

AFRICAN AMERICANS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY



Black Couple, New Bern, NC, 1890



Greensboro Lunch Counter Sit-In 1960

BLACK SLAVERY

- Last years of the 15th century were preparation for the slave trade. Slavery had existed for centuries prior to European colonization, but it **had not been a racial institution**.
- **Moslems** played a key role in the slave trade as traders who sold slaves to Europeans.
- Most slaves were **animists** who worshipped spirits in trees, rocks, nature, etc.
- The first blacks to come to the new world came with the Spanish & all were not slaves, some were explorers.
- **Indian (or Native American) slavery** generally proved unprofitable because Indians were susceptible to European diseases, and their rudimentary economic system & their independence made them difficult to enslave.
- The colonies suffered from a **labor shortage**. In the 17th cent. both the English & Spanish needed workers.

BLACK SLAVERY

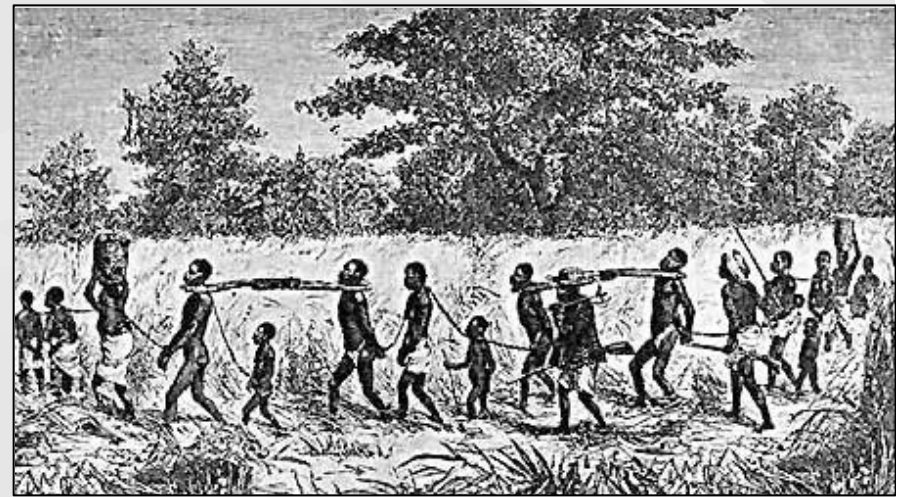
Indentured Servants
Working in Tobacco

- At first the English used indentured servants & later raided prisons for workers. White workers, however, proved a problem because of: unrest over long indentures, a tendency to run away & fade into general population, & their knowledge of their legal rights. Some even sued captains & masters for taking them forcibly, mistreatment.
- Africans became the preferred workers & the solution to the labor shortage because:
 - 1) They were permanent slaves purchased outright.
 - 2) Their race made it difficult for them to escape & fade into the general population.
 - 3) Had no concept of legal rights or “rights of Englishmen.”



BLACK SLAVERY

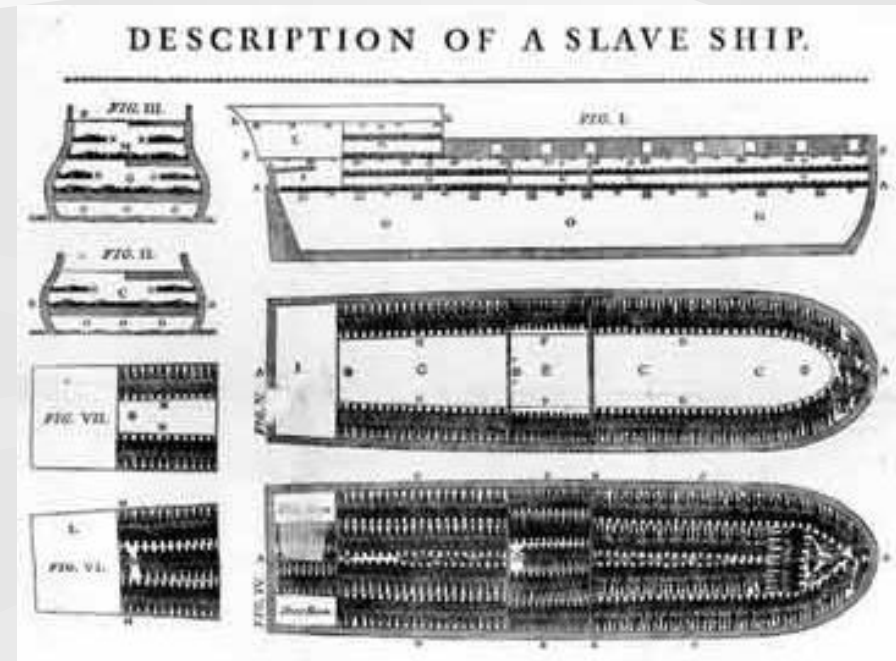
- By **1540 10,000 slaves a year** were being shipped to the West Indies, with Portugal becoming the first European country to engage in the slave trade.
- The major profits of the trade were being made by the Dutch, French, & English with the English dominant by 18th century.
- **System** worked as follows:
 - 1) Coastal trading posts were established in Africa.
 - 2) Traders reached agreements with local chiefs to provide warriors to help the traders.
 - 3) To get slaves raids into the interior were needed.
 - 4) Tribal wars often became slave-related.



