt. Calvary Missionary Baptist Church"

St. Luke AME Zion

Originally called Christian Chapel and located at NE corner of 7th & Church but burned in 1878
1882 New church constructed and called St. Luke's
1887 Pastor Rev. A.F. Moore
No newspaper references 1898-1901
1901 Rev. S.P.W. Drew of Lincoln National Employment Bureau addressed

St. Luke's AME Zion (before 1944 fire)
Image: North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

congregation and told them not to go to NY and large cities looking for work because there was none to be had for blacks because whites were preferred
1903 Rev. Herbert Bell
1944 building destroyed by fire

St. Stephen AME

Organized in 1865
Old building torn down and new constructed on same site 1887
Sept. 1898 Booker T. Washington spoke to congregation
No newspaper references 1898-1899
1900 Rev. Lewis T. Christmas sermon -- "Hope of the Colored People in America"
1903 Rev. John E. Jackson
1909 Pres. Taft visited church

Mt. Olive AME

1873 church at corner of 2nd and Dawson burned
1879 new building on 2nd, between Dawson & Wright
1898 Rev. A. Stroud
1901 Rev. James C. Waters
1903 Rev./ W. H. Manokoo
1907 burned and new church at SE corner of Seventh and Wright
No newspaper references 1898-1901

Mt. Zion

1873 Cornerstone laid
1886/87 Destroyed by fire
1880 Sermon by Rev. Isaiah Aldridge denounced Judge Daniel Russell for calling blacks savages and said that Russell was growing too proud. Aldridge spoke of the progress of blacks, pointing out that they were obedient slaves. He said he had no faith in Russell's "friendship" to blacks and said he wouldn't vote or support anyone who endorsed Russell. Aldridge then published article in *Morning Star* denouncing Russell and stating that he planned to vote for Republican ticket, also stating that he had been told to be quiet or be removed as pastor of church.
1889-90 Rev. J.S. Brown pastor
1895 Rev. L.B. Sims
1898 Rev. James W. Telfair
No newspaper references 1898-1900
1900 destroyed by fire
1900 Rev. J.H. Hall
1901 Rev. R.R. Nichols and new cornerstone laid with Odd Fellows help
1903 Rev. Joseph L. Hall
1944 Old church condemned
1946 New church constructed at 1111 N. 5th Street

St. Phillip AME Zion

Organized as St. Daniel's in Acorn Branch Community, now Wrightsboro, and built church
1906 new church constructed under Pastor Rev. Elijah Green and cornerstone laid 1911
1913 new name to St. Phillip
1975 new building

St. Thomas Catholic

Built in 1847, was integrated till 1911 when Bishop turned it over to black members and white members built new church

Gregory Congregational Church

Grew out of New England Missionary movement, American Missionary Association purchased land in 1868 and constructed a church
1880 new brick church
1884 called Christ's Congregational Church
1895 Rev. Sims left and F.T. Waters left in control
1901 Rev. John Adams
1904 Colored Law and Order Society of Wilmington established to unite blacks and to "insure domestic tranquility" in Wilmington by emphasizing home ownership, character improvement and obeying the law

1957 several independent churches united in U.S. and became Church of Christ
No newspaper references 1898-1902

St. Mark Episcopal Church

Established in 1869 when blacks left St. Paul's (white)
1897-1910 Rev. E. Bennett of Baltimore
1898 vestrymen: John G. Norwood, James H. Lane, John J. Geyer, Daniel Webster, J.D. Nixon, T.J. Brownell, Robert McDonald
1900 vestrymen: John G. Norwood, James H. Lane, Valentine Howe, John Geyer, A.E. Jackson, J.H. Howe, Charles Mallette
No newspaper references 1898-1900.

Chestnut Street Presbyterian Church

1860 Two Presbyterian Churches in city with most members from the North
1867 African American Presbyterian Congregation purchased abandoned white church on Chestnut St.
1879 Strong ladies' aid society
1892-1894 Rev. David Brown
1895-1935 Rev. James A. Bonner
No newspaper references 1898-1900
1911 Moved to corner of 12th & Queen Streets

Protestant Ministerial Association of New Hanover County

1878 Established and renamed several times
1885 Colored Preacher's Association of New Hanover County
1890's Colored Ministerial Union and Interdenominational Preacher's Association
** Members were pastors and elders from all influential churches
Ceased to exist after 1898 but re-formed 1915

The principal source for information about these churches was Bill Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle.*

APPENDIX C

CHANGES TO WILMINGTON CHARTER, 1868-1901

Changes to Wilmington City Charter
1740-1901
(From the *Public Laws of North Carolina)*

1740
Wilmington chartered as Newton.

February1, 1866 (partially repealed)

- Wilmington incorporated
- Mayor and 8 Aldermen eligible for office if: native or naturalized citizen; 25 years old; resident of city for 1 year prior to election; freeholder of property valued at $1,000 for 6 months prior to election; resident of ward represented for 6 months prior to election
- Mayor and Aldermen elected by voters, two aldermen from each ward and city-wide election for Mayor. Mayor's salary no more than $2,000
- Meet at least monthly
- Marshal and Deputy appointed by Aldermen. Marshal's salary no more than $2,000. Deputy salary no more than $1,200. Clerk and Treasurer appointed by Aldermen. Salary for each no more than $1,500.
- City divided into 4 wards
- Qualified voters: Eligible to vote in state elections; resident of city for 6 months; resident of ward for 30 days; OR owner of property valued at $2,000 can vote in ward where property is located
- Annual elections for one year terms; first election to be held 1866 and terms of aldermen to be staggered with 50% rotation yearly; vacancies filled by vote among aldermen to fill spot

December 18, 1868 (partially repealed in 1870)

- Section 13, 2-1-1866 amended
- Section 14, 2-1-1866 repealed
- Creation of a special court for city and creation of a position for a Special Magistrate to oversee the court (all repealed 12-20-1870)
- Sheriff to replace City Marshal for tax collection (partially repealed 12-3-1873)
- Officers appointed by Board of Aldermen and Mayor serve at their will
- Sections 10-23 untouched re: Board of Assessors for taxation and management of public schools in city
- Elections to be held annually on 1st Monday in January for one year term and until successors qualified. Two aldermen elected from each of four wards and will hold one year terms with first year seeing one set of aldermen hold office for 2 years so as to stagger board rotation. (repealed 12-20-1870)
- Section 17 of Act of Incorporation (2-1-1866)for city repealed (repealed 12-20-1870)
- Duty of Aldermen to appoint ward Registrars to open registration books for 5 days preceding Sunday before elections. (repealed 12-20-1870)
- Section 5 of Act of Incorporation (2-1-1866)amended: voters to vote for Mayor and Aldermen on one slip of paper to be placed in a box at polling site. (repealed 12-20-1870)

March 26,1870 (repealed 12-20-1870)

- 3-14-1870 act to define city limit extended from Wilmington & Weldon Railroad to Campbell Street; next election to be held in January, 1871 instead of August
- Number of Aldermen increased to 10 from 8

December 20, 1870

- Corporate limits of city described
- City divided into 5 wards with boundaries defined in text

- 10 Member Board of Aldermen elected annually on 1st Monday of May; one member selected by Board to serve as Mayor. Eligible candidates should be 25 years old, U.S. citizen, resident of city 1 year and ward resident 6 months. Election for 1871 to be held 2nd Monday in January and officers continue in office until annual election in May, 1872.
- Voter eligibility: qualified to vote for General Assembly, 90 day resident of city; 30 day resident of ward
- Registrars keep record of voters by lot and block; challenges allowed
- Voting by boxes and ballots that can have only 2 names printed on them (repealed/amended 1872)
- Board vacancies filled by members of Board until successor elected; if Board fails to provide for elections, each shall pay $200, guilty of misdemeanor, imprisoned 30 days and fined $300?
- 3-14-1868 Repealed
- 7-17-1868 Repealed
- 12-18-1868, sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28 repealed
- 3-14-1870 Repealed
- 3-26-1870 Repealed
- No election to be held before 2nd Monday of Jan. 1871; term of present Board to continue until election and qualifications of successors elected that day
- Act to be published in newspapers

February 8, 1872 (entire amended repealed 1875)

- Sec. 4, 12-20-1870 amended. Mayor can appoint challengers on behalf of candidates. Challengers can have access to registration books and attend polls on voting day to challenge votes or qualifications for voters. Ballots can have written or printed up to ten names, including repetition of one or more names, as long as there are no more than ten names on paper. More than ten names will disqualify a ballot and if a name is listed more than once, each time name is listed counts as a vote.

December 3, 1873

- Sec. 6, 12-18-1868 repealed
- Sec. 3, 12-20-1870 re-written to change alderman elections from biennial to annual provided that men in office as of the 1st of May 1874, serve until successors elected and qualified at next election
- Sec. 1, 2-8-1872 re-written to make additions to section 4 instead of section 3 of 12-20-1870 (see 2-8-1872 act for details re: voting procedure)

February 3, 1875

- Act of Dec. 20, 1870 remain effective
- Act of Feb. 8, 1872 (amendment of Act of Dec. 20, 1870) repealed
- Act of December 3, 1873 repealed
- City divided into 3 wards and wards lines described; nine member Board of Aldermen – 3 from each ward (repealed Mar. 6, 1877)
- Alderman eligibility: 21 yrs. old, resident of city 1 yr, resident of ward 90 days
- Aldermen elected under this act to take office after terms of current board expire and serve until April, 1877 when their successors
- Vacancies on Board of Aldermen filled by Board
- Mayor selected from within Board of Aldermen
- Board to hold new registration for election to be held on 2nd Thursday in March, 1875 with subsequent elections on 1st Thursday in April, beginning with 1877 (repealed 3-6-77)

- Wards divided into precincts for largest wards, precincts described and named (repealed 3-6-77)
- Polling and registration points identified; registrars named (repealed 3-6-77)
- Electors must be 21, resident of state 12 months, of city ward, block and lot for 90 days prior to election (repealed 3-6-77)
- Any elector can challenge eligibility of another elector and elector can challenge vote made on election day (repealed 3-6-77)
- Inspectors of election named (repealed 3-6-77)
- If alderman refuses to give up office after term expires, guilty of misdemeanor, $2000 fine and serve 2 years in jail

February 28, 1877

- Governor to appoint biennially five members to Board of Audit and Finance (one from each ward)
- Board to meet at least twice a month
- Board to audit all financial claims against city, approve taxation by Board of Aldermen, set and pay salaries of city employees, chairman of Board of Audit and Finance also Chair of Sinking Fund.

March 6, 1877

- Sec. 4 of February 3, 1875 Act repealed and replaced with division of city by five wards. Ward boundaries delineated.
- 10 member Board of Aldermen with two elected from each ward. Aldermen have to be qualified voter, resident of city for a year, resident of ward for 90 days.
- Vacancy "for any cause whatsoever" to be filled by election [by voters?]
- Biennial elections with first held on 4th Thursday in March, 1879.
- Eligible voters: 21 years old, resident of state one year, resident of ward 90 days prior to election.
- Elector eligibility can be challenged by other electors.
- Registrars, precincts and locations named.
- Elections inspectors named by precinct and ward.
- Board of Aldermen can levy taxes and seize property for non-payment.
- Office of Marshall and Assistant Marshall replaced by Chief of Police.
- Repeal of Sec. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 21 of February 3, 1875 Amendment.

February 27, 1879

- Mayor and Board of Aldermen in office as of March 26, 1879 to continue in office until regular election (as described in act of March 6, 1877) on 4th Thursday of March, 1881 and successors are qualified.

March 9, 1883

- Amended Sec. 5, Ch. 192 (March 6, 1877): valid voter registration should include name, lot number, block number and ward number (amended again 1885)
- Sec. 2: Aldermen required to have blocks and lots number 30 days prior to election (repealed 1885)

February 26, 1885

- Change word "lot" to "house" in section 1 of Chapter 308 (March 9, 1883)
- Section two of Ch. 308, March 9, 1883 repealed.

February 20, 1891

- After election, new Board of Aldermen to select a mayor from either their ranks or from city electors. If mayor selected from within aldermen, he should resign his seat as alderman before becoming mayor and his vacancy to be filled by qualified elector from his ward, selected by Board of Aldermen. (repeal of Sec. 2, Ch. 192 of 1866-7 law)
- Sec. 6, of 1874-5 repealed.

March 9, 1895

- Police Board created: William H. Chadbourn, John B. Melton, Silas P. Wright, John E. Taylor, Frederick B. Rice
- Term begins when Board of Aldermen are seated in 1895 for two years
- No compensation for members of Board
- Ability to hire and pay: chief of police, chief of fire department, city clerk, city treasurer, city attorney, city physician, harbor master, clerks of markets, policemen, street workers, other city employees. Policemen and street hands fired only by Police Board.
- Board of Aldermen and Mayor cannot remove employees placed by Police Board.
- Salary of Mayor fixed at $1,000
- Chair of Police Board also commissioner of sinking fund
- Expenses of Board of Audit and Finance limited to $1,000
- Current mayor and aldermen to remain in office until next election on fourth Thursday of March, 1897 and until elected successors are duly qualified.

March 5, 1897

- Act of March 3, 1895 repealed
- One alderman elected from each ward (5) and governor appoint additional one from each ward
- Mayor can be impeached and replaced by alderman
- Elections to Board according to Charter
- Registration books for elections open 10 days prior to election

March 4, 1899

- Act of March 9, 1895 repealed
- Act of March 5, 1897 repealed
- All laws and clauses of laws in effect as of ratification of Act of March 9, 1895 declared in effect unless amended by this act
- Aldermen elected according to charter; registration books open for only 10 days
- Aldermen not eligible to hold office of Mayor or other city office or employment until term expires
- Mayor paid salary instead of all other compensation; salary fixed by Board of Audit and Finance between $1,200 - $2,000 per year and salary will not be reduced during term.
- People arrested by city police to be brought before Mayor for trial "except upon the usual affidavit for removal now provided by law"
- Vagrants arrested and brought before Mayor and must find employment within 24 hours or leave city
- Term of city clerk and treasurer 2 years
- Board of Audit and Finance appointed for two year term: Jesse Wilder, C. W. Yates, S. P. McNair, H. C. McQueen and W. A. Riach
- Municipal elections to have primaries -- rigorous rules established for holding primaries, qualifications for voters in primaries, majority vote in ward determines result of primary, misdemeanor if a person votes illegally in primary, chief of police and sheriff to maintain order during primary, primary can be held if 100 electors of same political party as the political party in control of city government petitions for election

March 11, 1901

- Entire city charter re-written to incorporate city and grant it powers to buy and sell land, enter into contracts, etc. with power vested in aldermen (two per ward plus mayor elected by board of aldermen).
- Ward boundaries identified
- Lengthy descriptions on management of elections: voter registration, selection of election officials, voter qualifications, challenges, descriptions of ballots
- Vacancies on Board of Aldermen filled by internal selection
- City officials appointed by Board of Aldermen
- Mayor's Court established for crimes in city to replace courts held by Justices of Peace, convicted can appeal to Superior Court; Mayor can force vagrants to find job within 24 hours or leave city; provisions for Mayor to arrest and close houses of "ill-fame"
- Aldermen's powers listed: licensing for saloons; suppress gaming and "bawdy houses;" regulate public performances for money; regulate butcher shops, storage of combustibles, street and sidewalk maintenance, railroad traffic, public drunkenness, animal control, ringing of bells, contagious disease controls, burials, markets, food markets, public water and sewage, trash controls, building construction; new street construction and ability to condemn land to construct streets; assess taxes for street maintenance; to oversee sewage, electrification, police and fire departments; maintain hospital; power to tax animals, real and personal property, provisions, trades, occupations, etc to operate city; power to penalize citizens for failure to list or pay taxes and foreclose on property for non-payment
- Board of Audit and Finance with five members appointed by Governor for two year term; Board reviews expenditures of city and pays city bills, approves tax rates set by Aldermen, fix salaries of city employees, must approve contracts for city work before contract signed; manage "sinking fund"
- City can borrow money for expenses of city
- Establishment of a public park
- Rules for holding primaries for municipal elections established
- Most prior statutes related to Wilmington since incorporation in 1756 repealed
- New charter to be approved by citizens through a vote

March 11, 1901

Board of Commissioners of New Hanover County authorized to collect taxes to fund annual appropriation of $300 for the Wilmington Light Infantry and Wilmington Division of the North Carolina Naval Brigade.

** Subsequent changes to the charter, beginning in 1903 and for at least the next decade, were minor and were efforts to solidify control over city affairs by the leaders within the Democratic Party.

** There were 15 changes to the charter between 1866 and 1897 and, beginning in 1899, there were only five changes over the next ten years.

** Ward structure changed three times between 1870 and 1877:
1870: 5 wards
1875: 3 wards
1877: 5 wards

** The standard structure of five wards for the city became the norm and was perpetuated in the 1901 charter. The re-drawn ward lines of 1877 were used for the 1901 re-write of the charter.

APPENDIX D

New Hanover County Tax Lists: 1897 and 1900

Appendix D contains 734 tax listings for African American Wilmingtonians with J-Z surnames that owned property based on 1897 and 1900 New Hanover County tax lists. Sue Ann Cody utilized tax records in her thesis "After the Storm" and provided the compiler with copies of her accumulated records that contained individual names, block numbers, and property values for 1897 and 1900 tax years. In her thesis, Cody, who analyzed most closely A-J surnames, acknowledged that the 1897 and 1900 tax records were incomplete because apparently "not everyone listed property for taxes." In the 1897 list 2,378 blacks appeared and only 1,930 were shown in 1900. Wilmington had a population of 11,324 African Americans in 1890 and 10,407 in 1900. The 1897 city directory listed 3,759 blacks; it contained 3,550 in 1900. Cody stated the following about problem of studying the tax records:

> Part of the decline [in numbers of people] can be attributed to the realization that it was futile to pay poll tax if one was not allowed to vote. Just as with city directories, it must be accepted that an analysis using this data source is not comprehensive.[1]

The number of people on the tax lists is further reduced when non-landowners are excluded. Of the people with J-Z surnames owning property in 1897 and 1900, Thomas C. Miller had the most land. His total property was valued at $3,225 in 1897 and $5,550 in 1900. John G. Norwood also owned multiple lots with seven total. Those were valued at $2,225 in 1897 and 1900. Listings are tagged to indicate whether the property value increased, decreased, or remained the same. For instance, in 1897, Martha McKoy's parcel in Block 106 had a tax assessment of $525. However, three years later, it dropped

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[1]Tax Lists, 1897 and 1900 (microfilm), New Hanover County Tax Records, N.C. State Archives, Raleigh; Sue Ann Cody, "After the Storm: Racial Violence in Wilmington, North Carolina and Its Consequences for African Americans, 1898-1905" (master's thesis, University of North Carolina at Wilmington, 2000), 122-124; *Report on the Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890, Part I* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895; New York: Norman Ross Publishing Inc., 1994), 473; *Twelfth Census of the United States taken in the Year 1900, Population, Part I: Population* (Washington: Unites States Census Office, 1901; New York: Norman Ross Publishing Inc., 1997), 671.

to $300. Andrew Pierce's lot in Block 62 was assessed at $200 in 1897; in 1900, it was valued at $350. Cody offered the following conclusion about the fluctuations in the tax records:

> Valuation of property did not change significantly between 1897 and 1900. Those whose tax listings increased did so because they acquired additional property. Likewise, in almost all cases, those whose tax valuation decreased did so because they sold pieces of property.[2]

Any study of the tax records will be complicated by the limited population base and by the fluctuations in property values. While individual examples of loss and gain can be cited, wholesale loss of property caused by the 1898 race riot is not reflected in the listings.

[2] In 1895, there were 2,238 African American taxpayers in the city plus 111 deliquent African American taxpayers. 1895 Tax List as transcribed by Delmas Haskett, New Hanover County Public Library; Cody, "After the Storm," 122.

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Alexander, F. P.	147	250		250		
Alexander, Jenny (Jerry?)	147	250?		250?		
Allen, George	250	270		?		
Allen, George W.	518	20		?		
Allen, Randall & Lizzie	536	350?		350?		
Allen, Spotswood	252	500		550		+50
Amy, Addie	224	200		200		
Amy/Amey?, Burwell	224	400		?		
Anderson, Elizabeth	60	350		?		
Anderson, Ellen	149	200		300		+100
Arvington/Arrington, Thomas	148	150		175		+25
Artist, Carolyn	282	350		350		
Artist/Artis, William T.	338	125		125		
Ashe, Ben (Heirs-1897)	348	125				
Ashe/Ash, Richard	81	250		250		
Ashe, Simon	326	150		150		
Austin, Henry (Held by County)	134	100				
Austin, John J.	238	450		600		+150
Benett, John (Heirs-1897)	309	250				
Bennett, Maria J.	295	250				
Benton, Annett	147	200		250		+50
Bernard, Harry (Heirs-1897)	118	250		300		+50
Betts, Elizabeth	329 or 327?	300		200		-100
Bishop, Ephraim	238	650		800		+150
Bishop, Virginia	147	100		150		+50
Bishop, Rev. W. H.	268	300		300		
Blackwell, Martha? J.	338	250		250		
Blackwell, William	347	150		150		
Blackwood, Susan	336	200		200		
Bland, James J.	554	50		75		+25
Bland, James J.	136	50	100	100	175	+50
Bland, Louisa	149	250		350		+100
Blocker, Mary Ann	115	800		800		

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Blount, Caleb/Rosa	175	300				
Blount, Estha/Esther	33	200		250		+50
Blount, Hannah & Calvin	281	700		900		+200
Blount, Hannah & Calvin	329	?		?		
Blount, Harry (Heirs-1897)	229	250		250		
Blount, Maggie (Heirs-1897)	20	200				
Boddie, Frank	136	100				
Boddie, Frank	137	150	250			
Boggan, Andrew	82	25				
Bolden, Louis	536	200				
Bolden, Randal (Heirs-1897)	228	200				
Bond, Sophia* (Heirs-1897)	237	375				
Boone, Thomas	583	20		20		
Boone, Thomas	98	200	220	200	220	
Bowden, Alexander	119	200		250		+50
Bowens, Johnson	223	200		700		+500
Bowen, Stephen	198	300		350		+50
Bowen, Teresa*	282	100		30		-70
Bowen, Thomas (Heirs-1897)	282	300		300		
Bradley, David C.	271	250		250		
Bradley, John A.	308	350		350		
Bradley, Keziah	253	125		225		+100
Bradley, Lucy A (Heirs-1900)	80	200		250		+50
Bradley, Mary C. (Held by County)	79	50				
Bradley, William H.	439	150		?		
Bradley, William H. Sr.	222	600		600		
Bradley, William H. Sr.	237	275	875	Not listed		
Brooks, W. H.	249	500				
Bright, Jane	336	250				
Bright, John	212	450		450		
Brinkley, Susan	45	200		200		
Brinkley, Susan	31	25	225	25	225	
Brinkley, Thomas	282	150		150		
Broadhurst, E.	106	225?		825?		+500
Brown, Adam	224	600				

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Brown, Alex	56	25				
Brown, Alfred (Heirs-1897)	279	550				
Brown, Annie	296 or 294	150		200		+50
Brown, Archie L.	263	175		175		
Brown, Edward (Held by County)	195	200				
Brown, Elizbeth (Heirs-1900)	67?	?		?		
Brown, Mrs. Francis	222	3000				
Brown, Mrs. Francis	222?	4200				
Brown, Mrs. Francis	237		7200			
Brown, George W.	271	250		250		
Brown, George W.	310	150?		250?		+100
Brown, James (Heirs-1897)	296	100		100		
Brown, James W.	350	175				
Brown, John H.	582	15		25		+10
Brown, John H.	280	450		450		
Brown, Lavinia (Heirs-1900)	310	350		350		
Brown, Moses	136	200		350		+150
Brown, Maryeliza	132	250		250		
Brown, Sophia	208	900		1100		+200
Brown, Virgil	255	300		350		+50
Brownell, T. J.	136	200		350		+150
Brunard?, Francis	42	150		125		-25
Brunard?, Francis	84	150		Not listed		
Brunard?, Francis	584	35	335	Not listed		
Brunson, Robert	162	450				
Bryant, Rachel	308	175		175		
Bryant, Ari (Exiled)	307	300		300		
Bryant, Catherine	48	100		100		
Bryant, David	93	600		650		+50
Bryant, Duke	252	350				
Bryant, Louis	81	550?	900?	600?		+50?
Bryant, Maria A.	490	150		150		
Bryant, Mary Nixon	161	150		150		
Buchanan, William	96	100		350		+250

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Bunting, Alfred	537	150		150		
Burden?, Eliza	324	250		300		+50
Burgwin, Lavinia	308	200		200		
Burgwin, Richard	307	300				
Burke, Harriet	327	75				
Burnett, Allison	119	300		250		-50
Burnett, Mary E.	229	150				
Burnett, Sarah & Reily	148	200		300		+100
Burnie/Bernice Ruben	256	150		100		-50
Bush, James	38	150		150		
Byrd, A. J. (Held by County)	69	100				
Byrd, Edward	82	125		125		
Byrd, Kenan	252	300		350		+50
Byrd, Richard/Rachel	338	200		150		-50
Campbell, Mary*	211	100		100		
Casey, Peter	252	250		250		
Carr, Lila (Heirs-1900)	200	200		350		+150
Carroway, Louisa	175	200		200		
Carroll, Charles	34	250		250		
Carter, Sam (Heirs-1897)	339	150		150		
Cash, John B./Martha	132	500		900		+400
Cash, John B./Martha	106	600	1100	400	1300	-200
Christmas, Rev. L. T.	224	450		550		+100
Clark, Heirs of James/Mary&Lily	61	250		250		
Clark, Samuel	536	125		100		-25
Coles, Rosetta/Alex	326	150		150		
Collett, Rev. John H.	238	250				
Collett, Mary M.	238	250				
Collins, Henrietta	583	15		15		
Collins, Susan	327	650				
Collins, Sarah A.	226	300		300		
Colvin, Heirs Thomas/Maggie	19	75		75		
Connor, Martha	45	200		200		
Corbett, Nancy Cowan	211	350		350		
Cordell, Edward H.	256	200		150		-50
Cordell, Phillip (Heir-1900)	309	100		100		

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Cotton, W. H. Jr.(296 held by Co.)	296	300?		250?		-50?
Cotton, W. H. Jr.	541			25?		
Cotton, W. H. Sr.	237	1350				
Cotton, W. H. Sr.	239	600				
Council, Annie	224	300		300		
Cowan, Hammond	67	75		200		+125
Cowan, James	4	500				
Cowan, James L.	68	175		175		
Cowan, Sam (Heirs-1900)	226	200		200		
Crandell, Jim/Jerry	149	200		200		
Crawley, L. J.	78	200		250		+50
Hill, W. B. (Heirs-1897; Cronley & Morris, Agt for)	93	600				
Beery, Joseph (Cronley & Morris, Agt for	239	150		150		
Davis, Hester?, Ann (Cronley & Morris, Agt for	309	450				
Larkin, Eliza (Cronley & Morris, Agt for)	42	75		150		+75
Larkin, Eliza (Cronley & Morris, Agt for)	40	75	150	75	225	
Small, Rev. J. B. (Cronley & Morris, Agt for)	105	750				
Cunningham, Maria	46	100		100		
Reynolds, A. A. (Cummings, Agt for)	224	500				
Robinson, Rev. Ed (Cummings, Agt for)	239	400		400		
Thomas, Elizabeth (Cummings, Agt for)	132	500		500		
Walker, Harriet J. (Cummings, Agt for)	93	300		300		
Cutlar, James K.	518	150		125		-25
Cutlar, James K	119	500	650	500	625	
Cutlar, Susana	136	100		150		+50
Clinton, Lucretia*	304	150				
Campell, Joseph*	554	125				
Carter, Matilda (*1897; pd-1900)	52	40		150		+110
Carter, Matilda	119			350	500	
Collins, William* (Heirs-1897?)	37	150				
Calvin, Jane*	147	200				
Carver, Sam*	536	200				
Davis, Alice	149	200		300		+100

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Davis, Ann (Heirs-1897)	224	400		550		+150
Davis, Anna Jane	33	125		200		+75
Davis, Betsy Ann	119	400		400		
Davis, Charlotte	45	350		350		
Davis, Eliza F.	211	500		700		+200
Davis, Fred	482	400		400		
Davis, Hattie (Heirs-1897)	83	50				
Davis, Jackson D.	94	700		700		
Davis, John Henry	119	300		300		
Davis, Joseph H.	46	300		300		
Devaugh/Devane, Frank^ (Heirs-1900)	106	400		200		-200
Devane, Rev. W. M.	228	200				
Dewey, Vena	17?	150?				
Dewey, Vena	9?			100		
Dickson/Dixon, Edward Sr. (Heirs-1897)	254	300		300		
Dickson/Dixon, Jessie (Heirs-1897)	255	200		200		
Dickson/Dixon, Sophie	68	125		150		+25
Dickson, Stephen (Wright, agt for?)	106	500		550		+50
Doane?, Joseph	46	500		500		
Donaldson, Miles	239	600		600		
Douglass, Kate	296	250		250		
Dove, Owen (Heirs-1897)	223	800		800		
Dry, Lewis	161	500				
Dudley, Dolly (Heirs-1900)	51	125		175		+50
Dudley, James B.	207	500		500		
Dudley, James B.	48			400	900	
Dudley, John B. (Heirs-1897)	48	350		500		+150
Dudley, Leah (Heirs-1897)	68	150		150		
Dudley, Susan B.	207	3000		3000		
Dudley, Violet (Heirs-1897)	349	100		100		
Dudley, W. H. Sr.	36	100		125		+25
Dunham, Timon	351	100		75		-25
Durham, James	146	600		500		-100
Davis, Louisa* (Heirs-1897)	46	160				
Daniel, Margeret L.*	269	120				

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Davis, George W.*	262	600				
Davis, Venus*	326	150				
Debman, H. L.*	249	400				
Durant, James* (Heirs-1897; Held by County)	337	100				
Eagles, Lucy Ann	19	150		150		
Eagles, Maggie A.	269	350		350		
Easterling, Louisa	349	150		100		-50
Edens, Maggie W.	186	450		450		
Elkins, York (Heirs-1900)	3	350		800		
Elkins, York (Heirs-1900)	4	100	450	50	850	-50
Ellerby, B. K. (Heirs-1900)	162	150		150		
Ennett, George	349	125		125		
Epps, Rev. Henry	239	400		400		
Evans, David C.?	326	75				
Evans, Julius (Heirs-1897)	37	50		50		
Evans, Julius (Heirs-1897)	256	300	350	500	550	+200
Evans, Martha Jane	68	150		175		+25
Evans, Rodger/Roger	304	175		100		-75
Evans, William	583	75		75		
Everett, Lewis	229	200		200		
Everett, Richard	309	100		100		
Evans, Corneius	93	150		150		
Ellison, Alex*	56	25		25		
Evans, Annie/Annette	196	1900		1900		
Evans?, Roger*	304?	175?				
Farmer, D. T.?	252	700				
Farrow, Sandy* (Heirs-1897)	565	45				
Ferguson, Sallie (Heirs-1900)	536			125		
Flemming, Louisa^	222	400		400		
Fonville, Bryant (Heirs-1897)	93	300		300		
Fonville, Jane	42	75		75		
Forbes, Susan	253	300		300		
Foreman, Charles (Heirs-1900)	186	750		800		+50
Foreman, Charles (Heirs-1900)	199	150	900	400	1200	+250
Freehart/Freeland George	46	150		150		

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Freeman, Virgil A.	284	150		150		
Fisher, William*	136	150				
Gaither, Fannie	221	400				
Gaither, Fannie	224			550		
Gaither, Fannie	240			250	800	
Galley, James M. (Heirs-1897)	266	1000				
Galley, James M. (Heirs-1897)	279	800	1800			
Gary, Julia	252	200		350		+150
Gause, Carolina	242	200				
Gause, Clara	211	200		300		+100
Gause, Edward S.	327	150		150		
Gause, Edward S.	335	300	450	300	450	
Gause, George	222	400		400		
Gause, Gracie Ann	281	350				
Gause, Henry	337	175		?		
Gause, Henry J. or S.	240	200				
Gause, John (Heirs-1897)	282	250				
Gause, Judy (Heirs-1897)	199	200		300		+100
Geyser, John J.	45	600		250		-350
Geyser, Quelan Ann	32	100		100		
Gibson, Clara	241	400				
Gooden/Goodwin, Daniel	255	250		250		
Grainger, Lumem^	375	50				
Grainger, Lumen^	518			20		
Green, Carrie J.	94	50		75		+25
Green, E. D.	162	950		750		-200
Green, Eustice	196	400				
Green, Elijah M.	80	500		500		
Green, Elijah M.	81	200		200		
Green, Elijah M.	23	150	850	125	825	-25
Green, Henry & Josh	502	75		75		
Green, Henry & Josh	503	50		50		
Green, Henry & Josh	498	200		200		
Green, Henry & Josh	499	200	525	200	525	
Green, Henry & J. J. Jones	31	250		250		
Green, Henry & J. J. Jones	36	150	400	60	310	-90

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Green, H. C.	326	150		150		
Green, H. C.	243	500		250		-250
Green, H. C.	251	300				
Green, H. C.	337	100		300		+200
Green, H. C.	349	125	1175	150		+25
Green, H. C.	252			250		
Green, H. C.	325?			400		
Green, H. C.	337			150		
Green, H. C.	336			50		
Green, H. C.	265			450	2150	
Green, Joshua	281	300		325		+25
Green, Joshua	582	10	310	20	345	+10
Green, James P.	93	600		600		
Green, James W. Sr. (Heirs, J.W.-1900)	103	800		750		-50
Green, W. Howe	67	450				
Griffin, Lucy	327	150		100		-50
Gummer, Calvin	132	300		300		
Gurley, Alonzo	147	250		600		+350
Gause, Elizabeth*(Held by County)	46	50?		50?		
Gause, Lucette	267	250		250		
Grainger, Moses*^(Heirs-1897)	81	150		150		
Haggett, Grace	265	450		450		
Hall, Bella (Heirs-1897)	338	100		100		
Hall, Bertha (Heirs-1900)	188	300		300		
Hall, David	339	100		100		
Hall, James	200	350		350		
Hall, Lillie G.	224	450		600		+150
Hall, Mary Jane	23	100				
Hall, Mary Jane	23	43?	140?			
Hall, Plato	347	150		250		+100
Hall, Richard L. (Heirs-1900)	350	125		125		
Hall, Richard L. (Heirs-1900)	187	100	225	100	225	
Hall, Richard P. (Heirs-1897)	479	25		25		
Hall, Richard P. (Heirs-1897)	518	25		25		
Hall, Richard P. (Heirs-1897)	350	250	300	250	300	

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Hall, W. T.	106	200		200		
Halsey, Andrew	326	150		150		
Halsey, Ann Maria	222	300		300		
Halsey, Ann Maria	115	600	900	600	900	
Halsey, Chole	281	250		300		+50
Halsey, Susan	115	800		900		+100
Halsey, Laura	336	300		300		
Halsey, Maggie	327	40		25		-15
Halsey, Mary Ann^	83	150		75		-75
Halsey, Robert A. Jr.	326	150		150		
Hamilton, Chris H. (Heirs-1897)	198	550		600		+50
Hammond, Caroline	228	150		150		
Hankins, Abraham (Heirs-1900)	160	500		500		
Hankins, Hiram (Heirs-1897)	64	400				
Hankins, Josephine	255	250		300		+50
Hankins, J. C.	64	300		400		+100
Hankins, J. C.	106	600	900	600	1000	
Hardy/Hargrave, Alfred (Heirs-1900)	171	350		400		+50
Hardy/Hargrave, Alfred (Heirs-1900)	185	1000		750	1150	-250
Hardy/Hargrave, Alfred (Heirs-1900)	283	200	1550			
Hargrave, Hamilton	58	300		300		
Hargrave, John A.	198	600		700		+100
Harrington, Louis	31	1000		1000		
Harriss, Bristow (Heirs-1900)	45	150		150		
Harriss, Bristow (Heirs-1900)	74	300	450	300	450	
Harriss, Josephine^	88	175		250		-75
Harriss, Joseph W.	83	100		100		
Harriss, Lovick	257	300		200		-100
Harriss, L. H. (Held by County)	254	250				
Hawes, Archie	69	125		125		
Hawkins, Mrs. Sallie	46	50		50		
Hayes, Cornlieus	229	150		150		
Hayes, Tabitha	48	550		550		
Hayne, Cornelia A.	308	300		300		
Haywood, Sampson	82	100		100		
Haywood, Thomas	228	200		200		

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Hefflin, Millie	105	550		600		+50
Henderson, Hagar (Heirs-1897)	211	300		300		
Henderson, Jim & Brett	45	250				
Henry, Charity	48	250		250		
Henry, Charity	584	35		35		
Henry, Charity	32	350		350		
Henry, Charity	62	250	885	300	935	+50
Henry, Sarah	147	250		350		+100
Herring, George T.	583	50		75		+25
Hicks, Dolly	228	100		250		+150
Hicks, Eliza Jane	307	250		250		
Highsmith, Keziah (Heirs-1897)	254	500				
Hill, Allen H.	347	150		150		
Hill, Buck	565	100		150		+50
Hill, Cass	37	300		300		
Hill, Mrs. Carolina S.	228	150		150		
Hill, Edward	161	200		200		
Hill, Emanuel	255	300		300		
Hill, John F.	308	400		400		
Hill, John H. & wife	336	60				
Hill, John R. (Heirs-1900)	93	350		350		
Hill, Louis	3	400		400		
Hill, Mingo C. (Heirs-1897)	48	125		125		
Hill, Marshall H. (Wright, Agt for)	213	350		500		150
Hill, Penny	52	150				
Hill, Virgil (Heirs-1900)	175	500				
Hill, Virgil (Heirs-1900)	97?	50	550	50		
Hill, William H. (Heirs-1897)	93	600		600		
Holder, Duncan	226	350		350		
Holland, Beth (Heirs-1900)	174	300		300		
Hollingsworth, Louis (Heirs-1900)	234	800		900		+100
Hollingsworth, Louis (Heirs-1900)	306	700		950		+250
Hollingsworth, Louis (Heirs-1900)	265	500				
Hollingsworth, Louis (Heirs-1900)	263	1200	3200	900	2750	
Holloway, John	282	300		500		+200
Holloway, John	252	500	800	600	1100	+300

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Holmes, Alex	61	400		400		
Holmes, Francis C. (Wright, Agt for)	294	100		100		
Holmes, John H.^	294	250		250		
Holmes, R. F. (S.A.)	294	350		150		-200
Holmes, Sam	162	250		250		
Holmes, Sarah A.	293	350		300		-50
Hooper, Bejamin	23	50		25		-25
Hooper, George H.	267	250		250		
Hooper, George W.^	160	500		500		
Hooper, George W.^	91	250		300		+50
Hooper, George W.^	297	1100	1850	1100	1900	
Hooper, Rev. John	23	250		400		+150
Hooper, Johnson	118	500		550		+50
Hooper, Johnson	200	350		350		
Hooper, Johnson	160	1000		1000		
Hooper, Johnson	132	250	2100	250	2150	
Hooper, Julia	187	150		150		
Hooper, Julia	223	400	550	400	550	
Hooper, John H.	253	550		500		
Hooper, Richard	338	250		275		+25
Hooper, Rosanah	225	150		150		
Hooper, Thomas	325	650		200		-450
Hooper, Thomas (349;Held by County)	349			50	250	
Hostler, Margaret E.	195	2250		2750		+500
House, Sena (Wright, agt for)	81	200		250		+50
Howard, Andrew	19	150		100		-50
Howard, Annie	36	100		125		+25
Howard, Ben W.	255	100				
Howard, Ben W.	33	150	250	150		
Howard, Daniel	209	1500		1500		
Howard, Daniel	277	500		500		
Howard, Daniel	268	250		250		
Howard, Daniel	33	200		200		
Howard, Daniel	474	25	2475	25		
Howard, Daniel (Held by County)	200			250	2725	
Howard, Eliza	4	40		200		+160

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Howard, Elise	239	300		300		
Howard, Elizabeth	505	75				
Hankins, Jim* (Heirs-1897)	80	100				
Harriss, F*	160	300				
Hostler, Caroline*	83	900				
Hunt, Christine Ann*	255	250				
Hill, Willis & Nancy Wheeler*(Held by Co.)	240	150		150		
Isler, Sampson	324	400		400		
Isler, Sampson	323	150	550	150	550	
Jackson, Andrew	349	200		200		
Jackson, Allen	67	150		200		+50
Jackson, Allen	67?	100		125		+25
Jackson, Allen	23	40		50		
Jackson, Allen	69	125				
Jackson, Allen	269	350		350		
Jackson, Allen	42	100		100		
Jackson, Allen	224	350	1225	700	1525	+350
Jackson, Elizabeth (Heirs-1897)	209	700				
Jackson, John W.	326	125				
Jackson, Peter (Heirs-1900)	162	600		700		+100
Jackson, Rebecca	23	100		100		
Jackson, William Henry (Heirs-1900)	33	100		100		
Jarmon, J. T. (Heirs-1897)	325	150				
Jarvis, Emiline (Heirs-1900)	252	450		450		
Jarvis, Francis V.	489	125		125		
Jarvis, Francis V.	254			350	475	
Jarvis, Nathaniel (Heirs-1897)	254	350				
Jenkins, David (Heirs-1900)	269	150		200		+50
Jenkins, Emma	132	350		350		
Jenkins, Emma	69	200	550	200	550	
Jenkins, James C.	148	100		125		+25
Jenkins, Maria	199	200		200		
Jenkins/Jennings, Ben	304	175		100		-75
Johnson, Alex	38	125		125		
Johnson, Charles	97	100		100		