Captured Slaves Being Taken to Coast

THE SLAVE TRADE

- Slave ships were very crowded & epidemics & deaths were common; some jumped to their deaths & died at sea, though chaining helped prevent the latter. It is estimated that as many as 50% did not survive the voyage. In the 18th cent. (1700-1799) it is thought 7 million slaves were brought to the new world.
- Most slaves came from West Africa (i.e., the Atlantic side of the African continent).



**Slave Ship Plan Showing How
Tightly Slaves Were Housed
for the Voyage to the
Americas**

SLAVERY IN NC

- By the time NC was settled slavery was already well established in the New World.
- In 1663 the **Lords Proprietors** offered 20 acres for every male and 10 acres for every female slave brought to the colony. This was later lowered to 10 and 5, down from a high of 50 acres. The slaves were concentrated in the southern part of the original colony of Carolina (SC).
- NC never had as high a concentration of slaves as SC & never had a slave rebellion.
- NC also had a high population of anti-slavery Quakers.

SLAVERY IN NC

- **Albemarle**, the northeastern part of NC, became a refuge for runaway slaves from Virginia.
- Slave labor was heavily used in naval stores & tobacco.
- Rice growing on the Lower Cape Fear (**New Hanover**) also relied heavily on slaves.
- **Land and Slaves** were the major measures of wealth in colonial NC.



Slaves on a Plantation

NC SLAVE DISTRIBUTION

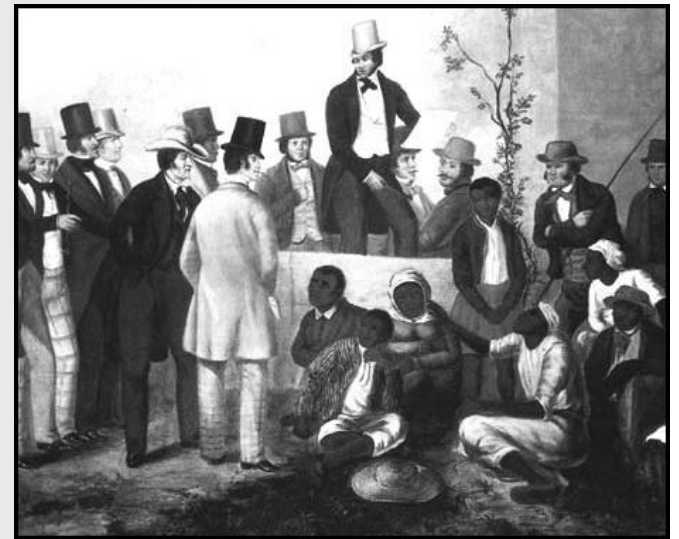
- **Prior to 1730** most slaves were in Northeastern NC in tobacco growing areas. By the latter colonial period they had spread into the Southeastern part of the colony & to a limited degree into the Piedmont.
- **1763** $\frac{1}{5}$ to $\frac{1}{6}$ of the population were slaves.
- **1776** $\frac{1}{4}$ of the population were slaves.
- **1860** over $\frac{1}{3}$ of the population were slaves.
- The vast majority of the blacks in colonial times were east of the **fall line**, the western most navigable point along the Tar Heel rivers.

SLAVE PRICES & RESTRICTIONS

- Average **slave price** around **1730** was **£15** to **£26**. By **1776** the average price of a slave was **£100**. A slave born locally was always more valued than one imported.
- **Restrictions**—In the early colonial period slaves were sometimes allowed to keep hogs, cattle, etc. and cultivate small plots. In 1741 a law was passed prohibiting slaves from raising horses, hogs, or cattle.
- Slaves could not testify in court against a white.
- Were prohibited from carrying firearms.
- Could not attend meetings with other blacks.
- The **British** government recommended that the willful killing of a black or Indian be **punished by death**, but the colonial government did not act on recommendation.

PUNISHMENT OF SLAVES

- Typical punishments were often quite harsh. For perjury (or lying) one could have both ears nailed to a pillory for an hour and then cut off, followed by thirty lashes.
- Runaways could be punished by death & could be legally killed by anyone, though if recaptured they were often just sold to get rid of the problem.
- It was not until 1774 that a law was passed making the “wilful and malicious killing” of a slave by a white a crime. The penalty for the first offense was only 12 months imprisonment.



Slave Auction

RELIGIOUS OPPOSITION TO SLAVERY

- A common popular belief in the early colonial period was it was **“lawful to enslave a heathen.”** Many masters, if they allowed slaves to attend Christian services, would not allow their slaves to be baptized for fear they would have to be freed.
- **Both the Quakers and the Moravians** openly opposed slavery.
- **Janet Schaw** commented that slavery lowered white moral standards.

Slave
Praying



BLACKS COME TO NC

- **The first recorded incident known to exist of blacks in NC comes from a 1699 petition** where 5 white men appeared in court to prove their land rights based on the importation of 8 slaves. At the time the Lords Proprietors were granting 50 acres of land for every slave brought into the colony & over 14 years of age. Estimated black population in NC was small at first, but grew rapidly after 1750:

1712 800 of 15,000 residents

1730 6,000 of 35,000 residents

1790 105,000 of 393,000 residents

1860 360,500 of 992,600 residents

LAWS RELATING TO SLAVERY

- Laws relating to slavery were embodied in **Slave Codes** designed primarily to protect the slaveholder's property rights. These codes generally: **restricted slave movements, prohibited education of slaves, and prohibited preaching to slaves.** These codes were made harsher after **Nat Turner's Insurrection in 1831.**
- Slaves did not have a right to a jury trial until 1793 & then only in cases of "life, limb or member."
- The master could use basically any discipline short of murder.

NC AND ABOLITIONISM

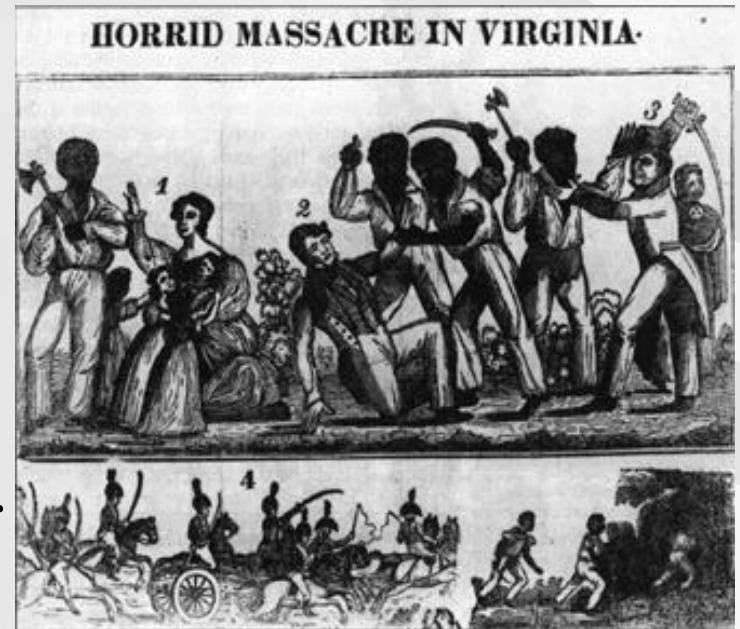
- NC was very concerned about abolitionists because of:

Gabriel Prosser's Insurrection (VA) 1800—
stopped and 35 hanged.