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Johnson, Charles	98			100	200	
Johnson, Hannah	148	150		150		
Johnson, Hannah A.	262	250		200		-50
Johnson, Jessie Marie	310	350		350		
Johnson, Louisa (Held by Co.)	148	125		150		+25
Johnson, Mary C.	225	200		200		
Jones, Abram	45	250		150		-100
Jones, Amanda	80	150		250		+100
Jones, Ben (Heirs-1897)	135	200		200		
Jones, Betsey	48	200		200		
Jones, David	198	425				
Jones, David R.	307	50		50		
Jones, Eliza#2	67	150		200		+50
Jones, Eliza	267	300				
Jones, Fred Jr.	92	275				
Jones, George	326	250		250		
Jones, Hardy	566	150		150		
Jones, Isabella	269	75		75		
Jones, John	34	100		125		+25
Jones, J. J	23	100		75		-25
Jones, J. J.	79	500	600	500	575	
Jones, John R.	58	150		150		
Jones, John R.	83	50	200	100	250	+50
Jones, John Stephen	174	900				
Jones, Joseph	254	400		400		
Jones, Lena	240	400		400		
Jones, Moses Jr.	148	50		50		
Jones, Mary J.	46	400		400		
Jones, Nixon	228	150		150		
Jones, Pallas	208	150		150		
Jones, Ruthy	226	400		400		
Joyner, Alice	69	100				
Joyner, Alice	65	300	400			
James, William	59	100				
Johnson, Wright	352	50				
Jones, Abram	294	600		600		

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Jones, Abram	277	250	850	250	850	
Jones, Albert	34	375				
Jones, Albert	60	350				
Jones, Albert	47	125				
Jones, Albert	31	200	1050			
Jones, Statira	397	300		300		
Jones, W. H.	45	100		40		-60
Jordan, Eliza (Held by County)	119	100		45		-55
Jury, Matilida	260/269	200		50		-150
Keel, Barbara	42	125		25		-100
Keith, Andrew	229	200		350		+150
Kelley, D. F. & Clara	281	400		400		
Kelley, Lana S.	337	150		150		
Kelley, Susan	45	350		350		
Kelley, Witt & Wm. H.	97	200		200		
Kellogg, Aaron	222	600		600		
Kellogg, Alex A.	293	1100		1100		
Kellogg, W. J.	324	500		500		
Kennedy, Lorenza D.	288/238	1000		1000		
Kennedy, Lorenza D.	250	50		50		
Kennedy, Lorenza D.	196	850	1900	1200	2250	+350
Kennedy, Sarah J.	250	500				
Key/Kea, Richard (Heirs-1897)	350	50		125		+75
King, Benjamin	351	75		75		
King, Mildred	224?	400		450		+50
Kornegay, Alfred	97	15		150		
Kelly/Kelley, Charles	271	150				
Lallister, Ann	198	200		200		
Lamb, Lizzie	336/326	150		150		
Lamb, Nancy (Heirs-1897)	40	150				
Lane, Adeline	229	125		125		
Lane, Elijah	264	700		400		-300
Lane, Elijah (agent0	101	500				
Lane, Emma	48	300		300		
Lane, Emma	34			450	750	
Lane, Isaac	267	200		350		-150

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Lane, James H.	221	1500		1500		
Lane, James H.	326	300	1800	300	1800	
Lane, John R. (Jr.)	34	400				
Lanier, Rhoda	68	150		150		
Larrington, Dianna (Heirs-1897)	102	800		800		
LeBoo, Eliza	105	150		250		+100
LeBoo, Lucy A. (Heirs-1897)	337	150		150		
LeBoo, Nancy	175	250				
LeBoo, Rachel M.	106	200		200		
Lee, Daniel	490	200		250		+50
Lee, Daniel	188	600				
Lee, Daniel	161	550	1350	400	650	-150
Lee, John	284	200				
Lee, Major	58/39	300		150		-150
LeGrand, Lucy	74	700		750		+50
Leftwich, Ida	296	125				
Leftwich, Ida	296	50				
Leftwich, Ida	296	100	275			
Leonard, Abraham	489	125				
Leonard, Elijah	36	150		60		-90
Leonard, George	119	300		300		
Leonard, Hays	64	200		350		+150
Leonard, Jacob	64	400		350		-50
Lewis, George Jr.	337	150		150		
Lewis, James	309	150		150		
Lewis, John (Heirs-1897)	56	25				
Lewis, John H. (Heirs-1897)	78	250		250		
Lewis, John H. (Heirs-1897)	280	350	600	350	600	
Lewis, James H.	160	300		300		
Lewis, Lydia A.	188	200				
Liggins, Augustus	132	200		250		+50
Lilly, Isaac & Martha	162	250		250		
Littleton, George T.	92	150				
Littleton, Susan Ann	95	300		300		
Littleton, Susan Ann	89	700	1000	750	1050	+50
Livington, Anthony	213	150		150		

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Livington, Annette R.^(Heirs-1897)	149	200		250		+50
Livington, Bernetta	269	150		150		
Livington, Harriet (Heirs-1897)	213	100		100		
Lloyd, Alfred	226	450		450		
Lloyd, Louisa	46	150		150		
Lloyd, Mike	294	600		300		-300
Lloyd, Robert (Heirs-1897)	261	800		800		
Loach, Jane D.	283	150				
Loftin, Mayo?/Major	486	350		700		+350
Loftin, McLain	482	500		500		
Loftin, Wright	327	200		200		
Loftin, W. H. (Heirs-1897)	92	800		800		
Lomax?, James H.	338	200				
Lomax?, James H.	37	150	350			
Love, Alex (Heirs-1897)	239/209	400		400		
Love, Louisa	307	400		250		-150
Love, Susan Ann	325	150		150		
Love, Susan Ann	352	50		50		
Love, Susan Ann	327	50	250	400	600	-350
Lowery, James^	249/224	1100		450		-650
Lucas, James H.	267	300		300		
Lucas, Matilda	188	350		350		
Larkins, Dolley	336	200		200		
Larrington, Simon	102	325				
Lewis, J. W.	163	150				
Loftin, Isaac	82/448	150		150		
Lord, John	536	50		150		+100
Mabson, Rosa	186	150				
Maddox, John E.	80	250		300		+50
Mallett, Alex William & Ann	237	1200		1200		
Mallett, Charles H.	237	200		250		+50
Mallett, Chares? R. (Heirs-1897)	205	1100		1200		+100
Mallett, Frankie	207/237	350		400		+50
Mallett, Marie (Heirs-1897)	94	350		350		
Mallett, Mary	237	400				
Mallet, W. P.	240	350		350		

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Martin, Harry	252	450		450		
Martin, James E.	347	200		200		
Martin, John R. (Heirs-1897)	307	250		300		-50
Martin, Polly Moore	147	200				
Mask, Dr. Thomas	92	1100		1400		-300
Mask, Dr. Thomas	89	750		750		
Mask, Dr. Thomas	224	200		600		
Mask, Dr. Thomas	91	300	2350	300		
Mask, Dr. Thomas	210			1100		
Mask, Dr. Thomas	105			750	4900	
Meares, Millie (Wright, agt for)	238	200		200		
Meeks, Martha ?	219/64	3500		450		-3050
Matthews, Owen	348	175		150		-25
Matthews, Owen	238			450	600	
May, Fennell? J.	137	50		250		+200
Mearse, Betsey	261	500		500		
Mearse, Joshua (Heirs-1897)	238	300		400		+100
Merrick, Abbie	93	500		500		
Merrick, Fred (Heirs-1897)	45	550		500		-50
Merrick, Harriet	149	150		200		+50
Merrick, Joseph	149	300		200		-100
Merrick, Margaret E.	252	250		250		
Merrick, Samuel	174	700		700		
Merrick, Sarah A.	48	250		250		
Merrick, Sarah A.	62	75	325	300	550	+225
Merrick, William (Heirs-1897)	279	900		900		
Merrick, William H.	119	300		300		
Miller, Caroline	132	400				
Miller, Charles/Charlie H.	239	250				
Miller, Mrs. Eliza J. (O'Connor)	212	350		350		
Miller, Mary J.	347	250		250		
Miller, Thomas	74	400		400		
Miller, Thomas	327	50		75		+25
Miller, Thomas	81	75		100		+25
Miller, Thomas	83	100		150		+50
Miller, Thomas	208	150		500		+350

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Miller, Thomas	97	50		20?		-30
Miller, Thomas	296	200		500		+300
Miller, Thomas	327	50				
Miller, Thomas	238	600		500		-100
Miller, Thomas	119	150		150		
Miller, Thomas	163	500				
Miller, Thomas	211	50				
Miller, Thomas	211	300		350		+50
Miller, Thomas	326	50		50		
Miller, Thomas	309	350		350		
Miller, Thomas	229	150	3225	125		-25
Miller, Thomas	326			125		
Miller, Thomas	224			2000		
Miller, Thomas	540			25		
Miller, Thomas	39			40		
Miller, Thomas	34			60	5550	
Milton, Noble	267	250		500		+250
Milton, Noble	238			400	900	
Mitchell, John W.	80	225		500		+275
Mitchell, Joseph	118	700		700		
Mitchell, Lucy (Heirs-1897)	294	450		450		
Mitchell, Lilly?	240	250				
Mitchell, William Henry	252	450		350		-100
Moody, James W.	226	1800		1800		
Moore, Anna M.	240	350				
Moore, J. & wife	61	200				
Moore, James	239	350		350		
Moore, James H.	174	250		250		
Moore, John W.	79	600		700		+100
Moore, John W.	76			250	950	
Moore, Laura	350	100				
Moore, Margaret Ann	296	150		100		-50
Moore, Polly (Heirs-1900)	175	300		300		
Moore, Rebecca (Held by County)	255	250				
Moore, Robert	239	350		250		-100
Moore, Robert	269			50	300	

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Moore, Rose & Lincoln	137	200		200		
Moore, Sophia	76			200		
Moore, Thomas T (Heirs-1897)	269	400		400		
Moore, William H.	267	250		250		
Moore, Dr. William H.	188	125		125		
Moore, Dr. William H.	277			250	375	
Morris, Ritta	119	400		400		
Moseley, Abram	482	400		400		
Mosley, Adeline	224	400				
Moseley, Fred	325	150		150		
Moseley, George	237	600		600		
George Moseley Jr.	314	50	650	50	650	
Moseley, July (Heirs-1897)	229	125		125		
Moseley, Lucinda	349	50				
Moseley, Susan E.	268	300		300		
Moseley, Washington	297	200		200		
Moseley, William (Heirs-1897)	280	500		500		
Muldrow, A. (Heirs-1897)	80	250		250		
Mumford, Henry	149	350		400		+50
Murphy, William	348	200		300		+100
Murray, George W.	282	250		250		
Murray/Murphy, John (Heirs-1897)	486	350		400		+50
Murray, Julius A.	101	400		500		+100
Myers, Henry	294	300		300		
Merrick, Jessie (Heirs-1897)	566	25				
Merrick, Maria (Heirs-1897)	205	750				
Merrick, Sam (Heirs)	213	250				
Mitchell, Lizzie	162	200				
Moore, Polly A.	223	400				
Moore, Simon	161	400				
Moseley, Alice M. & Nelson	308	50				
Moseley, P. J.	522	50		25		-25
Moseley, Walter	349	50				
Morgan, Abram (Heirs-1897)	187	150				
McColough, Jack Smith	537	225		250		+25
McCulloch, Emma	241	250		250		

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
McCullock, Sarah	348	200		200		
McDonald, Rebecca	76	350		350		
McDonald, Rebecca	89			800		
McDonald, Rebecca	32			350		
McDonald, Rebecca	75			1000	2500	
McDonald, Reuben	308	250		250		
McDuffie, J. N.	96	300		350		+50
McFarland, Joseph	66	300		450		+150
McFarland, Joseph	22	150		125	575	-25
McFarland, Joseph	24	350	800			
McFarland, John (Heirs-1897)	95?	500				
McFarland, Morris	337	50		50		
McFarland, Morris	337			200	250	
McFarland, Simon	336	200		350		+150
McGuire, Elsie	268	400		400		
McGuire, Silas	348	175		175		
McIntire, William	82	150		150		
McKeller, Catherine (Heirs-1897)	222	400		400		
McKenzie, Thomas A.	118	350		350		
McKinney, Thomas E.	119	350		350		
McKoy, Catherine	338	150		100		50
McKoy, Frank	348	600		600		
McKoy, Henry	80	350		350		
McKoy, Martha	106	525		300		-225
McKoy, Robert (Heirs-1900)	149	100		150		
McKoy, Simon	347	350		300		-50
McMillian, Patience	59	250				
McNeil, Henrietta (Heirs-1897)	148	100		100		
McNeil, Adeline (Heirs-1900)	147	200		200		
McNeil, H. C. (Trustee)	523/70	20		50		+30
McNeil, James	282	350		350		
McNeil, Susan D.	205	750		650		-100
McQueen, Enoch	58	150		150		
McRae, C. H. or A. H	297	250				
Nash, Kate J.	239	500				
Nash, W. H.	210	1100				

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Neal, John	537	150		120		-30
Neil, John W.	255	250		250		
Nelson, Stephen	262	1100		650		-450
Newkirk, Thomas	252	650		500		-150
Nichols, Mary	63	250		150		-100
Nixon, George E.	42	125		50		-75
Nixon, George E.	53	50	175	50	100	
Nixon, Jane	282	250		250		
Nixon, Jane	326	250				
Nixon, Jane	339	250	750	350	600	+100
Nixon, John D.	309	300		300		
Nixon, Mary Jane	222	2500				
Nixon, Prince (Heirs-1897)	479/179?	50		50		
Nixon, Prince (Heirs-1897)	56	50	100	50	100	
Nixon, Rosa	338	250		250		
Norwood, Mrs. Fannie S.	519	40		40		
Norwood, Mrs. Fannie S.	205	1500	1540	1500	1540	
Norwood, Margaret (Heirs-1897)	103	400		450		+50
Norwood, John G.	51	250		250		
Norwood, John G.	518	100		100		
Norwood, John G.	48	300		300		
Norwood, John G.	82	1200		1300		+100
Norwood, John G.	83	600		600		
Norwood, John G.	84	225		225	2775	
Norwood, John G.	103	100	2775			
Noyes, Henry	326	250		250		
Noyes, Robert	309	250		250		
Nash, Henry	326	100				
Neil, Edward	347	500				
Norment, Josephine	294	100		100		
O'Connor, Sam & Daniel	62	200				
Onslow, Rev. Jacob	213	400				
Cutlar, J. K. (Dan O'Connor [White], Agt for)	45	250				
Dixon, Matilda (Dan O'Connor, Agt for)	106	300				
Debross, Mary (Dan O'Connor, Agt for)	59	50				

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Evans, W. P.? (Dan O'Connor, Agt for)	264	700				
Evans, W. P.? (Dan O'Connor, Agt for)	196	500	1200			
Franks, Julius (Dan O'Connor, Agt for)	225	300				
Hawley, Bathseba (Dan O'Connor, Agt for)	263	2000				
Howard, Isham (Dan O'Connor, Agt for)	22	100				
Howard, Isham (Heirs-1897; Dan O'Connor, Agt for)	36	100				
Hutchings, J. S. S. (Dan O'Connor, Agt for)	207	300				
Hurlbert, E. (Dan O'Connor, Agt for)	79	300		600		+300
Kellogg, William H. (Dan O'Connor, Agt for)	281	250				
Nixon, Bertha (Dan O'Connor, Agt for)	175	600		600		
Price, W. K. & wife (Dan O'Connor, Agt for)	117	700		700		
Sanders, D. J. (Dan O'Connor, Agt for)	184	1600				
Sanders, D. J. (Dan O'Connor, Agt for)	118	700	2300			
Ripley, William (Dan O'Connor, Agt for)	81	200				
Patrick, Ellis	325	250		375		+125
Payne, Louis A.	212	500		500		
Payne, Lisbon	238 1/2	100				
Payne, Thomas (Heirs-1897)	281	500		500		
Pearsall, Isaac	238	300				
Pearsall, Mildred	350	100		100		
Perkins, Anna	74	300		300		
Peterson, L. H.	187	275		450		+175
Phillips, Lizzie	326	150		150		
Philpot, William	212	350		350		
Pickens, R. B. & wife	119	350				
Pickett, Lucinda	69	50		50		
Pierce, Andrew	62	200		350		+150
Pierce, John (Heirs-1897)	310	150				
Poe, Wesley	162	1000		1000		
Polite, Abram H.	536	175		175		
Powell, David (Heirs-1897)	228	50		100		
Price, James Henry	56	25		25		
Price, James Henry	240	300	325	300	325	

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Price, James Henry Jr.	240	300		300		
Price, Fannie A. Sadgwer	280	1750				
Price, William E.	475	25		25		
Price, Wm. H. (Heirs-1897)	240	300		350		+50
Pridgen, John	104	200				
Purdie, Georgie A.	69	250		250		
Purdie, Georgie A.	106	100	350	100	350	
Purman, George	278	350				
Purman, George	337	200				
Purman, George	339	250				
Purman, George (pearman?)	263	600				
Purman, George	263	600	2000			
Purnell, William	68	100				
Phinney, William (Heirs-1897)	200	125				
Phinney, William (Heirs-1897)	339	100	225			
Pulman, Priscilla	188	75				
Quick, Isham	213	300		150		-150
Quick, Isham	311	500	800	600	750	+100
Quick, William	211	300		300		
Quince, Edward	309	150				
Quince, Keziah	188	300		300		
Quince, Richard	337	450		450		
Quince, Thomas	336	250		250		
Quinn, Abner	237	200				
Quince, Henrietta (Heirs-1897)	175	300				
Randall, Rosanna (Heirs-1900)	351	75		50		-25
Ratcliff, Joseph/John	279	300		300		
Reaves, Louisa	238	250		700		+450
Reaves, Nathan	296	250		275		+25
Reddy, Harry	59	300		300		
Reed, Samuel	148	125				
Reed, Eliza	222	500		500		
Reed, Eliza	265	600				
Reed, Eliza	222	75	1175			
Reed, Julia P.	94	250		250		
Reed, Laura	148	500				

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Reed/Reid, Samuel (Heirs-1897)	265	600		700		+100
Reed/Reid, Samuel (Heirs-1897)	69	400	1000	300	1000	-100
Reid/Reed, Isabella	352/350	150		75		-75
Rhone/Rone, Ben	208	250		250		
Rhone/Rone, Ben	284	100	350	100	350	
Rhone, Edward	223	300		300		
Richardson, Caleb (Heirs-1897)	304	600		600		
Richardson, Caleb (Heirs-1897)	351	200	800	100	700	-100
Richardson, Julia B.	309	250		250		
Richardson, James E. (Heirs-1897)	132	450		450		
Richardson, Margaret E.	326	600		600		
Ricks, Joseph	134	500		300		-200
Riles, Chole	119	150		150		
Rivera, Thomas Jr.	222	1100		1100		
Rivera, Thomas Jr.	277	200		150		-50
Rivera, Thomas Jr.	307	400				
Rivera, Thomas Jr.	238	400		800		+400
Rivera, Thomas Jr.	238	400				
Rivera, Thomas Jr.	269	350	2850	350	2400	
Roberts, Cumber (Heirs-1897)	137	50		50		
Roberts, Daniel (Heirs-1897)	175	175		400		+225
Roberts, Gilbert (Heirs-1900)	118	300		350		+50
Roberts, John D.	148	150		250		+100
Robertson/Robinson, Annie	36	150		150		
Robertson, Agnes J. (Heirs-1897)	39	475		100		-375
Robertson, Agnes J. (Heirs-1897)	40	50				
Robertson, Agnes J. (Heirs-1897)	81	200		200	300	
Robertson, Agnes J. (Heirs-1897)	149	200	975			
Robertson/Robeson, Joseph	309	500		500		
Robinson, George	82	200				
Robinson, Hagen (Heirs-1897)	211	350				
Robinson, Henry (Heirs-1897)	200	75		100		+25
Robinson, Katie	162	400				
Robinson, George	82	?		?		
Robinson, Robert	147	300				
Roderick, Rachel	296	150		150		

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Ross, Patsey	325	150		150		
Roundtree, Dennis	336	150		350		+200
Roundtree, Dennis	337			125	475	
Roundtree, Margaret C.	337	125				
Royal Sons of America	81	100		150		+50
Rowell, Luella	146	200		250		+50
Royal, Fannie	278	200				
Royal, Milton	149	225		300		+75
Rush, Samuel E.	350	150		150		
Russ, Hannah/Harriet (Heirs-1897)	59	200		250		+50
Russ, Marvina/Marie	327	150		150		
Russ, Nelson (Heirs-1897)	349	200		150		-50
Ryan, Allen (Heirs-1897)	490	100		200		+100
Richardson, Hester	308	225				
Roberts, Eliza	3	125				
Roberts, Lucy	351	75				
Russell, Sarah Jan	237	500				
Sadgwar, Carolina/Caroline	171	600		600		
Sampson, Cornelius (Heirs-1897)	237	350		1050		+700
Sampson, Cornelius (Heirs-1897)	237	400	750			
Sampson, Hannah	119	200		250		+50
Sampson, Isabella	207	1000		1100		+100
Sampson, Joseph D.	91	400				
Sampson, J. E.	209	1200				
Sampson, J. E.	238	300				
Sampson, J. E.	252	250				
Sampson, J. E.	238	350	2100			
Sampson, Mary Ann	212	150				
Sampson, Martha (Heirs-1897)	207	500				
Sanders, Florence	337	150				
Sanders, Hampton	58	600		600		
Sanders, Louis/Louisa	308	150		200		+50
Sanders, Mary J.	337	150				
Satterwhaite, Mary (Heirs-1897)	46	100		100		
Sauls, Scipio (Heirs-1897)	265	450				
Scopless, Marth? A.	308	300		300		

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Scott, Jacob	253	400		400		
Scott, Mrs. Jennie A.	224	350				
Scott, Margaret A.	208	600		800		+200
Scott, Margaret A.	222	1000	1600	1000	1800	
Sellers, Joseph	134	250		250		
Sharp, Joseph S.	161	400		400		
Shaw, Carolina & John Walker	351	75				
Shaw, W. H.	68	1500				
Shaw, W. H.	38	250	1750			
Shellington, Clara	19	75		75		
Shepard, Davis	40	125		125		
Shepard, Mitchell (Heirs-1897)	38	100		125		+25
Sheridan, Rachel	106	250		250		
Sheridan, W. P.	80	150		350		+200
Shipman/Shiver, Caroline	119	250		250		
Shober, J. F. (Heirs-1897)	184	1800		1800		
Shober, J. F. (Heirs-1897)	297	75	1875	600		+525
Shober, J. F. (Heirs-1897)	238			300		
Shober, J. F. (Heirs-1897)	185			450	3150	
Shylock, Ben?	80	250				
Sidbury, Walter	326	150		150		
Simmons, Allen (Heirs-1897)	59	400		500		+100
Simmons, Alonzo	162	550				
Simmons, Anne	36	125		150		+25
Simmons, Francis	162	500		500		
Simmons, Robert	34	100		350		+250
Simmons, Sarah	327	200		50		-150
Simmons, Susan	254/262	350		200		-150
Simmons, William	37	100		100		
Simms, Rev. L. B.	238	400		450		+50
Sloan, Joshua M.	310	200		250		+50
Sloan, Joshua M.	309	200	400	200	450	
Smith, Daniel M.	281	600		750		+150
Smith, Edward	238	350		350		
Smith, Lucy (Heirs-1897)	326	200				
Smith, Maria (Heirs-1897)	278	250		200		-50

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Smith, Daughers Mathew	56	150				
Smith, Nancy	4	100		125		+25
Smith, Phillis (Heirs-1897)	222	300		300		
Smith, Presley C.	229	225		225		
Smith, Peter J.	88	900		1100		+200
Smith, Sophie (Wright, Agt for)	225	350		350		
Smith, Susy (Heirs-1897)	242	150		200		+50
Smith, Thomas A.	284	150		150		
Smith, Thomas A.	271	600	750	600		
Smith, Thomas A.	238			250		
Smith, Thomas A.	237			1000	2000	
Smithland/Southerland, Louis & wife, Delia	360	250		250		
Sneed, Decatur	296	550		550		
Spencer, Lucy (Held by County)	623	25		25		
Spicer, Martha	39	300		300		
Spicer, Thomas	39	125		150		+25
Spicer, W. H.	267	200				
Stancil, Willilam	282	400				
Sprigg, Malinda	30	300		300		
Stanford, Margaret	255	300		300		
Stanley/Starkey, Francis	105	150		350		+200
Stanley, Wright	33	100		300		+200
Stanley/Starkey, James (Heirs-1897)	81	150		150		
Stanley/Starkey, Thomas (Heirs-1897)	105	250		350		+100
Sterling, Matilda	105	150		150		
Sterling, Sam	252	400		450		+50
Stevenson, Miss Mary C.	228	600		600		
Steward, Jane	118/188	350		350		
Stokes, Lavinia	3	100		100		
Strudwick, Mary Jane	46	250		250		
Suggs, Jane	256	250		250		
Sullivan, Abbie	294	350		350		
Summers, Lawrence & Charity	134	150				
Swann, Louisa/L. C.	485	1000		1000		
Sweat, Isham	254	400				

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Sweat, Robert	266	760		750		-10
Sweat, Tena (Heirs-1897)	48	150		150		
Scott, Beverly	309	250				
Simmons/Simms, Alonzo	134	100				
Simmons, Nathaniel	187	350				
Simmons, Susan	262	250				
Spells, Rev. Joseph	348/349	50		150		+100
Smith, Samuel	281	250				
Sharpless, S. S.	554	500				
Sluby, J. T.*	269	150				
Smith, Joseph T.	82	100				
Sutherland, May(Held by County)	69	150				
Stanford, Geo. W.	351	25		40		+15
Stanford, Geo W	540			75	115	
Seller, J. F.	17	75				
Strickland, R. J. (Heirs-1897)	269	300				
Taylor, Amy (Heirs-1897)	349	175				
Taylor, Bolivar	59	600				
Taylor, Eliza G.	238	800		800		
Taylor, Eliza G.	106	350		600		+250
Taylor, Eliza G.	209	700	1850	750		+50
Taylor, Eliza G.	119			300		
Taylor, Eliza G.	224			700		
Taylor, Eliza G.	296			200	3350	
Taylor, Henry	213	350		450		+100
Taylor, Henry (Heirs-1897)	238	2300				
Taylor, Henry (Heirs-1897)	185	1200	3500			
Taylor, John	222	600		500		-100
Telfair, John & Alice	326	150		150		
Telfair, Jane	326	150				
Telfair, Rev. James W.	223	600		600		
Telfair, Rev. James W.	96	150	750	150	750	
Taylor, Lucy Ann	296	200		150		-50
Taylor, Rosa	349	175		175		
Thomas, Daniel L.	566	125		100		-25
Thomas, Elizabeth H.	254	600		750		+150

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Thomas/Thompson, Jacob	339	275		250		-25
Thomas, John (Heirs-1897)	325	350		350		
Thomas, Nancy	359	125				
Thurber?, W. H. (Heirs-1897)	51	600		650		+50
Toomer, Celia	254	600		600		
Toomer, Cupid	327	450		450		
Toomer, Martha J.	188	150		150		
Toomer, Nancy M.	266	750				
Toomer, Nancy M.	255	100				
Toomer, Nancy M.	254	500	1350			
Torrence, Amelia	336	125		125		
Troy, Janie	89	350		700		+350
Tucker, Susan Ann	225	150		175		+25
Turner, Henry	254	1000				
Turner, John H.	134	300		300		
Turner, Watson (Heirs-1897)	349	150		100		-50
Turner, Pompey	359/357	125		150		+25
Tatnall, Ed	119	120		150		+30
Thomas, Jane	326	150				
Thurston, Margaret (Heirs-1897)	89	400				
Turner, John (Heirs-1897; Margaret; held by County)	338	200				
Tucker, Josh	229	400		400		
Tucker, Josh	258/256	200	600	450	850	+250
Union Aid Association	82	100				
Van der Horst, Edward	269	300		200		-100
Waddell, Ann	294	250		250		
Waddell, Cato	584/384	50		50		
Waddell, Cato	284			200		
Waddell, Cato	80			75	325	
Waddell, Hannah	4	100		100		
Waddell, Lucy Ann (Heirs-1897)	255	200		300		+100
Waddell, Rosanna	74	400		400		
Waddell, William (Heirs-1897)	284	1200		1200		
Waddell, William (Heirs-1897)	336	75		75		
Waddell, William (Heirs-1897)	348	150		125		-25

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Waddell, William (Heirs-1897)	269	200	1625	200	1600	
Wade, Delia	80/82	125		75		-50
Wade, Louis/Maggie	60	350		350		
Wade, Louis/Maggie	58	350	700	350	700	
Wade, Marion (Heirs-1897)	80	125		250		+125
Walker, Altmore/Altmous?	74	400		400		
Walker, Andrew J.	309	250		250		
Walker, Andrew J.	323	900		1200		+300
Walker, Andrew J.	336	250		250		
Walker, Andrew J.	326	25		50		+25
Walker, Andrew J.	326/324	25	1450	300		+275
Walker, Andrew J.	291			50	2100	
Walker, Ellen	105	650		650		
Walker, Ellen	105	200	850	200	850	
Walker, Harriet	199	300		300		
Walker, Henry (Heirs-1897)	240	250		300		+50
Walker, James A.	56	25		25		
Walker, James A.	308	350	375	350	375	
Walker, M. E.	73	400				
Walker, Maggie	267	300		450		+150
Walker, Margaret Ann	337	175		175		
Walker, Sallie	304	250		250		
Walker, Sarah E.	51	250				
Ward, Francis	46	100		100		
Ward, Murphy	228	200		200		
Ward, William (Heirs-1897)	82	100				
Washington, Phoebe	255	250		300		+50
Washington, Simon	40	150				
Washington, Thomas	32	125		200		+75
Watkin, Clio	161	200				
Watson, Isabelle	349	150		150		
Watters, Marcus/David	326	150		200		+50
Webber, John	267	350		350		
Webster, Daniel	224	400		550		+150
Wedge, Carollina (Wright, Agt for)	309	250		250		
Weston, Reuben	336	250		250		

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Wheldon, William L.	135	150		200		+50
White, Melvina E.	277	250		100		-150
White, Robert F.	255	200		300		+100
White, Robert H.	255	200		300		+100
White, Thomas	240	400				
Whitehead, Henry J.	241	1600		1300		-300
Whitehead, John H.	522	25		25		
Whitehead, John H.	196	1000				
Whitehead, John H.	151	1000	2000			
Whitehead, John H.	224			1000		
Whitehead, John H. Jr.	146	500				
Wiggins, Hannah	45	200		200		
Wilkins, Rebecca	488	350		350		
Williams, Augusta (Heirs-1897)	269	600		600		
Williams, Catherine	160	150				
Williams, Charles	22	50		30		-20
Williams, Daniels (Heirs-1897)	339	400		300		-100
Williams, David	93	450		450		
Williams, David	161	900	1350	900	1350	
Williams, Edward	255	200		250		+50
Williams, Hester A.	132	200		250		+50
William, Jane	147	300		300		
Williams, Kate	252	300		400		+100
Williams, Leah (Heirs-1900)	351	75		50		-25
Wiliams Mary & Lilly G. Hill	78	200		200		
Williams, S. Peter	175	500		500		
Wiliams, Richard & Maggie	198	350		400		+50
Williams, Rosetta	82	50		100		+50
Williams, R. McN.	314	25		25		
Williams, R. McN.	254	400	425	500	525	+100
Williams, Stephen	137	200				
Willis, Godfry Jr.	60	400		400		
Willis, Godfry Sr.	60	250		350		+100
Willis, Joseph H. (Heirs-1897)	106	1000		1200		+200
Willis, William	146	150		200		+50
Williston, Fred/Douglass	23	25		25		

Tax List						
Name	Block	1897 Value	1897 Total	1900 Value	1900 Total	Change
Williston, Frank P.	23	40		25		-15
Williston, Frank P.	50	200	240	200	225	
Wimbish, R. H. (Heirs-1897)	282	250		250		
Winfield, Mrs. Ferdinand/Enoch	65	200		200		
Winfield, Ferdinand	212	150		150		
Wise, Jeffery/Caroline	325	150		200		+50
Wood, Jacob T.	137	150		200		+50
Workham, Perry/Worthham, Benj (J. P. Wright, Agt for)	96	300		300		
Wright, Buck C.	256	500		750		+250
Wright, Buck C.	348	200		200		
Wright, Buck C.	255	1150	1850	1150		
Wright, Buck C.	76			200	2300	
Wright, Harriet & M. E. Davis	32	100		125		+25
Wright, John	256	650		850		+200
Wright, Mrs. Lottie A.	80	250		250		
Wright, Titus (Heirs-1897)	327	500		500		
Walker, Hotisa?	281	350				
Ward, Miss Comfort	225	150				
Watters, Marian (Heirs-1897;held by County))	307	100		100?		
White, Albert or Alfred	291	350				
White, Dolly	586	20				
Williams, Hulda	339	100				
Williams, Peter	256	200				
Wilson, Martha	145	60				
Wright, Nathan	347	100		350		+250
Walker, Charles E.	31	300				
White, Anthony	349	40				
Wilson, Henry	338	50				
Yarborough, Annie	88	250		350		+100
Zimmerman, William	291	200				

Wealthiest African American Taxpayers, 1897 and 1900
(Property valued at $2000 or more)

1897 = 13
1900 = 14

1897

Name	**Aggregate Value of Property**
Mrs. Francis Brown	$4200
Henry Taylor	3500
T. C. Miller	3225
Louis Hollingsworth	3200
Thomas Rivera	2850
John G. Norwood	2775
Daniel Howard	2475
Thomas Mask	2350
D.J. Sanders	2300
Johnson Hooper	2100
J. E. Sampson	2100
John H. Whitehead	2000
George Purman	2000

1900

Name	**Aggregate Value of Property**
T. C. Miller	$5550
Thomas Mask	4900
Eliza Taylor	3350
J. F. Shober	3150
John G. Norwood	2775
Louis Hollingsworth	2750
Rebecca McDonald	2500
Thomas Rivera	2400
Buck Wright	2300
Lorenzo Kennedy	2250
Johnson Hooper	2150
H. C. Green	2150
Andrew Walker	2100
Thomas Smith	2000

APPENDIX E

WILMINGTON SCHOOLS

Education for Wilmington African Americans

Prior to 1898, Wilmington's African American community had benefited from a progressive educational system. Not only were there publicly supported schools available to blacks in various sections of the city, but there were also several highly respected privately funded schools. The first concerted efforts to establish schools for blacks were those initiated at the end of the Civil War by the Freedmen's Bureau. Following on the heels of the Freedmen's Bureau schools were those established by other northern benevolent interests such as the American Missionary Association (AMA). The Freedmen's Bureau sought to turn operation of schools over to local interests and that was done about 1870 with funding provided by philanthropists. Such schools became the core of the city's school system. Although African American schools continuously experienced low financial support from the city and county both before and after the 1898 coup and violence, the change over time, from 1898 until into the 20th century, was one of continuous reduction in public financial support for the city's African American schools.

One of the leading schools was the Peabody School, named for benefactor George Peabody. Opened soon after the Civil War by northern interests, Peabody was located in Brooklyn and was operated with the assistance of local African American leaders. By October, 1898, Peabody boasted 454 students. In that year it was leased to the city for 25 years for the education of black students in its district. [1] After the turn of the century, the school continued to benefit from the benevolence of the fund created by George Peabody despite cuts to its overall budget by the city. In 1914, the Wilmington Colored Institute, the nonprofit body of African American leaders which managed the school fund, offered to donate the school building to the New Hanover County Board of Education provided that the county construct a new brick building to replace the older wooden structure. The Board refused the donation, indicating that "any public funds at their discretion" would be spent on Williston across town. Three years later it was reported that the school had been repaired and painted and facilities upgraded to benefit the students. Again, in 1919, the school was offered to the county school system. At that time, the deal was consummated and the property turned over to the county and a new school building constructed. [2] The school became a source of pride for the community and black leaders regularly pressed the Board of Education for improvements to the school facilities.[3]

Williston Graded School was another school that had lasting impact on the city. Managed by the American Missionary Association after the Civil War, Williston was

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[1] Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*, 148.
[2] Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*, 149.
[3] Peabody closed in 1985 after the construction of a new school nearby. The building is currently adapted for other uses, including serving as headquarters for a Head Start Program. Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*, 151.

sold to the city in 1873, making it the first African American school in the city's system, one bound to emerge as a leading institution for black students. The school suffered several fires over its lifetime, including three arson attempts in 1897. As an example of the school's importance to the community, its commencement exercises for 1902 were held in Thalian Hall. The school benefited from professional staff and excellent teachers and throughout the first decades of the 20th century, the city dedicated funds regularly to improvements to the school's facilities. The school thrived and, in 1914, a new school was constructed as the Williston Primary and Industrial School, one which served elementary students as well as older students offering classes on agriculture, science, and building trades. New facilities were built subsequent to the 1914 building and the school prospered as a site for improved educational opportunities for black students throughout the South. The school closed amid controversy in the 1970's only to be reopened later as an integrated school.[4]

Another prominent school for African Americans in Wilmington was Gregory Institute. Gregory also was sponsored by the American Missionary Association after the Civil War. It emerged as the single school to which the AMA dedicated the bulk of its funds locally over the years. After Williston was sold to the city in 1873, the AMA continued its work at what would become Gregory Institute. During the 1870's the school was funded entirely by the AMA and averaged around 100 students who paid a monthly tuition of one dollar. By the 1880's the school had grown to 200 students and a new building was constructed near the new Congregational Church. The school was named in honor of benefactor J. J. Howard Gregory who donated funds for construction and teacher salaries. The AMA maintained its connection to the school and sought to staff the school with bright, young teachers from northern cities. Since the school was privately owned and operated, it continued to prosper whereas the public schools were forced to occupy dilapidated buildings and provide lower pay to teachers. The school sought to produce teachers for other schools or to prepare its students for collegiate study elsewhere and became known as Gregory Normal School. Despite appeals by local leaders and others from throughout the country, the school closed in 1921. At that time, there were as many as 2,500 black school-age children in the county but only 800 were served by the school district.[5]

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[4] Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle,* 155-164; Timothy B. Tyson, *Blood Done Sign My Name* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2004), 257; John L. Godwin, *Black Wilmington and the North Carolina Way: Portrait of a Community in the Era of Civil Rights Protest* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2000) 225, 236.

[5] Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*, 164 -169.

Wilmington Educational System
(Districts Divided by Race)
Districts 1 and 2 for both races fell under title "Wilmington Public Schools" in 1897-1903 City Directories

White Districts
1 Hemenway (5th Near Chestnut)
Hemenway Annex (4th Brooklyn)
2 Union School (Corner of 6th & Ann)
Union Annex (5th Corn Nun)
3
4 Masonboro

Black Districts
1 Peabody (6th bet. Red Cross and Campbell)
2 Williston (7th bet. Ann and Nun)

3
4 Masonboro

Information on teachers, pay, and other details from Minutes of the County Commissioners, 1897 – 1903; Wilmington City Directory, 1897, 1900, 1905; New Hanover County Miscellaneous Records, School Vouchers; North Carolina Department of Public Instruction Records, Special Staff Services, Treasurer's and Superintendent's Reports, 1897-1903.