Denmark Vesey Insurrection (SC) 1822—Free black planning an uprising in Charleston was caught when authorities were warned by house servant & 35 hanged, 43 banished.

Nat Turner Insurrection (Southampton Co. VA) 1831—
A field hand & preacher called “The Prophet” led an uprising which killed 60 whites and sacked 15 homesteads, 21 blacks hanged (an estimated 150 killed in 31-hour suppression by militia.)

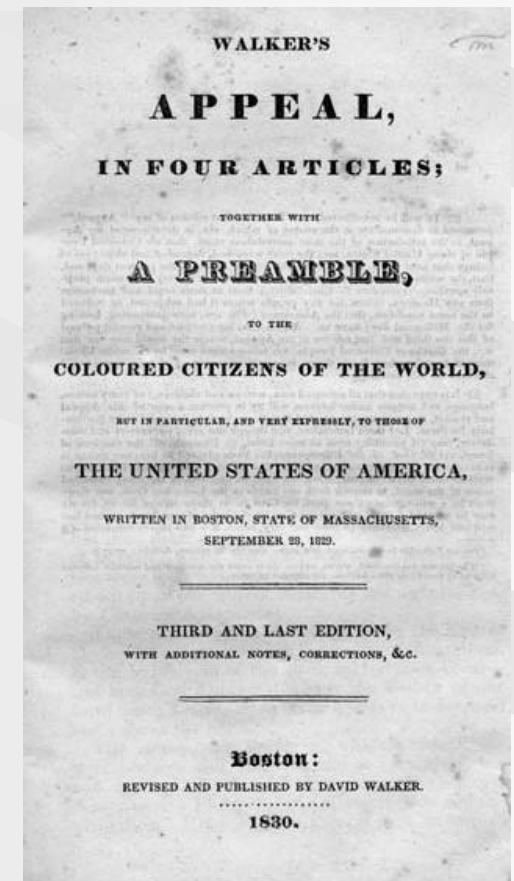
Insurrectionists Kill Planters



Militia Puts Down the Rebellion

NC AND ABOLITIONISM

- **The foreign slave trade was illegal after 1808** and the internal slave trade grew dramatically.
- **The 1835 Constitutional Convention** ended the free black vote that had existed in NC since 1776.
- **David Walker**, an NC-born black living in Boston, wrote *Appeal in Four Articles* (1830), which was deemed incendiary in NC & circulation prohibited.
- Despite laws against preaching to slaves, blacks often attended services with their masters.



ANTEBELLUM SITUATION

- In **1860** there were 331,059 slaves in NC. Of the major slave states only Louisiana had fewer. Working conditions had changed since colonial times. Prior to invention of the cotton gin slaves had routinely finished their labor by 1 or 2 p.m., but in 1860 work from “sun to sun” was common.
- The outlawing of the slave trade and expansion of slavery into Alabama, Mississippi, & Louisiana led to tremendous rise in slave prices:
 - 1804** a prime field hand brought **\$300**
 - 1840** a prime field hand brought **\$800**
 - 1860** a prime field hand brought **\$1000**

ANTEBELLUM SITUATION

- Though marriage of slaves was not required by law in the 19th century, most masters encouraged slave “marriage” & home life as means of stabilizing slave relationships and decreasing slave discontent. The Christianization of the slaves also made slave marriages an expectation.
- Prior to the 1830s NC had been very tolerant of abolitionist views, but this tolerance declined dramatically as anti-slavery organizations such as the **NC Manumission Society** and the **American Colonization Society** ceased to function in NC.

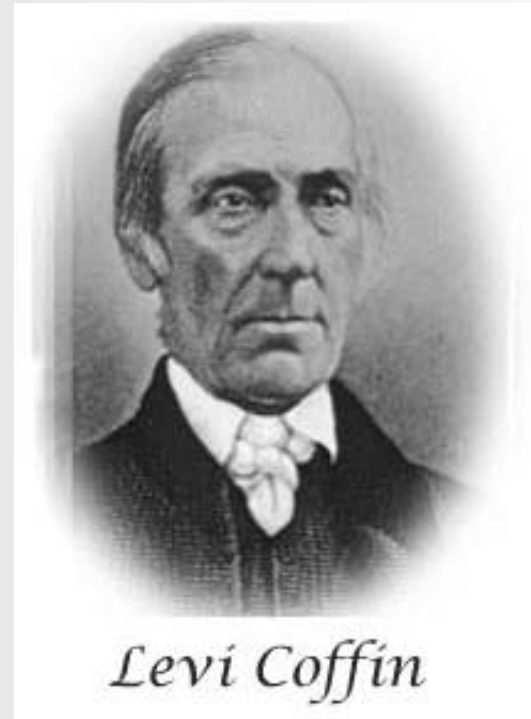
BALANCE OF POWER

- As long as the number of slave states equaled the number of free states in the **US Senate** there was a “balance of power” within the Union. This balance was maintained by the **Missouri Compromise in 1820** with the admission of Missouri & Maine. In 1845 Texas was admitted & in 1848 Oregon. California applied for admission in 1849 but no slave state was in the wings. The **Compromise of 1850** led to admission of California & an ineffective fugitive slave law.



THE 1850s

- **The Fugitive Slave Act** passed by Congress in 1850 was routinely ignored by northern states.
- Abolition and the Underground Railroad grew throughout the 1850s.
- **Levi Coffin**, a Quaker from Guilford, NC, moved to Indiana in 1826 & there became a leader of the Underground Railroad. He was sometimes called “the President of the Underground Railroad.” It is estimated he helped at least 2,000 slaves escape to freedom & none were ever recaptured.

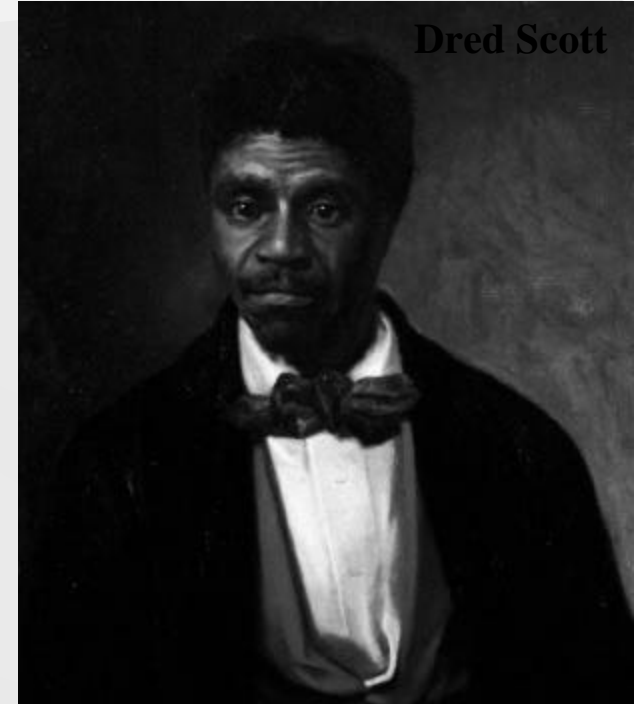


THE 1850s

- **Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois** pronounced for “Squatter Sovereignty” a view that helped contribute to the fights in Kansas-Nebraska territories. Kansas became known as “**Bloody Kansas**” as the Northern Emigrant Aid Soc. & the Sons of the South fought it out.
- **The Hedrick Affair 1856**—A UNC Prof. **Benjamin S. Hedrick** expressed opposition to slavery & support for **John C. Fremont**, first Republican candidate for president. He had an exchange of letters with editor **W.W. Holden** & demands for his resignation. He was defended by Pres. **David L. Swain**, but the Trustees declared Hedrick’s chair vacant.

THE 1850s

- **The Dred Scott Case of 1857** led to more anti-slavery agitation. The Supreme Court ruled that slaves were not citizens of a state or of the United States. It concluded that slave property was protected by the Constitution and effectively overturned the Missouri Compromise of 1820.
- **Hinton Rowan Helper of Davie County** produced a book entitled *The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It* (1857). This book used the census records from 1790 & 1850 to argue against slavery.