November 1898 White

District Number	Teachers Per District	Average Pay	Total Expenses
1	17	33.52	785.20
2	16	40.16	930.83
3	1	35.00	35.00
4	-	-	9.00
5	2	35.00	71.45
6	1	35.00	70.00
7	-	-	-
8	-	-	-
9	-	-	-
10	1	30.00	30.00
11	1	35.00	38.44
Totals		34.81	246.24

For Wilmington City Only: Average Pay was 36.84 per teacher and $858.02 per school

November 1898 Black

District #	Teachers Per District	Average Pay	Total Expenses
1	10	34.00	564.31
2	11	37.27	482.00
3	-	-	-
4	1	30.00	33.15
5	-	-	2.95
6	1	25.00	60.00
7	-	-	3.00
8	-	35.00	35.00
9	-	30.00	30.00
10	-	-	-
11	2	35.00	70.00
Totals		32.32	142.27

Average for Wilmington City Schools was 35.64 per teacher and $523.16 per school

White Districts, January 1899

District #	Teachers Per District	Average Pay	Total Expenses
1	16	40.13	824.61
2	17	40.29	319.00
3	1	35.00	70.00
4	1	40.00	40.00
5	2	35.00	82.00
6	1	35.00	35.00
7	1	35.00	70.00
8	1	25.00	33.00
9	-	-	-
10	1	35.00	45.35
11	3	35.00	140.00
Total		35.54	165.90

Average for Wilmington City was $40.21 per teacher and 571.81 per school

Black Districts, January 1899

District #	Teachers Per District	Average Pay	Total Expenses
1	11	33.64	465.13
2	11	38.18	438.53
3	-	-	-
4	2	30.00	67.20
5	3	35.00	113.00
6	2	30.00	60.00
7	1	35.00	35.00
8	1	35.00	35.00
9	1	30.00	30.00
10	1	35.00	35.00
11	-	-	-
Total		33.54	127.89

Average for Wilmington City was $35.91 per teacher and $451.83 per school

White Districts November 1899

District #	Teachers Per District	Average Pay	Total Expenses
1	17	37.65	784.45
2	15	42.00	1033.70
3	1	35.00	82.25
4	1	35.00	57.51
5	2	35.00	70.00
6	2	35.00	70.00
7	1	35.00	35.00
8	-	-	-
9	-	-	-
10	1	35.00	61.20
11	-	-	.74
12	-	-	-
13	1	35.00	76.86
14	1	35.00	37.90
Total		35.97 avg. per teacher	209.96 avg. per school

Average for Wilmington City was $39.83 per teacher and $909.08 per school

Black Districts November 1899

District #	Teachers Per District	Average Pay	Total Expenses
1	10	30.50	358.50
2	10	35.00	474.50
3	-	-	-
4	1	30.00	66.70
5	1	30.00	30.00
6	1	30.00	30.00
7	-	-	10.00
8	1	30.00	30.00
9	1	25.00	25.00
10	-	-	9.25
11	-	-	2.26
12	1	30.00	67.79
13	1	30.00	55.44
14	1	30.00	51.50
Total		30.05 avg. per teacher	93.15 avg. per school

Average for Wilmington City was $32.75 per teacher and $416.50 per school

White Expenses by School District, January 1903 (Teachers not itemized)

District #	# Teachers	Average Pay	Total Expenses
1			1362.52
2			1871.99
3			46.90
4			46.30
5			-
6			41.00
7			40.00
8			50.00
9			-
10			52.90
11			40.55
12			-
13			42.35
14			50.35
15			66.00
Total			309.24 avg. per school

Average for Wilmington City was $1617.26 per school district

Black Expenses by School District, January 1903 (Teachers not itemized)

District #	# Teachers	Average Pay	Total Expenses
1			382.09
2			385.20
3			-
4			34.70
5			-
6			35.00
7			31.00
8			30.00
9			25.00
10			30.00
11			60.00
12			43.45
13			25.00
14			60.00
Total			95.12 avg. per school

Average for Wilmington City was $383.65 per school

Average funds spent per Wilmington City School by race and year

	Nov. 1898	**Jan. 1899**	**Nov. 1899**	**Jan. 1900**	**Nov. 1900**	**Jan. 1901**	**Nov. 1901**	**Jan. 1902**	**Nov. 1902**	**Jan. 1903**	**Nov. 1903**	**Jan. 1904**
White	858.02	571.81	909.08	887.41	964.22	938.60	866.54	1025.88	1299.94	1617.26	1073.84	1131.56
Black	523.16	451.83	416.50	408.11	384.50	398.70	371.50	365.55	402.37	383.65	382.95	374.77

Wilmington Teachers										
Teacher First Name	Teacher Last Name	School Race	1897 CD & Address	1900 CD & Address	January 1899 Pay	November 1899 Pay	School District #	October 1898 Pay	November 1898 Pay	Notes
Nancy	Adams	b	NL	NL	5	15	1			
Hattie E.	Adams	b					1			Principal Peabody, 1903 CD
Kate	Alderman	w	315 (Mulberry) Grace	315 (Mulberry) Grace			2		40	
Belle	Anderson	w	NL	224 N 3rd			2		40	
Anna	Auston	b	700 Campbell	NL	30	30	2		30	
Gertrude	Bagby	w	NL	NL			2		50	
Mary B.	Barclay	w	NL	909 S 5th			3	35		had 37 students 10/29/09
Mary	Bernard	w	101 N 7th	20 N 5th (boarder)			1	45	45	
Catherine F	Blount	b	1229 Charlotte	NL	35	35	1	35	35	
Rev. James	Bonner	b	712 Chestnut	NL	40	45	1	40	40	Chestnut St. Pres.
Hattie E	Bowman	b	811 S 5th	811 S 5th	40	45	1	40		Principal Peabody, 1902 CD
Bessie N.	Boyd	b	510 Nixon	NL	30	30	1	30	30	
Mrs.RK	Bryant	w	NL	NL			11	35		
Miss Leo B	Cameron	w	909 S 5th	909 S 5th			2		40	
Matilda B.	Carter	b	1016 Market	1016 Market	40	35	2		40	
Nellie	Chesnutt	b	114 N 8th	114 N 8th	40	40	2		40	
Joshua J	Clemmons	b	608 Ann	608 Ann	35	30	6			

Wilmington Teachers										
Teacher First Name	Teacher Last Name	School Race	1897 CD & Address	1900 CD & Address	January 1899 Pay	November 1899 Pay	School District #	October 1898 Pay	November 1898 Pay	Notes
Mary E	Cook	w	602 Walnut	602 Walnut			2		60	Principal, Union Sch.
Mary	Cronly	w	215 S 3rd	215 S 3rd			1	40	40	
Demmie	Dixon	b	NL	209 S 11th	30		4	30	30	
Susie	Dudley	b	1001 Rankin	NL	50		1	50	50	Music
Maggie	Edens	b	112 N 9th	NL	40	35	2		40	
Mary Howe	Geyer	b	NL	NL		30 (2x)	4	35		
EJ	Green	b	NL	NL			1		40	
Alice	Green	w	NL	406 S 3rd			2		30	
Carrie	Green	b	720 Church	720 Church	40	35	1	40	40	
SE	Harriss	w	NL	NL			1		40	
Sophie	Heins	w	820 McCumber's Alley	118 S 6th			1	40	40	
Julia	Hill	w	NL	no address listed			2		22 1/2	
Louisa	Hill	w	303 Chestnut	303 Chestnut			1	40	40	
John A	Holt	b	In County	NL	40	35	2		40	Principal Wlliston, 1902 CD
Sarah	Hooper	b	NL	NL			5	35		
Mary W.	Howe	b	301 Queen	301 Queen	50	45	2		40	Principal 1897
Leonora T.	Jackson	b	NL	NL	40		1	30		
Mary A.	Jackson	b	202 Walnut	NL	35	35	2		40	

Wilmington Teachers										
Teacher First Name	Teacher Last Name	School Race	1897 CD & Address	1900 CD & Address	January 1899 Pay	November 1899 Pay	School District #	October 1898 Pay	November 1898 Pay	Notes
Katie	Johnson	w	602 Walnut	602 Walnut			1	40	40	
Maggie	Jones	w	311 S Front	205 S 3rd			2		45	Principal Union 1902 CD
Susie	Kennedy	b	701 Red Cross	NL	35	25 (Dist. 1)	2		35	
Helen	Mabry	w	NL	NL			1		50	
Mary J	Mallette	b	616 Campbell	NL			1	40	40	
MA	Matthews	b	NL	NL	35 (Dist. 5)		11		35	no longer teacher, 1900, grocer?
Maria L	McLeod	w	322 N Front	407 N Front			1	50		Principal 1897
Sarah K.	McLeod	b	NL	NL	25		6			
Maud	McLeod	w	NL	NL			1	15	15	
Carrie	McNairy	w	NL	NL			1	50	50	
Sarah	McRae	b	609 N 8th	NL		25 (Dist. 9)	6		25	
Adelaide	Meares	w	712 S Market	712 Market			2		40	
Eliza	Meares	w	118 S 4th	118 S 4th			2		40	
CB	Merrick	b	NL	NL	35 (Dist. 5)	30 (Dist. 13)	11		35	
Maggie	Moffit	w	311 S Front	205 S 2nd			2		35	
Carrie	Moffit	w	311 S Front	205 S 2nd			2		40	
Levy	Nixon	b	NL	NL	30	30 (Dist. 12)	9		30	
Lillie	Nixon	b	NL	NL	35		10			
Estelle	Norwood	b	NL	NL	35	30	5	35		

Wilmington Teachers										
Teacher First Name	Teacher Last Name	School Race	1897 CD & Address	1900 CD & Address	January 1899 Pay	November 1899 Pay	School District #	October 1898 Pay	November 1898 Pay	Notes
M. Ellen	Noyes	b	1014 N 7th	NL	25	25	2		25	
Jennie T.	Oldham	w	NL	NL			5	35		had 35 students10/31/98
Winnie	Oldham	w	NL	NL			10	30		
Susan	Parsley	w	NL	312 S 2nd			1	15	15	
Farinda	Payne	w	711 Market	513 Market			2		40	
ML	Robinson	b	NL	NL			1	10	10	
Eva	Rodgers	w	NL	NL			6	35	35	
Julia	Sadgwar	b	NL	NL		10	1			
Susan G	Sampson	b	312 S 4th	NL	40	35	2		40	
Mary	Shepard/Shepherd	w	208 S 4th	208 S 4th			1	30	30	
Grace	Smallbones	w	NL	NL			2		30	
Rosa	Spruell	b	512 Dickinson	512 Dickinson	35		7	35		no longer teacher in 1900, grocer
Thomas	Sterling	b	616 N 7th	616 N 7th	35	30	8		35	no longer teacher, 1900, painter
Mattye	Strauss	w	1012 N 4th	1012 N 4th			1	15	15	
Minnie T	Strout	b	613 Nun	613 Nun						Gregory Normal
Hester	Struthers	w	418 Market	418 Market			2		40	
Katie	Telfair	b	615 Walnut	615 Walnut	40	35	2		40	same household as Rev. Telfair 1897
Pattie	Thorne	w	NL	NL			5		35	
Maggie	Thurber	b	NL?		15	25	1	15	15	nurse?
Daisy	Waitt	w	20 S 5th	NL			2		50	High School

Wilmington Teachers										
Teacher First Name	Teacher Last Name	School Race	1897 CD & Address	1900 CD & Address	January 1899 Pay	November 1899 Pay	School District #	October 1898 Pay	November 1898 Pay	Notes
WJ	Walters	b	NL	NL	40		1			
Lina	Wiggins	w	NL	114 S 2nd			1	15	15	
Alice M	Williams	b	715 Red Cross	NL						In CD as Peabody teacher 1897
T. Leonora	Williams	b	NL	NL	40	40	1	40	40	
Florence	Willis	w	112 N 7th	address not listed			1		10	
Jennie D	Wood	w	201 Chestnut	201 Chestnut			1	35	35	
Floria	Worth	w	NL	NL			1	50	50	
Kate	Yarborough	w	224 N 5th	224 N 5th			1	40	40	

APPENDIX F

ROSTER OF THE WILMINGTON LIGHT INFANTRY AND NAVAL RESERVES

Wilmington Light Infantry, 1898
Home Guard Unit Membership Roster

First Name	Last Name	Rank	Residence	Occupation
Aldrich P	Adrian	2nd Lt.	212 Orange	Pres, Adrian Co, wholesale grocers
Joseph C	Angel	Private	209 Chestnut	Clerk, ACL
Eugene M	Berry	Corporal	113 S. 5th	Bkkpr, Williard & Giles
Swift M	Boatwright	Private	217 Dock	Ins. Agent, Boatwright & Co.
George S.	Boylan	Private	Boards 420 3rd	Salesman, 10 S. Front
T. Edward	Brown	Private	Rms. YMCA	
E. Keith	Calder	Private	311 N. 3rd	Bkkpr, Junius Davis
Charles H	Capps	Sgt.	501 S 4th	Clerk
Guy A.	Cardwell	1st Lt.	209 Walnut	Clerk, ACL
Samuel P	Collier, Jr.	Private	304 N. Front	Accountant, 17 Princess
Charles H	Cooper		326 S. 4th	Sawfiler, Chadbourn Lumber Co.
J. Buck	Cooper	Private	105 N. 5th	Clerk, Woolvin
Nash	DeRosset	Private	310 Ann	Clerk, ACL
Bailey M	Fennell	Private	217 N. 7th	Clerk, ACL
John J	Furlong	Rapid Fire Gun Squad	Boarder, 219 Red Cross	Carpenter
Edward	Furlong	Rapid Fire Gun Squad	Boarder, 213 Church	Plumber
Clayton	Giles, Jr.	Private	305 S 3rd	Clerk, Clyde Steamship line
Newton C.	Gillican	Sgt.	214 N. 7th	Watchmaker
Pierce A. (Pierre?)	Harris	Rapid Fire Gun Squad	810 N. 5th	Clerk
Andrew H.	Harriss	Surgeon	604 Market	Physician
George	Harriss	Sgt.	108 S. 5th	Clerk, ACL
William N	Harriss	Private	612 Market	Harriss & Sons Brokers
J McRee	Hatch	Private	123 N. Front	Asst. Civil Engineer
Thomas C.	James	Captain	201 Mulberry	Freight & Passenger Agent, CFYVRR
William R	Kenan	Rapid Fire Gun Squad Captain	110 Nun	Merchandise Broker
Clarence D	Maffitt	Private	116 N. Water	Maffit & Co Ship Chandlers & Grocers
John F	Maunder	Private	710 N. 4th	Asst. Foreman, NCC Oil Co.
John	Meier	Private	? Father or son?	
J. VanB.	Metts	Sgt.	414 N. 2nd	Clerk, JI Metts Brokerage
Edward B	Moore	Private	621 Dock	Clerk, Worth & Worth
Roger	Moore, Jr.	Private	? Father or son?	

Robert N.	Nash	Private	Not listed 1897 CD	
WH	Northrop, Jr.	Private	Dock cor. 5th	Bkkpr, SWH Northrop Lumber Co.
James D	Nutt	Private	319 Mulberry	Druggist, 220 N. Front
Nicholas F	Parker	Private	411 Dock	Clerk
R. Aubry	Parsley	Private	116 Mulberry	Sec/Treas Hilton Lumber Co.
William E	Perdew	Private	319 N. 7th	Salesman, Murchison Hardware
John P	Quelch	Rapid Fire Gun Squad	320 Red Cross	Yard Foreman, Chadbourn Lumber Co.
Robert G	Rankin, Jr.	Rapid Fire Gun Squad	213 Ann	Clerk
CO	Rhodes	Private	Not listed 1897 CD	
William H.	Robbins	Private	Not listed 1897 CD	
CH	Robinson, Jr.	Private	109 N. 5th	Agt, Equitable Life Ins.
Michael	Schenck	Private	Not listed 1897 CD	
Robert C.	Sloan	Private	215 Mulberry	Bkkpr, 16 N. Front
James M.	Stevenson	Private	419 S 3rd	City salesman, 18 S. Front
Robert N.	Sweet	Private	426 Orange	Salt importer
Walker	Taylor	Colonel, Post Commander	321 S. 3rd	Ins. Agent
George P.	Taylor	Corporal	119 Red Cross	Clerk
Charles E.	Taylor	Private	Not listed 1897 CD	
J Allan	Taylor	Private	14 N. 7th	JC Stevenson & Taylor
JH	Taylor, Jr.	Private	619 Mulberry	Clerk
JR	Turrentine, Jr.	Private	509 Princess	Sec/Treas Turrentine Co. brokers
William	Ulrich	Private	502 S. Front	Chief Clerk, USPS
Chas. H.	White	Rapid Fire Gun Squad, Lt.	903 Market	Bkkpr, Boney & Harper
Hall G.	Whitney	Corporal	224 N. 7th	Plumber
William A	Whitney	Rapid Fire Gun Squad	224 N. 7th	Salesman, 113 Market
Octavius A	Wiggins	Private	324 S. 3rd	
Martin S.	Willard	Private	520 Orange	Sec, Willard & Giles Ins & Pres Wilm. Bag Manuf. Co.
E. Payson	Willard	Private	204 S. 6th	Sec.Treas W. Bag Manftg Co.
James S	Williams	Rapid Fire Gun Squad	601 Ann	Mate, Tug *Marion*
T Andrew ?	Wortham	Private	1018 Castle	Laborer
TH	Wright	Corporal	Not listed 1897 CD	

Sources: Wilmington *Messenger*, 11-26-1905 and 12-16-1905; Roster of WLI in Hayden, *Memorial of the WLI* (from 1904 WLI publication); 1897 and 1900 Wilmington City Directory (CD)

Spanish-American War Naval Reserves
Crew of the Nantucket (Wilmington)

Left Wilmington for Port Royal SC May 10, 1898, not called up for fighting during war; Pennant hauled down on ship at Port Royal on August 29, 1898; crew returned to Wilmington September, 1898 and mustered out of service.

William Lord DeRosset, *Pictorial and Historical New Hanover County and Wilmington, North Carolina, 1723-1938*

First Name	Last Name	Rank	Residence	Occupation
Griffith	Allen	Colored Boy	NL 1897 CD	
William M.	Atkinson	2nd Lt.	20 S. 5th	A. & Son Insurance
David D.	Barber	1st Class Petty Officer Mess 2	507 Chestnut	Shipping Clerk, RW Hicks
Thomas W. (Thos F.?)	Barr	1st Class Petty Officer Mess 2	1121 S. Front	Fireman
William S.	Bernard	3rd Class Petty Officer Mess 4	111 S. 5th	ACL Clerk
Oscar	Bogwell	Mess 5 Attendant	NL 1897 CD	
Edward W.	Branch	Fireman 2nd Class Mess 6	711 Wooster	Laborer
Daniel B.	Branch	Mess 6 Attendant	E. Wilmington	Clerk, 211 S. Water
Greasey	Bryant	Colored Boy	NL 1897 CD	
Frederick S.	Burr	1st Class Petty Officer, Mess 2	325 S. 3rd	Clerk, Wilmington Iron Works
ES	Burriss	2nd Class Petty Officer Mess 3	NL 1897 CD	
Robt. M.	Cain	Fireman 2nd Class Mess 6	NL 1897 CD	
William L.?	Campbell	3rd Class Petty Officer Mess 4	120 Castle	Clerk, William H. Green & Co. Drugs
WC	Capps	Fireman 2nd Class Mess 6	NL 1897 CD	
JR	Chestnut	Mess 5	NL 1897 CD	
Dave	Clearney	Colored Boy	NL 1897 CD	
John B.	Clements	3rd Class Petty Officer Mess 4	412 Princess	Sales, 20 S. Front
_____	Coleman	Ensign	2 Colemans in CD	
Leon L.	Corbett	Chief Petty Officer	411 N. 4th	Ship Clerk, 12 S. Front

John W.	Cotton, Jr.	Chief Petty Officer	NL 1897 CD	
JE	Cowell	Mess 5	NL 1897 CD	
James S.	Davis	Mess 5	Bds. 121 Market	Clerk
L. K. (Stacy?)	DeVaney	2nd Class Petty Officer Mess 3	512 Mulberry	Clerk, ACL
Andrew H.	Dicksey	1st Class Petty Officer Mess 2	519 S. Front	Ship Carpenter
Wilbur E.	Dosher	2nd Class Petty Officer Mess 3	Walnut nr 4th	Sales, S & B Solomon
Ellis	Fulcher	Mess 5 Attendant	520 Mulberry	Clerk, ACL
Walter	Furlong	Chief Engineer	307 Harnett	Marine Engineer
John J.	Furlong	Chief Petty Officer	Bds 219 Red Cross	Carpenter
CE	Gause	1st Class Petty Officer Mess 2	NL 1897 CD	
Albert F.	Gibson	3rd Class Petty Officer Mess 4	115 Market	Clerk, E. Warren & Son
Lewis G.	Hancock	3rd Class Petty Officer Mess 4	411 Walnut	Clerk, JH Hardin
Anthony A.	Hergenrother	Mess 5	216 S. 5th	Clerk
William H. C.	Hodges	Chief Petty Officer	123 S. 8th	Mechanic
Thomas	Holmes	Colored Boy	814 N. 8th	Porter
James H.?	Holton	2nd Class Petty Officer Mess 3	611 Queen	Clerk
William C.	Jones	Paymaster	Bds 419 N. 3rd	Traveling Sales, Navassa
John B.	King	Coal Passer, Mess 6	1)214 N. 6th 2) 613 S. Front	1)Clerk, 10 Market 2)Laborer
Joseph S.	Lane	2nd Class Petty Officer Mess 3	614 Orange	Clerk
Harry N.	Latham	2nd Class Petty Officer, Mess 3	104 Red Cross	Clerk
C. S.	Lewis	3rd Class Petty Officer Mess 4	NL 1897 CD	
Charles	Lindquist	Chief Petty Officer	NL 1897 CD	
JM	Loftin	1st Class Petty Officer Mess 2	NL 1897 CD	
Zachariah T.	Lumbey/Lumley	Mess 5	14 N. 9th	Carolina Bicycle Co.

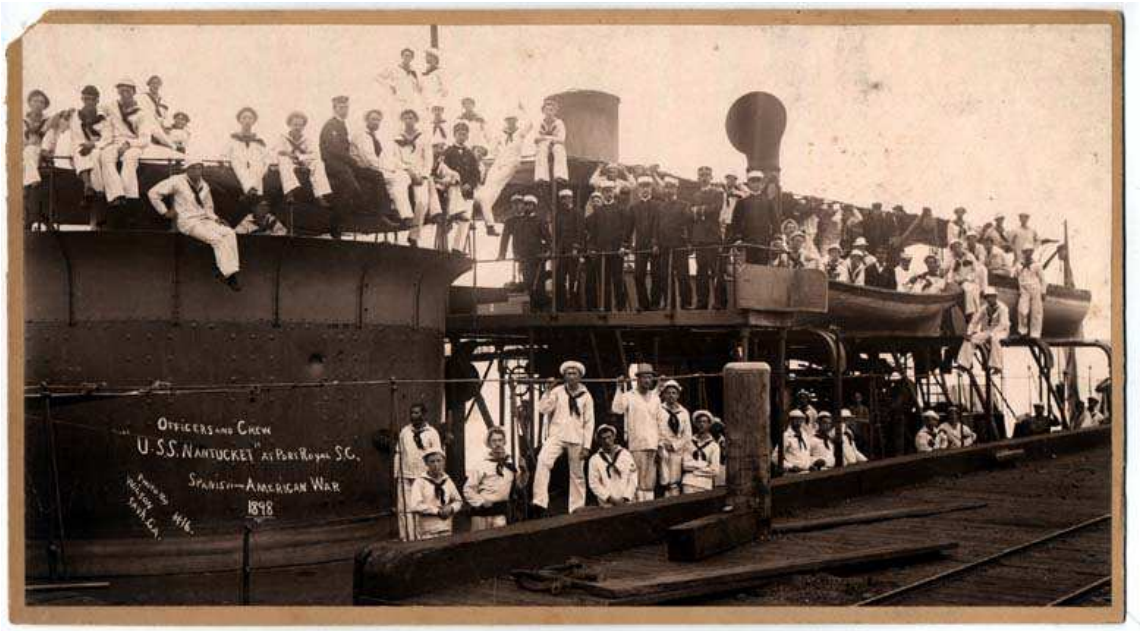
WF	Lumley	Mess 5	NL 1897 CD	
John G.	Marshall	2nd Class Petty Officer Mess 3	Princess nr 8th (808)	Jacob & Marshall
Chas.	Martin	Colored Boy	NL 1897 CD	
A. Frank	Mathews	Mess 5	Wooster cor. Surry	Laborer
Joe	Maulder	Colored Boy	NL 1897 CD	
John	Maunder, Jr.	1st Class Petty Officer Mess 2	710 N. 4th	Asst. Foreman, NCC Oil Co.
Henry G.	McFarland	Chief Petty Officer	414 N. Front	Clerk, ACL
Henry H.	McIlhenny	1st Lt.	120 N. 5th	Asst. Superintendent Wilmington Cotton Mills
Robert H.	McKoy	2nd Lt.	510 S. 3rd	Attorney
SM	McNabb	Mess 5 Attendant	NL 1897 CD	
John	Meyers	Colored Boy	NL 1897 CD	
Hugh L.	Miller	Ensign	414 N. Front	Traveling Sales, Navassa
TM	Morse	Lt. & Navigator	NL 1897 CD	
Robert B.	Morse	Chief Petty Officer	NL 1897 CD	
George L.	Morton	Captain	720 N 4th	Post Master & Morton Co. Turpentine
T.	Neff	Firemen, 1st Class Mess 6	NL 1897 CD	
JH	Newbury	Mess 5	NL 1897 CD	
Arthur M.	Parker, Jr.	2nd Class Petty Officer Mess 3	Bds. 408 Chestnut	Clerk
Henry N.	Parsley	Chief Petty Officer	116 Mulberry	Clerk, Murchison & Co.
William	Paul	Fireman 2nd Class Mess 6	822 S. Front	Oiler
John	Paul	Fireman 2nd Class Mess 6	NL 1897 CD	
JA	Pearce	1st Class Petty Officer Mess 2	NL 1897 CD	
George R.	Penny	1st Class Petty Officer Mess 2	715 Dock	Clerk, Penny Clothing Co.
Henry B.	Peschau	2nd Class Petty Officer Mess 3	501 Mulberry	Clerk (Peschau Shipbrokers)

IK	Piner	Firemen 1st Class Mess 6	NL 1897 CD	
AT	Piver	2nd Class Petty Officer Mess 3	NL 1897 CD 607 Castle (?)	
John T.?	Platt	3rd Class Petty Officer Mess 4	609 Mulberry	Foreman, Machine Shop, Wilmington Iron Works
Amos G.	Redd	Mess 5	513 S. 2nd	Printer
Simon	Richardson	Colored Boy	1116 N. 7th	Carpenter
John W.	Robinson	2nd Class Petty Officer Mess 3	214 N. 5th	Clerk, 114 Market
Robert J.	Sellars	Mess 5	408 Castle	Machinist, Carolina Bicycle Co.
Billy	Simmons	Colored Boy	919 S. 7th	--
James	Sinclair	3rd Class Petty Officer Mess 4	511 S. 3rd	ACL Clerk
Morgan L.	Skipper	1st Class Petty Officer Mess 2	Bds 824 McCumber Al.	Clerk
Charles E.	Smith	Firemen 1st Class Mess 6	818 N. 5th	Cigars & Tobacco, 609 N. 4th
James	Sorsby	3rd Class Petty Officer Mess 4	4th cor. Mulberry	ACL Ticket Agent
CA	Steed	1st Class Petty Officer Mess 2	NL 1897 CD	
Wallace H.	Styron, Jr.	Fireman 2nd Class Mess 6	115 N. 3rd	Clerk, 12 S. Front
Jas.	Sullivan	Firemen 1st Class Mess 6	NL 1897 CD	
WT	Taylor	Chief Petty Officer	NL 1897 CD	
Robt.	Thomas	Colored Boy	109 Wooster	Carpenter
Tom	Trent	Chief Cook	NL 1897 CD	
Walter W.?	Vick, Jr.	Chief Petty Officer	212 S 2nd	Stenographer, Powers Gibbs & Co.
WE	Watson	Fireman 2nd Class Mess 6	NL 1897 CD	
John A.	White	1st Class Petty Officer Mess 2	116 S. 5th	Upholsterer
T. Arthur	Whitney	3rd Class Petty Officer Mess 4	224 N. 7th	Clerk, 125 Market
WM	Wiley	3rd Class Petty Officer Mess 4	NL 1897 CD	

James S.	Williams	Chief Petty Officer	601 Ann	Mate on tug *Marion* * WLI Rapid Fire Gun Squad
HB	Williams	2nd Class Petty Officer Mess 3	NL 1897 CD	
Frank [Francis]	Williams	2nd Class Petty Officer Mess 3	Bds 108 Mulberry	Engineer, Wilmington Refrig. & Ice Works
Albert M.	Williams	3rd Class Petty Officer Mess 4	110 Dock	Carpenter
JT	Williams	Fireman 2nd Class Mess 6	NL 1897 CD	
Joe	Zendka	Chief Petty Officer	NL 1897 CD	

NL 1897 CD = Not listed, 1897 Wilmington City Directory

Also, from Messenger, November 5, 1898: Russ Middleton and Charles Mebane



Crew of the Nantucket, 1898.
Image: North Carolina Museum of History

APPENDIX G

"EVER THREATENED… EVER IN NEED:" ALEXANDER MANLY'S CONFRONTATION WITH THE DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN IN 1898 NORTH CAROLINA

"Ever Threatened… Ever in Need:" Alexander Manly's Confrontation with the Democratic Campaign in 1898 North Carolina

by
J. Vincent Lowery

In his response to Georgian Rebecca Latimer Felton's speech on the vulnerability of poor white farm women, Alexander Manly, the African American editor of the Wilmington *Daily Record*, challenged white conceptions of race and gender, inadvertently lending support to the white supremacy campaign led by Democrats in North Carolina in 1898. He exposed the tenuous nature of white male authority and inspired the destruction of his newspaper office on November 10, 1898. In order to understand this act of terrorism and the violence that ensued, it is helpful to understand the psychology of the southern white male and the campaign that capitalized on his anger and fears.

In the late nineteenth century, southerners, much like other Americans, experienced the growing pains that accompanied industrialization and urbanization. Young men and women left rural homes in pursuit of opportunities for employment and amusement in the region's growing urban areas. Within public settings such as the factory and the dance hall, they interacted regularly. White society faced the prospect that women, deemed by some as passionless and placed upon a pedestal, in actuality possessed the same desires as men. Beyond the influence of their families, these women might choose sexual partners, including African American men, according to their own desires. In order to control these young women and their desires, southern white society developed the myth of the "black beast rapist." According to historian Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, the image of a hypersexual black male "plant[ed] fear in women's minds and dependency in their hearts. It thrust them in the role of personal property or sexual objects, ever threatened by black men's lust, ever in need of white men's protection."[1]

One must realize that the rape myth inspired the sincere belief among whites that black men were intent upon raping white women. The generations of black and white southerners coming of age in the New South lacked the knowledge of one another that slavery had provided for their parents, and whites found reason to distrust the "New Negro." Theories that described the degeneracy of the African American born into freedom circulated throughout the country, and the virility of the black male became a popular topic among southern orators and writers. As a result of the changing nature of southern society, many whites believed that their way of life was in jeopardy. Whites believed that civilization passed from one generation to the next through blood, and the rhetoric of white supremacy implanted the seed of civilization in white

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[1] For a discussion of the changes underway in the South after Reconstruction, see Edward Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992). Glenda Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1996), pg. 72, 94-96; Diane Miller Sommerville, *Rape and Race in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), pg. 245, 254; Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "'The Mind That Burns in Each Body': Women, Rape, and Racial Violence" in *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983): pg. 339. For further readings on the southern rape complex, see Jane Dailey, *Before Jim Crow: The Politics of Race in Postemancipation Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Pres, 2000); Lisa Lundquist Dorr, *White Women, Rape, and the Power of Race in Virginia 1900-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

women. Sexual intercourse between a white woman and a man possessing one drop of black blood contaminated white blood, a process referred to as "amalgamation" and "mongrelization." Fears spread of the threat posed by the mulatto class to the racial foundations of the southern order. Mulattoes blurred the color line dividing whites and blacks, permitting some mulattoes to "pass" as whites. White men argued that a white woman would never willfully engage in intercourse with an African-American man. Therefore, the threat lay in either the mulatto or the black beast rapist; given the difficulty of identifying mulattoes, white men concentrated on the black beast rapist.[2] Southern newspapers circulated accounts of black-on-white rape, particularly those cases that ended in the lynching of the black suspect by a white mob. As reports spread, whites, convinced of the black man's guilt, searched for evidence of black lust for white women within their own communities.[3]

Poor white women were believed to be most vulnerable to the black rapist. At the August 1897 meeting of the Georgia State Agricultural Society, Rebecca Latimer Felton criticized white men for their failure to preserve the color line and protect poor white farm women from black "beasts." Felton offered two means by which to protect poor white women. First, she advocated the development of a common school system to educate the poorer classes. She believed that education offered the tool necessary to avoid sexual encounters with black "beasts" and preserve white civilization. Second, Felton declared, "if it needs lynching to protect woman's dearest possession from the ravening human beasts – then I say lynch a thousand times if necessary."[4] Felton's address attracted the attention of newspaper editors throughout the country, but their coverage focused on her support of lynching.

The emphasis that Felton and the southern white press placed upon the relationship between rape and lynching concealed the fact that many African-American lynching victims were not accused of rape. Such rhetoric legitimized the violent punishment of any transgression against white mastery. African-American men drew the wrath of white mobs, in part, for economic and political gains, particularly when those gains placed black men in positions of authority over white women. As historian Stephen Kantrowitz has noted, "since control over a household and its dependents formed the basis of white men's claim to independence and citizenship, dominance could not be neatly separated into spheres of 'government' and 'household.'"[5] White men became apprehensive of the success of black men, interpreting any gains as steps toward black mastery over white dependents and sexual mastery over white

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[2] Williamson, *The Crucible of Race*, pg. 119-124; Joel Williamson, *New People: Miscegenation and Mulattoes in the United States* (New York: The Free Press, 1980), pg. 99, 103; Sommerville, *Rape and Race*, pg. 216. Andrea Meryl Kirshenbaum notes the gendered concept of civilization in the political cartoons featured in the Raleigh *News and Observer*. In "'The Vampire that Hovers Over North Carolina': Gender, White Supremacy, and the Wilmington Race Riot of 1898," *Southern Cultures* 4 (1998): pg. 17. In 1902, Thomas Dixon expressed these fears in absolute and dire terms in his best-selling novel, *The Leopard's Spots: A Romance of the White Man's Burden, 1865-1900*. Dixon repeatedly declared, "[T]he future American must be either an Anglo Saxon or a Mulatto" (pg. 333).

[3] Edward Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), pg. 240-241, 243.

[4] Macon *Telegraph*, August 18, 1897; See also LeeAnn Whites, "Love, Hate, Rape, Lynching: Rebecca Latimer Felton and the Gender Politics of Racial Violence," in *Democracy Betrayed: The Wilmington Race Riot of 1898 and Its Legacy*, ed. by David Cecelski and Timothy Tyson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998): pg. 143-162.

[5] Sommerville, *Rape and Race*, pg. 201-202; Stephen Kantrowitz, *Ben Tillman and the Reconstruction of White Supremacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), pg. 105; LeeAnn Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860-1890* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), pg. 7.

women. Poor white women understood these fears. They cried rape to avoid punishment for consensual relationships with African American men. These cries supported the myth of the black beast rapist and encouraged Felton's violent method of preserving white womanhood.

Democratic politicians in North Carolina capitalized on the image of the black beast rapist during the election of 1898 in their attempt to depose the reigning Fusion government and remove African American men from politics. Party leaders told white voters that the state's Fusion government had unleashed black men upon their wives and daughters. The appointment of blacks to public offices such as postmaster, police officer, and magistrate by the Fusion government placed "virginal" white women in contact with black men who possessed considerable power over them. Democratic leaders and newspapers sexualized everyday contact between white women and black men.[6] The party's newspapers reported "outrages" throughout the state, emphasizing white women's innocence and black men's hostility in cases ranging from sidewalk scuffles to rape. In order to prove their manhood by protecting the women and young girls in their care, white men whose well-being would have given them reason to support the Populist Party were told to vote for the Democratic ticket. As the state's largest city and an important economic center, Wilmington became a particular focus of the campaign. Regular meetings of the Democratic Party and White Government Unions provided a forum in which party leaders disseminated news from throughout the South and lectured poor whites on the threats posed by black men.[7]

The Wilmington *Messenger* reprinted Felton's speech (neglecting to print the year in which she delivered it) in order to aid this gendered and sexualized Democratic campaign. Alexander Manly responded by questioning her claims in his reform-oriented newspaper, the *Daily Record*.[8] Manly challenged the popular notion among southern judges and legislators that interracial sex was rape. He suggested that black men attracted the attention and desires of white women. He warned that white men should "guard their women more closely… You leave your goods out of doors and then complain because they are taken away." Manly agreed with Felton that white men should provide better educations for their wives and daughters, but he also extended this privilege to poor black women, suggesting that poor women of both races displayed the same questionable virtues.[9] Doubting the ability of education to prevent sexual encounters between proper white women and African Americans, Manly asserted that many black men "were sufficiently attractive for white girls of culture and refinement to fall in love with them."[10] By questioning the veracity of white women's cries of rape, Manly simultaneously challenged a critical component of the Democrats' campaign and taunted whites' fears of the unregulated sexuality of young white women.

Manly advised Felton that, in order to preserve the color line, she "must begin at the fountainhead."[11] When he referred to sexual encounters between white men and black women, Manly decried one of the legacies of slavery that apologists of the peculiar institution and

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[6] Williamson, *The Crucible of Race*, pg. 192; Kirshenbaum, "'Vampire,'" pg. 14.
[7] See Wilmington Race Riot Commission Report, chapter 3, for a discussion of Democratic campaign tactics.
[8] Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow*, pg. 105.
[9] Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow*, pg. 105.
[10] Quoted in Wilmington *Morning Star*, August 24, 1898.
[11] Quoted in Wilmington *Morning Star*, August 24, 1898.

proponents of the Lost Cause could not easily conceal. Manly himself represented proof of this legacy; his bloodline could be traced to former governor Charles Manly.[12] The editor attempted simultaneously to expose white men's indiscretions and calm white tensions about miscegenation. He instructed Felton to "[t]ell your men that is no worse for a black man to be intimate with a white woman, than for a white man to be intimate with a colored woman." Manly concluded the editorial with a direct challenge to white men who crossed the color line: "Don't think ever that your women will remain pure while you are debauching ours. You sow the seed – the harvest will come in due time."[13] Manly's suggestion that white and black men shared equal access to the women of both races challenged white male dominance, but his treatment of the subject forced white men either to acknowledge their indiscretions or ignore this legacy of slavery.

The Democratic machine pursued the latter option, choosing to focus attention on the parts of Manly's editorial that, in white minds, questioned the virtue of white women. According to party rhetoric, one of the potential rapists (by virtue of the one drop rule, Manly was black) had disparaged the character of white womanhood in an act that might be considered "literary rape" and proved claims of black desire for white women.[14] State party leader Furnifold Simmons predicted that Manly's editorial ensured the defeat of Fusion incumbents across the state. To accomplish this end, Democratic editor Josephus Daniels reprinted 300,000 copies of Manly's editorial and distributed them across the state.[15] Wilmington's white newspapers supported the Democratic campaign by reprinting Manly's editorial in the months leading up the election. Editors capitalized the more salacious portions to capture readers' attention and inserted their own commentary, often directing their analysis at poor white readers. The suggestion that poor black women were the moral equals of poor white women, in which Manly identified class rather than race as the determining factor in one's virtue, angered whites and served the Democratic Party's efforts to attract poor white men from the Populist Party.[16] In response to Manly's reference to "clandestine meetings" between black men and white women, one newspaper suggested that Manly "had been holding 'clandestine meetings' with poor white women, wives of white men."[17] With this assertion, Democrats warned poor whites that, by endangering their wives and daughters and challenging their manhood, Manly represented a greater threat than railroad tycoons and the gold standard. The newspapers reported each instance of black crime and documented support for Manly within the African-American community, convincing readers that their city and state were under siege by black brutes and their Fusion allies. In the midst of growing tensions, the *Morning Star* cautioned "self-control… one of the highest attributes of courageous manhood": "The time may come in the near future when the white men of Wilmington will be called on to defend themselves and their homes."[18]

During a speaking tour through North Carolina, "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman, U.S. Senator from South Carolina, proposed immediate action. As governor of South Carolina in the early

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[12] It is believed that Alexander Manly was either the son or grandson of Governor Manly.
[13] Quoted in Wilmington *Morning Star*, August 24, 1898.
[14] Matthew Wilson, *Whiteness and the Novels of Charles Chesnutt* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2004), pg. 105.
[15] Prather, *We Have Taken a City*, pg. 80; Williamson, *The Crucible of Race*, pg. 197.
[16] Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow*, pg. 105.
[17] Quoted in Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow*, pg. 107.
[18] Wilmington *Morning Star*, August 24, 1898.

1890s, Tillman had declared that he "would lead a mob to lynch the negro who ravishes a white woman."[19] He expected the same response to Manly's literary rape of the character of white women. At a rally in Fayetteville on October 20, 1898, Tillman questioned, "Why didn't you kill that damn nigger editor who wrote that?" Tillman declared that white South Carolinians would not have permitted such an offense to go unpunished. Responding to Tillman's pleas, a band of Red Shirts appeared shortly after his speech, marking the birth of the organization in North Carolina.[20]

The Wilmington press sometimes identified the Red Shirts as the "Rough Riders." One article described the Fifth Ward Rough Riders' participation in a Democratic parade, "led by 'Col. Teddy Roosevelt' incognito Squire G.W. Bornemann." The invocation of the name of the popular military unit and its commanding officer implied that this group of Wilmingtonians represented the same virtues of patriotism and manhood espoused in Cuba. Democratic campaign rallies undoubtedly featured local men who volunteered for service in the Spanish-American War in hopes of fulfilling the Confederate legacy of manly service. These men did not engage in the hostilities and therefore failed to prove their manhood. Tillman and his North Carolina counterparts challenged white North Carolinians to fulfill this legacy.[21]

When a white mob led by Alfred Moore Waddell burned the offices of the *Record* after Manly had fled the city, white Wilmingtonians achieved a degree of satisfaction. Stirred to action by Democratic rhetoric, white voters had restored white rule to Wilmington and destroyed a leading black voice in the city. Furthermore, Democrats successfully reinforced the "sexual power structure." White men asserted their mastery by denying the African American male's political independence and destroying the voice that publicized equal access to white and black women.[22]

Manly inspired this act of violence, but blame cannot be so neatly placed upon his shoulders for the violence that ensued.[23] Manly's editorial enraged whites of all classes, but the

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[19] Quoted in Williamson, *The Crucible of Race*, pg. 133.
[20] The Red Shirts facilitated the redemption of South Carolina in 1876. See Kantrowitz, *Ben Tillman*, chapter 2.
[21] The *Messenger* reminded readers of the legacy of redemption left by their fathers: "Is the character of the good women of our state not as dear to us today as to our fathers? and do we not know that out fathers trampled under their feet the party that could bring such monstrous offenders as above?" Wilmington *Messenger*, August 24, 1898; Prather, *We Have Taken a City*, pg. 84; "Big Red Shirt Rally," Wilmington *Dispatch*, November 3, 1898. Records fail to clearly distinguish between the "Red Shirts" and the "Rough Riders." Newspaper accounts sometimes referred to the groups as separate organizations. For a discussion of the relationship between gender roles and the Spanish-American War, see Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998). One might argue that the Democrats' rhetoric appealed to northern men, discouraging outside interference with the coup.
[22] Kirshenbaum, "'Vampire,'" pg. 28.
[23] Examples from black and white communities disagree with this assertion. An anonymous African American woman sent a letter to President McKinley, requesting assistance after the riot. She asked "why should a whole city full of negroes suffer for Manly when he was hundred[s] of miles away?" Quoted in Kirshenbaum, "'Vampire,'" pg. 26. Late in life, H.E.C. "Red Buck" Bryant recalled that "[t]he outbreak there (Wilmington) was not caused by any political incident but a scurrilous item in the negro newspaper." From clipping, n.d., Bryant Collection, State Archives, North Carolina. Agreeing with this sentiment, historian Joel Williamson writes, "In retrospect, it is incomprehensible that anyone as intelligent as Alex Manly could have lived in the midst of the Radical rage and been surprised by the consequences of his words. One is appalled by his lack of awareness, by the cavalier, almost careless manner in which he published his essay." In Williamson, *The Crucible of Race*, pg. 198.