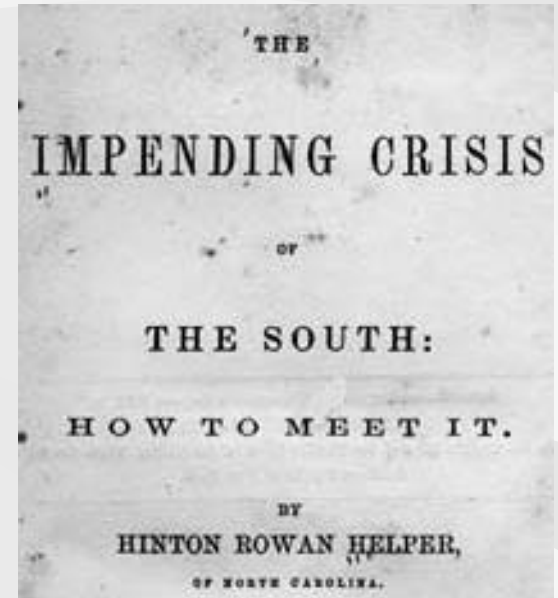
Dred Scott

THE 1850s

- **Helper's book was banned in NC** not merely because it argued that slavery blighted the South economically, but because it encouraged violence against slaveholders.

Helper was a racist and wrote his book primarily because of sympathy for poor whites. The Republican Party adopted his book as a campaign document. After publication of his book, Helper never returned to NC.

- By 1860 there were over **30,000 free blacks** in NC and most were involved in agriculture.



PROMINENT ANTEBELLUM BLACKS

- **John Carruthers Stanly (1774-1846)**, a mulatto born into slavery, was set free in 1795 by Alexander & Lydia Stewart. He was son of merchant-shipper **John Wright Stanly** & an African Ebo woman. He lived in New Bern & ran a barber shop & sometimes called “Barber Jack.” He was so successful that he became wealthy & was a founding member of the First Presbyterian Church where he & his family sat on the main floor with the white members.
- Stanly by the 1820s owned **2,600** acres & **163** slaves & had a net worth of **\$68,050**. He was the largest black slaveholder in the South.

PROMINENT ANTEBELLUM BLACKS

- **George Moses Horton (1797-1883)** was a slave poet from Northampton County, NC. He belonged to W. Horton who moved to Chatham. His master allowed him to visit UNC where George became acquainted with **Caroline Lee Hentz**, who encouraged his writing. He sold poetry to students for 25, 50, & 75 cents a poem. Horton's book *The Hope of Liberty* (1829) was the first book published in the South written by a black man. He later published *The Poetical Works of George M. Horton* (1845) and *Naked Genius* (1865). His poetry for students was love poetry, but his books dealt with the longing for freedom. After the war, he moved north, died in Philadelphia in 1883.

PROMINENT ANTEBELLUM BLACKS

- **Thomas Day (1801-1861)** was a prominent cabinet-maker in Milton, NC. He came to Milton in 1823. In four years he purchased property & married a Virginia woman, after getting a dispensation from the state to bring her across state lines. He not only owned slaves but trained white apprentices in cabinetmaking. His children were trained at Wilbraham Academy (now Wesleyan University) in Connecticut. His home, the Yellow Tavern, is on the National Register of Historic places & is a landmark in Milton. His cabinets are today very valuable antiques.

BLACKS IN THE CIVIL WAR

- While slaves were used in building fortifications, repairing railroads, and other labor they were not officially drafted into the Confederate Army. Nevertheless cooks, body servants, and others who served (and occasionally even bore arms) were later given pensions by southern state governments.
- Unlike in the Confederacy, the Union started organizing black regiments in 1863 such as the **1st North Carolina Colored Infantry (35th United States Colored Troops)**, **2nd NC Colored Infantry (36th USCT)**, **3rd NC Colored Infantry (37th USCT)**, **1st NC Colored Heavy Artillery (14th US Colored Artillery)**, and the **135th USCT**.