Democratic machine fanned the flames of white anger and fear. Orators spoke of racial amalgamation, economic and political "Negro domination," and Republican corruption, subjects that undoubtedly angered poor whites, as did newspaper reports of black-on-white rape and black insolence throughout the South. Democratic leaders successfully identified the African American male as a threat to white civilization and the cause of social illnesses. In an essay published in *Collier's Weekly*, Waddell suggested that the destruction of the offices of the *Record* was the original goal of the white mob. Yet, before the riot, the Wilmington press printed a speech in which he declared that he would rid Wilmington of Manly and "Negro rule" "even if we have to choke the Cape Fear river with (black) carcasses."[24] Waddell's declaration reflects the extralegal methods of preservation that the Democratic Party and city leadership incited among voters anxious to prove their manhood.

[24] Alfred Moore Waddell, "The Story of the Wilmington, N.C., Race Riot," *Collier's Weekly*, November 26, 1898, pg. 4; Wilmington *Morning Star*, October 25, 1898. Waddell acknowledged this declaration in the essay published by *Collier's Weekly*. It is important to note that, in addition to two essays on the Wilmington Race Riot, this issue of *Collier's* included several articles on the various imperial endeavors, further cementing a relationship between white male supremacy at home and abroad.

APPENDIX H

PSYCHOLOGY OF THE WILMINGTON RIOT

The Psychology of the Wilmington Riot

This short essay seeks to understand the psychology of the Wilmington Riot through the use of a comparative analysis study done by psychologist Arnold Goldstein. In his book, *The Psychology of Group Aggression,* Goldstein explained theories developed by other experts and brought examples of group aggression from throughout history together in his work. While he did not specifically study the Wilmington riot, many of the theories put forth in Goldstein's are directly applicable to the development of an environment in the city that facilitated the rise of violence on November 10, 1898.[1]

Goldstein defined a mob as "a crowd acting under strong emotional conditions that often lead to violence or illegal acts." He further explained that a riot is "an instance of mob violence, with the destruction of property or looting, or violence against people." (105-106) To Goldstein, "mobs are the product of a process of evolution" and they are formed by people sharing the same "conscious or unconscious needs." (108-109)

By his theory, the participants in a riot go through a process of "de-individuation," which he defines as "the process of losing one's sense of individuality or separateness from others and becoming submerged in a group." De-individuation results in the loss of one's "individual responsibility" as well as the creation of a sense of anonymity, particularly from potential punishment for actions. De-individuated group members are characterized by un-inhibited behavior that is generally against the norm of accepted behavior. De-individuation can be facilitated by the inclusion of other factors such as sensory overload and the introduction of drugs or alcohol. (30-33)

Another psychological theory described by Goldstein that is pertinent to the understanding of the Wilmington riot is the concept of "groupthink." Members of the mob were influenced by concepts put forward in this theory. Groupthink is the result of several factors: immense pressure to conform (Democratic Party propaganda tools that made white men feel inadequate if they did not participate in White Government Union and Party activities), self-censorship of dissenting ideas (suppression of previous Populist or Republican ideals), the presence of "mindguards" that divert "controversial information away from the group" (Democratic Party leaders would not permit opposing viewpoints to be seen or heard at rallies or in papers), and apparent unanimity of the group (Democratic leaders focused on areas where everyone agreed --- the importance of the subordination of black presence and re-emergence of white leadership). (32-33

Another of Goldstein's theories of mob violence stipulates that individuals who participate in a mob do so because of a sense of deprivation – "the belief that others are climbing up the economic ladder while oneself is not, or the belief that one's own earlier economic gains are being lost." He believed that this "sense of blocked opportunity and unjust exclusion from economic gain has been an especially potent specific instigator of

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[1] Arnold P. Goldstein, *The Psychology of Group Aggression,* (Sussex, England: John Wiley and Sons, 2002)

riot and rebellion in American history." Goldstein argued that riots need a "trigger" or a "precipitating event" to begin. (111-112)

Goldstein demonstrated that the precipitating event for a riot may take place well before the violence because members of the pending riot may need to "plan and mobilize." In this context, the precipitating events serve to "confirm the threatening nature of the target group, mobilize ordinary citizens and justify the violence they are about to perpetrate." Such events could be: "ethnic processions, demonstrations, and mass meetings." These types of events show participants that there are a number of other citizens who are similarly motivated and that if action is taken, it will be done in unison. Therefore, the white supremacy parades, Red Shirt rallies and WGU meetings, combined with the mass meeting on November 9 at which the White Declaration of Independence was passed, could all be considered triggers for the violence of November 10. (114)

Following Goldstein's theories further, riots follow a "common progression" of triggering mechanisms before a final "flashpoint" ignites the riot. Riots begin well before violence breaks out with broad, non-specific factors, including "media sensationalism," widespread rumors, a large population of unemployed males, and the expectation that rioting will result in change. He believed that any number of sudden, immediate events could trigger a riot. Other events in the progress of the riot, such as "seeing friends and allies under attack, the desecration or flourishing of flags, statues, or other sacred symbols" or the "appearance of an especially tempting target" or "particular enemy figure" sustain the riot and act as new triggers to perpetuate the violence. Using his psychological theory, the end of a riot happens when police or authority figures stop the violence in a variety of ways – through distractions, re-individuation, dispersion, isolation of leaders – or when "participants come to believe they have succeeded in their goals."(112-113)

Psychologists have observed that riots develop a life of their own once they begin. The first stage of the riot is an attack on property and the riot then moves to attacks on people. As the riot grows and more people join in, the duration of the riot depends on the resistance met by rioters, their organization and leadership, the "success" of their violence and the "degree to which extant authorities send permissive signals encouraging continuance or vigorously intervene." The riot may also spread to other areas, sometimes distant from the precipitating site, because of several factors. In the case of Wilmington, the spread of the riot from one side of town to another was due to "overt ratification of violence" by leadership such as Waddell and a "new precipitating event at the new location" such as the argument over occupation of the street corners at Fourth and Harnett. Goldstein explained that riot sites "tend to be urban, mixed ethnic residential, close to the location of the attacker's homes and ….. at the borderlines or boundaries" where the two opposing sides meet. Goldstein clearly described the violence in Wilmington – the area of the first murders, the intersection Fourth and Harnett Streets, was a mixed neighborhood on the borders of both the black and white neighborhoods and many of the earliest rioters in that section of town were residents of the area.(114-115)

Ethnic riots, or those based on race, as explained by Goldstein and others, have a "more or less predictable course, flow or rhythm" although they "appear to be random, chaotic and irrational." The psychologists describe such riots as "lethal attacks by the members of one ethnic group upon another, designed to degrade the targeted group, inflict harm or kill them, and thus reduce the ethnic heterogeneity of one's region or state." These riots grow just as other riots but also incorporate "selective destruction" of the target group as well as attacks on symbols of "the other side." By this standard, the events in Wilmington fit a pattern of racial violence and group aggression similar to later riots in Atlanta and Tulsa. (116-117)

APPENDIX I

ESSAY ON WILMINGTON CRIME, ECONOMY AND CORRUPTION PRIOR TO 1898

WILMINGTON, 1898: COMMERCE, CORRUPTION, AND CRIME

[In 1997, in anticipation of the activities commemorating the centennial of the racial violence in Wilmington, Chancellor James R. Leutze of the University of North Carolina at Wilmington, posed three questions to the staff at Archives and History. The questions and answers prepared--respectively by Wilson Angley, Jerry L. Cross, and Michael Hill of the agency's Research Branch--follow.]

I. Was Wilmington in financial distress at the time of the riot; and, if so, was this unique to Wilmington?

As has long been the case, Wilmington's economy in the late 1890s was heavily dependent on trade and related maritime activity. The city's trade had rebounded quickly after the Civil War, with principal articles of commerce remaining largely the same. As before, chief export commodities were wood products, naval stores, and cotton. Overall, exports far exceeded imports in both tonnage and value, with many vessels arriving in ballast to receive their outward-bound cargoes.

By the 1890s, however, the composition of Wilmington's export trade had begun to change markedly. The naval stores market had collapsed in the early 1870s and had never fully recovered. By 1895 naval stores comprised a mere seven percent of total exports in terms of value. Lumber and wood products, while constituting a large part of total exports in terms of volume, were far less significant as sources of revenue. By 1895 they comprised only three percent of exports by value.

Compensating somewhat for the decline in naval stores and wood products was cotton, which became increasingly the mainstay of Wilmington's economy. Especially important was the foreign trade in cotton, which exceeded the value of domestic shipments by the 1880s. By 1895 cotton shipments comprised fully ninety percent of the total value of Wilmington's export commodities. Paramount in the export of cotton was the firm of Alexander Sprunt and Son.

Despite its importance, however, Wilmington's export trade in cotton was overshadowed by that of Charleston and Savannah, to say nothing of Galveston and New Orleans. Moreover, the shipment of cotton was unable to compensate fully for declines in wood products and naval stores, while creating a dangerous dependence on a single commodity. During the 1890s, Wilmington's export tonnage declined from 88,000 tons to 81,000. By the end of the decade, Wilmington's future as a major port appeared uncertain.

Wilmington's industrial expansion since the Civil War had been significant but not particularly impressive. The most noteworthy strides had been taken in cotton compressing and fertilizer production, both of which employed

large numbers of Wilmington's workers. The dominant processor of cotton for shipment was the Champion Compress Company. By 1896 there were at least four large fertilizer plants.

Other industries of note included shipbuilding and the construction and operation of area railroad facilities. By 1900 Wilmington contained a total of 131 manufacturing firms, with total output valued at nearly three million dollars. Still, Wilmington was about to be eclipsed by more progressive cities in the Piedmont, and would soon surrender its status as the state's largest city.

Within the context of Wilmington's overall economy, there is reason to conclude that many aspiring whites resented the presence and competition of blacks in the professions, as well as those in city and county government. Wilmington's black community included numerous lawyers, ministers, teachers, doctors, merchants, and businessmen. White supremacy orators struck a responsive chord in their listeners by alleging that successful blacks were enjoying luxuries and privileges at their expense.

Similar feelings of envy and resentment appear to have been widespread among working class whites as well. Sources repeatedly allude to an economic competition between black and white laborers for jobs and livelihoods. They also indicate that black workers may sometimes have occupied positions by virtue of the fact that they were willing to accept lower wages and poorer working conditions. It is significant to note, therefore, that white leaders on the eve of the Wilmington riot included demands for additional jobs among their top priorities.

Clearly related to Wilmington's general economic condition were the issues of solvency and fiscal management with respect to municipal government. The contemporary Democratic press, among its other charges, alleged that the City of Wilmington was unable to pay off its bonded indebtedness and, under the existing government, faced possible bankruptcy. Unfortunately, no conclusive evidence, either to confirm or discredit that allegation, has been found during the course of this research. An entry in the records of the board of aldermen, however, indicates that the city's leaders were closely monitoring the fiscal affairs for which they were responsible during months preceding the riot. On August 8, 1898, the aldermen approved the following specific measure with respect to the city's indebtedness:

> That in accordance with section 6 chapter 25 of the Private Laws of 1891, the mayor, clerk, and treasurer are hereby authorized to issue Certificates of Indebtedness in exchange for the Bonds of the City held by the commission of the Sinking Fund now amounting to $24,000, it being understood that all bonds so exchanged are to be immediately burned as required by law.

This action, while maintaining a significant amount of indebtedness, hardly seems to indicate that the aldermen were acting irresponsibly. Nor does it seem to indicate a sense of impending disaster. Moreover, the records of subsequent meetings of the aldermen convey a sense of routine attention to business, with no apparent irregularities or dereliction of duty.

With respect to governmental indebtedness, it is significant to note that Wilmington would not have been unique in North Carolina if it had, in fact, ultimately failed to meet its financial obligations. Writing less than two weeks after the fateful events of November 10, Republican Party Chairmen Alfred Eugene Holt observed that "the cities and towns of the state have for many years been accumulating heavy bonded indebtedness" and that "the spirit of repudiation" was abroad in the land. Citing the town of Oxford and Stanly, Wilkes, and Buncombe Counties as specific examples, he pointed out that the blame for these repudiations had, in each case, been "charged to the Republicans and Populists."

II. Was the local government corrupt?

There is no definitive answer to the above question. All governments since time began have contained individuals who exploited the system for personal gain. Evidence of corruption sometimes can be only suspected; at other times it takes on characteristics that can be investigated and documented, such as the Credit Mobilier, Teapot Dome, and Watergate. Wilmington's governing body in 1898 engendered no scandal near the scale of these national embarrassments; in fact, none of the allegations made against the municipal government were ever investigated by an independent body. Such general accusations as "misgovernment," "disreputable carpetbag regime," and "the scum of Radical Republican rule" carried no specific instances, making it impossible to determine how much, if any, of the claims were true. These were political tools of an era marked by bitter personal politics, "yellow journalism," and a pervasive theory of Social Darwinism, the milieu in which the Wilmington Board of Aldermen were forced to function. Many sources on which historians rely in searching for the truth were tainted by the socio-political climate of the times; consequently, the question of corruption in the local government can be addressed only by comparing the charges against the relatively few known facts.

Most of the charges leveled at the Board of Aldermen for the Port City germinated in the election campaign of 1898; one of the first however, was aimed not at the board itself but at the legislature that created it. The Fusionist controlled General Assembly of 1897 had altered the Wilmington city charter to create five wards from which ten aldermen would come. Five would be elected and five appointed by the governor. The gerrymandered districts insured that African Americans would hold a majority of votes in most wards. Democrats claim that a corrupt bargain had been struck to allow blacks to fill government offices and control the city. An appeal to the State Supreme Court was rebuffed

and the Democrats, at the time, could do little but protest since they had passed the legislation by which the assembly acted back in 1876. Outspoken prominent leaders such as Alfred Moore Waddell and Hugh McRae brought statewide attention to the situation in Wilmington, giving the Democratic Party a focal point for charges of Fusionist corruption and "Negro domination" in the election campaign of 1898.

Furnifold M. Simmons, State Democratic Party Chairman, set the strategy early in the campaign. Having discovered some misappropriations and larceny of public property in the Fusionist administration of the state penitentiary, he extended the accusations of corruption, graft, and incompetency to all Fusionist governments from the state level to the municipal. Democrats singled out Wilmington, in particular, as a city dominated by ignorant blacks, a "deplorable condition that operated to check enterprise, arrest development, and produce stagnation." Furthermore, charged the Democrats, the Wilmington government had plunged the city deep into debt, had been unable, or unwilling, to control crime, and a black dominated court system allowed members of their race to violate laws with impunity. A check of the few reliable records fails to substantiate charges of domination and corruption.

The Board of Aldermen was composed of four African Americans and six whites. While there were numerous black officeholders, most were in minor positions and unable to dictate public policy. The claim that blacks were ignorant does not stand scrutiny since the black male literacy rate was higher than that of the whites (1,906 to 1,202), but literacy alone does not imply competency. To address that question and others, a check was made of the minutes of the Board of Aldermen from 1895 to 1898. The continual efforts of the city leaders to encourage progress through construction are evident in the numbers of building permits issued: the Sanitary Committee received regular orders to make recommendations for improved heath conditions; nearly every session directed street repairs and new lighting; and cultural activity was not neglected as repairs and renovations were ordered for the Opera House. As to the claim of stagnation and indifference, the Wilmington city government under the Fusion regime seemed to carry on business as usual, no better but no worse than its predecessors.

That the Republicans and blacks squandered money and drove the city into deeper debt cannot be verified in the records; in fact, the minutes show quite the opposite. The aldermen drafted a meticulous and fair tax code and regularly reviewed its provisions. They were hampered, however, in collecting revenue as indicated by the presence of books of "back taxes due." Thus, lack of citizen cooperation and the inability to obtain the necessary funds for operations, not squandering or graft, produced the debt of which the Democrats complained. Interestingly, white Democrats owned most of the property and wealth of the city from which the bulk of the tax money was obtained. In 1898, the aldermen attempted to relieve some of the debt by calling in burdensome municipal bonds

issued earlier, an act the Democrats deemed irresponsible because it required the issuance of certificates of indebtedness.

In conclusion, there is no documentary evidence to indicate that the municipal government of Wilmington in 1897-1898 engaged in open activities that could be labeled as corrupt, or that the men in control engaged in, or deliberately allowed, situations to exist that were detrimental to the city. As the racial issue heated up, the Fusionists, particularly the black members, became more withdrawn and more reticent to answer publicly the charges thrown at them. Democrats took advantage of the opportunity to claim that the blacks and their allies thus had something to hide, and rapidly the situation became a matter not of what was the entire truth but what the mass of people believed to be true. In his memoirs, Furnifold Simmons offered some insight into the political climate of 1898:

> We [Democrats] soon aroused great enthusiasm. We cowed the enemies, and we were in a position to rout them…. Suddenly, the venality, the corruption in office, the extravagance, the peculation of funds, and the miserable scandals…passed out of the public mind, and in a whirl of indignation which burst forth like the lava from a pent-up volcano, there was thrust to the front the absorbing and paramount issue of WHITE SUPREMACY.

III. Was there a rise in the crime rate in Wilmington prior to November 10, 1898? How many buildings or businesses were destroyed during the course of the riot on that date?

First, it is necessary to note that there exists an extensive bibliography on the subject. Time permitted an examination of only a small fraction of the source materials. Reference to the footnotes in secondary works will lead an interested reader to other sources. These sources include speeches and firsthand narratives, reports filed in the days following by newspaper reporters, and retellings and analysis by several generations of historians and other commentators. Taken as a whole, these views constitute a multiplicity of voices and opinions.

Crime

Readers of newspapers in Wilmington and across eastern North Carolina in 1898 could not escape the focus which editors, in news columns and editorials alike, placed on criminal acts, particularly those perpetrated by blacks. George Rountree, Wilmington attorney, Democrat, and ally of those advocating the overthrow o the Fusionist town government, recalled that ‘each issue of the paper spoke of burglaries which had been committed and lawlessness was rife, and especially were there references to disorderly conduct on the part of irresponsible Negroes.”

The chief newspapers in Wilmington were the *Morning Star*, the state's oldest daily, and the *Messenger*, both Democratic. Together with the *News and Observer*, the Raleigh daily owned by Josephus Daniels, these papers kept up a constant drumbeat on this issue. Scarcely an issue of the two Wilmington papers appeared in the summer of 1898 without notice of the latest "outrage." On July 2 "small colored boys" were held responsible for "reckless plundering." The following day three black men attempted to shoot a white man but fled before carrying through with the act. On July 31 a black man shoplifted a ham and pulled a razor on the policemen who attempted to arrest him.

The newspaper coverage was not limited to eastern North Carolina papers. The *Charlotte Observer*, generally considered more moderate on racial issues, sent their star reporter H.E.C. ("Red Buck") Bryant to Wilmington in September. He filed a report indicating that "every night, every day, almost every hour, for some months, robberies, burglaries, and various other crimes have been committed in the town." His account was widely reprinted in other papers.

The reputed crime spree appears to have peaked in August 1898 when a spate of break-ins took place in Wilmington residences. This coincided with the peak of vacation season, when many prominent white Wilmingtonians were on vacation at Wrightsville Beach or at some further remove such as the mountains. Former mayors S. H. Fishblate and W. N. Harriss were among those who returned to find their homes burglarized. On August 8 the *Messenger* reported that eight robberies had taken place over the previous weekend and that the thieves were "growing bolder every day." The newspaper further editorialized:

> These robberies of residences are too frequent for a city this size, and something should be done to put a stop to their deviltry. Quite a number of residences have been broken into and the community is indignant that the authorities are so powerless to catch up with the thieves or watch the houses that are left to their protection….

Two aspects of the criminal activity escaped the notice of the editorial writers but are readily apparent from a reading of the newspapers for these weeks. First, contrary to the claims of the editorialists, laws were enforced, arrests were made, and stolen property recovered. Eight boys, four white and four black, were held responsible for break-ins on July 3. The property of Mayors Fishblate and Harriss (specifically a banjo and a guitar in the case of the latter) were recovered and the thieves responsible arrested on August 19. The judicial system continued to operate. On October 19, twelve blacks convicted of crimes were sent to the penitentiary in Raleigh.

The other impression gained from a quick reading of the newspapers is that a considerable amount of the criminal activity, particularly murder and

assaults (perhaps as much as a third, to gather from the reports), was committed by blacks against blacks. On July 16 a "colored man" tried to shoot a neighbor. On July 21 a black man stabbed by another was left in grave condition. On August 12 there appears another account in the *Morning Star* of a black man killed by a black man. On November 2 a "bloodthirsty Negro" assaulted his father and daughter.

Aside from break-ins and related burglaries, the other most frequent criminal activity which received press attention is what might be termed "sidewalk incidents." The pages of the newspapers are replete with reports about verbal exchanges, insults, and outright assaults on the streets of Wilmington. The acts of effrontery most often were directed toward white women by black men, reports stated. If police filed a report, the charge could vary from nuisance to assault and battery. Typical were reports of young blacks locking arms and refusing to yield room to pass on the sidewalk. Other incidents involved more unusual circumstances. On July 8 the *Messenger* reported a "fistic encounter" between two prostitutes, one white and one black, a "disgusting spectacle," according to the paper. In August the paper reported that a black policeman (thirteen of the city's twenty-four were black) insulted a white woman. He had stopped on the sidewalk to inquire of a woman on her porch as to whether she had seen a suspect he was pursuing. She said that she had not; he accused her of lying, and thus was born an "incident."

Given the highly partisan nature of the press of the day, it is wise to be circumspect when considering these newspaper reports. Historian H. Leon Prather, Sr., author of a 1984 book-length study of what he termed Wilmington's "coup d'etat," casts doubt on the reliability of the newspaper evidence. "One who fully understands Southern race relations in this era could hardly believe that most of the episodes actually occurred," he wrote.

In seeking documentary evidence apart from newspapers to corroborate or contradict the reported increase in crime, I consulted two sets of records in the North Carolina State Archives. The minutes of the Wilmington Board of Aldermen contained very few references to criminal activity in the months leading up to November 1898. The exception was an ordinance adopted in April prohibiting anyone from throwing rocks at railway cars or streetcars. An ordinance adopted in early November prohibited the sale of liquor for five days either side of Election Day. Rather, the board members, at their monthly meetings, reviewed routine items about taxes, public health, trash collection, street repairs, vendors, noise, fireworks, water fountains, wagons blocking intersections, and various other matters. One task of the board was to set the city's annual budget. For the four years preceding the violence of 1898, the budget averaged just under $100,000. Of that amount, the appropriation for the police was just over $17,000; the amount did not vary appreciably over the period.

The single reference to exceptional criminal activity in the board minutes discovered in the course of this search was a motion put forward by an alderman in July 1895, over three years prior to the disturbance, to create a Police Board to investigate robberies and devise means of capturing perpetrators. At their December 1898 meeting, the new board received a report about arrests during the violence of the previous month. Eighty-three arrests were made (almost equally split by race, 42 white and 41 black), with most charges (60) for drunk and disorderly, six for larceny, three for throwing rocks, and four for firing a pistol in the city. Other charges went unspecified.

The New Hanover Circuit Criminal Court Minute Docket sheds more light on criminal activity in Wilmington during this period. Abstracted in the course of this research were the charges brought to that court during its quarterly meetings for the period 1896-1898 (see Appendix). Any charges brought as a consequence of the November 10 violence do not appear in the table since the court's final meeting for the year 1898 took place in October. These court records indicate that larcenies and related charges dominated the docket and increased slightly in 1898 from the previous year. Assault and battery charges stayed about the same. There were five murder trials in 1898 as opposed to six in 1897. No rape charges were heard in this court in 1898 (there were three the previous year).

In conclusion, available evidence indicates that the crime rate, particularly larcenies and assaults, underwent a slight increase in the months preceding November 1898. The available documentation, however, does not indicate that the activity was of the crisis proportions as described in the press. It seems clear that the situation exploited for partisan political advantage.

Destruction

In the sources consulted, there is general agreement that wholesale destruction was limited to Free Love Hall, the building which housed the *Wilmington Record*. That structure, of course, was burned but fire companies saved the buildings on adjacent lots. James Sprunt, by all accounts, rushed to his cotton compress to save his business and to assure his employees that he would safeguard their homes. Many of those who led the attack on Manly's office, in the hours that followed, engaged in violent attacks on individuals and on property but the record indicates the complete destruction of few other buildings. In particular a dance hall and Manhattan Park in the black section of the city are said to have been wrecked. In the search for weapons, private homes, churches, and businesses were entered and ransacked; in some cases, axes were used to force entry. Many blacks who had not fled town in the days preceding November 10 did so in the face of this immediate threat. Consequently, it is a safe assumption (not to say, an understatement) to assert that businesses in the black community suffered setbacks.

APPENDIX:
CRIMINAL CHARGES IN NEW HANOVER CIRCUIT CRIMINAL COURT, 1896-1898

	1896	1897	1898
Murder	0	6	5
Rape	4	3	0
Assault and Battery	45	56	57
Larceny; Burglary;	57	52	64
House Breaking			
Trespass	7	8	3
Highway Robbery	1	1	1
Concealed Weapon	17	28	24
Resisting an Officer	12	11	7
Affray	2	8	0
Nuisance	11	1	5
Injury to Property	1	2	2
Receiving Stolen Goods	0	0	1
Liquor Charges	13	3	4
Gambling	2	3	5
Cigarettes to Minor	0	9	0
Abandonment	3	3	0
Nonsupport	0	0	3
Abortion	0	1	4
Slander	1	4	1
Perjury	0	0	1
Embezzlement	1	2	3
House Burning	0	3	0
False Alarm	0	4	0
Disturb Religious Meeting	0	0	2
Disturb Excursion	0	0	1
Failure to Pay Taxes	0	1	0
Abduction	1	0	0
Vagrancy	0	0	1
Cruelty to Animal	1	0	0

Source: New Hanover Circuit Criminal Court Minute Docket, North Carolina State Archives

APPENDIX J

PRESIDENT WILLIAM MCKINLEY CORRESPONDENCE, 1898

NATIONAL ARCHIVES MATERIALS
RELATING TO THE 1898 WILMINGTON RACE RIOT
Source: RG 60, General Records of the Department of Justice,
Box 1117A "Year Files," 1887-1904.
File 17743-1898
(Note: The transcription of the letters includes misspellings and irregular punctuation.
No attempt has been made to insert corrections.)

Transcribed
August 2002

Denver, Colorado, Nov. 12th, 1898.

Hon. Wm. McKinley,

President of U. S. Washington, D. C.

Your Honor:-

I am a representative of the negro race which I am very proud of and feel not the least embarrassed in making this appeal to your honor. My race stands loyal to this government and to the Stars and Stripes. When the call came for the negro to pick up arms and go and face a foreign foe, leaving their own country, wives and children, they never faltered but went willingly to the field of battle and have shown to the world that they were no cowards, but fighters and loyal to this government and while these black boys were at Santiago – and some are there yet making a great record for themselves and their race – what is this country in the South doing for their brothers. Is it possible we must leave our homes and go and fight a foreign foe and not get any protection at home by the government we are defending? We see at Wilmington, N. C. and Greenwood, S. C. the negroes shot down like dogs and deprived of the right of ballot. We mourn the loss of our brothers, and appeal to your honor for protection. We feel that it is unjust and inhuman to our people to be treated in this manner.

The manner the negro is treated and deprived of his privileges is only a question of time how long he will be loyal to his government. The outrages of the negro in the South if left to continue will spread to the North and West, and then what is left for us to do but prove disloyal to our government.

In the name of God and humanity lend us a helping hand! Give us some protection or one kind word through the press.

Most respectfully,

Harry Jones,

1223 – 19th St.,

Denver, Colo.

Please send releif as soon as possible.
or we perish.

Wilmington N.C. Nov 13, 1898
W^{m} McKinley: - President of the United States of America,

Hon- Sir,

I a Negro woman of this City appeal to you from the depths of my heart, to do something in the Negro's behalf. The outside world only knows one side of the trouble here, there is no paper to tell the truth about the Negro here, or in this or any other Southern state. The Negro in this town had no arms, (except pistols perhaps in some instances) with which to defend themselves from the attack of lawless whites. On the 10th Thursday morning between eight and nine o clock, when our Negro men had gone to their places of work, the white men led by Col. A. M. Waddell, Jno. D. Bellamy, & S. H. Fishblate marched from the Light Infantry armory on Market st. to Seventh down seventh to Love & Charity Hall (which was owned by a society of Negroes and where the Negro daily press was.) and set it afire & burnt it up And firing Guns Winchesters. They also had a Hotchkiss gun & two Colt rapid fire guns. We the negro expected nothing of the kind as they (the whites) had frightened them from the polls by saying they would be there with their shot guns. So the few that did vote did so quietly. And we thought after giving up to them and they carried the state it was settled. But they or Jno. D. Bellamy told them — — [illegible words] in addition to the guns they already had they could keep back federal interference. And he could have the Soldiers at Ft. Caswell to take up arms against the United States. After destroying the building they went over in Brooklyn another Negro settlement mostly, and began searching every one and if you did not submit, [you] would be shot down on the spot. They searched all the Negro Churches. And to day (Sunday) we dare not go to our places of worship. They found no guns or amunition in any of the places, for there was none. And to satisfy their Blood thirsty appetites would kill unoffending Negro men to or on their way from dinner. Some of our most worthy [illegible] Negro Men have been made to leave the City. Also some Whites, G. Z. French, Deputy Sheriff, Cheif of police, Jno. R. Melton, Dr. S. P. Wright, Mayor, and R. H. Bunting, united states commissioner. We don't know where Mr. Chadbourn the Post Master is, and two or three others white. I call on you the head of the American Nation to help these humble subjects. We are loyal we go when duty calls us. And are we to die like rats in a trap? With no place to seek redress or to go with our Greiveances?

Can we call on any other Nation for help? Why do you forsake the Negro? Who is not to blame for being here. This Grand and Noble Nation who flies to the help of suffering humanity of another Nation? And leave the Secessionists and born Rioters to slay us. Oh, that we had never seen the light of the world. When our parents belonged to them, why, the Negro was all right. Now, when they work and accumalate property they are all wrong. The Negroes that have been banished are all property owners to considerable extent, had they been worthless negroes, we would not care.

Will you for God sake in your next message to Congress give us some releif If you send us all to Africa on we will be willing or a number of us will gladly go. Is this the land of the free and the home of the brave? How can the Negro Sing My Country tis of Thee? For Humanity's

sake help us. For Christ sake do. We the Negro can do nothing but pray. There seems to be no help for us. No paper will tell the truth about the Negro. The Men of the 1st North Carolina were home on a furlough and they took a high hand in the nefarious work also. The Companies from every little town came in to kill the negro. There was not any Rioting Simply the strong slaying the weak. They speak of special police every white Man and boy from 12 years up had a gun or pistol, and the Negro had nothing, but his soul he could not say was his own. Oh, to see how we are Slaughtered, when our husbands go to work we do not look for their return. The Man who promises the Negro protection now as Mayor is the one who in his speech at the Opera house said the Cape Fear should be strewn with carcasses. Some papers I see, say it was right to eject the Negro editor That is all right but why should a whole city full of negroes suffer for Manly when he was hundred of miles away? And the paper had ceased publication. We were glad it was so for our own safety. But they tried to slay us all. To day we are mourners in a strange land with no protection near. God help us. Do something to alleviate our sorrows if you please. I cannot sign my name and live. But every word of this is true. The laws of our state is no good for the negro anyhow. Yours in much distress

Wilmington NC

An Appeal for Justice.

It is an undeniable fact and a grievous wrong that the present condition of the Negroes living in our Southern States which constitute so largely an important part of this great rebublic ("America") and in the presence of our great American leader, defender, of human rights and priviledges and christian advocate, I beg of you your Excellency the President of the United States of America, to raise your voice in defence of the American Negro citizens of the States of North, and South Carolina who are Simply the targets of all the political diabolical out-rages, wrongs, and barbarous treatment they are receiving from their fellow citizens. As well as political enemies. Sir I beg of you in the face of the unconstitutional wrong, and for the Sake of humanity in the name of God "Who frowns upon all wrongs of whatever kind they may be; I implore you for the sake of Justice to stop this outragious sin.

If I could reach the hearts of all patriotic, law-abiding, christian citizens, I believe I would have a large concourse of religious, liberty-loving, God fearing Americans agree with me in these shameful menacing environments, that we a part of this great Nation people are constantly subjected to.

Most honored and esteemed Sir; I am an American woman, born under our honored flag and loving all that it teaches, all that it inspires, and all that it enobles; I offer to you Sir, And to my people as well whatever service I can possible render in the defence of these recent, and continued deplorable wrongs.

I would Suggest that special divine service be held in churches of every denomination, imploring divine help from Almighty-God for the liberation of theses poor defenceless, Americans, whose Sons Aided So largely this government in securing and giving to Cuba; the rights and piviledges all people should enjoy, that of Equal Justice, and Independence.

I beseech you to issue a Proclamation that may awaken consciousness in the hearts of white citizens in that Section of this rebublic to cease these hostilities against the black-Americans living in those States.

I am Respectfully,
And most obediently

Della V. Johnson
Winston N.C.

Temporary address
#1123 first Street N.W.
Washington D. C.
Nov "14th" 1898

Wilmington N.C.
Nov. 15, 1898

Mr. Mc. Kinly

Dear Sir, the poor citens of the colored people of North Carolina are suffering. there is over four hundred women, and children are driven from their home far out into the woods by the dimocrate party. look out for a letter from Wilmington North Carolina and in that letter that it will be the names of the citens but that letter is not true And if you have ever help the colored people, for God Sake help them now that old confradate flage is floating in Wilmington North Carolina. The city of Wilmington is unde the confradate laws. We are over powerd with the rapid fire of the guns, and they had cannons, in wagons, and they set fie to the almost half of the City. I would give you my name but I am afraid. I am afraid to own my name. It is from a colored citens.

Wilmington N.C.

Knowlesville, N.Y.
Nov. 17, 1898
His Excellency President McKinley,
Executive Mansion,
Washington, D.C.

Mr. President,

I have been reading in the newspapers about the mobing of the colored people in Wilmington, N.C., South Carolina and Missippi.

Please do all in your power to stop it, if there needs to be a standing army, please send one there.

Lynching has been going on in the Southern States ever since President Hayes removed the Standing army from the South.

If anything can be done to stop it please inform me by return mail.

Yours Respectfully,
Wm. H. Taylor,
Knowlesville,
Orleans Co.,
N.Y.

Baltimore M.D.
november 18-1898

Mr. M^{c}kinley Dear Sir

I am refering to that outrage in north Carolina I think it is a very bad way in which the colord people is treated they have got any privilige at all and no protection and if he makes an affort to protect him self he is thrust in prison. They are citizens of the uninted states. but they are less thought of than the lowest forghener. he is never on equality With the white man untill time of war then he is the black brother and after that if he is arrested for an afence if he is guilty or not he is taken out of prison with out a fare trial and linched Now this is called a civilized coutry and this kind of doings is civilized I would not like to go to one that is not. for this is bad enough and another thing this is the only country that does this lynching any way. it is not the color that makes the man but the pricible and I know that thair is Just God in heaven and if the laws of the land and the government cant put a stop to it God will. for it is an outrage the way the colord people is dealt with in this country and evry thing is a gainst the colord people I am very sorry to say. I think if it is in your power to stop it thair aught to be a stop put to it rite away. for if colord men orginize and begin fight the white men and kill and shoot thair will soon be found out away to stop all of the fuss. you would soon see. I cant see why thair is so much difference made in the two races for thair is colord people in every state Just as cable of holding office as the white is.

I do not me no harm but I am only wrighting what I think and expressing my feelings. they make difference here but can not make any in heaven.

I now Close.
Mrs. Fredrina Jones
Baltimore City
M.D.

Pittsburg, Pa.
Nov. 27 / 98

Pres. McKinley:

Dear Sir

Excuse me for addressing you, concerning the Constitution of the U.S. and being of a female sex. It is a Resolution of mine concerning the lynching of the Negroes in Wilmington N.C. and hope it will be approved by you and also a Title of Nobelty granted by you and with consent of Congress we have resolved to organize a Military. I am quite young and have never experienced but two nominations of Presidents Cleveland and yourself McKinley not knowing much of politics but for my judgement I do not think we could find a man of more noblety to wear the hat of Union. I esteem you of such power to impress upon Congress protection for our negroes in South which is stated in the Constitution of the U.S. in Section 3rd he shall from time to time give to Congress information of the State of the Union and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient. The U.S. shall guarantee to every state in this Union a Republican form of government and shall protect each of them against invasion.

Sec. 151 The rights of citizens of U.S. to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the U.S. or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition or servitude. Section 5 – Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate a legislation.

Trusting in God and following the preamble and specification know as the Decoration of Independence accompanied the resolution of Richard Henry Lee which was adopted by Congress 2nd day of July 1776 and this declarition was agreed to on the 4th. And the transaction is thus recorded in the journal for that day.

Section 6. In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial By an impartial jury of the State and District where in the crime shall have been committed.

Our people are abridged of such laws in the southern states by the Democratic party. As I noticed in one of our daily papers that one of our leading white ladies in the Southern states stated Lynch them if it is 50 a day which has not been disapproved by the United States. I being a Southerner myself I know something about the equal rights of them. Neither slavary nor involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime whereof the person shall have been duly convicted shall exist within the U.S. or any place subject to their jurisdiction Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. We are naturalized in the U.S. and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the U. States and the states where in they reside

No state shall make or inforce no law which shall abridge the privilages or immunities of the citizens of the U.S. nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or equal rights without due process of law or deny to any person within its jurisdiction on the equal protections of the Laws I hope you will being the President of the U.S. take my resolution into consideration to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them to

It becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another. We hold these truths to be self evident as all men are created equal that they are endowed by their creator by certain enailable rights I hope you will give this your strict attention and I will look for a speedy answer concerning our Negroes in the Southern States The

laws which the Democratic party are imposing upon them which our Constitution of the Union States that Congress has the law to appropriate such treatment our negroes are under We being naturlized citizens of the United States and endowed by the same Creator if we don't speak now in five years to come We may as well hold our peace. Now Mr. McKinley I have stated to you my Resolution hoping there be no offense will you oblige me enough to impress this upon Congress and give me an answer favorable to our negroes in the Southern States In which I shall enclose a two cent stamp for a speedy answer.

Yours Respcty

Rosa Jackson
2832 Smallman Str.
Pittsburg Pa.
Allegheny Co.

Note: The letter below was typed on letterhead stationery from The National Lynch-Law Anti-Mob Association (Incorporated).

Springfield, Ohio, 1898
Nov 29th 1898

Hon. M.A. Hanna
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:- - - The above association desire you to use your influence to have investigated the recent out rages in the Carolinas, such brutal treatment of my race is a disgrace to civilization, The treatment of the Armenians by the Turks and the cruelities of the Spanards is nothing to the willful murders at Wilmington N. C. this happened in a Christain land our civilization is said to be the best in the world yet the world cannot furnish an example of butchery as was done in the Carolinias, The officials at Washington claim they are powerless to do anything in this matter, but we do remember how Grover Cleveland Come to the rescue of Chicago when that great city was threathend with destruction by the [illegible]kers, and [illegible] to without the consent of the Governor of that state. it showed at that time that the Goverment at Washington was paramount to any state Govrement, when the lives and property of the citizens were in danger of destruction. The Republican party has allways posed as the friend of the Negro, and the Negro has so regarded that party, and he allyed himself with that party, believeing it to be his friend, yet that friend stands by and sees him robed of both his political and civil rights, without makeing a protest Against such treatment, What if some friend of yours would serve you as our friends (The Republican party) has servd us? you would perhaps become suspicious of your friends, this is the predicament of the American Negro today. There can be no excuse this time by the Republicans, as they are in power root and branch.

We have looked upon you as our friend ever since you have been in public life, therefore we implore you to use your best endeavors to have something done [by] this Congress to remedy this Evil which threthens the life of the Goverment its self.

Hopeing to get an expression from you on this important question
We remain

Yours truly

Samuel E. Huffman Sect.
#503 Lagonda Ave.

Form No. 168.

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY.

INCORPORATED

21,000 OFFICES IN AMERICA. CABLE SERVICE TO ALL THE WORLD.

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This is an UNREPEATED MESSAGE, and is delivered by request of the sender, under the conditions named above.

THOS. T. ECKERT, President and General Manager.

TELEPHONE 1092.

57 P 07 X 28 Paid Gov'y

RECEIVED at BRANT HOUSE, 11th AVE. & 12th ST.

DIRECT WIRES.

Washington, D. C., Nov. 8, '98.

Geo. B. Cortelyou,

Assistant Private Secretary to President McKinley,

On P. R. R. Train No. 8, Altoona, Pa.

Roosevelt elected by at least thirty thousand. Greater New York gives Van Wyck about seventy four thousand majority. All Philadelphia republican congressmen re-elected. Connecticut republican by about fifteen thousand. Stone elected governor of Pennsylvania by large majority. North Carolina solidly democratic. No trouble there. Indications are that the house will

3940

Form No. 168.

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This is an UNREPEATED MESSAGE, and is delivered by request of the sender, under the conditions named above.

THOS. T. ECKERT, President and General Manager.

TELEPHONE 1092.

RECEIVED at BRANT HOUSE, 11th AVE. & 12th ST.

No. 57. Sheet No. 2.

DIRECT WIRES.

have a good working majority. Hamilton county, Ohio, gives a republican majority of fourteen thousand five hundred. Massachusetts reupblican. Chicago city democratic by a small plurality.

Chas. A. Boynton.

10:12 P.

McKinley monitored the progress of elections in several key states using all resources at his disposal, including private investigators, federal appointees and staff.
Source: William McKinley Papers, National Archives Microfilm

TELEGRAM.

Montgomery::

Sheet 8, M. P.

Executive Mansion,

[898] Washington.

Athens, November 7, - The Cabinet has resigned, its members considering that the exceptional circumstances under which they have assumed office have expired.

o

St-Louis, Mo., November 7, - Col. William J. Bryan, Third Nebraska Volunteers, passed through St-Louis to-day from Savannah, Georgia, on his way home.

In response to a request for an interview, Colonel Bryan said:

"Don't ask me to discuss the political situation. Don't intimate an inquiry as to prevailing conditions in the army. Why? Because I have military lock-jaw".

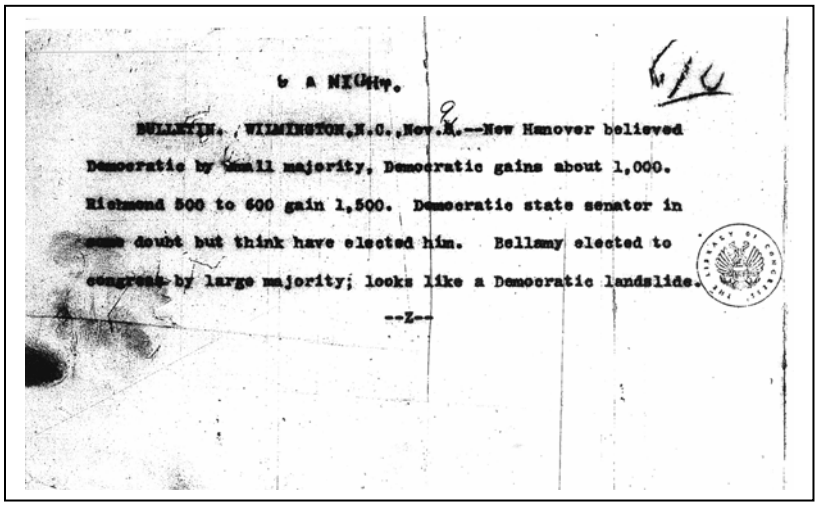
o

Wilmington, N. C., November 7, - Outwardly the situation here is quiet but apprehensions of trouble have not entirely disappeared. The great fight in this county will be on the State Senatorial ticket. Republican and Populist leaders including Governor Russell and the two State chairmen, are making a desperate effort to get the negroes to the polls in the hope of electing the Senator. They seem to care for nothing else in this county. Democrats think they will elect the Senator and this adds excitement to the closing hours of the campaign. Both sides claim the State and the Legislature, but there is no reasonable doubt that the democrats will have both.

o

3939

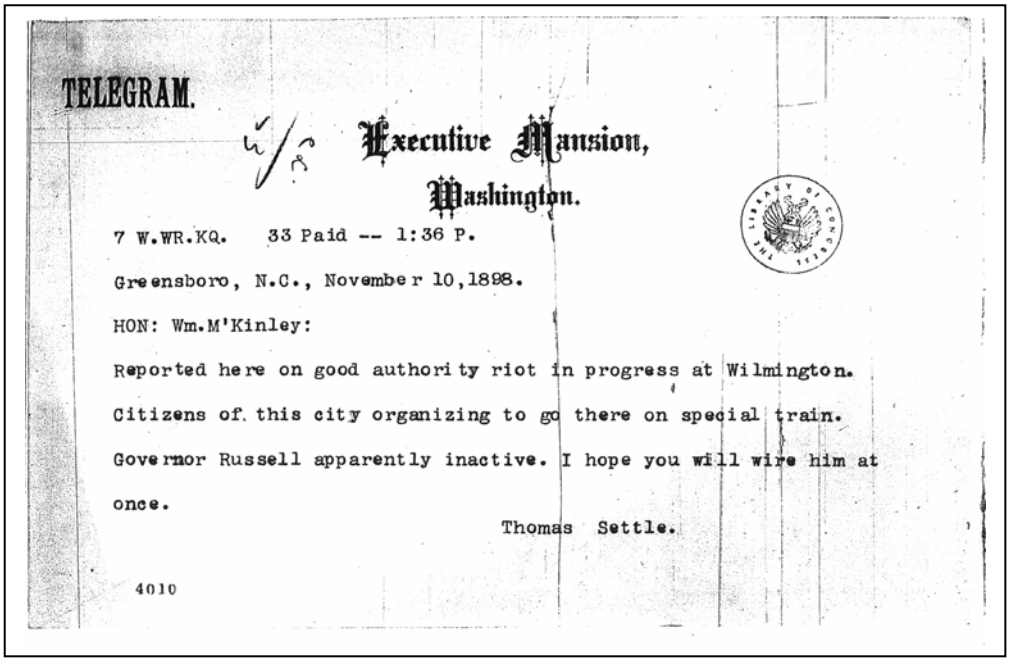
Intelligence Report, November 7, 1898
William McKinley Papers, National Archives Microfilm



6 A NIGHT.

BULLETIN. WILMINGTON,N.C.,Nov.8.--New Hanover believed Democratic by small majority. Democratic gains about 1,000. Richmond 500 to 600 gain 1,500. Democratic state senator in some doubt but think have elected him. Bellamy elected to congress by large majority; looks like a Democratic landslide.

--Z--



TELEGRAM.

Executive Mansion,
Washington.

7 W.WR.KQ. 33 Paid -- 1:36 P.

Greensboro, N.C., November 10,1898.

HON: Wm.M'Kinley:

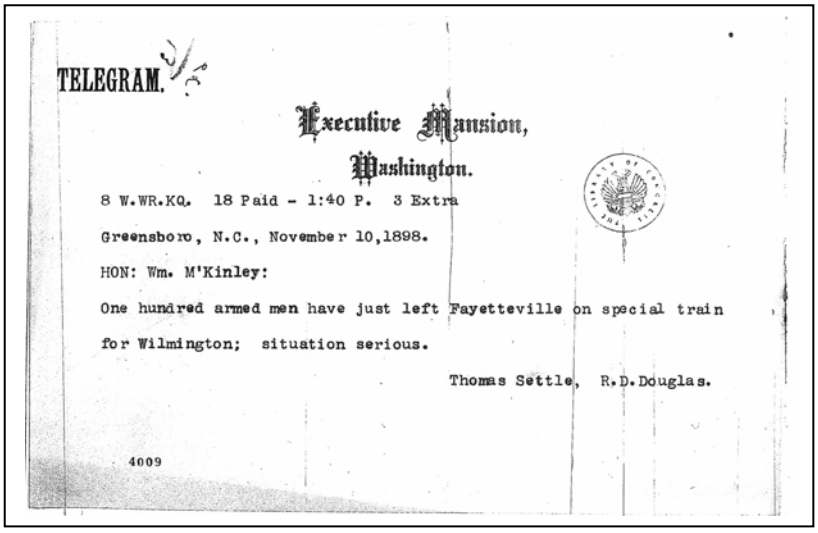
Reported here on good authority riot in progress at Wilmington. Citizens of this city organizing to go there on special train. Governor Russell apparently inactive. I hope you will wire him at once.

Thomas Settle.

4010

McKinley Correspondence, 1898

William McKinley Papers, National Archives Microfilm



TELEGRAM.

Executive Mansion,
Washington.

8 W.WR.KQ. 18 Paid - 1:40 P. 3 Extra

Greensboro, N.C., November 10,1898.

HON: Wm. M'Kinley:

One hundred armed men have just left Fayetteville on special train for Wilmington; situation serious.

Thomas Settle, R.D.Douglas.

4009

TELEGRAM.

Executive Mansion,
Washington.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

1 D.ND.KQ. 296 Paid.

Washington, D. C., November 12, 1898.

President M'Kinley:

Passing this morning through Washington, I see from the reports in the POST that you are contemplating sending troops into South Carolina. Don't do it. I am a Liberty-loving North Carolinian. I refer you to Hon: James E. Boyd, Assistant Attorney General, as to who I am. I make no apologies for being a Southern Democrat. It is the lawless vicious, bad element on the negro race that is being suppressed. The government can not afford to shoot down the associates of Bagley, Blue and Hobson, because the property owners and the tax-payers will not submit to the domination of the vicious element of the black race.

If you knew the situation as I know it you would say AMEN? Enquire of Bishop Hurst, of the Northern Methodist Church, whether I would make you a false statement. I am at the 5th. Avenue Hotel, New York City, for the next few days. If I can aid you in solving the question, you have only to wire to me, and I will most gladly return to see you. I am only a private citizen, wishing peace and prosperity to all sections of our beloved country. I give employment to one thousand men, largely colored and they would die for me. Listen to me? I am proud to be in position to answer for the South, and especially North Carolina. If I can be of service wire me, please, to the 5th. Avenue Hotel, New York.

JULIAN S. CARR,

President 1st. National Bank, Durham;
Prest. Blackwell's Durham Tob. Co;

(Received 10;20 a.m.)

4320

(I pay the government $1,000 taxes every day in the year including Sundays; this you can verify on enquiry tobacco dept. Treasury dept, so you will see in a moment that no one is more interested in good stable government).

Julian S. Carr of Durham to McKinley, November 12, 1898
William McKinley Papers, National Archives Microfilm

APPENDIX K

CITY DIRECTORY DATA

African American Business Leaders, 1897

Compiled from a database supplied by Tod Hamilton using the 1897 Wilmington City Directory.

Name	1897 Occupation	1897 Bus Add #1	1897 Bus Add #2
Addison, James	Grocer	409	N 7th
Alderman, Luther	Shoemaker	211 1/2	Market
Alexander, Frank P.	Confectioner	1013	Market
Alexander, Mary	Eating House	10	S 2nd
Allen, Spotswood	Huckster	116 1/2	S Front
Ambristoer, John A.	Tailor	16	N 2nd
Baker, Cornelius	Barber	1118	N 6th
Baker, Cornelius	Shoemaker	1118	N 6th
Barlow, Mattie	Eating House		N 4th nr Swann
Batsam, Ankum/Ancrum	Eating House	9	Dock
Bell, Salen J.	Fish & Oyster--Dealers & Shippers		Water r Front Street Market
Bennett, James W.	Shoemaker	105	N 2nd
Bennett, James W.	Shoemaker	105	N 2nd
Bland, William W.	Shoemaker	119	Dock
Blount, William H.	Tailor	20	N 2nd
Boddie, Frank P.	Plumber	102	N 2nd
Boddie, Frank P.	Plumber	107	N 2nd
Bonnett, George C.	Grocer	323	S 7th
Brown, Adam	Provision Dealer	122	S Front
Brown, Archer L.	Grocer	823	N 4th
Brown, Henry	Barber	122	Princess
Brown, John H.	Health Officer	213	Princess
Brown, Mary J.	Eating House	822	N 4th
Burden, Eliza	Eating House	15	S Water
Byrd, Kenan	Restaurant		Front Street mkt
Carraway, James H.	Barber	11	S Front
Clinton, Henry	Barber	8	S 2nd
Connor, Charles	Shoemaker	107 1/2	N 2nd
Cutlar, George	Barber	8	S 2nd
Davis, Cornelius S.	Barber	9	S Front
Davis, Jackson D.	Provision Dealer	116	S Front
Dry, George D.	Health Officer	213	Princess
Dry, James D.	Dyer & Tailor	16	N 2nd
Edenborough, Florence A.	Restaurant	11	S 2nd
Evans, Daniel W.	Barber	8	N 2nd
Evans, David C.	Funeral Directors	107	N 2nd
Evans, Eli	Horseshoer	208	Princess
Evans, Peter	Eating House	230	N Water
Everett, Stanley	Restaurant	4	N Water
Everett, Stanley	Barber	8	N Water

Faircloth, Mack	Eating House		Muter's Al nr Front
Faircloth, William	Eating House		Muter's Al nr Front
Fleming, Shakespeare	Shoemaker	14	S 2nd
Freeman, William S.	Barber	29	Marker
Fuller, Balaam	City Bill Poster	216	S 7th
Galley, James	Carpenter	411	Brunswick
Gideon, Hikeil	Clothier and Shoes	17	Dock
Giles, John	Confectioner	402	S 7th
Goss, John	Confectioner	620	Bladen
Green, William H.	Boot & Shoe Dealer	105 1/2	Princess
Guion, Edward D.	Barber	11	S Front
Hall, John	Shoemaker	503	S Front
Hall, Mary	Eating House	822	N 4th
Hall, William T.	Grocer	823	N 4th
Herring, Leo	Cook	113	S Front
Hill, Robert	Barber	816	Market
Holden, Samuel W.	Plumber & Gasfitter	121	S 2nd
Howe, Charles H.	Restaurant	15	N 2nd
Huggins, Alexander	Gatherer of Medincinal Roots & c.	15	S Water
Hunt, Thomas	Shoemaker	113	(Mulberry) Grace
Hutchins, Richard L.	Paints & Oil	5	S 2nd
Isler, Sampson	Grocer	618 1/2	N 7th
Jackson, Allen E.	Shoemaker	20	N 2nd
Jackson, John L.	Shoe Shop	419	Red Cross
Jacobs, David	Barber & Coroner	15	Dock
James, Isaiah	Shoemaker	126	Market
Johnson, Hanover/Andover	Shoemaker	104	N 11th
Johnson, Jacob	Barber		Muter's al nr Front
Jones, Albert	Restaurant	16	N 2nd
Jones, Emma	Eating House	1120	N 4th
Jones, Henry L.	Shoemaker	126	Market
Jones, Joseph J.	Blacksmith	414	Nutt
Jones, Moses	Shoemaker	511	Chestnut
Kea, J. Richard	Confectioner	1203	McRae's Al
Kellogg, William J.	Butcher/Provision Dealer		Third Ward mkt 17 N 8th
Kennedy, Lorenzo D.	Baker	701	Red Cross
King, Archibald S.	Wood Dealer	9	Queen
King, Mildred	Vegetables Stall	6	4th St Market
Lane, Elijah	Barber	15	Dock
Lane, James H.	Painter--House & Sign	410	Red Cross
Lee, Daniel	Grocer	2	S 11th
Lewis, Benjamin L.	Grocer	701	S Ann
Loftin, Wright	Shoemaker	704	N 4th
Lofton, McLain	Grocer	15	N 2nd

Love, Frederick	Grocer	920	Miller
Lowrey, James A.	Blacksmith	716	Princess
Manly, Alexander L.	Editor		cor 2nd & Market
Manly, Frank G.	Manager		cor 2nd & Market
Manly, Henry T.	Compositor		cor 2nd & Market
Manly, Lewis D.	Foreman		cor 2nd & Market
Mark, Thomas R.	Druggist	12	N 2nd
Mask, Thomas R.	Physician & Druggist	12	N 2nd
Mask, Thomas R.	Physician	12	N 2nd & 510 S 7th
McCray, Albert	Barber	8	N 2nd
McCuller, Moses	Blacksmith	605	S Front
McDonald, Robert	Merchant Tailor	20	N 2nd
McFarland, Alfred	Confectioner	617	McNeill
McKinney, Thomas	Shoemaker		S 7th nr Nun
McKoy, Edward	Grocer	518	S 7th
McKoy, Frank	Shoemaker	107	N 2nd
McKoy, John Jr.	Grocer	518	S 7th
McLane, Henry	Barber	11	S Front
McNeil, William H.	Tailor	10	N 2nd
McNeill, Cornelius	Confectioner	1009	S Front
McPherson, Robert J.	Restaurant	306	Nutt
McRae, Anthony L.	Grocer	519	Campbell
McRae, John	Confectioner	521	S Front
McRae, William H.	Butcher Stall	5	4th St Market
Merrick, Frederick S.	Painter--Carriage	201	Princess
Merrick, Isham	Grocer	712	Nixon
Miller, Thomas C.	Real Estate & Pawnbroker	38542	Dock
Miller, Thomas C.	Pawnbroker & Real Estate	7-9	Dock
Mitchell, William	Painter--House & Sign		4th nr (Mulberry) Grace
Moore, Delaware N.	Barber	105	Princess
Moore, James C.	Barber	9	S Front
Moore, William C.	Barber	105	Princess
Moore, William H.	Printer--Job	6	(Mulberry) Grace
Murray, Junius A.	Barber	105	Princess
Nichols, Henry	Confectioner		6th cor Bladen
Nixon, John O.	Grocer	801	Nixon
Peaman, George	Barber	719	N 4th
Pearman, Moses	Barber	820	N 4th
Pearson, James W.	Barber	122	Princess
Perkins, Dennis	Shoemaker	617	S 2nd
Perry, William	Shoemaker	621	S Front
Peterson, Louis H.	Barber	4	Princess
Pickens, Robert B.	Fish & Oyster--Dealers & Shippers		Water r Front Street Market
Price, George W.	Justice of Peace/Magistrate	612	N 4th
Price, George W.	Furniture	706	N 4th

Reardon, Robert B.	Barber	29	Market
Reynolds, Robert A.	Physician	16	2nd
Rhone, Alexander	Confectioner	507	S Front
Rich, Thomas	Restaurant	4	N Water
Rich, Thomas	Barber	8	N Water
Richardson, David	Provision Dealer	419	Harnett
Rivera, Thomas	Funeral Director	11	N 3rd
Rivera, Thomas Jr.	Funeral Director	703	N 4th
Robinson, George W.	Boot & Shoe Dealer	14	S 2nd
Robinson, James E.	Barber	15	Dock
Sadgwar, Frederick C.	Carpenter		
Sampson, Charles E.	Grocer		Walnut cor 9th
Sampson, John N.	Barber	29	Market
Samuel, William M.	Restaurant	6	(Mulberry) Grace
Saunders, Daniel	Confectioner	302	S 7th
Scott, Benjamin	Grocer	515	Walnut
Scott, Thomas E.	Barber	209	Market
Scott, W. Henry	Barber & Shoemaker	308	Nutt
Scott, William M.	Grocer	519	Harnett
Smith, Catherine	Restaurant	721	N 4th
Smith, Presley C.	Grocer	302	N 10th
Smith, Robert E.	Wheelwright	111	(Mulberry) Grace
Smith, Samuel	Grocer	519	Bladen
Smith, W. Henry	Contractor & Builder		
Smith, William H.	Grocer		S 10th cor Dock
Spicer, Christopher	Blacksmith	1117	N 3rd
Spruell, William P.	Barber	605	Red Cross
Swann, Lousia C.	Grocer		Market cor 17th
Tate, Henry H.	Blacksmith & Wheelwright		Nixon cor Love's al
Taylor, James W.	Shoemaker	906	Market
Taylor, William P.	Barber	1003	Market
Thomas, Adolphus	Saloon	19	S Water
Thomas, Smith	Grocer	608	McRae
Thompson, Isham	Restaurant	115	S Front
Walker, Calvin	Shoemaker	211	Market
Weston, Frank	Confectioner	115	Chestnut
White, Robert H.	Grocer	520	Dickinson
White, Sylvester	Confectioner	108	S 12th
Whitehead, John H.	Grocer	1001	N 7th
Whiteman John H. Jr.	Grocer	700	Campell
Whiteman, John H.	Coal & Wood	18	S Water
Williams, David	Painter--House & Sign	507	N 7th
Williams, Winnie	Cook	824	N 4th
Wimbish, Emanuel	Barber	105	Princess
Wright, Joseph	Barber	8	N 2nd
Yarborough, J. Wesley	Barber	105	Princess

African American Business Leaders, 1900

Compiled from a database supplied by Tod Hamilton using the 1897 Wilmington City Directory.

Name	Occupation	1900 Bus Add #1	1900 Bus Add #2
Alexander, Enoch	Eating-house	10	S 2nd
Allen, Spotswood	Grocer	116 1/2	S Front
Alston, John H.	Physician	701	N 4th
Bailey, Tolson B.	Pump Repairer	119	Dock
Batson, Ancrum B.	Eating House	9	Dock
Benmennon, Ida	Eating-house	424	N Water
Biggs, Amos	Wood Dealer		w s Water nr Dock
Bland, William B.	Shoemaker	119	Dock
Blount, William H.	Tailor	20	N 2nd
Bradley, John A.	Barber	719	N 4th
Broaddus, Diana	Eating-house	719	N 4th
Brown, Alexander D.	Dry Goods	29	N Front
Brown, Henry B.	Barber	122	Princess
Brown, James O.	Carriage & Wagon Manufacturer	201	Princess
Brown, mary J.	Restaurant	822	N 4th
Brown, Thomas	Grocer	402	S 7th
Brownell, Thomas J.	Grocer	501	S 7th
Bryant, Isadora	Eating-house	1106	N 4th
Burke, J. Thomas	Jeweller & Watchmaker	27	S Front
Butler, Hester	Dressmaker	407	McRae
Byrd, Kenan	Eating-house		Front street market
Chestnutt, Patrick B.	Bootblack	218	N Front
Council, William M.	Barber	821	N 4th
Cuoton, John W.	Barber	618	N 4th
Cuoton, John W. Jr.	Barber	618	N 4th
Davis, Alexander	Funeral Director	824	N 4th
Davis, Charlotte	Huckster		Front street market
Davis, Cornelius	Barber	7	S Front
Dew, Ridick D.	Barber	12	N 2nd
Dixon, Major S.	Fish Dealer		Muter's al nr Water
Dry, James D.	Dyer & Taylor	16	N 2nd
Evans, D. W.	Barber	8	N 2nd
Evans, Eli	Horseshoer	106	N 2nd
Evans, Peter	Eating House	230	N Water
Everett, Daniel	Barber	4	Princess

Gardner, Louis	Eating-house	9	S 2nd
Gause, George	Carpenter	109	N 2nd
Graves, Elizabeth	Dressmaker	813	S 7th
Green, Elijah M.	Grocer	323	S 7th
Green, Henry C.	Butcher		4th Street Market
Guion, Edward D.	Barber	7	S Front
Gurley, Alonzo	Shoemaker	921	Orange
Haggett, Grace	Eating-house	721	N 4th
Hall, David	Shoemaker		Swan's Al nr Nixon
Hall, Samuel E.	Funeral Director	107	N 2nd
Hargrave, John A.	Horseshoer		s s Princess 1st w 8th
Hargrave, Moses C.	Blacksmith	13	N 8th
Holmes, George W.	Grocer	720	McRae
Howe, John H.	Carpenter	116	Castle
Howe, Valentine	Carpenter	520	S 9th
Jackson, Allen E.	Shoemaker	20	N 2nd
Jackson, John L.	Shoemaker	421	Red Cross
Jacobs, David	Barber	15	Dock
Jones, Albert A.	Boarding House	214	S 8th
Jones, Benjamin	Eating-house	412	N Water
Jones, Henry L.	Shoemaker	128	Market
Jones, Joseph J.	Blacksmith	414	Nutt
Jones, Moses	Shoemaker	13	N 8th
Kelley/Kelly, Duke	Shoemaker	712	S 6th
Kellogg, William J.	Butcher		4th Street market
King, Mildred	Huckster		4th Street market
Lane, Elijah	Barber	15	Dock
Lee, Daniel	Grocer	4	S 11th
Lewis, Benjamin L.	Grocer	701	Ann
Lewis, John	Junk Dealer	501	S 5th
Loftin, Wright	Shoemaker	704	N 4th
Lucas, Joseph H.	Barber	218	N Front
Lykes, Rufus L.	Shoemaker		N 8th nr Hanover
Mack, George	Shoemaker	1017	N 4th
Mack, John H.	Grocer	808	Castle
Mask, John H. W.	Physician	703	Red Cross
Matthews, Margie	Grocer	700	Campbell
McFarland, Mary	Confectioner	710	S 9th
McKinney, Thomas	Shoemaker	323	S 7th
McKoy, Frank	Shoemaker	109	N 2nd
McKoy, Julia	Eating-house	3	N Water
McKoy, Simon	Blacksmith	608	Nixon
McNeil, James	Eating-house	106	N Water

Merrick, Samuel	Butcher		Stall 10 Front Street market
Miller, John	Grocer		McRae N E cor Rankin
Mizzell, Maria	Dressmaker	810	Dock
Moore, James C.	Barber	132	Market
Moore, William H.	Printer, News Dlr & Sign Painter	14	(Mulberry) Grace
Murphy, Julia	Eating-house	414 1/2	Nutt
Nixon, Bettie	Eating-house	230	N Water
Nixon, John O.	Grocer	801	Nixon
Nixon, Robert W	Grocer	601	Nixon
Norwood, Adelaide	Music Teacher	720	N 5th
Peyton, Alexander	Confectioner	816	N 4th
Price, Betsy	Midwife	704	Ann
Price, Jr. George	Magistrate & Furniture	603	N 4th
Prigden, John	Confectioner	420	S 6th
Richardson, David	Huckster	419	Harnett
Ricks, Thomas	Eating-house	8	N Water
Rivera, Jr Thomas	Undertaker	703	N 4th
Rivera, Thomas	Undertaker	11	N 3rd
Robinson, George W.	Shoemaker	14	S 2nd
Robinson, Susie	Eating-house	2	Dock
Russ, Samuel	Grocer	720	Nixon
Sampson, Charles	Grocer	721	Red Cross
Samuel, William M. E.	Shoemaker	102 1/2	N 7th
Saunders, Daniel	Grocer	302	S 7th
Scott, Benjamin	Grocer	515	Walnut
Scott, Warren F	Livery, Sale & Exchange Stable	316	N 5th
Shaw, John H.	Funeral Director	107	N 2nd
Smith, Martha	Huckster	519	Bladen
Smith, Presley C.	Grocer	302	(Mulberry) Grace
Smith, Rachel	Grocer	620	N 7th
Sneed, Decatur C.	Butcher		4th Street market
Spicer, James	Grocer	820	Castle
Spruell, Rosa	Grocer	700	Campbell
Spruell, William P.	Barber	605	Red Cross
Stokes, Buchanan C.	Grocer	19	S 10th
Sykes, Jennie	Baker	722	Campbell
Thomas, Charles H.	Grocer	1120	N 4th
Thomas, John E.	Druggist	620	Campbell
Thompson, Isham	Eating-house	115	S Front

Townsend, Alice	Eating-house	230 1/2	N Water
Tucker, Joshua H.	Grocer		Anderson cor Miller
Waddell, Peter	Grocer	800	McRae
Waggoner, Thomas	Shoemaker	608	Nixon
Walker, Calvin	Shoemaker	1017	N 4th
Ward, George	Confectioner	402	Dawson
Weston, Frank	Huckster		8th s w cor Chestnut
White, Robert H.	Grocer	520	Dickinson
Wilson, Simon A	Watchmaker	720 1/2	N 4th
Wright, Annie M.	Dressmaker	110	S 10th

APPENDIX L

PROPERTY TRANSACTIONS BY AFRICAN AMERICANS

WITH J-Z SURNAMES

Appendix L is a comprehensive survey of property transactions from 1891 to 1905 for Wilmington's African Americans with J-Z surnames. The goal was to assess the impact of the 1898 Wilmington Race Riot on property ownership. Sue Ann Cody's thesis "After the Storm: Racial Violence in Wilmington, North Carolina and Its Consequences for African Americans, 1898-1905" provided a framework for the study but examined only A-J surnames. Cody generously supplied the compiler with notes from her research which proved to be valuable in helping to assemble the preliminary data. The investigation of the J-Z African American surnames constituted original work by the compiler over the course of fifteen weeks in the spring and summer of 2003.

Cody limited the scope of her investigation to transactions involving the following groups: members of the Committee of Colored Citizens, people with A-J surnames with non-Wilmington residences at the time of their land sale, and banished citizens who sold their properties. For this investigation, deed records for all of the African Americans in Wilmington with J-Z surnames were examined. In order to make the undertaking possible, the decision was made to follow Cody's model and limit the analysis to those whose names first appeared in the New Hanover County grantee index and acquired their land within the seven year period of 1891-1898. The research project started with New Hanover County tax lists from 1897 and 1900 that identified black property owners which Cody assembled and supplied to the compiler.[1]

This analysis of the grantee index produced 265 entries. The individual with the most listings was Thomas C. Miller (ca. 1848-1903) with 126 or roughly half of the deed

[1] Sue Ann Cody, "After the Storm: Racial Violence in Wilmington, North Carolina and Its Consequences for African Americans, 1898-1905" (master's thesis, University of North Carolina at Wilmington, 2000), 120 and 122-123; Index to Real Estate Conveyances, Grantee, 1729-1954 (microfilm), New Hanover County Deeds, State Archives, Raleigh; Tax Lists, 1897 and 1900 (microfilm), New Hanover County Tax Records, N.C. State Archives, Raleigh.

transactions. After examining the deeds, many names were eliminated because the land had actually been obtained at a date prior to 1891 and not recorded until that year or later. In addition, the number of names was further reduced after examination of the deeds showed that some owners were mortgagors and not purchasers of their property. Furthermore, some names, which listed no year in the index, were eliminated when a check of the deeds placed the transactions before 1891.[2]

The next step was the examination of the grantor index (those selling property) from 1898 to 1905. The number of blacks with J-Z surnames who (1) bought land between 1891 and 1898 and (2) sold or mortgaged that same property between 1898 and 1905 totaled thirty-five. Close, detailed analysis was made of this set of transactions. This group of African Americans, which included a few females, encompassed a broad spectrum on the socio-economic ladder.[3]

The analysis of the property transactions produced no evidence of property seizure. The investigation did indicate whether property was sold for loss and gain over the seven-year period after 1898. An example of property sold at a loss is the case of Stephen Williams, a laborer, who sold part of lot 4 in Block 137 on June 8, 1899, for $50. Williams had purchased the tract on March 8, 1895, for $137, meaning that he lost $87. An unusual case of property gain is the case of baker Lorenzo D. Kennedy. On August 3, 1891, the baker purchased a portion of lot 1 in Block 196 for $900. On February 26, 1904, he sold the property for $3,000, a windfall of $2,100. This likely reflects the fact

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[2] Index to Real Estate Conveyances, Grantee, 1729-1954, New Hanover County (microfilm), State Archives, Raleigh; Books 6-23, 30, D, and LD-A (microfilm), New Hanover County Deeds, State Archives, Raleigh.

[3] Index to Real Estate Conveyances, Grantor, 1729-1954 (microfilm), New Hanover County Deeds, State Archives, Raleigh; Books 21-46, 55, C, D, LD-A, and P (microfilm), New Hanover County Deeds, State Archives, Raleigh.

that he improved the property by constructing a building. Kennedy sold other tracts at a loss, such as part of lots 2 and 3 in Block 250 that he bought for $150 in April 1891 and which he sold to Capt. John Barry for $100 in September 1902.[4]

A few owners essentially transferred their property as gifts. For instance, barber Louis H. Peterson obtained parts of lots 2 and 3 in Block 187 in July 1898 for $500. On December 2, 1904, Peterson presented the tract to Justin M. Bunting, a white Wilmington bookkeeper and manager, for $1 and other valuable considerations, a relatively common practice. Another example of a land bequest occurred between Delia and Maria Wade. On July 28, 1892, Delia Wade, a cook, purchased a parcel of land in Block 80 for $100. In March 1899, she gave the land to Maria Wade, presumably a relative, for $1.[5]

Of the thirty-five deeds examined in detail, ten were sold for loss and fifteen for gain. Analysis indicated a high number of mortgages. Of thirty-five people, seventeen had mortgaged thirty tracts. Sometimes the property was mortgaged more than once. Dr. Thomas R. Mask had the most mortgages (five) with one loan for $300; another for $900, and three for $1,000. Both financial institutions and individuals provided loans. The mortgage deeds indicated none of the borrowers defaulted on their loans.[6]

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[4] Book 16, p. 196 (microfilm), New Hanover County Deeds, State Archives, Raleigh; *Directory of Wilmington, N.C., 1897* (Richmond, Va.: J. L. Hill Printing Co, 1897), 180 and 254; Book 25, p. 554 (microfilm), New Hanover County Deeds, State Archives, Raleigh; Book 8, p. 85 (microfilm), New Hanover County Deeds, State Archives, Raleigh; Book 38, p. 618, New Hanover County Deeds, State Archives, Raleigh; Book 7, p. 147 (microfilm), New Hanover County Deeds, State Archives, Raleigh; Book 34, p. 609 (microfilm), New Hanover County Deeds, State Archives, Raleigh.

[5] *Directory of Wilmington, N.C., 1900* (Richmond, Va.: J. L. Hill Printing Co, 1899), 57, 163, and 195; Book 23, p. 239 (microfilm), New Hanover County Deeds, State Archives, Raleigh; Book 43, p. 187 (microfilm), New Hanover County Deeds, State Archives, Raleigh; *Directory of Wilmington, N.C., 1897* (J. L. Hill Printing Co., 1897), 245; Book 10, p. 301 (microfilm), New Hanover County Deeds, State Archives, Raleigh; Book 24, p. 636 (microfilm), New Hanover County Deeds, State Archives, Raleigh.

[6] Book 28, p. 72 (microfilm), New Hanover County Deeds, State Archives, Raleigh; Book 42, p. 303 (microfilm), New Hanover County Deeds, State Archives, Raleigh; Book 44, p. 531 (microfilm), New Hanover County Deeds, State Archives, Raleigh; Book 37, p. 366 (microfilm), New Hanover County Deeds, State Archives, Raleigh; Book 33, p. 354 (microfilm), New Hanover County Deeds, State Archives,

An effort was made to find biographical data on all landowners. Some personal information was found for each person; more material could be found on some people than on others. Deed records provided names of spouses. The 1897 and 1900 Wilmington city directories offered home and business addresses, occupations, and business names. The 1900 population census gave additional data, such as age, birth month and year, and the number of family members. It also supplied addresses and occupations and whether the individual owned or rented their dwelling. The census recorded if a person's home was free of a mortgage. William M. Reaves' 1998 book *"Strength through Struggle"* was an invaluable source in furnishing detailed biographical material on some of the people. To find additional data, the compiler turned to death notices in Wilmington newspapers, the death register from city of Wilmington, the roster of North Carolina soldiers in the Spanish-American War, and the 1880 population census of New Hanover County.[7]

Raleigh; Book 35, p. 475 (microfilm), New Hanover County Deeds, State Archives, Raleigh; Book 40, p. 148 (microfilm), New Hanover County Deeds, State Archives, Raleigh.

[7] Various Books (microfilm), New Hanover County Deeds, State Archives, Raleigh; *Directory of Wilmington, N.C., 1897* (Richmond, Va.: J. L. Hill Printing Co., 1897), various pages; *Directory of Wilmington, N.C., 1900* (Richmond, Va.: J. L Hill Printing Co., 1899), various pages; Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900: New Hanover County, Population Schedule, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (microfilm, State Archives, Raleigh); William M. Reaves, *"Strength through Struggle": The Chronological and Historical Record of the African-American Community in Wilmington, North Carolina, 1865-1950,* ed. Beverly Tetterton (Wilmington, N.C.: New Hanover County Public Library, 1998), various pages; *Morning Star* (Wilmington, N.C.), March 27, 1903 and June 12, 1904, February 14, 1907, and February 23, 1911; *Evening Dispatch* (Wilmington, N.C.), February 22, 1911; *Wilmington Messenger,* February 14, 1907; Wilmington, N.C. Register of Deaths, 1903-1907, State Archives, Raleigh, *Roster of the North Carolina Volunteers in the Spanish-American War, 1898-1899* (Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards and Broughton and E. M. Uzzell, State Printers, 1900), 92-93, and 99; Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: New Hanover County, Population Schedule, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (microfilm, State Archives, Raleigh)

Jones, Joseph J.; 610 Eighth Street; Blacksmith (414 Nutt Street)
Property Purchased:
- Purchased with Henry Green; part of lots 1, 5, and 6 in Block 31 and all of lot 2 in Block 36; February 2, 1891; $710 (DB 6, p 611).

Property Sold:
- Sold with N. B. Rankin; part of lots 4 and 5 in Block 31, October 6, 1904; Buyer: H. M. Millinor; $75 (DB 43, p. 321).*
- Sold with N. B. Rankin; western part of lots 5 and 6 in Block 31; December 6, 1904; Buyer: W. W. Cumming; $300 (DB 43, p. 208).*

Loss or Gain:
- -$335*

Kennedy, Lorenzo D.; 48; b. April 1850; 701 Red Cross Street (Owned Home/Mortgage Free); Baker; spouse, Sarah Jane Kennedy; 6 children;
Miscellaneous:
- Giblem Masonic Lodge Officer, 1888 and 1889.

Property Purchased:
- Part of lots 2 and 3 in Block 250; April 4, 1891; $150 (DB 7, p. 147).
- Part of lot1 in Block 196; August 3, 1891; $900 (DB 8, p. 85).

Property Sold:
- Part of lots 2 and 3 in Block 250; September 25, 1902; $100; Buyer: Capt. John Barry (DB 34, p. 609)
- Part of lot 1 in Block 196; February 26, 1904; $3000; Buyer: Stephen W. Anan (DB 38, p. 618).

Property Mortgaged:
- Located in Block 196; April 15, 1902; $250 loan; Loaner: Mechanics Home Association; Discharged: February 26, 1905 (DB 34, p. 31).

Loss or Gain:
- Part of lots 2 and 3 in Block 250: -$50
- Part of lot 1 in Block 196: +$2100

Leonard, Hays/Hayes; 38, b. June 1860; 715 South Sixth Street (Rented Home); Laborer/Stevedore; Spouse, Eliza A. Leonard; two children.
Property Purchased:
- Part of lot 4 in Block 64; May 15, 1894; $10 (DB 17, p. 447).
- Part of lot 4 in Block 64; April 15, 1896; $162.50 (DB 17, p. 448).

Property Mortgaged:
- Part of lots 4, 5, and 6 in Block 64; March 29, 1902; $90; Loaner: Manie Possion; Discharged: December 5, 1902 (DB 34, p. 24).

Loftin, Isaac; 48; May 1850; North-South Dock Street, First East of Fifteenth Street [1900 Directory]/1513 Dock Street [1900 Census] (Owned home/Mortgaged free); Huckster; Spouse, Elizabeth Loftin (Washwoman).

Property Purchased:

- Purchased with Mary Jane Polite; middle parts of lots 3, 4, and 5 in Block 488; August 25, 1898; $50. The Loftins had a life estate of on the property. Polite was to received the property after their deaths (DB 30, p. 585).

Property Sold:

- Sold with Mary Jane Polite; middle parts of lots 3, 4, and 5, in Block 488; June 25, 1901; $200; Buyer: Asa A. Brown (DB 30, p. 588)

Loss or Gain:

- +$150

Mallett, William P.; 608 (1897) or 610 (1900) Campbell Street; Driver (1897) and Drayman (1900); Spouse, Jane/Janie Mallett; 5 children.

Property Purchased:

- 25 acres located in Cape Fear Township; March 18, 1891; $25 (DB 7, p. 28).

Property Sold:

- 25 acres located in Cape Fear Township; February 25, 1904; $75; Buyer: Louvenia Allen (DB 40, p. 252).

Loss or Gain:

- +$50

Mask, Dr. Thomas R.; 36, October 2, 1863—February 19, 1911; 510 South Seventh Street (Owned Home/ Mortgage Free); Physician, Pharmacist, and Businessman (12 North Second Street [1897] and 510 South Seventh Street [1900]; Spouse, Carrie T. (Nash) Mask; 2 children; Assistant Surgeon, Third Regiment, North Carolina Troops, 1898; Member of Free Love Lode, Odd Fellows Lodge, and St. Luke's AME Church.

Miscellaneous:

- Medical degree from Leonard Medical School, Shaw University in 1888; First Spouse, Georgia (Simmons) Mask, d. January 6, 1894. He built a two-story ten room home at 409 Walnut Street in 1906.
- In his obituary, the *Morning Star* of February 23, 1911 stated that the doctor was "highly esteemed by whites and coloreds alike." Mask's funeral at St. Luke's Methodist Church was attended by blacks and whites. Dr. Charles F. Meserve, president of Shaw University, assisted in conducting the funeral service.

Property Purchased:

- Part of the eastern part of lots 2 and 3 in Block 91; September 3, 1895; $460 (DB 17, p. 403).
- Part of the middle of lot 1 in Block 89; January 1, 1896; $275 (Block 17, p. 5)
- Part of lots 1 and 2 in Block 92; May 9, 1898; $440 (DB 22, p. 687)

- Eastern end of the western half of lot 5 in Block 224; April 27, 1896; $330 (DB 17, p. 503)
- Eastern end of lots 5 and 6 in Block 105; September 6, 1898; $1200 (DB 23, p. 558)

Property Sold:

- Part of lots 1 and 2; July 9, 1902 in Block 92; $675; Buyer: Isham Thompson (DB 33, p. 367).