BLACKS IN THE CIVIL WAR

- **The Union** captured the Outer Banks and several coastal towns (New Bern, Washington, Plymouth) in 1862 & this area was where the first black Union regiments were organized consisting of escaped slaves from NC and Virginia. **Brigadier Gen. Edward A. Wild**, who was given command over black NC troops, used them on raids in NC & Virginia, where he captured guerillas, burned homesteads, & took families hostage. He said of the blacks: “They are most reliable soldiers.”



EMANCIPATION

- Abraham Lincoln's "Emancipation Proclamation" was issued in Sept. of 1862 as a war measure. It stated that slaves would be freed in those states still in rebellion as of Jan. 1, 1863. The loyal border slave states were not included and final freedom for slaves did not come until after the war and adoption of the 13th amendment.



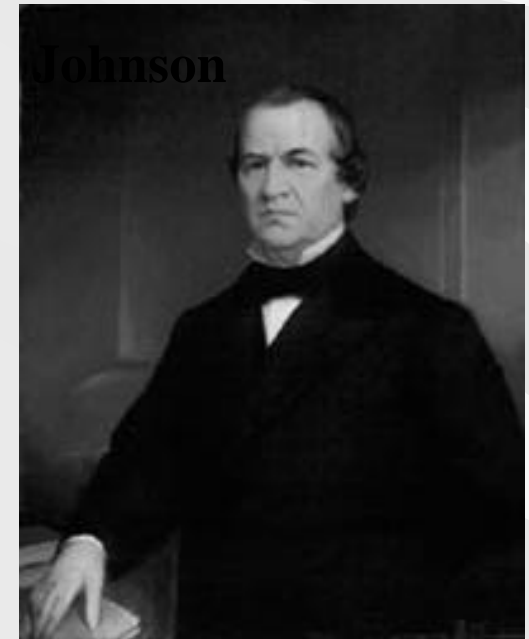
Contrabands Escape to Union Lines,
Harper's Weekly, May 9, 1863

EMANCIPATION

- Ambrose Douglass, a slave in Harnett county, NC, reported after the war: “I guess we musta celebrated ‘mancipation about twelve times in Hornett County. Every time a bunch of No’thern sojers would come through they would tell us we was free and we’d begin celebratin.’”
- Slavery was done for as an institution, but the blacks still did not have equal political and civil rights. There was an attempt by the Republicans to institute rights for blacks as a means of gaining support in the South that was otherwise solidly Democrat.

BLACKS AND RECONSTRUCTION

- The earliest popular historical view of Reconstruction was provided by **J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton's** book ***Reconstruction in North Carolina* (1914)** which emphasized corruption and black office-holding.
- **Lincoln** had been assassinated in April of 1865 and was replaced by NC-born **Andrew Johnson**. While Johnson had no sympathy for the planter class, he also lacked sympathy for African-Americans. His plan for Reconstruction was based on that outlined by Lincoln.



JOHNSON ACTS & RADICALS REACT

- When the war ended Congress was not in session & Johnson moved immediately to appoint **W. W. Holden** as North Carolina provisional governor. He was ousted in 1865 by **Jonathan Worth** in an election held under **Conservative** auspices. Blacks could not vote.
- While the state accepted abolition of slavery, it rejected the 14th amendment which was designed to assure legal equality for blacks. The Radicals in Congress drew up their own Reconstruction plan in March of 1867. Holden joined the Radical Republicans & helped organized the Tar Heel Republican Party, which was founded in the first interracial political gathering in NC history.



RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION

- The Radicals moved to introduce additional requirements for readmission to the Union:
- Five military districts were created (**NC & SC were the 2nd District**). Only Tennessee, which had accepted the 14th amendment without coercion, was readmitted to the Union.
- A new constitution was required.
- Blacks had to be given the right to vote.
- Ratification of the 14th amendment was required.
- The election of 1868 became very important to the success of the Radical plan.

THE ELECTION OF 1868

- Though the **Ku Klux Klan** appeared in NC for the first time in 1868, it was too weak an organization to influence the election. The original Klan had been organized as a social club in **Pulaski, Tennessee in 1866**, but soon changed to a political and vigilante organization. Interestingly, the original Klan accepted Jews and Catholics as members. Its primary aim was to restore **White Supremacy and the Democratic Party** to power in the South.
- **Howard University** students came to NC to help register black voters and were successful in registering **79,444** in a total electorate of **196,872**.