Property Mortgaged:

- Part of lots 1 and 2 in Block 92; December 21, 1898; $550; Loaner: Cooperative Building and Loan Association; Discharged: July 11, 1902 (DB 24, p. 470).
- Located in Block 105; March 10, 1900; $1000; Loaner: Mechanics' Home Association; Discharged: July 8, 1902 (DB 28, p. 72)
- Part of lot 1 in Block 89; January 9, 1905; $1000; Citizens' Building and Loan Association; Discharged: February 19, 1907 (DB 42, p. 303).
- Part of lot 5 in Block 224; July 20, 1905; $900; Loaner: North Carolina Home Building Association; Discharged: February 17, 1907 (DB 44, p. 531)
- Located in Block 91; October 13, 1903; $300; Loaner: Mechanics' Home Association; Discharged: August 13, 1906 (DB 37, p. 366).
- Located in Block 105; July 5, 1902; $1000; Loaner: Mechanics' Home Association; Discharged: January 9, 1907 (DB 33, p. 354).

Loss or Gain:

- +$235

Mathews/Matthews, Owen; 49; May 1849-April 16, 1904; 1312 Brown's Alley (1897) and 520 North Seventh Street (1900); Porter; Spouse, Margie/Marg Mathews/Matthews (Grocer, Matthews and Spruell [Rosa], 700 Campbell Street [1900]); 1 child (adult);

Miscellaneous:

- Born, Sampson County; Deacon and Treasurer for Central Baptist Church; Died at age of 55 of Bright's disease; Attending physician at death was Dr. Thomas R. Mask; Buried, Pine Forest Cemetery; Memorial service held at Central Baptist Church on June 12, 1904..

Property Purchased:

- Western part of lot 1 in Block 238; March 14, 1898; $650 (DB 21, p. 498)

Property Mortgaged:

- Located in Block 238; March 12, 1903; $700; Loaner: Mechanics' Home Association; Discharged: April 6, 1909 (DB 35, p. 402).

McDuffie/McDuffee, John N.; Spouse, Missouri McDuffie/McDuffee;

Miscellaneous

- Foreman of Cape Fear Fire Company, 1887-1888.

Property Purchased:

- Western part of lots 5 and 6 in Block 96; July 14, 1893; $175 (DB 12, p. 182).

- West part of lots 5 and 6, Block 96; October 6, 1897; $200 (DB 22, p. 57)

Property Sold:

- Western part of lots 5 and 6 in Block 96; January 16, 1905; $160; Buyer: J. H. Mack (DB 44, p. 72).

Loss or Gain:

- -$15 or -$40*

McFarland/McFarlan, Joseph; 32; b. April 1866; 710 South Ninth Streets (Owned Home/Mortgage Free); Driver; Spouse, Mary McFarland/McFarlan; 4 children

Property Purchased:

- Lots 4, 5, and 6 in Block 22 ($75) and all of Block 24 containing 6 full lots ($200); $275 (DB 17, 451).

Property Sold:

- Lots 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 in Block 24; March 13, 1900; $350; Buyer: Charles S. Burnett (DB 28, p. 38).
- Second quarter of lot 4 in Block 22; May 22, 1900; $65; Buyer: Andrew Green (DB 27, p. 686).
- Part of lots 4, 5, and 6 in Block 22; September 4, 1902 ($75) & January 4, 1904 ($1; deed correction relating to improper naming of a street); $76; Buyer: Charles S. Burnett (DB 34, p. 484 and DB 44, p. 484).

Loss or Gain:

- +$216*

McKoy, Henry; 56; b. May 1842; 816 Castle Street (1900 Census listed McKoy residing on a farm in the Cape Fear Township, New Hanover County); Laborer (1897)/Farmer (1900); Spouse, Rozella/Rosella McKoy.

Property Purchased:

- Part of lot 1 in Block 80; July 12, 1894; $250 (DB 13, p. 629).

Property Sold:

- Part of lot 1 in Block 80; June 11, 1900; $275; Buyer: Robert H. Willis (DB 29, p. 98).

Loss or Gain:

- +$25

Miller, Thomas C.; 50, ca. 1880-March 26, 1903; 216 Castle Street; Real Estate Agent and Pawnbroker (7-9 Dock Street); Spouse, Annie E. Miller

Miscellaneous:

- Deputy Sheriff, 1880; Mail Carrier, ca. 1883; Liquor Dealer; First Spouse, Margaret (Johnson) Miller (d. July 12, 1896); 1 child.

- Exiled from Wilmington, 1898; Resided in Philadelphia as widower by 1901; Resided in Norfolk, Virginia, ca. 1898-1903; Barroom proprietor in Norfolk.

Property Purchased:

- Tract 1: Eastern half of lot 4 in Block 309 ($285) and Tract 2: 25 acres in Cape Fear Township being part of old Rock Hill Plantation ($35); August 13, 1895; $320 (DB 18, p. 457)
- Part of lot 1 in Block 238; March 18, 1896; $950 (DB 18, p. 664)
- Part of lots 1, 2, and 3 in Block 163; March 29, 1897; $750 (DB 21, p. 248)
- Tract 1: Anderson & Gwynn Streets (Lot Description) and Tract 2: Part of lot 1 in Block 211; April 12, 1897; $450 (DB 20, p. 77)
- Part of lot 3 in Block 148; December 28, 1897; $150 (DB 23, p. 698)
- Part of the western half of lot 2 in Block 224; April 9, 1898; $410 (DB 22, p. 692)

Property Sold:

- Part of lots 1, 2, and 3 in Block 163; November 10, 1899; $500; Buyer: W. M. Cummings (DB 27, p. 161)
- Part of the northwestern quarter of lot 2 in Block 224; April 15, 1901; $1500; Buyer: Andrew J. Walker (DB 30, p. 392)
- Part of lot 3 in Block 148; February 3, 1902; $60.58; Buyer: Sylvia Washington (DB 31, p. 667)
- Eastern half of lot 4 in Block 309; October 25, 1902; $350; Buyer: John W. Batson (DB 35, p. 9)
- Part of the western half of lot 1 in Block 238; March 12, 1903; $500; Buyer: W. A. McGowan (DB 35, p. 399)

Loss or Gain

- -$119.42

Mitchell, John Wesley, 818 Castle Street; Fish Dealer (1897) and Huckster (1900); Spouse, Melissa C. Mitchell.

Property Purchased:

- Eastern quarter of lot 1 in Block 80; December 29, 1894; $425 (DB 13, p. 173).

Property Mortgaged:

- Part of lot 1 in Block 80; April 5, 1899; $500; Loaner: Wilmington Homestead and Loan Association; Discharged: December 5, 1905 (DB 24, p. 605).
- Part of lot 1 in Block 80; December 1, 1905; $150; Loaner: Wilmington Homestead and Loan Association; Discharged: March 30, 1908 (DB 46, p. 373).

Mitchell, William H., 709 Campbell Street; Painter (Fourth Street near Walnut); Spouse, Sophia Mitchell.

Miscellaneous:

- Mitchell served as financial secretary of the Cape Fear Mutual baseball team. The 1897

- City Directory showed a laborer named William H. Mitchell also residing at 709 Campbell Street. This was probably the painter's son.

Property Purchased:

- Part of lot 5 in Block 252; March 8, 1895; $425 (DB 15, p. 198)

Property Mortgaged:

- Part of lot 5 in Block 252; July 17, 1900; $300; Loaner: Metropolitan Trust Company (DB 29, p. 163).

Moore, William H.; 61; February 17, 1837-April 17,1918; 1314 Market Street; Job Printer (1897, 6 [Mulberry] Grace) and Printer, News Dealer, and Sign Painter (1900, 14 [Mulberry] Grace).

Miscellaneous:

- Held the offices of constable, magistrate, registrar, and justice of the peace after the Civil War.
- Worked as a detective in 1869 for Republican mayor of Wilmington;
- N.C. House of Representative, 1874-1875; N.C. State Senate, 1876-1877.
- Owner of *The Home News*. Moore also worked as a farmer and doctor.
- Moore had a telephone in 1900.

Moore, William H.; Brown's Alley; Laborer.

Moore, William H.; 709 Hanover Street; Laborer

It is not clear which William H. Moore owned the tract.

Spouse, Mary Jane Moore listed on transaction in DB 43, p. 392. However, *Strength through Struggle* mentioned that printer Moore's wife's name was Susan.

Property Purchased:

- Part of lots 3, 5, and 8 in Block 188; March 24, 1897; $125 (DB 19, p. 385)

Property Sold:

- Moore sold his half of the property being parts of lots 3, 4, and 5 in Block 188; April 25, 1905; $75; Buyer Garnett D. Hargrave (DB 43, p. 391). Hargrave purchased the other half from Lydia Lewis on March 20, 1905, for $1 and other considerations (DB 43, p. 390)

Loss or Gain:

- -$50*

Moseley/Mosely, Washington; Bladen Street near Eighth Street (1897) and 803 Bladen Street (1900); Grocer (1900) and Laborer (1900); Lucinda Moseley/Mosely.

Miscellaneous:

- Moseley and his wife was residing in Wake County by 1904.

Property Purchased:

- Western part of lot 6 in Block 297; September 5, 1892; $79.42 (DB 10, p. 483)

Property Sold:

- Western part of lot 6 in Block 297; April 18, 1904; $375; Buyer: A. G. Sartor of Augusta, Ga. (DB 41, p. 212)

Loss or Gain:

- +$295.58

Murray, Julius A.; 510 Walnut Street (1897) and 211 Church Street (1900); Barber (105 Princess Street [1897] and 28 North Front Street [1900]); Nannie A. Murray.

Miscellaneous:

- From 1898 to 1905, Murray and Yarborough were partners. The barber shop featured hot and cold baths. The partnership dissolved after sixteen years. Murray opened his own barber shop at the Heyer Building, located at the southwest corner of Front and Chestnut Streets.
- In 1889, Murray served as the manager of the Cape Fear Fowlers baseball team.
- In January 1924 when Wilmington's "Colored Chamber of Commerce" was formed, Murray became its first vice-president.

Property Purchased:

- Part of lot 6 in Block 101; March 15, 1897; $795.42 (DB 19, p. 578).

Property Sold:

- Middle part of lot 6 in Block 101; December 15, 1902; $1 and other valuable considerations; Buyer: John H. Grove Jr. (DB 36, p. 127).

Property Mortgaged:

- Part of lot 5 and 6 in Block 101; April 1, 1899; $600; Loaner: Wilmington Homestead and Loan Association; Discharged: October 2, 1905
- Middle part of lot 6 in Block 101; March 2, 1905; $375; Loaner: W. B. Cooper; Discharged: December 6, 1905 (DB 43, p. 323)
- Part of lot 6 in Block 101; December 5, 1905; $600; Loaner: Clarendon Saving and Loan Association; Discharged: November 16, 1908 (DB 45, p. 526)

Nixon, Jane/Janey/Janie; 38; b. May 1860; 707 Hanover Street (Owned home/Mortgage free); Spouse, John O. Nixon (Grocer); 6 children.

Miscellaneous:

- John O. Nixon's grocery store was located at 801 Nixon Street. As a Republican, he served several terms on the Wilmington Board of Aldermen. Nixon ran for the General Assembly in 1898.

Property Purchased:

- Part of lot 5 in Block 339; December 20, 1893; $400 (Purchased from her husband; DB 12, p. 654) Property Description needed
- Part of lot 1 in Block 326; December 22, 1893; $100 (Purchased from her husband; DB 12, p. 652) Description of lot needed.

Property Sold:

- Middle part of lot 1 in Block 326; September 1, 1900; $25; Buyer: W. M. Cumming (DB 29, p. 349)

- Sold with Simon Ashe; Eastern part of lots 1 and 2 in Block 326; September 4, 1900; $25: Buyer: W. M. Cumming (DB 29, p. 351)
- Beginning at NE corner of 8th & Nixon & running thence in an E direction along the N line of Nixon 50 ft, thence in N direction parallel with 8th 55 ft thence in a W direction parallel with Nixon 50 ft thence in a S direction along the line of 8th 55 ft to the point or place of beginning to wit the NE corner of 8th & Nixon (Part of lot 5 in Block 339?); August 3, 1901; $365; Buyer: Charles Wessell (DB 32, p. 161)

Loss or Gain:

- -$85*

Peterson, Louis H.; 39; b. May 1859; 4 Princess Rooms, Fifth and Walnut Streets (1897) and 111 North Eleventh Street (1900; Owned home/Mortgaged free); Barber; Spouse, Katie/Kate Peterson; 2 children.

Property Purchased:

- Part of lots 2 and 3 in Block 187; July 12, 1898; $500 (DB 23, p. 219)

Property Sold:

- Part of lots 2 and 3 in Block 187 being the same conveyed by J. M. Bunting to Louis H. Peterson and recorded in DB 23, p. 219; December 2, 1904; $1 and other valuable considerations; Buyer: H. F. Wilder (DB 43, p. 187)*

Property Mortgaged:

- Part of lots 2 and 3 in Block 187; July 12, 1898; $365; Loaner: Mechanics' Home Association; Discharged: January 8, 1902 (DB 23, p. 220)
- Part of lots 2 and 3 in Block 187; July 13, 1898; $215; Loaner: Justin M. Bunting; Discharged: January 8, 1902 (DB 23, p. 220)

Rivera, Thomas Jr.; 39; b. December 1859; 711 Walnut Street (1897) and 410 North Seventh Street (1900; Owned home/Mortgage free); Funeral Director/Undertaker, 703 North Fourth Street; Spouse, Eliza E. Rivera; 6 children.

Miscellaneous:

- Rivera was the adopted child of Thomas Rivera Sr. His father was an undertaker, ca. 1880-1900; his business was located at 11 North Third Street.
- Rivera operated his funeral business from ca. 1894 to 1906. By 1906, he moved his business to Durham.

Property Purchased:

- West part of lot 3 in Block 224; September 19, 1898; $450 (DB 23, p. 482).

Property Mortgaged:

- In Block 224; July 3, 1902; $300; Loaner: Mechanics' Home Association; Discharged: January 11, 1905 (DB 33, p. 343).
- Part of lot 3 in Block 224; January 6, 1905; $400; Loaner: Martin Schibben; Discharged: June 6, 1906 (DB 43, p. 234).

- Part of lot 3 in Block 224; April 13, 1905; $655; Loaner: Martin Schnibben; Discharged: June 4, 1906 (DB 43, p. 359).
- Part of lot 3 in Block 224; September 14, 1905; $650; Loaner: Martin Schnibben; Discharged: June 4, 1906 (DB 45, p. 224).

Royall/Royal, Fannie (Hill); 312 Brunswick Street (Rented home); Spouse, Obadiah/Obediah Royall/Royal (Laborer [1898 and 1900] and Drayman [1900]).
Property Purchased:
- Part of lot 5 in Block 278; July 21, 1891; $200 (DB 9, p. 552).

Property Sold:
- Part of lot 5 in Block 278; September 26, 1899; $500; Buyer: James A. Wright (DB 27, p. 59).

Loss or Gain:
- +$300

Sharpless, Salina/Serlina/Serliner; 68, b. December 1829; Cape Fear Township (Owned Farm/Mortgage Free); Spouse, Abraham Sharpless (Farmer); 1 nine month old granddaughter residing in 1900.
Property Purchased:
- 5 acres; part of land commonly know as the Hermitage; September 16, 1891; $25 (DB 9, p. 157).

Property Mortgaged:
- 5 acres; part of land commonly known as the Hermitage; January 1, 1900; $36; Loaner: Sam Blossom (DB 30, p. 197).

Sidbury/Siduary/Sidberry, Walter; 32; b. May 1866; 111 McRae's Alley; Laborer; Spouse, Mary Ann Sidbury/Siduary/Sidberry (Washwoman).
Property Purchased:
- Part of lots 2 and 3 in Block 326; May 23, 1895; $50 (DB 15, p. 571).

Property Sold:
- Part of lots 2 and 3 in Block 326; December 22, 1902; $65; Buyer: W. A. Cumming (DB 36, p. 298).
- Part of lot 2 in Block 326; February 21, 1905; $200 (DB 44, p. 76).

Loss or Gain:
- +15*

Simmons, Susan; 211 Beatty's Alley
Property Purchased:

- Part of lots 2 and 3 in Block 262; December 11, 1895; $365 (DB 22, p. 147)

Property Mortgage:

- Part of lots 2 and 3 in Block 262; June 14, 1901; $67.22; Loaner: Salle E. Marshall (DB 31, p. 267).

Sims, Rev. Lawrence B.; Reverend, Mt. Zion A.M.E. Church; Spouse, Sarah E. Sims.

Property Purchased:

- Western part of lot 4 in Block 238; March 25, 1893; $400 (DB 15, p. 1).

Property Sold:

- Western part of lot 4 in Block 238; July 4, 1904; $950; Buyer: Lorenzo D. Kennedy (DB 39, p. 577).

Loss or Gain:

- +$550

Spell/Spells, Rev. Joseph; 48; b. March 1850; 1318 North Sixth Street; Reverend, First Baptist Church; Spouse, Lizzie Spell/Spells; 4 children.

Miscellaneous:

- When the United Charities was formed on December 31, 1894, Rev. Spells served on the first board of directors.
- By May 1900, Rev. Spells was living in Wooten, Ohio while his wife still remained in Wilmington.

Property Purchased:

- Western half of lots 1 and 2 in Block 349; March 9, 1896; $25; Seller: Trustees (J. M. Yarborough, March E. Walker, and Charles/Charley L. June) of the First Baptist Church Colored of Wilmington (DB 17, p. 350).

Property Mortgage:

- Western half of lots 1 and 2 in Block 349; August 17, 1900; $125; Loaner: D. L. Gore; Discharged: September 3, 1902 (DB 28, p. 514)

Summers, Laurence; Spouse, Charity Summers.

Property Purchased:

- Part of lots 5 and 6 in Block 134; July 27, 1897; $212 (DB 20, p. 422)

Property Sold:

- Part of lots 5 and 6 in Block 134; December 2, 1897; $100; Buyer: Solomon Sternberger Jr. and and Julius Sternberger (DB 23, p. 642)

Loss or Gain:

- -$112

Swan/Swann, Louisa/Louise C. (Flanagan); 45, April 1853; Market Street corner Seventeenth Street (1897) and 1621 Market Street (1900; Owned home/Free mortgage);

Grocer, Spouse, William Swan/Swann; 2 sons, 2 grandchildren, 1 daughter-in-law, and 1 mother-in-law.

Miscellaneous:

- Roger Swan/Swann, a porter, featured in 1897 city directory as residing at Market Street corner Seventeenth Street.
- The 1900 census listed Swan as a widow. Her husband Roger Swan was not listed in the 1897 city directory, meaning she may have been a widow prior to 1897.

Property Purchased:

- 17 5/8 acres near 2 mile post of W and TS Plank Road; June 20, 1891; $525; Swan had previously owned the land when she still had her maiden name of Flanagan (DB 8, p. 282).

Property Sold:

- 17 5/8 acres near 2 mile post of W and TS Plank Road; Conveyed to Lousia C. Swan by deed from George Harris and recorded in DB 8, page 282; September 5, 1900; $1; Buyer: Edward Swan (DB 32, p. 636).

Taylor, Lucy Ann; 59; b. April 1839; 914 Murpheys Alley (Owned home/Mortgage free); Washwoman; Widow (1900); 6 grandchildren.

Taylor, Lucy; 58, b. March 1840; 318 South Third Street; Cook; Single; Enumerated with a 58 year old white widow named Kate Cummings and the white woman's 3 neices.

It is unclear which Lucy Taylor owned the property.

Property Purchased:

- Part of the western half of lot 3 in Block 239; 1895; $150 (DB 16, p. 550)

Property Sold:

- Part of the western half of lot 3 in Block 239; February 28, 1900; $100; Buyer: Margaret E. Heyer (DB 27, p. 386)

Loss or Gain:

- -$50

Waddell/Waddel, Rosannah/Rosa; 78; b. March 1820; 212 Castle Street; Enumerated with her grandson, Edward Guion/Guyon, barber, and his wife and son.

Property Purchased:

- Middle part of lots 1 and 2 in Block 74; June 25, 1892; $600 (DB 10, p. 289).

Property Sold:

- Part of lots 1 and 2 in Block 74; August 15, 1905; $1000; Buyer: J. F. Baggett (DB 44, p. 681).

Loss or Gain

- +$400

Wade, Delia; 612 South Ninth Street, Cook.
Property Purchased:

- Southeast quarter of lot 3 in Block 80; July 28, 1892; $100; Sold by James Wilson (DB 10, p. 301).

Property Sold:

- Part of southeastern one-quarter of lot 4 in Block 80; March 8, 1899; $1; Buyer: Maria Wade, tract was conveyed to Delia Wade from James Wilson, July 28, 1892 (DB 24, p. 636. The 1899 deed is the same as the earlier one. Evidently, a mistake was made on the lot numbers.).

Walker, Andrew Jackson; 41; 1857-February 13, 1907; 1109 North Fifth Street; Stevedore and Custodian (Seaboard Air Line Building); Spouse, Florence W. (Taylor) Walker; 2 children.

- Officer Free Love Lodge No. 1469, Order of Odd Fellows, 1875-1876; Officer for Cape Fear Tent No. 1, Grand United Order of Rechabites (temperance organization), 1884; Officer of Giblem Masonic Lodge, Grand Lodge of Colored Masons of North Carolina; Member of Cape Fear & Yadkin Valley and Wilmington, Onslow, & East Carolina Railroad Club, 1888; Wilmington Board of Alderman (First Ward), 1890 and 1896-1897; Magistrate, 1896; President of the Emancipation Proclamation Society, 1898; Original member of Board of Deacons and First Sunday School Superintendent, Central Baptist; Major, 3rd Regiment, North Carolina Volunteer, 1898-1899; Part of group the reincorporated Wilmington Colored Educational Institute, 1898.
- On February 8, 1900, Walker lost a house he owned to fire that also destroyed the Mt. Zion A.M.E. Church.
- Buried at the National Cemetery in Wilmington.

Property Purchased

- Part of lots 3 and 4 in Block 324; January 19, 1898; $600 (DB 21, p. 590)

Property Sold

- Part of lots 3 and 4 in Block 324; January 8, 1902; $400; Buyer: Lucy A. Smith (DB 32, p. 489)

Property Mortgage

- Part of lots 3 and 4 in Block 324; December 31, 1900; $150; Loaner: Cooperative Building and Loan Association (DB 29, p. 470)

Loss or Gain

- -$200

Walker, Margaret/Maggie; 50; May 1858; 711 Hanover Street (Owned home/Mortgage free); Cook; Widow; 4 sisters, 2 nieces, and 1 nephew.
711 Hanover Street (1897 and 1900 City Directory)
Property Purchased:

- Part of lot 5 in Block 267; August 1896; $451 (DB 18, p. 275)

Property Mortgage:

- Part of lot 5 in Block 267; February 19, 1903; $135; Loaner: Clarendon Savings and Loan Association; Discharged: September 6, 1911 (DB 35, p. 475).
- Part of lot 5 in Block 267; February 22, 1904; $360; Loaner: Clarendon Savings and Loan; Discharged: August 25, 1910 (DB 40, p. 148).

Washington, Simon; 515 South Ninth Street; Laborer; Spouse, Mary Washington.

Property Purchased

- In Block 40; June 15, 1891; $110 (DB 7, p. 658).

Property Sold:

- In Block 40; January 11, 1898; $1; Buyer: People's Perpetual Building and Loan Association (DB 22, p. 323).

Property Mortgaged:

- In Block 40; April 8, 1896; Loan amount unknown; Loaner: People's Perpetual Building and Loan Association (DB 22, p. 73).

White, Alfred; 908 North Second Street (Owned home/Mortgage Free); Laborer/Stevedore; Spouse, Lucinda White; 1 daughter and mother-in-law residing.

Miscellaneous:

- Wounded during the riot.

Property Purchased:

- Located in Block 291; Situated in Wilmington on Second Street between Bladen and Harnett Streets; June 29, 1892; $225 (DB 10, p. 685).

Property Mortgage:

- Southwestern portion of lot 4 in Block 291; May 7, 1900; $62.20; Loaner: D. L. Gore (DB 28, p. 278).

White, Robert Henry; 29; b. March 1869; 906 Green Street (Owned home/Mortgage free); Grocer (520 Dickinson Street); Spouse, Fannie E. White; 1 child and 1 sister

Miscellaneous:

- Member, St. Stephen A. M. E. Church. Following fire that struck the church's main building in 1915, White served as a manager for a cantata called Joseph and His Brethren to raise money for its rebuilding
- Board of Trustees, YMCA, 1919. During this time the YMCA launched a campaign to construct a new building.

Property Purchased

- Part of lot 1 in Block 255; April 17, 1894; $100 (DB 13, p. 253).
- Middle part of lot 1 in Block 255; September 17, 1897; $100 (DB 23, p. 387).

Property Sold

- Part of lot 1 in Block 255; September 18, 1901; $500 (DB 32, p. 227).

Property Mortgage

- Part of lot 1 in Block 255; June 17, 1899; $225; Loaner: Cooperative Building and Loan Association; Discharged: October 23, 1900 (DB 26, p. 53).
- Part of lot 1 in Block 255; October 22, 1900; $275; Loaner: Cooperative Building and Loan Association; Discharged: September 21, 1901 (DB 28, p. 689).

Loss or Gain:

- +$400

Williams, Edward/Ed; 38; May 1860; 921 Rankin Street (Owned home/Mortgage free); Teamster/Drayman; Spouse, Elsie/Elcey Williams (Laundress); 5 sons and wife's brother residing.

Property Purchased:

- Eastern half of lot 5 in Block 240; July 1, 1896; $500 (DB 18, p. 326).

Property Mortgage:

- Part of the eastern half of lot 5 in Block 240; September 18, 1903; $400; Loaner: Cooperative Building and Loan Association; Discharged: July 19, 1909 (DB 37, p. 325).

Williams, Mary Jane; 619 South Eighth Street; Washwoman; 2 children.

Miscellaneous:

- Living with her brother-in-law George Spicer (Drayman) along with his wife, and two children. Her mother Jane Williams lived in the same residence. The dwelling was rented.

Property Purchased:

- Tract 1: Part of lots 3 and 4 in Block 339; Tract 2: 21 acres in Cape Fear Township(Old Avenue of Rock Hill Plantation); December 5, 1895; $2 (DB 21, p. 526).

Property Sold:

- 21 acres in Cape Fear Township (Old Avenue of Rock Hill Plantation); August 29, 1899; $250; Buyer: Noah Barry? (DB 26, p. 238)

Property Mortgage:

- 21 acres (Old Avenue of Rock Hill Plantation) and 5 adjoining acres; February 21, 1899; $80; Loaner: Charles E. Shaw; Discharged: September 2, 1899 (DB 25, p. 201).
- Part of lots 3 and 4 in Lot 339; January 10, 1900; $75; Williams is indebted to Herbert McClammy, an attorney, for professional services (DB 26, p. 619).

Loss or Gain:

- +$248

Williams, Stephen; 231 South Twelfth Street; Laborer; Spouse, Eliza J. Williams.
Property Purchased:
- Part of the west half of lot 4 in Block 137; March 8, 1895; $137 (DB 16, p. 396).

Property Sold:
- Part of the western half of lot 4 in Block 137; June 8, 1899; $50; Buyer: Du Brutz Cutlar (DB 25, p. 554).

Loss or Gain:
- -$87

Wright, Buchanan/Buck C.; 620 Tenth Street; Deputy Sheriff.
Miscellaneous:
- By June 1903, Wright was living in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Property Purchased:
- Part of lot 6 in Block 76; August 1897; $125 (DB 20, p. 535).

Property Sold:
- Part of lot 6 in Block 76; June 10, 1903; $400; Buyer: Thomas H. Wright (DB 37, p. 18).

Loss or Gain:
- +$275

Wright, Nathan; Spouse, Violet Wright
Property Purchased
- Part of the east half of lot 4 in Block 347; an agreement dated November 23, 1893 between Wright and Simon McCoy allowed the former to obtain the tract for $275 by pay installments with an initial payment of $105 at no interest(DB 12, p. 560); Deed Conveyed, December 23, 1898, $275 (DB 28, p. 300).

Property Sold
- Part of lot 4 in Block 347; October 23, 1905; $400 (DB 45, p. 410)

Loss or Gain:
- +$125

APPENDIX M

REMEMBERING 1898:
LITERARY RESPONSES AND PUBLIC MEMORY
OF THE WILMINGTON RACE RIOT

Remembering 1898:
Literary Responses and Public Memory of the Wilmington Race Riot

by
J. Vincent Lowery

If the tables could once be turned, and it could be that it was the black race which violently and lastingly triumphed in the bloody revolution at Wilmington, North Carolina, a few years ago, what would not we excuse to the white man who made the atrocity the argument of his fiction?

William Dean Howells's
Review of Charles Chesnutt's *The Marrow of Tradition*[1]

Recent scholarship on memory has revealed the ways in which Southerners have selectively remembered and forgotten aspects of their past, constructing a narrative of events to suit the needs of the present. After the Wilmington Race Riot, victorious state Democrats crafted their own narrative about the election and the violence that ensued. The popular memory of the Wilmington Race Riot legitimized the rule of the Democratic Party and effectively denied African Americans access to economic and political opportunities. The genre of historical fiction proved to be the most popular means of challenging the public memory of the riot. In the years that followed the riot, two African American writers, David Bryant Fulton and Charles Waddell Chesnutt, challenged the popular narrative of events, but they ultimately failed to capture a wide audience. The dominant memory of the event left little room for the black point of view. The popularity of Thomas Dixon's *The Leopard's Spots: A Romance of the White Man's Burden, 1865-1900* (1902) illustrated the nation's willingness to accept the southern white version of history and positioned the Wilmington Race Riot within the larger narrative of sectional reunion and American imperialism. This version of the riot, bolstered by Dixon's novel, remained unchallenged until the 1980s, when historians began analyzing the event in great detail. When Philip Gerard published *Cape Fear Rising* (1994), he found an audience more willing to discuss the race riot. Yet, in some ways, the political and cultural landscape of Wilmington remained under the influence of the narrative constructed by Democrats in 1898.[2]

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[1] William Dean Howells, "A Psychological Counter-current in Recent Fiction," *North American Review* 173 (December 1901).

[2] For a general survey of southern memories, see W. Fitzhugh Brundage "Introduction: No Deed but Memory," in *Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000): pg. 1-28. Several authors have utilized the study of memory to examine the Wilmington Race Riot. Catherine Bishir has noted the impact that the 1898 Democratic victories had upon the cultural landscapes of Raleigh and Wilmington. See "Landmarks of Power: Building a Southern Past in Raleigh and Wilmington, North Carolina, 1885-1915," in *Where These Memories Grow*, pg. 139-168. In *Whiteness in the Novels of Charles W. Chesnutt* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2004), Matthew Wilson examined the counter-narrative presented by Charles Chesnutt in *The Marrow of Tradition* (1901). Leslie H. Hossfeld examined the political uses of memories of the riot, paying particular attention to silences and changes in the discourse on race relations and memory in the century after the riot. See *Narrative, Political Unconscious, and Racial Violence in Wilmington, North Carolina* (New York: Routledge, 2005). This essay draws inspiration from these works, and readers will detect their influences. In some ways this essay is synthetic, assembling the relevant parts of these works into a more complete story of the memory of the Wilmington Race Riot. Yet even a synthetic work would fail to address the significance of the work by David Bryant Fulton and Thomas Dixon. Furthermore, Hossfeld's discussion of Gerard's novel merely addresses the public response. This essay offers a comprehensive analysis of the literary and public debates over the history and memory of the Wilmington Race Riot.

Public Memory

Newly appointed mayor Alfred Moore Waddell offered *Collier's Weekly* a first-hand account of the Wilmington Race Riot. His account provided the structure and substance of the collective memory of events for nearly a century. Waddell's story whitewashed the bloodshed and disorder that historians have since associated with the riot. He attributed the disturbance to the leading white Fusionists, among them Governor Daniel L. Russell, "the engineer of all the deviltry and meanness." The "deviltry" to which Waddell referred was the political and economic advancement of African Americans in Wilmington; he declared that whites should restore proper white government in the Port City.

Waddell argued that he had preserved order on November 10, 1898 and prevented the brutal lynchings that had been associated with the South in the 1890s. He described the fire at Alexander Manly's offices as "purely accidental." Commenting that the fire "was unintentional on our part," Waddell argued that white leaders did not intend to destroy private property. He implied that the poor classes of whites who served in Mike Dowling's Red Shirt brigade set the fire. He recalled the speech he gave after the destruction of the *Daily Record* offices, in which he pleaded for order: "[L]et us go quietly to our homes, and about our business, and obey the law, unless we are forced, in self-defense, to do otherwise." In another incident, Waddell recounted a mob's futile attempt to remove seven blacks from the jail and "destroy them." As the newly "elected" mayor, Waddell claimed that he stood for law and order, "stay[ing] up the whole night myself, and the forces stayed up all night, and we saved those wretched creatures' lives." Waddell knew that the image of the South had been tarnished by accounts of lynchings across the region; his essay deflected any comparisons between mob violence and the riot by simply erasing the bloodshed. Instead, he emphasized the ways in which white leaders protected the interests of African Americans. Describing the paternalistic duties of his office for *Collier's Weekly* readers, Waddell recounted visits by two African Americans who requested that he return property (a jack-knife and some cattle) confiscated during the riot. He also mentioned those African Americans who sought "protection against imaginary trouble, and for what I consider would be persecution – that spirit of cruelty that a revolution always develops; people who gratify their animosity and personal spite." Waddell again deflected responsibility for "persecution" upon men of low character who preyed upon the weakness of others. He assured readers that the disorder had subsided and that black Wilmingtonians embraced the new order.[3] The perspective solicited by *Collier's Weekly* appeared, with a few variations, in articles featured in northern newspapers. The Democrats successfully defended their revolution and prevented federal intervention. In the years that followed, David Fulton and Charles Chesnutt attempted to help their readers "remember what they had been taught to forget," namely the facts of the Wilmington Race Riot.[4]

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[3] Alfred Moore Waddell, "The Story of the Wilmington, N.C., Race Riots," *Collier's Weekly*, November 26, 1898, pg. 4-5. In a letter to Edward Oldham, Waddell claimed that he did not write the essay; he merely had "a conversation which Mr. (Charles) Bourke of that paper took down as I talked to him. I think I would have written better than that." Waddell neglected to mention that Bourke lived in Wilmington, and, even if one were to believe his story, Waddell admitted offered a ghostwriter his account of the riot. Letter to Edward Oldham, November 29, 1898, Edward Oldham Papers, Duke University.

[4] Wilson, *Whiteness*, pg. 99.

David Fulton's *Hanover*

African American David Fulton offered the first literary response to the public memory of the riot. Born in Fayetteville, North Carolina, Fulton moved to Wilmington during Reconstruction. He began his writing career as a journalist for the black-owned *Record* under the *nom de plume* Jack Thorne. In 1887, he moved to New York City, where he was a porter for the Pullman Palace Car Company. From his experiences as a porter, Fulton developed his first published work, *Recollections of a Sleeping Car Porter* (1892). In 1900, Fulton published *Hanover, or: The Persecution of the Lowly: A Story of the Wilmington Massacre*, a thinly veiled work of fiction that attempted to expose the realities of the riot.[5]

Fulton employed several devices to indicate the accuracy of *Hanover*. The novel opens with an Associated Press report of the race riot, and the introduction presents a brief history of Wilmington. Fulton appropriated the identities of principal figures in Wilmington. Alexander Manly, Armond Scott, William Henderson, and George Z. French are among those mentioned by name; Fulton only changed the names of the leading white conspirators. Fulton also included a letter from Mrs. Adelaide Peterson (likely a pseudonym), who provides the reader with a first-hand black perspective of the violence. Despite these efforts, *Hanover* failed to challenge the popular interpretation of events.

In the introduction, Fulton dismisses cries of "NEGRO DOMINATION" by citing the superior number of white men in government offices and offers a theory regarding the conspiracy behind the Wilmington Race Riot. He proposes that the leading men of Wilmington devised the plot with the aid of whites from neighboring states and $30,000 in firearms. The semi-fictional text explores this theory in more detail by presenting a series of vignettes around the city. The Colonel, representing Alfred Moore Waddell, identifies the problem facing Wilmington when he observes that the city government is controlled by "[t]he Negro and the 'low white'… holding positions in the city government that rightfully belong to the first families who are better qualified to hold said positions and more entitled to remunerations."[6] Teck Pervis, the leader of the poor whites of Wilmington, joins this elitist revolution, having been swayed by talk of black lust for their daughters, and serve as "[t]he cat's paw – the tool of the aristocrat, he stands ready to do the dirty work of lynching, burning, and intimidation."[7] Fulton challenged the popular account of the riot, claiming that the Red Shirts acted on the orders of Wilmington's elite, executing their plan to deadly perfection. He exposed the Democratic campaign's manipulation of fears of black sexuality.

Fulton exposes the hypocrisy of this tactic in his treatment of the mulatto Molly Pierrepont. He introduces her by describing white violations of the color line. Challenging the image of the black beast rapist, Fulton suggests that the more accurate image is the African American man "afraid to defend his own home" from white men intent upon "the destruction of the Negro woman." Pierrepont, the daughter of a mulatto slave brutally raped by her own white father, has rejected her African American heritage and chosen to be the mistress of white

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[5] William Andrews, "Jack Thorne [David Bryant Fulton]," in *Dictionary of American Negro Biography*, ed. by Rayford Logan and Michael Winston (New York: Norton, 1982): pg. 589-590.
[6] Thorne, *Hanover*, pg. 9-10, 17.
[7] Thorne, *Hanover*, pg. 26.

conspirator Ben Hartright. When he reveals the plot to overthrow the government and terrorize the city's black community, she criticizes him for "thirsting for the blood of a slanderer of white women" even as he conceals their affair from his wife and plots to murder innocent black men and women. Pierrepont realizes that her fate is linked to the fate of black Wilmingtonians. Hartright assures her that she will be saved, stating, "You are no Nigger, you are nearly as white as I am." Pierrepont asks, "Do you mean to try to choke it down my throat that my whiteness would save me should your people rise up against Niggers in Wilmington?" She realizes that he only recognizes her whiteness because she has given herself to him. Hartright has convinced her that her whiteness is her redeeming quality.[8] Her decision to spurn Hartright and warn the black community about the eminent dangers reflects Fulton's belief in race pride.

Rather than focus on whites' violence, Fulton placed blacks' responses at the center of *Hanover*. In particular, Fulton's vignettes recount black women's determination to protect their race and command respect reserved for white women. When Pierrepont realizes that the revolution has begun and the black employees of the Cotton Press are in danger, she leaves the safety of her home to warn them. When a group of white boys stop her, the reader observes the interplay between race and gender. One of the boys orders his cohorts to lower their weapons in the presence of a white lady, only to be informed that "she's no lady; she's er nigger!" Upon this realization, the order is given to "tear her clothes from her." Her blackness does not protect her body from invasion; on the contrary, because her color denies her claim to womanhood, her assailants have access to her. Pierrepont refuses to be inspected by these white boys; when her rebuke attracts a group of white men, she faces two generations of white males, "glar[ing] like hungry wolves," eager to perform their racial privilege. She draws a revolver in order to prevent the search, and the men permit her to pass and complete her mission.[9] In another example, Lizzie Smith challenges a white mob assaulting another black woman. One of the men orders Smith to reveal any weapons that she is carrying. In response, Smith sheds her clothing, declaring, "I'll take off ma clothes, so yo' won't have ter tear 'em… you'll fin' I am 'jes like yo' sisters an' mammies." This incident inspires the sympathy of on-looking white women, who chastise the men for violating Smith's womanhood.[10] Literary critic Sandra Gunning has noted that this act "unites her (Smith) with the white femininity Rebecca Felton claims to be under assault."[11] Describing the experiences of African American women during the riot, Fulton exposes the dishonorable behavior of the "superior" race (the white beast rapist) and black women's defense of their race and gender.

Fulton offered readers a more complex image of African American men. He praises the black men who defended their homes from the white mob. As others flee from the white assault on Brooklyn, Dan Wright defends his community to the death. Fulton questions, "Died Dan Wright as a fool dieth?" Answering negatively, Fulton equates Wright's bravery with the efforts of "Leonidas, Buoy, Davy Crocket, Daniel Boone, Nathan Hale, Wolf, Napoleon, (Robert) Smalls, Cushing, Lawrence, John Brown, Nat Turner."[12] Despite this praise, Fulton also

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[8] Thorne, *Hanover*, pg. 35-39.
[9] Thorne, *Hanover*, pg. 81-83.
[10] Thorne, *Hanover*, pg. 95-96.
[11] Sandra Gunning, *Race, Rape, and Lynching: The Red Record of Lynching, 1890-1912* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pg. 94.
[12] Thorne, *Hanover*, pg. 85.

chastises the cowardice of black men. For example, Captain Nicholas McDuffy, a black man who once served on the police force and arrested a white man, discovers that his name appears on the list of the damned. He flees to New Bern and leaves his wife and son at the mercy of the white mob, which burns the family home.[13] Wright exemplifies black manhood by defending his family and home. McDuffy relinquishes any claim to manhood when he sacrifices his family in the interest of self-preservation.

Fulton offered readers a theory to explain this cowardice. Bill Sikes exemplifies the emasculated black man. Sikes, once one of the strongest and wealthiest blacks in Wilmington but now crippled and dependent on his wife for survival, lives "in constant terror, hanging on her (his wife's) skirts like a babe" during the riot. The couple leaves Wilmington, because, as Sikes explains to the Colonel, "I'm not goin' ter stay in er place where a d—n scoundrel can insult ma wife an' I can't pertect her." Sikes protests the loss of manhood. He wishes to rekindle his manhood, and he and his wife move to New York.

Most of the blacks depicted in *Hanover* migrate, either by force or choice, to northern cities, where they find a greater degree of acceptance and safety. When Sikes proposes that they return to Wilmington, his wife declares that she will never return: "Life is not so easy here, but I can walk the streets as a lady and my children are free to play and romp without fear of being killed for accidentally or purposefully treading upon the toe of a white child." [14] The northern city also provides a better environment in which to cultivate racial pride. Rather than renounce her blackness, Pierrepont embraces her race and "nobly" represents black America in New York City. Fulton presented readers with a pessimistic story of black life in the South and portrayed the North as the best hope for the African American.

Fulton failed to overcome his literary obscurity and reach a large audience. Despite the historical basis of his account of the riot, Fulton failed to alter the dominant narrative of events. In 1902, the Wilmington *Messenger* referenced the publication of *Hanover* without even mentioning the title or author in a review of a more widely circulated fictionalization of the Wilmington Race Riot.[15]

The Marrow of Tradition **by Charles Chesnutt**

The Wilmington *Messenger* devoted most of the review to Charles W. Chesnutt's *The Marrow of Tradition* (1901), a novel that blended elements of the Wilmington Race Riot and the New Orleans Race Riot of 1900.[16] Chesnutt realized the potential of a career in writing after the

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[13] Thorne, *Hanover*, pg. 107.
[14] Thorne, *Hanover*, pg. 129, 134.
[15] Wilmington *Messenger*, January 7, 1902, quoted in Wilson, *Whiteness*.
[16] Charles Chesnutt, "Charles Chesnutt's Own View of His New Story, *The Marrow of Tradition*," *Cleveland World*, October 20, 1901, published in *Charles W. Chesnutt, Stories, Novels, and Essays*, ed. by Werner Sollers (Library of America, 2002): pg. 873. Scholars rarely note the influence that the New Orleans Riot had upon the novel; the events in Wilmington dominate Chesnutt's work, but one might conclude that Josh Green, the black rebel who defends the black community from the white mob, was inspired by Robert Charles, the black rebel whose altercation with abusive police officers sparked widespread violence in New Orleans. The primary materials written by

publication of Albion Tourgee's *A Fool's Errand*. He attributed the popularity of that novel to a national interest in African Americans. He believed that he could provide a more accurate portrayal of the black community than Tourgee. Chesnutt published several short stories in the McClure chain of newspapers, and *Atlantic Monthly* published two dialect stories by Chesnutt in 1887 and 1888. In 1899, Chesnutt published *The Conjure Woman*, a collection of stories building upon the traditions of African American folklore. A year later, he published *The House Behind the Cedars*, an exploration of the color line that Chesnutt himself straddled. He originally completed this novel in 1889, entitling it *Rena Walden*, but when he circulated the manuscript among his white friends, he found them unreceptive to the problems posed by the color line.[17]

Chesnutt's treatment of the color line challenged contemporary notions of race and race relations. *The Marrow of Tradition* represented another contribution to the nation's racial discourse. He responded to the criticism of *Rena Walden* in a letter to George Washington Cable, writing, "I suspect that my way of looking at these things is 'amorphous' not in the sense of being unnatural, but unusual."[18] In the years that followed, Chesnutt articulated the belief that whites constructed an "unnatural" concept of race. In the late nineteenth century, popular racial thought utilized scientific explanations that racialized every aspect of human behavior. The contemporary view of blacks stated that they were naturally inferior to whites. Chesnutt wrote a number of essays that revealed policies among white Southerners that suggested the races were not so easily classified. In 1889, Chesnutt published an essay entitled "What is a White Man?," in which he examined the laws that attempted to solidify the color line. He examined state Supreme Court rulings in South Carolina, in which two standards were established for identifying an individual's race: (1) physical features; and (2) "reception into society, and by their exercise of the privileges of a white man."[19] The latter means of defining one's race provided light-skinned mulattoes with the opportunity to pass into white society, thereby disrupting the color line. Chesnutt also mocked white obsession with preserving the color line of their race given whites' transgressions across it, noting that marriage laws were necessary because "Nature, by some unaccountable oversight… neglected a matter so important to the future prosperity and progress of mankind" by permitting physical attraction between blacks and whites. His essay exposed the permeability of the color line, the difficulty of defining whiteness, and the transgressions that blurred the races.[20]

In a series of essays entitled "The Future American," published in the *Boston Evening Transcript* in 1900, Chesnutt predicted that the interbreeding of whites, blacks, and Indians would eventually create a racially mixed citizenry. Realizing the advantages of being white, Chesnutt once flirted with the idea of passing into white society. He eventually reached the

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Chesnutt are available on-line at http://www.berea.edu/faculty/browers/chesnutt/intro.html, a website created by Berea College English professor Stephanie Berea.

[17] John W. Wideman, "Chesnutt, Charles Waddell," in *Dictionary of American Negro Biography*, pg. 103-107; William L. Andrews, *The Literary Career of Charles W. Chesnutt* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), pg. 11-12.

[18] Quoted in Andrews, *Literary Career*, pg. 27.

[19] Charles Chesnutt, "What is a White Man?," *The Independent* 41 (May 30, 1889): 5-6.

[20] Chesnutt, "What is a White Man?," 5-6; Wilson, *Whiteness*, pg. 6-7.

conclusion that passing merely accepted racial distinctions as a reality.[21] Citing the example of Aleksandr Pushkin and Alexandre Dumas, Chesnutt argued that Europeans did not hide their mixed ancestry "because it carried with it no social stigma or disability whatever." Through these examples, Chesnutt argued that race was a "social fiction." He believed that white society's racial formulas neglected ability and virtue, which should be most relevant in defining one's social status. Racial interbreeding would require society to rank its members based upon these terms. Chesnutt and Fulton disagreed about the importance of racial solidarity. Whereas Fulton promoted race pride, Chesnutt revealed his own views on race, color, and class in this series, writing, "[I]f, in time, the more objectionable Negro traits are eliminated, and his better qualities correspondingly developed, his part in the future American race may well be an important and valuable one."[22] Rather than advocating race pride as Fulton had in *Hanover*, Chesnutt promoted the elimination of all racial distinctions in favor of ability and character.

Chesnutt wrote *The Marrow of Tradition* with two goals in mind. First, he hoped to entertain readers; he recognized that the future of his literary career depended upon the financial success of his novels. Second, Chesnutt crafted a "purpose novel" in order to educate Northerners about the racial problems unfolding in the South.[23] Chesnutt built his story around events with which his audience would be familiar. Although he based the novel in part upon the New Orleans Riot of 1900, he depended primarily on the events in Wilmington in 1898. He visited North Carolina in order to compile information for his manuscript. He received letters from North Carolinians describing black life after the 1898 election and the subsequent riot. As he revealed in a letter to the wife of former Wilmington resident William Henderson, the novel was also influenced by a story told to him by Dr. Thomas Mask, who still lived in the Port City. Mask recounted with "vivid description… of the events of the riot."[24] His research offered a factual counter-weight to the public memory.

The novel centers on the white Carterets and the mulatto Millers, the leading families of Wellington. Major Carteret edits the Democratic *Morning Chronicle*, and Dr. William Miller operates a hospital in the black community. Their wives connect the two families; Olivia Carteret's father married his housekeeper, who subsequently gave birth to Janet Miller. The Carteret family wishes to preserve the color line by concealing the familial relationship between Janet and Olivia, and the Millers wish to replace the color line with economic and social classifications.

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[21] Dickson D. Bruce, Jr., *Black American Writing from the Nadir: The Evolution of a Literary Tradition, 1877-1915* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), pg. 173, 177.

[22] Charles Chesnutt, "A Stream of Dark Blood in the Veins of the Southern Whites" *Boston Evening Transcript*, August 25, 1900, in *Stories, Novels, and Essays*, pg. 854-855; "A Complete Race-Amalgamation Likely to Occur" *Boston Evening Transcript* September 1, 1900, in *Stories, Novels, and Essays*, pg. 861, 863; Stephen P. Knadler, "Untragic Mulatto: Charles Chesnutt and the Discourse of Whiteness," *American Literary History* 8 (Autumn 1996): 429; Dean McWilliams, *Charles Chesnutt and the Fictions of Race* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002), pg. 54-55.

[23] Chesnutt, "Chesnutt's Own View," pg. 872. Chesnutt sent copies of *The Marrow of Tradition* to several congressmen. In ensuing correspondence, the politicians compared the novel with Thomas Dixon's *The Leopard's Spots*.

[24] Letter to Walter Hines Page, March 22, 1899, and Letter to Mrs. W.B. Henderson, November 11, 1905, published in *"To Be An Author": Letters of Charles W. Chesnutt, 1889-1905*, ed. by Joseph R. McElrath, Jr., and Robert C. Leitz III (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997): pg. 121, 233-234.

The Marrow of Tradition centers upon a plot crafted by Major Carteret, General Belmont, and Captain George McBane to seize control of the city and cast off "nigger domination." Carteret and Belmont are white patricians who wish to resume control over Wellington. McBane, the son of an overseer and himself once a member of the Ku Klux Klan, exemplifies the unrefined New Southerner whose social standing is determined by wealth rather than birth. Chesnutt's triumvirate criticize the bi-racial government, claiming that African Americans are unfit for politics. Carteret's editorials espouse the same rhetoric that the Democrats injected into the 1898 election. The title of the novel refers to the anachronistic rhetoric of white supremacy that continued to persist in the South. These men employ this rhetoric to stir racial hatred in Wellington.

As scholar Stephen Knadler noted, Chesnutt illustrated that whiteness was "a performance mandated at particular historical moments for its political advantageousness and its suppression of other group identities such as class or ethnicity." In order to expose the fiction of race, Chesnutt offers the example of Jerry, Carteret's black porter, who sits outside the editor's office and mimics the talk of "Angry Saxons" and expresses his desire to be white. Jerry even purchases a kit that promises to turn an African-American into an Anglo-American. Although Jerry's racial conversion fails, the conversation that Jerry mimics reveals that whiteness must be claimed; if whiteness was a natural state, these declarations would be superfluous.[25]

Chesnutt deflects claims of black criminality, one of the main components of the white supremacy rhetoric, back onto whites with the murder of Polly Ochiltree, Olivia Carteret's aunt. Tom Delamere, grandson of old Mr. Delamere, the aging aristocrat, robs Ochiltree to pay off a gambling debt. Disguised as his grandfather's faithful servant Sandy Campbell, Tom scares the woman, and she collapses and suffers a fatal blow to the head. Tom leaves a trail of evidence leading back to Campbell. A special edition of Carteret's newspaper implies that the culprit also raped Ochiltree, which encourages white men to form a lynch mob to execute their own brand of justice.[26] Miller brings the elder Delamere to defend his servant from a lynch mob. When the truth is discovered, Delamere urges Carteret to publish the information in order to save Sandy's life. Carteret instead concocts a story about an unknown black man who committed the crime and fled the city, perpetuating local fears of a burly black brute preying on white women.[27]

When this plot unfolds and the white mob terrorizes the black community, Miller refuses to join the defensive force led by Josh Green, a poor black who speaks in the same dialect as the black characters of Chesnutt's earlier short stories. Miller contends that he may be of more use to his people in life than in martyrdom, yet in Miller, Chesnutt notes "a distinct feeling of shame and envy that he, too, did not feel impelled to throw away his life in a hopeless struggle."[28] Green's decision, motivated in part by the opportunity to exact revenge upon McBane for killing his father, leads to his death. Echoing Fulton's question regarding the fate of Dan Wright,

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[25] Charles W. Chesnutt, *The Marrow of Tradition* (New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1901; reprinted Penguin Books, 1993), pg. 31, 90; Chesnutt, "Chesnutt's Own View," pg. 872; McWilliams, *Fictions of Race*, pg. 153; Knadler, "Untragic Mulatto," pg. 434. For a discussion of the consumption of race, see Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998).
[26] Chesnutt, *Marrow of Tradition*, pg. 190.
[27] Wilson, *Whiteness*, pg. 132-133.
[28] Chesnutt, *Marrow of Tradition*, pg. 282, 285.

Chesnutt asks the reader if Green "died as the fool dieth."[29] The answer within the text lacks Fulton's certainty, but Chesnutt's nonfiction offers clues to his true opinion. For example, Chesnutt advocated violence in self-defense of life, liberty, and property in an essay published in 1891. Offering more proof of Chesnutt's support of the tactics employed by Miller and Green, William Gleason noted a passage in Chesnutt's biography of Frederick Douglass that compared Douglass and John Brown: "each played the part for which he was adapted. It would have strengthened the cause of liberty very little for Douglass to die with Brown."[30] One might conclude that Chesnutt would have expressed similar sentiments about Miller and Green.

Chesnutt suggested that race baiting inspired hatred beyond the control of its architects, reflecting Waddell's image of a mob beyond the control of its leaders. While observing the shootout at Miller's hospital between the armies of Green and McBane, Carteret declares, "I meant to keep them (blacks) in their places – I did not intend wholesale murder and arson." He implores the white mob to withdraw, shouting, "Gentlemen, this is murder and madness; it is a disgrace to our city, our state, to our civilization!" Carteret fails to realize that he used similar language to describe Negro rule in order to incite white anger. His words merely intensify the mob's thirst for blood.[31] In one sense, Chesnutt supported Waddell's claims that the lower classes terrorized the African American community; yet the novelist held the conspirators culpable for inciting the frenzy on November 10, 1898.

At the climax of the novel, the Carterets must turn to Miller to save the life of their son. At this last hour, Olivia Carteret acknowledges her half-sister, appealing to their shared blood and motherly instincts. Chesnutt presents a scene in which the "traditional" roles are reversed. Olivia first appeals to Dr. Miller, "at the feet of a negro, this proud white woman." He directs her to his wife for judgment: "The sad-eyed Janet towered erect, with menacing aspect, like an avenging goddess. The other [Olivia], whose pride had been her life, stood in the attitude of a trembling supplicant." Having lost her own son to a stray bullet during the course of events that day, Janet refuses to accept "your father's name, your father's wealth, your sisterly recognition," yet she agrees to permit her husband to save young Carteret. When Miller arrives at the Carteret home, the young doctor tending to the boy warns, "There's time enough, but none to spare."[32] Describing the novel in the *Cleveland World*, Chesnutt assured readers, "The book is not a study in pessimism, for it is the writer's belief that the forces of progress will in the end prevail, and that in time a remedy may be found for every social ill."[33] Some scholars have questioned the optimism of the novel's closing passage. Citing the extensive description of Dodie Carteret given at his birth, Jae H. Roe argued that Miller saves the "embodiment" of southern racism. Matthew Wilson argued that the closing passage was "a sleight of hand" trick in which Chesnutt gave white readers the illusion of hope for reconciliation. Wilson contended that *The Marrow of Tradition* marked a shift for Chesnutt away from the rhetoric of amalgamation articulated in the "Future American" series in favor of separatism, symbolized by Janet's rejection of her sister's

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[29] Chesnutt, *Marrow of Tradition*, pg. 309.
[30] Charles W. Chesnutt, "A Multitude of Counselors," *The Independent* 43 (April 2, 1891): 4-5; William Gleason, "Voices at the Nadir: Charles Chesnutt and David Bryant Fulton," in *Critical Essays on Charles Chesnutt*, ed. by Joseph R. McElrath, Jr. (New York: G.K. Hall, 1999): pg. 235.
[31] Chesnutt, *Marrow of Tradition*, pg. 305.
[32] Chesnutt, *Marrow of Tradition*, pg. 324, 326, 328-329.
[33] "Chesnutt's Own View," pg. 873.

recognition.[34] These interpretations failed to place proper emphasis upon the postures of the characters in the closing scene. Janet Miller claims moral superiority over the Carteret family.[35]

Critics questioned Chesnutt's perception of reality. William Dean Howells, a friend of Chesnutt, called the book "bitter," but he qualified this assessment, writing that "[t]here is no reason in history why it should not be so, if wrong is to be repaid with hate, and yet it would be better if it was not so bitter."[36] Most critics revealed that they did not agree with Chesnutt's interpretation. *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* criticized Chesnutt for basing the Wellington Race Riot upon events uncharacteristic of the South, thereby creating "a false perspective when regarded from the viewpoint of real life." Several reviews criticized Chesnutt for crafting characterizations and stereotypes rather than characters. Expressing a negative opinion in the *Atlanta Journal*, Katherine Glover called the novel "silly rot," criticizing the characterization of every African American as virtuous and every white as villainous. These negative reviews illustrate the point made by Matthew Wilson that white audiences conditioned by the historical romances of Thomas Nelson Page and the popular narrative of the events in Wilmington would reject *The Marrow of Tradition* as the truth turned on its head.[37]

Nonetheless, the book remained a favorite of the literary elite but did not gain a public following. *The Marrow of Tradition* only sold 3,276 copies; in one instance, a Cleveland bookstore requested that Houghton, Mifflin, and Company accept the return of most of their copies.[38] Chesnutt failed to capture the imagination of readers, and Waddell's narrative continued to inform the masses.

Thomas Dixon's *The Leopard's Spots*

In 1902, Thomas Dixon, Jr. presented a variation of Waddell's narrative within his best-selling novel *The Leopard's Spots*. In contrast to Chesnutt's sluggish sales, Dixon's novel sold more than a million copies, reflecting the popularity and power of the southern white perspective. Born and raised in North Carolina, Dixon, a Baptist minister, carried his message to northern congregations in 1887.[39] Dixon's politicized sermons addressed topics such as immigration, industrialization, and urbanization. During the Spanish-American War, his sermons focused heavily on the nation's role in international affairs. The issue of race was a recurring theme of the sermons Dixon delivered in 1898.[40]

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[34] Jae H. Roe, "Keeping an 'Old Wound' Alive: *The Marrow of Tradition* and the Legacy of Wilmington," *African American Review* 33 (1999): 238; Wilson, *Whiteness*, pg. 140.
[35] McWilliams, *Fictions of Race*, pg. 165.
[36] Howells, "A Psychological Counter-current," reprinted in *Critical Essays on Charles Chesnutt*, pg. 82.
[37] Review of *The Marrow of Tradition*, *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, November 9, 1901; Katherine Glover, "News in the World of Books," *Atlanta Journal*, December 14, 1901, pg. 4; "Book Review of *The Marrow of Tradition*," *Independent* 54 (March 1902): 582; Wilson, *Whiteness*, pg. 126-127.
[38] Wilson, *Whiteness*, pg. 101; *"To Be An Author"*, pg. 174, n2.
[39] The standard biography of Thomas Dixon remains Raymond Allen Cook's *Fire from the Flint: The Amazing Careers of Thomas Dixon* (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, 1968). Joel Williamson offers a psychological study of Dixon in *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South since Emancipation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).
[40] While at Johns Hopkins University, Dixon came under the influence of Herbert Baxter Adams, who taught the Teutonic germ theory. The theory stated a set of ideas had been carried out of the forests of Germany and delivered

In a sermon delivered at the nondenominational People's Church in New York City, Dixon offered "A Friendly Warning to the Negro." Dixon declared, "The negro in American is now entering the gravest crises of his life as a race. If he is worthy he will survive. If he is not, he will be ground into powder."[41] He placed southern African Americans in two categories: demagogues such as Alexander Manly and sensible leaders such as Booker T. Washington. According to Dixon, the African American community must withdraw from politics and banish men like Manly in order to cultivate relationships with their white benefactors. Commenting on the political revolution in North Carolina in 1898, Dixon declared that the state, but particularly Wilmington, would no longer live under Negro rule, characterized by "chaos, corruption, anarchy."[42] In the event that blacks could not accept this outcome, Dixon recommended that they migrate to the North, the western territories, or one of the newly acquired territories in the Caribbean and the Pacific.[43]

Dixon believed that Wilmington represented a critical moment in the nation's history. In a letter to Alfred Moore Waddell's widow, Gabrielle DeRosset Waddell, Dixon wrote of his admiration of the former mayor of Wilmington and assured the widow that her husband and the "Wilmington revolutionists did a very important work in the preservation of our civilization."[44] Dixon envisioned a white America, free from the taint of black blood and prepared to fulfill its imperialist "mission." In search of a larger audience, he began writing novels. His fictional treatment of the riot in *The Leopard's Spots* articulated this vision.

The Leopard's Spots tells the story of Charlie Gaston, son of a fallen Confederate soldier, who wanders through postbellum North Carolina under the guidance of Reverend John Durham. The minister articulates the sermons on race that Dixon delivered in New York City in the late 1890s. Durham regularly advises Gaston that America will either be Anglo Saxon or mulatto; this theory presupposes that, given the ballot and political offices, the black man will desire white women. The only possible result of this situation will be a mongrel race of Americans. Contrary to Chesnutt, Dixon believed that the color line must be preserved at all costs. Gaston articulates his mentor's lessons into a public policy which states that African American men must accept a subordinate position in society and withdraw from politics or leave the country.[45]

Gaston visits Independence, North Carolina, the setting for Dixon's fictionalized account of the Wilmington Race Riot, to pay his respects to a regiment returning from the Spanish-American War. During his visit, a white man beats a black man to death for "jostling" his white female companion in a sidewalk encounter. The Fusion government blames Gaston for creating

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the British Isles, where it spawned democratic institutions that were carried across the Atlantic to the American colonies. Adams's germ theory provided a scientific foundation for the racial theories that Dixon formulated in the late 1890s. The "biological" evidence supported his belief in Anglo-Saxon superiority and the foolishness of the postbellum political "experiment" involving African Americans. See James T. Rostar, "Johns Hopkins University and the Teutonic Germ," *North Carolina Literary Review* 2 (Spring 1994), pg. 92.

[41] Thomas Dixon, *Dixon's Sermons, Delivered in the Grand Opera House, New York, 1898-1899* (New York: F.L. Bussey, 1899), pg. 112, 114.

[42] Dixon, *Dixon's Sermons*, pg. 117-118.

[43] Dixon, *Dixon's Sermons*, pg. 119.

[44] Quoted in Glenda Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), pg. 136.

[45] Thomas Dixon, *The Leopard's Spots: A Romance of the White Man's Burden, 1865-1900* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1902; reprinted Salon Publishing Company, Norborne, Missouri, n.d.), pg. 435-448.

turmoil among the races and attempts to murder him. Gaston evades the plot and decrees that the city's Republican leadership and the "Negro Anarchist" editor must leave the city three days before the November election in order to end Negro rule and lawlessness. His terms are accepted and executed in a peaceful manner, but "a mob of a thousand armed Negroes concealed themselves in a hedgerow and fired on them from ambush, killing one man and wounding six. Gaston formed his men in line, returned fire with deadly effect, charged the mob, put them to flight, driving them into the woods."[46] In Dixon's portrayal, the white army represents law and order, whereas the black mob typifies the disorder of Fusion rule. The Red Shirts appear in Dixon's novel as "a spontaneous combustion of inflammable racial power that has been accumulating for a generation."[47] Dixon portrayed racial violence as a natural response to perceived political and social oppression which, according to southern collective memory, was unleashed by Northerners during Reconstruction and resurrected by the Republican-Populist Fusion government in the 1890s.

Dixon articulated a version of events similar to the popular narrative. Written to clarify Northern confusion about the postbellum South, Dixon idealized the riot, omitting the political coup and justifying the bloodshed as a response to black aggression. Retold in Dixon's nationalistic and imperialist language, the Wilmington Race Riot became a crucial event in the nation's history.[48]

The Wilmington Race Riot received little attention over the next century. Despite the absence of discussion, the riot was not forgotten. *The Leopard's Spots* reinterpreted the defeat of the Fusion government and the disfranchisement of African Americans as an essential part of sectional reunion and national progress. The Civil War, Radical Reconstruction, and Fusion politics were uncharacteristic periods in Southern history, and whites resorted to whatever means necessary to restore the traditional racial order. This restoration was integrated into the cultural landscape in North Carolina. Catherine W. Bishir noted the far-reaching cultural changes underway in Raleigh and Wilmington after the "Revolution of 1898." Architectural tastes and the commemoration movement emphasized continuity, harmony, and, perhaps most importantly, Anglo-Saxon authority. Newly built homes reflected the popularity of the "Colonial Revival" style that linked the Old and New South in the minds of their owners, "captur[ing] in modern terms the symbols of that glorious past." Confederate memorials marked the landscape around government buildings. Public ceremonies to dedicate these landmarks provided an articulation of the meanings intended by the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Colonial Dames of America. These developments reiterated the belief that the Civil War, Reconstruction, and Fusion politics were temporary disruptions in southern history, characterized by Anglo-Saxon supremacy. The violence that occurred in Wilmington in 1898 slipped into the background, but whites resurrected the memory of the bloodshed in order to quell dissent within Wilmington's African American community. For example, when North Carolina Governor Joseph Broughton attended the launching of the Liberty Ship *John Merrick* in Wilmington in 1943, he raised the

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[46] Dixon, *The Leopard's Spots*, pg. 414-416.
[47] Dixon, *The Leopard's Spots*, pg. 419.
[48] Andrews, *Literary Career*, pg. 184-185; Gunning, *Race, Rape, and Lynching*, pg. 31; Wilson, *Whiteness*, pg. 121-122.

specter of 1898 as "a cautionary tale" for blacks.[49] Historian Melton A. McLaurin has suggested that the city's black community preserved a counter-memory of the riot, but white city leaders refused to acknowledge this version in public discourse or commemoration.[50]

Rewriting the Wilmington Race Riot: *Cape Fear Rising*

Philip Gerard's *Cape Fear Rising* (1994) publicly challenged the popular narrative of the events of the fall of 1898. Gerard, a creative writing professor at the University of North Carolina at Wilmington, mixed fact and fiction to tell the story of "what makes a community a community and how easy it is to fracture."[51] Gerard depicted the inner workings of the groups that conspired to overthrow the Fusion government. Hugh MacRae, J. Allan Taylor, and Alfred Moore Waddell emerge from *Cape Fear Rising* as the true architects of the violence. MacRae and Taylor orchestrate the coup, while Waddell mobilizes the masses and forms alliances that place him at the center of power in Wilmington.

The novelist pays particular attention to the experiences of Sam and Gray Ellen Jenks, a Philadelphia couple who move to Wilmington after Sam's cousin, Hugh MacRae, secures a position for him with the Democratic Wilmington *Messenger*. Sam eventually realizes that MacRae expects him to support the white revolution. Haunted by alcoholism, sexual temptation, a failing marriage, and lies about his experiences in Spanish-American War, Sam implicitly supports the movement led by men whom he believes are much better than himself. As the riot reaches its conclusion, Sam, appalled by the senseless white-on-black violence, accepts the futility of resisting the tide of white rule. Gray Ellen, a liberal on race issues, teaches at Williston, the local African American school. As a result of her contact with the black community, she finds herself under the spell of Ivanhoe Grant, a mysterious mulatto minister who educates her about the reality of the color line and plays an important role in the escalation of racial tensions. The relationship between Gray Ellen and Grant leads to the banishment of the Jenkses.

Gerard credits MacRae and J. Allan Taylor with orchestrating the violence, despite the protests of fellow conspirators such as William Kenan, George Rountree, and Walker Taylor. Unlike Chesnutt, Gerard contends that the conspirators controlled the actions of the poor whites. MacRae keeps Mike Dowling and the Red Shirts under control before the election in order to avoid federal intervention. As they await the black response to the White Declaration of Independence, MacRae expresses his determination to suppress the black population through violence. He advises J. Allan Taylor, "They (African Americans) can all sign over the deeds to their houses, it wouldn't change what we have to do."[52] Gerard repeats Waddell's account of events at the *Daily Record* office; uncontrollable Red Shirts exceed the level of violence that he

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[49] Catherine W. Bishir, "Landmarks of Power," pg. 140, 147-155; Timothy Tyson, "Wars for Democracy: African American Militancy and Interracial Violence in North Carolina during World War II," in *Democracy Betrayed*, pg. 254-255; Leslie H. Hossfeld, *Narrative*, pg. 66-67.
[50] Melton A. McLaurin, "Commemorating Wilmington's Racial Violence of 1898: From Individual to Collective Memory," *Southern Cultures* 6 (2000): pg. 41-42.
[51] Scott Whisnant, "Violent White Revolt in 1898 Basis of New Historical Novel," Wilmington *Sunday Star-News*, February 13, 1994, pg. 7A.
[52] Gerard, *Cape Fear Rising*, pg. 319.

intends. *Cape Fear Rising* also restates Waddell's account of the defense of black prisoners at the jail, although Sam is among those who note the hypocrisy of preventing a lynching hours after directing a mob in the senseless murder of dozens of African Americans. As the violence unfolds, MacRae and Taylor assume command of the Wilmington Light Infantry, because the commander refuses to take part in mob violence. Their ability to command the infantry reflects their control over the day's events. Ultimately, MacRae controls the extent of the violence. When Taylor declares that a black man who negotiates the release of white prisoners will face a firing squad for "[i]nciting insurrection," MacRae overrules his co-conspirator, revealing his plan to banish leading blacks and white Fusionists. Gerard concludes that between 120 and 150 African Americans were killed in the riot, offering a much more violent interpretation than any other author. He places MacRae at the center of this bloodshed.

Cape Fear Rising inspired considerable local interest in the events of 1898. The Wilmington *Sunday Star-News* featured a front-page story on the novel, addressing the depictions of MacRae, Rountree, and Walker Taylor. Walker Taylor III and George Rountree III, prominent residents of Wilmington, commented on the novel. Taylor released a statement that the "book was one of many accounts of the riots and that the author had obviously done much research." He deflected attention from 1898 onto current problems in Wilmington and the need for racial harmony. Taylor later stated that the negative portrayal of his grandfather "displeased" him. Rountree had not read the novel, but he suggested that the leading men of Wilmington were products of their times: "There was a peculiar chemistry or dynamic then that I don't fully understand because I wasn't living it."[53] These men resisted overturning the traditional narrative first laid out by Democrats in the days after the riot. The opinions of the African American community were notably absent from this article, illustrating the persistence of white control over public memory of the event.

The editorial page of the Wilmington *Morning Star* offered a forum for debate on the book's value. Beejay Grob criticized Gerard's use of the historical figures without the permission or perspectives of the leading families of Wilmington. He suggested that *Cape Fear Rising* might simply offer Gerard's "biased account."[54] Fred McRee responded to this criticism by noting that no respect had ever been given to the victims of the riot and their descendants. He proposed that the novel could help "expose that festering sore of our collective local past to critical scrutiny, and learn; or *Cape Fear Rising* can, if we allow it to, help us lay to rest our dead – and our dread."[55] This closing reference suggests that the black community did not need Governor Broughton's reminder of the bloodshed in order to understand white vigilance. Inez Campbell-Eason, a descendant of one of Wilmington's black businessmen, illustrated that the city's cultural landscape had been marked to remember men who orchestrated the coup. She protested that the city had honored the memory of "a bigot and massacrer like (the first) Hugh MacRae with a park."[56] Although *Cape Fear Rising* did not usher in a new narrative of the riot, its publication did open a dialog in which African Americans participated.

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[53] Whisnant, "Violent White Revolt," pg. 6A.
[54] Beejay Grob, "'98 'Riot' Book Biased, Made-Up," Wilmington *Morning Star*, February 19, 1994, pg. 6A.
[55] Fred McRee, "Cross the Divide," Wilmington *Morning Star*, February 28, 1994, pg. 6A.
[56] Inez Campbell-Eason, "Honor Victims," Wilmington *Morning Star*, February 22, 1994, pg. 6A.

The centennial events in Wilmington in 1998 reflected a growing desire to face the past, yet the 1898 Centennial Foundation discovered the difficulty of commemorating an event that still inspired heated debate and disagreement over the facts. The failure to reach a consensus during the ceremonies in 1998 revealed that the traditional story remained entrenched in certain circles.[57] Time and perspective provided by novelists and historians had only weakened the authority of the old narrative; the landscape remained marked by Waddell's narrative.

[57] McLaurin, "Commemorating," pg. 47, 50, 55.

APPENDIX N

TIMELINE

Timeline

1894
Democrats toppled from power by the Fusion coalition of Populists (disgruntled Democrats) and Republicans (69 to 49 in the House, 41 to 9 in the Senate); black Republicans voters are important to the political upheaval

1895
Legislature begins dismantling Democratic machine – making government more representative and returning local self-government

1896
More political upheaval – General Assembly: House = 39 Populists, 54 Republicans, 24 Democrats and Senate = 25 Populists, 18 Republicans, 7 Democrats; election of Daniel Russell as first Republican governor since Reconstruction; Democratic control of cities such as Wilmington, Raleigh, Goldsboro, New Bern and Elizabeth City overturned by legislature; law amending Wilmington and New Bern city charters making city elections more democratic with Governor holding power to appoint one alderman from each ward to the Wilmington Board of Aldermen

March 25, 1897
Wilmington municipal election results in Board of Aldermen composed of 6 Republicans. 3 Democrats, 1 Silver party; Republican Silas P. Wright (a carpet-bagger)elected mayor and Board appointed Populist John R. Melton as chief of police; G.Z. French made Chief Deputy Sheriff of New Hanover County

Democrats elected to Board of Aldermen persuaded not to qualify; defeated mayor William N. Harris and six of the Democratic members of his Board of Aldermen challenge the act of 1897 as unconstitutional and the election as invalid; a third group claims to be legitimate Board

April 1897
Court hearing on challenge to act of 1897 by Harris; Judge J.D. McIver ruled act unconstitutional; Wright appealed decision to state Supreme Court

September 1897
Chief Justice William T. Faircloth and Supreme Court reversed Superior Court's decision; Wright and new Fusion Board of Aldermen gain full control of city affairs

6-12 months prior to November 10, 1898
Conspiracy developed by white citizens of Wilmington bent on maintaining white supremacy to perform a political coup, said to have originated with nine influential citizens (the "Secret Nine”); development of a citywide protective campaign to be coordinated with Democrat’s statewide white supremacy movement for the 1898 election

1898
White supremacy campaign grew using newspapers to print accusations of corruption and threats of black domination, traveling speakers in circuits designed to rouse crowds of voters to action, and White Government Union clubs and Red Shirt organizations to intimidate black voters and coerce white Republicans and Populists into voting the Democratic ticket

August 1898
News and Observer editor Josephus Daniels enlisted cartoonist Norman Jennett, a native of Sampson County, to launch a sensational cartoon campaign

Alex Manly, mulatto newspaper editor of Wilmington, published an article in response to a speech made by Mrs. Rebecca Felton of Georgia on need to protect poor white farm girls from black rapists in 1897 and reprinted by Democratic presses in 1898. Democrats used Manly's article as rallying point to unite white men in order to protect white women from further outrages against their purity.

Development of a racist labor movement seeking total employment of white labor force at the expense of blacks

26 September 1898
Postmaster James H. Chadburn, Jr. (Republican) as president of Chamber of Commerce, sent letter to Fusionist Senator Jeter C. Pritchard (Republican) contradicting Democrats' allegation of Negro domination; letter printed in newspapers; Chadburn forced to recant in 18 October *Messenger*

5 October 1898
Wilmington Chamber of Commerce declaration against "Negro Domination"

7 October 1898
Meeting in Merchants' Association in the Seaboard Air Line building adopted anti-black labor resolutions

20 October 1898
Large Democratic rally in Fayetteville featured a parade of Red Shirts, White Government Union members and military detachments. Parade ended with series of speeches given by Senator Ben Tillman from South Carolina, Alfred Moore Waddell from Wilmington and other state Democratic Party leaders.

21 October 1898
Confidential letter from Senator Jeter C. Pritchard to President McKinley described intense racial feelings, arming of whites and blacks, fear of trouble, and asked for deputy US Marshals to preserve peace; contents of the letter publicized by Daniels' *News & Observer*, raised Democratic fears of federal intervention

24 October 1898

Attorney Alfred Moore Waddell's speech at Opera House where he proclaimed the need to win the election at all costs – "choke the current of the Cape Fear River" with bodies of blacks

Democratic pressure on Republicans not to nominate a ticket for county office candidates; Redshirt groups intimidate local citizens (even some whippings)

27 October 1898
White labor union organized to cooperate with businessmen of the city to help secure white men to replace black workers; president was Red Shirt/Rough Rider leader Mike Dowling

28 October 1898
Massive Democratic rally and Red Shirt parade in Goldsboro, 8,000 white supremacists assembled; fears of black retaliation in defense of the right to vote an excuse for white armament

2 November 1898
Wilmington Red Shirts parade through town ending with rally and speakers in Hilton Park

5 November 1898
Waddell speaks at the Opera House again; hints of lynching Manly

Editor Thomas Clawson of the *Messenger* sends warning to the Manlys to get out of Wilmington

Blacks attempt unsuccessfully to purchase weapons locally or order them from the North for defense; only a few blacks have old Army muskets or pistols

Many white families sent away from Wilmington before election; rumors of assassination plans for Governor Daniel Russell

5 November 1898
Board of Aldermen pass an ordinance banning sale of intoxicating drinks between 11:30 PM on November 5th and 6 PM on November 10

7 November 1898
Governor Russell issues a circular informing blacks they would be allowed to vote for a state senator, the only Republican candidate running

8 November 1898
Election Day, Red Shirts intimidate black voters; most black voters stay home; irregularities at polls; Governor Russell barely escapes with life from a Red Shirt mob on his return to Raleigh after voting in Wilmington

9 November 1898
Newspapers announce Democratic victory; *Messenger* calls for meeting of all white men at the courthouse at 10 AM; 800-1000 men attend; Waddell reads "White Declaration of Independence" written by Secret Nine containing eight resolutions concerning white political domination and white labor and banning publication of the *Record* and the banishment of Manly;

additional resolutions target Mayor Silas P. Wright and Board of Aldermen and call for the resignations; a committee of 25 led by Waddell appointed to carry out the resolutions

Committee meets at 3:30 at the Merchants Association to plan how to carry out objectives; prominent blacks summoned to meet committee at 6 PM at the old Cape Fear Club to hear white demands; blacks told to reply to Waddell before 7:30 AM the next day; blacks met at David Jacobs' barber shop on and drafted a reply; Armond Scott sent to deliver reply to Waddell's home, but he mailed it instead because of the roving bands of armed whites in his way

10 November 1898

8 AM white men with rifles and pistols gather at the armory of the Wilmington Light Infantry on Market Street

8:30 AM Waddell and the Committee of 25 lead march toward the Manly press

9 AM Marchers reach press building, ransack the interior and set it on fire

Rumors spread in white community that blacks are assembled and ready to march on the city
Rumors spread in black community that the Red Shirts had killed one or more black men

Standoff at Sprunt's cotton compress between unarmed workers and armed whites

11 AM Whites and blacks clash at the intersection of Fourth and Harnett Streets in Brooklyn. Shots are fired and both sides claim the other opened first; several black men die at the intersection of Fourth and Harnett

A running fight in all directions ensues, with blacks pursued by whites; some blacks fire back; other armed whites rush to the scene

William Mayo (white) wounded near Fourth and Harnett; whites retaliate with additional murders

Shots heard throughout Brooklyn with multiple deaths of black men

Dr. B. C. Moore, owner of a drugstore at the northwest corner of Fourth and Harnett streets, telephoned Wilmington Light Infantry and Wilmington Division of the NC Naval Reserves and reported fighting

Redshirts, Rough Riders, military and citizens committee descent on the poorly armed black community of Brooklyn

11 AM Colonel Walker Taylor receives telegram from Governor's office with orders to use troops to preserve peace; Wilmington Light Infantry marches toward fighting from Armory

2:30 PM Taylor institutes martial law and military is in control of city; Captain William R. Kenan in charge of squad that operated the machine gun of the Secret Nine; T. C. James in charge of foot troops armed with rifles; former Confederate officer and Klansman Colonel Roger B. Moore in charge of citizens patrols and turned "control" of the citizen brigades over to Walker Taylor

Military cross Fourth Street bridge into Brooklyn, James lines up men and orders them shoot to kill; military encounters occasional sniper fire from behind barns, fences, trees, houses

Rumor spreads that black churches are stocked with men, guns and ammunition; detachment sent to search black churches; cannons aimed at church doors in case pastors refused; search of all churches yields no guns or ammunition

Shots fired whites near Manhattan Park; numerous armed men and the military rush to scene; military fire cuts planks in half and pits walls of dance hall; a black man running from the dance hall is killed by 15-20 bullets; soldiers use axes to hack down fence and burst open door of hall; six frightened black men are arrested; one is encouraged to run and is killed by a hail of bullets, the others are taken to jail

Whites target and murder two black men, Josh Halsey and Daniel Wright

12:50 PM mayor and board meet with Mayor Wright presiding, five aldermen present: Andrew J. Hewlett, John G. Norwood (black), H. C. Twining, D. J. Benson, W. E. Yopp; absent were Benjamin Keith, Andrew J. Walker (black), and Elijah M. Green (black); other two members (one black) unaccounted for; board fails to declare a state of emergency or telegraph Governor Russell for help, instead it enacted a prohibition ordinance.

Waddell's Committee of 25 meet at the Seaboard Air Line Building to select a mayor and Board of Aldermen; committee issued a mandate to Mayor Wright and his board to meet in City Hall

3 PM all blacks on street searched by white sentinels at each corner; some whites accompany blacks to protect them, help blacks escape from city, or give them sanctuary in their homes

Waddell's and Committee of 25 assembles at the Merchants' Association Building; the group heads to City Hall where Waddell orders Wright to call a special meeting of Aldermen

4 PM Mayor Wright presides over special meeting of board of aldermen; by wards, each alderman and then the mayor resign; each vacancy filled by a person nominated by the Committee of 25 until all positions held by Democrats; Hugh McRae and Taylor declined to qualify as aldermen until two days later so they could be free to act independently for Secret Nine; Police force, beginning with chief, forced to resign.

Elitist whites withdrew from active participation in the riot; some tried to prevent further disorder; Waddell issued proclamation of his commitment to peace and order

By Nightfall Shooting subsides, streets dotted with fallen blacks; ambulance from city hospital drives through black community and driver examines fallen for signs of life; survivors taken to hospital; other wounded men die in hiding

J. Alan Taylor of the Secret Nine had given Walker Taylor a list of prominent Republicans, white and black, to be permanently banished from Wilmington; by dusk, men earmarked for banishment who could be found lodged in jail for safekeeping

Coroner David Jacobs (black barber) had some dead removed to D. C. Evans Funeral home

Shooting heard periodically in Brooklyn far into the night; whites in Brooklyn found shelter at guarded churches and schools; black men, women and children fled to the woods and swamps for two days in cold November rain

10:30 PM picket of 60 troops placed on duty to protect the jail from mob

11 November 1898

White leaders give some affluent middle-class blacks 12 hours to get out of town

AM crowd gathers around jail and line street leading to railroad station; blacks leave jail first guarded by soldiers with fixed bayonets under the command of Lieutenant Commander George L. Morton walk on each side of 6 men escorted to a northbound train and placed in a special car with a guard under orders to see them out of the state

Wilmington riot reported in major national newspapers, led by *New York Times* and *Washington Post*

Attorney General John W. Griggs confers with President McKinley, whose cabinet speculates on federal intervention; no official communication is sent from Governor Russell to the President; state and federal governments fail to respond

2 PM leading white Republicans banished; larger crowd assembles, soldiers without fixed bayonets escort 5 men; George French nearly lynched; exiled men arrive at New Bern via the Atlantic Coastline Railroad but are refused asylum; at 6 PM they are escorted to the steamer *Neuse* bound for Elizabeth City, word sent there to keep them moving out of state

3 PM Mayor Waddell called a special meeting to reorganize the Police Department; new chief is Edgar Parmele plus four regular policemen; Walker Taylor offered assistance of military; they agree to keep martial law in effect

12 November 1898

Board of Aldermen solidify control of municipal government.

Exiles including arrive in Washington, DC and call on US Department of Justice and seek interview with President McKinley; no conference with president is given

Black Coroner David Jacobs holds inquest – verdict: death by gunshot wounds inflicted by persons unknown

13 November

The Reverend Peyton H. Hoge of the First Presbyterian Church said, "We have taken a city"; black sermons in churches preach accommodation of white demands although a black woman writes President McKinley that blacks dare not go to church that day

14 November

Visiting troops march to depot to strains of "Dixie" cheered by crowd;
Della V. Johnson (black) of Wilmington writes President McKinley asking for help in the face of constitutional wrongs

15 November

Letter from anonymous woman of Wilmington to President McKinley asking for help

Black national leaders protest, and blacks in urban cities hold mass meetings and rallies in protest (Washington, DC; Asbury Park and Elizabeth, NJ; Mount Vernon, NY; Pittsburgh, PA; Chicago and Saint Louis, IL; Cincinnati, OH; Denver, CO); National Anti-Mob and Lynch Law Association asks for investigation by Republican Party

26 November
Collier's Weekly runs front-page editorial on Wilmington, "The North Carolina Race War, by Alfred M. Waddell" actually written by Charles Francis Bourke

3 December 1898
U.S. Attorney General John Griggs continues investigation

25 December 1898
R. H. Bunting and John R. Melton send letter to President McKinley

10 March 1899
Municipal election held and legitimized Waddell's administration

1900 –
Racial violence, disenfranchisement of black voters, lynchings increase across South, Jim Crow era in place

An Interpretation of the Economic Impact of the Wilmington Riot of 1897

Summary of Preliminary Findings

By

Tod Hamilton and William Darity

1. Introduction

America has a long history of race-related civil unrest. In the late 1800s and earlier 1900s, there were several attacks by white mobs on prosperous black communities resulting in the killing of black citizens and the destruction of black homes and businesses. Most notable are those that occurred in Danville, Virginia in 1883, Wilmington in 1898, New Orleans, Louisiana in 1900, Atlanta, Georgia in 1906, Tulsa, Oklahoma in 1921, and Rosewood, Florida in 1923.

Although all of the above riots were devastating to their local black communities, one of the most significant riots in American history is the Wilmington riot of 1898. In November, 1898, an organized white mob massacred an unknown number of black citizens in Wilmington and, at gunpoint, forced the resignation of most of the local municipal government. Many of the black and white leaders of the Republican party were banished from the town, never allowed to return.

After the riot, the demographics of the city drastically changed. Prior to the riot, blacks comprised 56% of the city of Wilmington's population which numbered 20,055 persons. In the days and months that followed the riot, many black citizens left the city—approximately 14% of the black citizens permanently left Wilmington. By 1900, and for the first time since before the Civil War, blacks were no longer the majority within the

city. Following the riot, all blacks employed by the city government were fired and replaced with white workers.

The Wilmington case presents special difficulties in measuring the impact of the riot. For example, the Tulsa and Rosewood riots involved the destruction of massive amounts of personal property. In addition, in these two cases the numbers of deaths caused by the riots have been more readily estimated. For the Wilmington riot, historical records only include one or two instances of property damage. In addition, the death toll has been hard to determine. Although there was a clear loss of voting privileges by the black community, it is difficult to put a dollar value on the right to vote. Historians have details from personal accounts of economic leaders being forced to leave the city and leave their profitable jobs or businesses; however, given the length of time that has passed since the riot and, due to the lack data, evidence of these events may be difficult to uncover.

Although there have been several papers written by economists and sociologists on the effects of race riots by blacks after race-related shocks during the 1960s and 1970s[1], there has been little statistical work by economists to analyze the effects of race riots against blacks in the late 1800s and early 1900s. This paper will attempt to measure a portion of the economic impact of the riots by evaluating occupational changes caused by the riots between 1897 and 1900. In addition, this study will utilize historical tax records and historical census data to study the demographic changes and changes in property holdings after the riot. Based on the results of this study, we establish that there was a significant decrease in the socioeconomic status of black business owners after the

[1] The interested reader can see Collin and Margo (2004), Eisinger, Peter K. (1973) and Downes(1968) for empirical studies on race related riots in the 1960s and 1970s.

riot. The results also show that overall black employment decreased and that fewer blacks held property after the riot. However, because of the many data problems and simplicity of estimation techniques, these results should be taken with caution.

The remainder of this paper will proceed as follows: Section II will describe the data used in the study, Section III will discuss methodology used in the study, Section IV will present results, and Section V will provide a conclusion.

II. Data

The 1897 and 1900 city directories for the city of Wilmington, North Carolina are one of the primary data sources for this study. The directory data is divided into a business section and an individual listing section. The directories were compiled and published every three years by the J.L. Hill Printing Company and sold to residents of the city for three dollars. The data set compiled for this study uses each entry in the business and individual listing sections of the directory as an observation. Each observation has information on the full name of the business owner or individual, the owner's or individual's race, occupation and address.[2]

The data is valuable because it is the only source that offers information in an interval sufficiently short and relevant to provide any meaningful results. It allows us to track individuals across years immediately before and shortly after the riot. We can examine the occupational status and business ownership patterns among people living in the city before the riot and remaining in the city after violence took place.

However, there are several problems with this data source that should be noted. City directory data is an incomplete sample of the population and businesses that operated within the city. City directories do not include data on descriptive characteristics

[2] In the directory, black individuals are identified by a star (*) in front of the name.

such as age, marital status, and literacy that might shed more light on the economic characteristics of individuals that stayed or left the city in the aftermath of the riot. City directory data does not allow us to establish what portion of the decline in population is attributable to natural causes, like death from old age rather than deaths due to the riot. In addition, it does not allow the researcher to distinguish clearly between increases in persons listed in the directory due to in-migration. The directory only documented workers and businesses located within Wilmington's city limits. Workers who lived in the "county" but worked in the city are not represented.

Additionally, the sample of business owners could suffer from selection bias. The directories do not have information on who chose to be listed in the directories. In addition, there is no information on the cost of having a business listed in the directory. In conducting this study, the implicit assumption has been that the individuals who chose to be included in the business section are probably the more affluent business owners, not those engaged in smaller or less successful business ventures. Despite the many problems with using directory data, this is the only source that provides data within an interval short enough to assess the immediate impact of the riot. After reviewing available census data, the population sizes between the two directory waves seem to be fairly reflective of the workforce of the city of Wilmington before and after the riots.

In addition to directory data, the study also utilizes historical tax data. In order to analyze the effect of the riots on property ownership, a data set that includes all black property holders in the Wilmington, North Carolina in 1897 and 1900 was compiled. The tax records contain the name, age, race, and the value of assets of all property owners in the city. An attempt was made to collect tax data on the entire population of Wilmington

in 1897 and 1900. However, due to time limitations, only information on black citizens is presented.

This study also utilizes census data from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS). Census data from 1880 to 1920 were compiled in order to analyze demographic changes for the city of Wilmington relative to the state of North Carolina. [3]

III. Methodology

In order to obtain a uniform measure of occupational status across directory years, the self reported occupations were re-coded to the 1950 Census occupational classification system (OCC1950) to enhance comparability across years.[4] Making this conversion allowed for the creation of two additional measures not contained in the city directories[5]. The first is an occupational score variable (OCCSCORE). OCCSCORE is a constructed variable that assigns occupation income scores to each occupation on the basis of OCC1950. OCCSCORE assigns each occupation a value representing the median total income (in hundreds of 1950 dollars) of all persons with that particular occupation in 1950. This variable provides a continuous measure of occupations according to the economic rewards enjoyed by people working in 1950.[6] The second variable is a constructed variable that assigns a Duncan Socioeconomic Index (SEI) score to each occupation. The SEI, which also is based on the 1950 occupational classification system, is a measure of occupational status based upon the income level and education attainment

[3] Analysis of census data to examine Atlanta and state of Georgia to determine if the effects of 1898 Wilmington Riot are similar to the effects of the 1906 Atlanta Riot is under way.
[4] The interested reader can get detailed information on the recoding process at www.ipums.org/usa/pwork/occ1950a.html.
[5] The downside of making these conversions is that it is very difficult to obtain exact matches for all of the occupations.
[6] The interested reader can get detailed information on the variable construction process at www.ipums.org/uas/pwork/occscorea.html. The description of the variable is taken from this source.

associated with each occupation in 1950. The score was derived by using median income and education levels for men in 1950 to predict prestige from a 1947 survey.[7]

The major problem that was encountered in assigning OCCSCORES and SEI scores to the directory data was matching directory occupations with 1950 occupations. For example, some occupations in the directory had different names than their 1950 counterparts. In the city directory, an individual may have listed their occupation as a stevedore; however, in 1950 this person would be considered a longshoreman. Likewise, a drayman in 1897 would be a deliveryman in 1950. In order to overcome these problems, historical research was conducted in order to get descriptions of some occupations.[8] Caution was taken to insure that the same conversions were made across races. So that, in the event that a directory occupation is not matched perfectly with its 1950 occupation, discrepancies would not heavily bias results using the directory data since the error would be made for both black and white listings. It should be noted that the majority of the occupations were easy to match.

The methodology used in this study is straightforward. Because of the limitations of the directory data, the analysis is limited to detailed summary statistics from the various directories. This includes tabulating the occupational variables, means tests, and tracking the movement of specific groups of individuals and businesses across directory waves.

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[7] The interested reader can get detailed information on the variable construction process at www.ipums.org/usa.pwork/seia.html. The description of this variable is taken from this source.

[8] The authors would like to thank LeRae Umfleet, at the North Carolina State Achieves for her help cleaning the directory data.

In addition to analyzing detailed summary statistics, OLS regressions and linear probability models will be used to analyze census data and tax records. These data sources contain a richer set of variables that will be exploited in this study.[9]

IV. Results

Black Business Owners

Based on the business section of the city directory, black businesses with the highest frequency were barbers, grocers, restaurant owners, and shoe makers. Following the riot there was a reduction in all of the occupations for black business owners that had been prevalent in 1897.[10] Fifty people in the sample were no longer listed in the city or the business directory.

The sample means table for black businesses listed in the business section of the directory indicates that in 1897 the average OCCSCORE for a black business owner was 31.36. For black business owners that left the city by 1900, the score was slightly higher. By 1900, the average OCCSCORE for black businesses declined to 16.44 – a significant drop in the occupation scores for black-owned businesses in the years immediately following the riot.

[9] Although not included in this report, additional data comparing "riot cities" such as Wilmington, Atlanta, and Tulsa will be performed. Further analysis of tax data is pending.
[10] When using the Business Directory. A black business owner is defined as a black individual that listed a business in the Business Section of the Wilmington Directory.

Table 1: Sample Means

Origin	*Whole Sample*	Moved in 1900	Did not Move in 1900
Occscore_1897	31.36	32.36	30.73
	(11.81)	(12.43)	(11.44)
Occscore_1900	16.44		26.72
	(16.68)		(13.29)
SEI_1897	41	41.78	40.76
	(26.49)	(26.43)	(26.68)
SEI_1900	20.53		33.37
	(27.11)		(27.69)
Change in Occscore(1900-1897)			-4.0125
			(11.22)
Change in SEI(1900-1897)			-7.38
			(22.98)
Move	0.38		
	(0.48)		
Observations	130	50	80

Source: All Black Business Listed in the Business Section of the Wilmington city Directory in 1900 and 1897. An individual is defined as moving if he/she Is not in the city directory or individual directory. Standard Deviations are in parenthesis

The variables for black business owners show that the average OCCSCORE between 1897 and 1900 decreased by 4.7 points and the average SEI score decreased by 8.5 points. Means were also calculated for blacks who did not move after the riots. The OCCSCORE and SEI score variables fell for individuals that remained in the city after the riot. These differences in means may suggest that the riot had a negative impact on the overall socioeconomic status of black business owners listed in the business section of the directory.

Complete Directory

In order to get a better view of the changes in socioeconomic status for the entire population, a data set containing every observation in the 1897 and 1900 City Directory was used. Analyzing the entire directory, including whites, allows for comparisons across races. If the occupational status of blacks declined significantly in relation to whites, this

would be very convincing evidence that the riot had a negative effect on the city's black residents.

Summary of Directories

Table 2. This table presents tabulation of population, occupation, and business ownership changes for Wilmington, North Carolina

	1897			1900		
	Total	Black	White	Total	Black	White
Summary Statistics						
Directory Entries	7,663	3,786	3,875	8,381	3,656	4,720
Occupation Listed	6,894	3,498	3,396	6,374	2,562	3,812
Business Owners	1005	216	789	933	162	771

Source: The entire city directory for the city Wilmington, North Carolina in 1897 and 1900.

Indeed, analysis of the complete directory provides evidence suggesting that blacks were negatively affected after the riot. The black population declined while the white population increased. In addition, the complete directory provides evidence that suggests that the number of blacks employed declined significantly after the riot.

Table 1 demonstrates changes in entrepreneurship/business ownership in years after the riot. A business owner/entrepreneur is defined as someone who listed a business address in the business and/or individual section of the directory. For example, in 1897 Emma Jones operated a cook-shop at 1120 N. Fourth and lived at 1205 N. Fourth. Only her business address is included in this study. However, some other businesses, such as grocers, are more difficult to track—some operated their stores at their home address. Therefore, individuals that list the same address for both their home and business are also included in this study as business owners.

In 1897 there were 216 black entrepreneurs and 789 white entrepreneurs. After the riot, the number fell dramatically for blacks to 162, a 25% decline; in contrast, for whites there was a mere 2% decline. Thus the ratio of white to black businesses rose from 3.6 to 4.8. This suggests that not only did the riot have an adverse impact on black business development, it also suggests that the riot may have created a relatively favorable business environment for whites.

Table 3: Summary Statistics of 1897 Business Addresses for Black Businesses	
Street	1897 Address
N. 2nd	28
S. 2nd	11
N. 3rd	2
N. 4th	15
N. 4th @ 4th Street Market	4
N. 5th	2
N. 6th	4
N. 7th	4
S. 7th	14
N. 8th	2
S. 9th	1
N. 10th	2
S. 11th	1
S. 12th	1
Ann	1
Bladen	3
Brunswick	1
Campbell	3
Chestnut	3
Dickinson	2
Dock	9
Front	24
Front Street Market and Muter's Alley	7
Mulberry/Grace	5
Harnett	2
Market	18
McRae	1
McRae's Alley	1
Miller	1
Nixon	4
Nun	2
Nutt	4
Princess	17
Queen	1
Red Cross	3
Walnut	2
Water	10
Wooster	1
Total	216

Data: All entries from the Individual Section of the City Directory for Wilmington, NC in 1897.

Table 4: Summary Statistics of 1900 Business Addresses for Blacks in Wilmington	
Street	1900 Address
N. 2nd	10
S. 2nd	6
N. 3rd	1
N. 4th	20
N. 4th @ 4th Street Market	4
N. 5th	2
S. 5th	1
S. 6th	2
N. 7th	2
S. 7th	11
N. 8th	4
S. 8th	1
S. 9th	2
S. 10th	3
N. 11th	1
S. 11th	1
Anderson	1
Ann	2
Bladen	1
Campbell	5
Castle	3
Dawson	1
Dickinson	1
Dock	7
Front	19
Front Street Market and Muter's Alley	7
Harnett	2
Mulberry/Grace	2
Market	4
McRae	4
Nixon	5
Nutt	3
Orange	1
Princess	6
Red Cross	4
Swann's Alley nr. Nixon	1
Walnut	1
Water	11
Total	162

Data: All entries from the Individual Section of the City Directory for Wilmington, NC in 1900.

Table 3 shows the locations of black business owners in 1897. In 1897, the most popular locations for black businesses were in the main business district on N. 2nd Street, Front Street, Market Street, and Princess Street. There was a secondary business district on N. 4th Street and there was another on S. 7th. Table 4 shows that things drastically changed after the riots. Based on the directory data, by 1900 there was a significant reduction in nearly all of the locations that had large numbers of black business in 1897. In 1897 there were 18 black business on Market Street but by 1900, this number dropped to 4. Similar changes also occurred on Front Street, Princess Street, North Second and South Seventh.

Tables 5 and 7 show that the black business owners who remained in the city maintained a presence in the city's central business district. There were 163 black businesses in the city by 1900 and of those,116, were operated by blacks who had remained in the city following the violence. Therefore, the remaining 47 businesses were new businesses started by residents who stayed in the city or newly arrived residents.

Table 5: Summary Statistics of 1897 Business Addresses for Blacks Who Left Wilmington by 1900

Street	1897 Address
N. 2nd	16
S. 2nd	7
N. 3rd	1
N. 4th	6
N. 4th @ 4th Street Market	1
N. 5th	2
N. 6th	4
N. 7th	1
S. 7th	8
S. 10th	1
Bladen	2
Chestnut	1
Dock	2
Front	11
Front Street Market and Muter's Alley	2
Mulberry/Grace	3
Market	8
McRae	1
McRae's Alley	1
Miller	1
Nixon	1
Nun	2
Nutt	3
Princess	8
Queen	1
Water	5
Wooster	1
Total	100

Data: All entries from the Individual Section of the City Directory for Wilmington, NC in 1897.

Table 6: Summary Statistics of 1897 Business Addresses for Blacks Who Stayed in Wilmington

Street	1897 Address
N. 2nd	12
S. 2nd	4
N. 3rd	1
N. 4th	9
N. 4th @ 4th Street Market	3
N. 7th	3
S. 7th	6
N. 8th	2
S. 9th	1
N. 10th	1
S. 11th	1
S. 12th	1
Ann	1
Bladen	1
Brunswick	1
Campbell	3
Chestnut	2
Dickinson	2
Dock	7
Front	13
Front Street Market and Muter's Alley	5
Harnett	2
Mulberry/Grace	2
Market	10
Nixon	3
Nutt	1
Princess	9
Red Cross	3
Walnut	2
Water	5
Total	116

Data: All entries from the Individual Section of the City Directory for Wilmington, NC in 1897.

Table 7: Summary Statistics of 1900 Business Addresses for Blacks Who Remained After Violence

Street	1900 Address
N. 2nd	10
S. 2nd	4
N. 3rd	1
N. 4th	11
4th Street Market	4
S. 6th	2
N. 7th	2
S. 7th	8
N. 8th	3
S. 8th	1
S. 9th	1
S. 10th	2
S. 11th	1
Ann	1
Campbell	1
Castle	2
Dickinson	1
Dock	5
Front	11
Front Street Market and Muter's Alley	7
Harnett	1
Mulberry/Grace	2
Market	3
McRae	2
Nixon	2
Nutt	1
Princess	3
Red Cross	4
Walnut	1
Water	4
Total	101

Data: All entries from the Individual Section of the City Directory for Wilmington, NC in 1900.

Table 8: Comparison of major black business locations for 1897 and 1900

Street	1897 Address	1900 Address
N. 2nd	28	10
S. 2nd	11	6
N. 4th	15	20
S. 7th	14	11
Front	24	19
Market	18	4
Princess	17	6
Water	10	11
Totals	137	87

Data: All entries from the Individual Section of the City Directory for Wilmington, NC in 1897 and 1900.

This table demonstrates that over half of the city's black businesses were clustered in three areas -- the downtown business district, N. 4th and S. 7th.

By 1900, the businesses had shifted away from the city's center and toward the secondary districts and into traditionally black areas of the city.

Although some black business owners retained their businesses after the riot, the directory data suggests that the black businesses and entrepreneurs experienced a decrease in the stature of their businesses. Evidence of this is obtained by analyzing the locations of businesses before and after the riot. Prior to the riot, many black business owners were located in the main business districts of town. After the riot there was a migration of black businesses away from the main business districts. This suggests that many of the black owned businesses may have decreased in size after the riot. It could also suggest that certain black owned businesses were no longer welcome in the main business section of town. It is not clear why, exactly, the business climate changed for African American businesses.

White businesses also experienced changes in the city as a result of the riot. Table 8 demonstrates that there were 789 white businesses in the city in 1897. Of those, most were located in the downtown business district. There were 771 white businesses in the city in 1900, a decrease of 18.

Although the number of white businesses did not increase, the locations of white businesses did significantly change. There were no longer white businesses in the 4th Street Market in the black section of town. White business interests became more consolidated in the downtown district, particularly along Front Street. The number of white businesses on Front Street increased by eighty-five while the number of black businesses there decreased.

Study of the business addresses for the white business owners that left the city by 1900 demonstrates that those businesses were scattered across the city but still concentrated on the central business district. Overall there were 405 white businesses that left the city after the riots. Although this may seem like a very high number, it does not reflect the true picture. Unlike most of the black business entries, not all of the white business listings can be attributed to a particular individual or group of individuals that were residents in Wilmington. For example, large publicly held companies or large companies with branches in many cities would be listed in the directory as a white business if the business was not owned by a black proprietor. However, this does not directly reflect the loss of a business by a citizen. It more reflects the willingness of outside investors or businesses to invest and conduct business in the city after the riots.

Table 9: Changes in addresses for white businesses in 1897 and 1900

Street	1897 City Directory	1900
N. 2nd	27	28
S. 2nd	3	5
N. 3rd	10	16
S. 3rd	4	3
N. 4th	40	33
S. 4th	5	2
N. 4th @ 4th Street Market	2	
N. 5th	3	
S. 5th	3	4
5th Ward Market	2	
N. 6th	4	3
S. 6th	5	4
N. 7th	1	4
S. 7th		1
N. 8th	2	3
S. 8th	2	
S. 9th	1	
N. 10th	1	
N. 11th	1	
17th		1
Ann	1	1
Bladen	3	2
Brunswick	1	
Campbell	2	1
Castle	12	12
Chestnut	6	3
Church	1	1
Craft's Alley	1	1
Dawson		2
Dickinson	1	
Dock	7	10
Front	182	267
Front Street Market and Muter's Alley	9	9
Hanover	1	
Harnett	1	1
Howard	1	
Mulberry/Grace	3	7
Market	142	124
McRae	5	5
Metts	1	
Nixon	2	1
Nun	2	
Nutt	16	7
Orange	3	5
Princess	134	94
Queen	5	1
Red Cross	3	
Surry	5	2
Swann		2
Walnut	2	
Water	118	103
Wooster	3	3
Total	789	771

Data: All entries from the Individual Section of the City Directory for Wilmington, NC in 1897.

Occupations

Table 10: Summary Statistics of Individual Section of City Directory in 1897 and 1900						
	All Blacks			All Whites		
Variable |	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.
Occscore	6061	18.86	8.31	7288	26.61	36.75
Sei	6061	14.16	13.94	7287	37.75	25.75
Occscore 0-20	6061	0.78	0.41	7288	0.25	0.43
Occscore 20-40	6061	0.19	0.39	7288	0.54	0.50
Occscore 40-60	6061	0.02	0.16	7288	0.20	0.40
Occscore 60-80	6061	0.00	0.04	7288	0.02	0.12
Unemployed	7413	0.18	0.39	8245	0.12	0.32
Evacuate	7413	0.29	0.45	8245	0.14	0.35
Migrated	7413	0.28	0.45	8245	0.28	0.45
1900	7413	0.49	0.50	8245	0.57	0.50
1897	7413	0.51	0.50	8245	0.43	0.50
Data: All entries from the Individual Section of the City Directory for Wilmington, NC in 1897 and 1900. For Description of OCCSCORE and SEI score variables see IPUMS						

Table 10 shows that the average OCCSCORE for blacks in 1897 and 1900 was 18.86 and that the average OCCSCORE for whites during the same period was 26.61. The SEI for blacks was substantially lower than that of whites over the two directories. The table also shows that 29% of the black population evacuated, or left the city, after 1897 and 14% of the white population left. The table also shows that 28% of the black population in 1900 had migrated to the city after 1897 and that 28% of the white population migrated to the city after 1897.

A conclusion that can be drawn from the data in this table is that blacks averaged lower paying, lower status jobs in both 1897 and 1900 and that a larger percentage of the black population represented in the 1897 directory left the city than did whites.

Table 11: Summary Statistics of Blacks in the Individual Section of City Directory in 1897 and 1900						
	Black Movers		Black Nonmovers in 1897		Black Nonmovers in 1900	
Variable |	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Occscore	15.54	9.45	19.34	8.55	21.88	6.58
Sei	13.61	13.49	15.46	14.56	15.34	15.58
Occscore 0-20	0.85	0.36	0.72	0.45	0.69	0.46
Occscore 20-40	0.12	0.33	0.25	0.43	0.27	0.44
Occscore 40-60	0.02	0.15	0.03	0.16	0.04	0.19
Occscore 60-80	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.04
Unemployed	0.08	0.27	0.06	0.24	0.24	0.43
Data: All Black entries from the Individual Section of the City Directory for Wilmington, NC in 1897 and 1900. For Description of OCCSCORE and SEI score variables see IPUMS						

In order to get a better picture of occupational changes after the riot, summary statistics for black movers and nonmovers are calculated. A mover is defined as someone that was present in 1897 but disappeared from the directory in 1900. Likewise, a nonmover is someone that was present in both the 1897 and 1900 directory.This table shows that black movers, averaged an OCCSCORE and SEI significantly below those who did not move. The Table also shows that the majority of those that left (85%) had an OCCSCORE of between 0 and 20. This suggests that the poorest blacks were the most likely to leave Wilmington after the riots; nevertheless, the overall SEI and OCCSCORE for blacks still fell.

Table 12: Summary Statistics of White in the Individual Section of City Directory in 1897 and 1900						
	White Movers		White Nonmovers in 1897		White Nonmovers in 1900	
Variable |	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Occscore	25.62	13.31	27.37	14.23	27.67	14.48
Sei	36.37	24.76	40.33	25.82	40.95	26.09
Occscore 0-20	0.27	0.44	0.22	0.41	0.20	0.40
Occscore 20-40	0.56	0.50	0.53	0.50	0.54	0.50
Occscore 40-60	0.16	0.37	0.23	0.42	0.24	0.43
Occscore 60-80	0.01	0.11	0.02	0.13	0.02	0.14
Unemployed	0.06	0.24	0.05	0.21	0.09	0.28
Data: All White entries from the Individual Section of the City Directory for Wilmington, NC in 1897 and 1900. For Discreption of Occscore and SEI score variables see IPUMS						

Similarly, Table 12 demonstrates that the whites who left the city after 1897 held an average OCCSCORE of 25.62, several points less than those held by whites who stayed or were recorded in the 1900 directory. The SEI for movers was significantly lower than those for whites that remained in the city. Most of the whites that moved held an OCCSCORE of between 20 and 40.

Comparison of the white and black OCCSCORES shows that black OCCSCORES and SEI scores were significantly lower than those of whites. For both racial groups, the highest paying workers only represented a small fraction of the workforce – 2% of the black population and 5% of the white.

Table 13: Tabulation of Occupations for Blacks In 1897 and 1900

This table presents tabulations and comparisons of some occupation held by black individuals listed in the Individual Section of Wilmington City Directories for 1897 and 1900

Black Non Movers in 1897		*Black Non Movers in 1900*		*Black Movers*	
Occupations	Freq.	Occupations	Freq.	Occupations	Freq.
Laborer	606	Laborer	621	Laborer	687
Cook	142	Carpenter	61	Cook	370
washerwoman	107	Porter	58	Washerwoman	315
Porter	70	Driver	47	Porter	100
Carpenter	62	Teamster	29	Nurse	52
Drayman	54	Cook	27	Carpenter	36
Driver	36	Barber	24	Driver	36
Cooper	25	Cooper	22	Drayman	26
Barber	25	Grocer	22	Barber	23
Grocer	21	Painter	19	Maid	24
Painter	18	Shoemaker	17	Seamstress	18
Nurse	17	Bricklayer/Brickmason	16	Teacher	18
Stevedore	16	Cook-Shop/Restaurant/Eating House	13	Painter	16
shoemaker	16	Fireman (railroad)	11	Hostler	15
brickmason	14	Stevedore	11	fireman (railroad and municipal)	13
fireman (railroad and municipal)	14	Reverend/Pastor	11	pastor/reverend/minister	13
blacksmith	11	Blacksmith	9	Shoemaker	10
baker/confectioner	11	Butler	9	Waiter	10
cook-shop/restaurant/eating house	10	Teacher	9	Stevedore	9
Butler	9	Huckster	7	baker/confectioner	8
Pastor/reverend/minister	9	Butcher	6	Imputed Manager	8
butcher	8	Carrier	6	Blacksmith	8
teacher	8	Drayman	6	Brickmason	8
letter carrier/mail handling	8	Farmer	6	Butler	7
Clerk	7	Nurse	6	Clerk	7
huckster	7	Baker/Confectioner	6	Butcher	6
plumber	7	Imputed Manger	5	Cooper	6
Maid	6	Clerk	5	Dressmaker	6
Farmer	5	Tailor	5	Grocer	6
seamstress	5	Undertaker/Funeral Director	4	Servant	5
truckman	5	Hostler	3	cook-shop/restaurant/eating house	5
dressmaker	4	Janitor	3	Coachman	4
Hostler	4	Laundress/washerwoman	3	Steward	4
Tailor	4	Plumber	3	Compositor	3
Waiter	4	Sexton	3	Helper	3
wood dealer	4	Engineer	2	Physician	3
coachman	3	Physician	2	Policeman	3
peddler	3	Plasterer	2	Switchman	3
policeman	3	Postal Clerk	2	Truckman	3
watchman	3	Principal	2	Bottler	2
City hand	2			Brakeman	2
Imputed Manager	2			contractor and builder	2
None Listed	95	None Listed	370	None Listed	165
Total	**1,490**	**Total**	**1,,493**	**Total**	**2,068**

The first column describes the types of occupations held in 1897 by blacks who did not leave the city and who were found in the 1900 directory. The largest categories of workers were laborers, cooks, and washerwomen. The second column describes the 1897 occupations of people who remained in the city following the violence. The largest categories were laborers followed by carpenters and porters. The third column describes the 1897 occupations for people who left the city by 1900. The largest number of workers who fled were laborers, cooks, and washerwomen. There was a significant drop in the numbers of domestic servants between the 1897 and 1900 directory. There was also an increase in the number of unemployed workers (occupation coded as “not listed”).

Table 14: Tabulation of Occupations for Whites In 1897 and 1900 Who Remained in the City After the Riots

Table 1. This table presents tabulations of occupations held by whites listed in the Individual Section of Wilmington City Directory in 1897 who were also listed in the directory in 1900

Whites Nonmovers in 1897		*Whites Nonmovers in 1900*		*Whites Movers*	
Occupations	Freq.	Occupations	Freq.	Occupations	Freq.
Clerk	316	Clerk	255	Clerk	162
laborer	102	Carpenter	88	Laborer	80
Imputed Manager	107	Grocer	85	Carpenter	37
carpenter	83	Imputed Manager	78	Machinist	29
salesman	73	Laborer	67	Salesman	27
Grocer	72	Bookkeeper	58	Inputed Manger	22
bookkeeper	62	Salesman	55	Teacher	17
machinist	30	Engineer	44	Bookkeeper	16
teacher	26	Foreman	37	Grocer	15
engineer	24	Manager	28	travelling salesman	14
manager	23	Traveling Salesman	26	Engineer	13
painter	21	Fireman	25	Manager	12
Printer	20	Painter	23	Driver	11
foreman	18	President	21	Pastor	11
secretary-treasurer	18	Machinist	20	Painter	10
attorney	17	Teacher	19	Stenographer	10
watchman	17	Watchman	19	Foreman	9
policeman	16	Printer	18	Watchman	9
conductor	15	Conductor	15	Cook	8
travelling salesman	15	Proprietor	15	Saleslady	8
blacksmith	14	Physician	14	Weaver	8
physician	14	Blacksmith	13	Agent	7
superintendent	14	Policeman	13	Barkeeper	7
stenographer	13	Superintendent	13	Blacksmith	7
cashier	12	Tinner	13	Washerwoman	7
Driver	12	Secretary-Treasurer	12	Conductor	6
lumber inspector	10	Butcher	11	Fireman	6
mechanic	10	Driver	11	insurance solicitor	6
president	10	Saleslady	11	Lineman	6
barkeeper	9	Agent	10	Printer	6
drayman	9	Collector	10	Contractor	5
locomotive engineer	9	Druggist	9	Dressmaker	5
pressman	9	Mechanist	9	Farmer	5
saleslady	9	Ship Clerk	9	locomotive engineer	5
Tinner	9	Stenographer	9	Messenger	5
chief clerk	8	Attorney	8	Moulder	5
Drug clerk	8	Drug Clerk	8	Physician	5
bookbinder	7	Inspector	8	Policeman	5
butcher	7	Plumber	8	Saloon	5
huckster	7	Saloon	8	Sawyer	5
plumber	7	Clerk	8	Butcher	4
proprietor	7	Cashier	7	Collector	4
Tailor	7	Huckster	7	Laundress	4
Agent	6	Insurance Agent	7	Photographer	4
brickmason	6			Pressman	4
commercial merchant	6			Seamstress	4
Total	1314	Total	1232	Total	660

In Table 14, column one shows the types of occupations held in 1897 by whites who did not leave the city following the violence in 1898. Column two shows the occupations held in 1900 by the residents who were also in the city in 1897. The last column shows the occupations held in 1897 by white residents who moved from the city by 1900. In all categories, the majority were employed as clerks, laborers and carpenters.

A Five Percent Sample of the 1900 Census

In order to obtain an accurate picture of the Wilmington Community immediately after the riots a 5% sample was acquired by selecting every twentieth household from 1900 rolls. The 5% sample is more precise than those available through IPUMS which uses a smaller sample size. The 1900 data from IPUMS provides only a 1 % sample of the population. Because data using only the city of Wilmington from IPUMS does not provide a sufficient sample size for analysis, the 5% sample was coded.

After analysis of the 5% sample, the summary statistics for whites were very close to those found in the directory for the white population in 1900. However, the summary statistics from the 5% sample for the black population as compared to the directory data are not as close. The average OCCSCORES and SEI are 7-8 points lower than the directory sample for the black population. That means that the directory is biased in representation of the black community in that it predominately listed higher wage workers in the city. The census OCCSCORES and SEI scores show that there were more lower wage workers living in the city than represented in the directory.

Additionally, analysis was also conducted for individuals aged 25 to 65. This age group is more indicative of the work age population. Looking at this group, both groups

were married, on average, about 14 years. The survival rate for children born to white families was slightly higher and white families had slightly more children per household. The average OCCSCORE for black workers was 13.43 and the average OCCSCORE for white workers was 26.44. The average SEI score for black workers was 13.7 and the average SEI score for white workers was 37.85. There were more women than men in both races but black women were 65% of the black working age population whereas white women and white men were almost even with women holding a slight majority at 53%. More of the black workers were born in North Carolina to North Carolina born parents. Ninety-five percent of Wilmington's black workforce in 1900 was born in North Carolina whereas 83% of the city's white workforce was born in the state. Only about 50% of the black working population was literate whereas over 90% of the white population could read and write.

All Residents of Wilmington	Obs	Mean
birthyear	985	1873
age	985	26.91
years married	336	14.32
momkids	242	3.61
numkids	170	2.25
kidsalive	242	2.32
occscore	573	14.86
sei	573	18.1
black	1005	0.51
white	1005	0.49
male	1005	0.45
female	1005	0.55
married	1005	0.34
bornnc	1005	0.91
fatherbornnc	1005	0.85
motherbornnc	1005	0.86
can read	1005	0.64
can write	1005	0.64

Glossary:

Obs = number of observations
Mean = average
Momkids= mother of how many children
Numkids = number of children in household
Kidsalive = number of children alive for a given mother

Blacks Only	Obs	Mean
birthyear	490	1874
age	490	25.81
years married	154	14.4
momkids	132	3.81
numkids	86	2.21
kidsalive	132	2.27
occscore	309	11.18
sei	309	10.12
male	507	0.42
female	507	0.58
married	507	0.31
bornnc	507	0.95
fatherbornnc	507	0.93
motherbornnc	507	0.93
can read	507	0.5
can write	507	0.49

Whites Only	Obs	Mean
birthyear	495	1872
age	495	27.99
years married	182	14.26
momkids	110	3.36
numkids	84	2.3
kidsalive	110	2.37
occscore	264	19.17
sei	264	27.44
male	496	0.48
female	496	0.52
married	496	0.38
bornnc	496	0.87
fatherbornnc	496	0.77
motherbornnc	496	0.78
can read	496	0.79
can write	496	0.79

Impact of Being Black for black male workers, age 25-65, in 1900	
Black Occscore	Black Sei
negative 7.63	negative 23.52
Black occscores and Sei scores were significantly lower than those of whites if all factors except race were held constant. For example, the only factor to indicate why a male, age 25, working in Wilmington is paid less than another is his race.	

Blacks only ages 25-65	Obs	Mean
birthyear	219	1860
age	219	39.3
years married	120	14.53
momkids	104	3.73
numkids	67	2.21
kidsalive	104	2.365
occscore	157	13.43
sei	157	13.7
male	219	0.35
female	219	0.65
married	219	0.56
bornnc	219	0.95
fatherbornnc	219	0.93
motherbornnc	219	0.95
can read	219	0.51
can write	219	0.49

Whites only ages 25-65	Obs	Mean
birthyear	233	1859
age	233	40.02
years married	157	14.5
momkids	90	3.72
numkids	75	2.36
kidsalive	89	2.69
occscore	123	26.44
sei	123	37.85
male	233	0.47
female	233	0.53
married	233	0.7
bornnc	233	0.83
fatherbornnc	233	0.76
motherbornnc	233	0.77
can read	233	0.93
can write	233	0.92

Tax Records

Table 17: Changes in Property Holdings of Black Citizens			
	Obs.	**Mean**	**Standard Deviation**
Average Tax Value in 1897	1166	322.8885	342.4092
Average Tax Value in 1900	911	334.4566	304.1723
Difference in Tax Value	857	17.99883	144.3791
Lost Property	1226	0.2520392	0.4343608
Average Appreciation	252	115.8135	111.3366
Average Depreciation	100	-137.6	313.6052
Source: Tax records of black citizens in Wilmington, North Carolina in 1897 and 1900. This data was provided to the researcher by the North Carolina's Department of Cultural Resources at the Office of Archives and History			

In order to evaluate changes in property ownership, this study utilizes data from the historical tax records for Wilmington, North Carolina. Looking only at black property owners, Table 17. shows that the total number of black property owners decreased from 1166 to 911 after the riot. However, the average tax value of black property holders increased from $ 322.85 to $ 334.45 after the riot. This suggests that a good number of individuals that were able to maintain property after the riot held property that was highly valued. Additionally, 252 black property holders experienced an average appreciation of $115.81. The data also shows that 100 individuals experienced an average depreciation in the value of their property of $ 137.60.

It is important to note that this analysis does not include white property owners. In order to make any conclusive inferences about the affect of the riot on property holdings, changes in black ownership must be compared with changes in white ownership. Results that use tax data for both the black and white citizens is pending.

V. Conclusion and Further Work

Analysis of the Wilmington Directories provides evidence that suggests that the average status of the black population declined after the riot. There was a decrease in the black population relative to the white population. The directory data also provides evidence to suggest that the business climate after the riot became relatively more favorable for white businesses and labor while at the same time becoming less favorable for black businesses and labor. This is shown by the significant decrease in the number of blacks employed and blacks owning businesses relative to whites.

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