THE ELECTION OF 1868

- **Republicans** won the election of 1868: Won control of both houses in legislature, **W. W. Holden** elected governor over **Thomas Ashe**, and new constitution ratified by **93,084** to **74,015**. The new constitution was modeled after northern state constitutions. **NC was readmitted to the Union July 20, 1868.**
- The **Conservatives** (as the Democrats called themselves) were very displeased with the changes and in 1875 were able to successfully call a Constitutional Convention which approved 30 amendments, the most important gave the state **plenary (total) power over county government & led to the County Government Act.**



RECONSTRUCTION, 1868-76

- For the first time African-Americans held political office in NC and **21 served in the legislature from 1868 to 1876.**
- Radical Reconstruction required ratification of the **13th, 14th, and 15th amendments**, the last of which gave blacks the vote.
- The Republican Party dominated many state governments and consisted of three elements:
 - Freedmen** (the former slaves)
 - Scalawags** (Southern white Republicans)
 - Carpetbaggers** (Northern Republicans)

RECONSTRUCTION, 1868-76

- For NC's roughly 350,000 Freedmen (including women & children) to survive, they needed work. The **sharecropping system** developed to answer this need. But by the turn of the century (1900) about half the sharecroppers in NC were white.
- Segregation was not seriously threatened by either party during this period, though the Republicans were inclined to provide more equal services and facilities to blacks than were the Democrats.
- Corruption relative to railroad bonds became a major issue of the period.

RECONSTRUCTION, 1868-76

- **The Freedman's Bureau** was established to help blacks get jobs and negotiate labor contracts, but soon most blacks gravitated toward sharecropping.
- **Klan violence** was especially intense in 1870-71 when two Republican leaders were murdered: **Sen. John W. Stephens & Wyatt Outlaw** (black Union League organizer).



Blacks at a Freedman's Bureau Office

RECONSTRUCTION, 1868-76

- **The Kirk-Holden War, 1870-71**, named for Gov. Holden and his Colonel of militia **George W. Kirk**, was an attempt by Holden to suppress Klan activity by the use of martial law powers. Unfortunately, it ended with a Conservative victory and Holden's impeachment and removal from office in 1871.
- In 1876 the Conservatives, now calling themselves Democrats, regained the governorship with **Zebulon B. Vance**.

Vance



BLACK OFFICEHOLDING

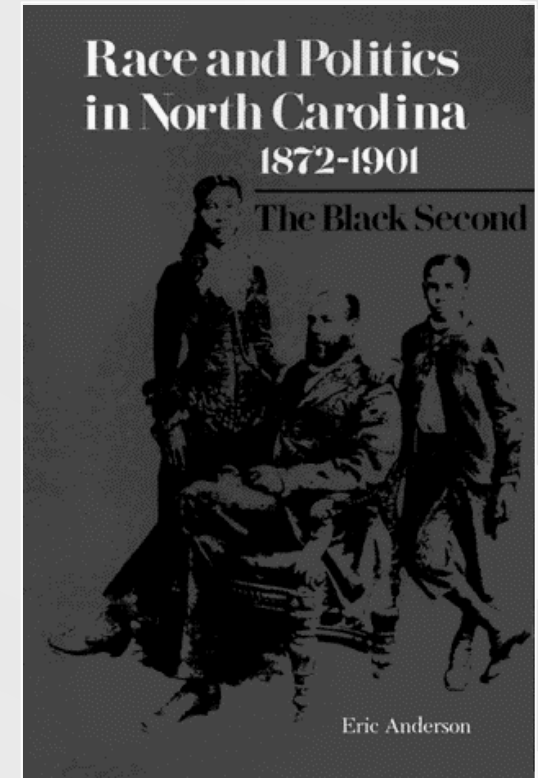
- African-American office holding went well beyond the brief Reconstruction period. Between 1868 and 1900 many blacks served in the General Assembly: **26 in the Senate and 101 in the House.** Less than half that number served in the 20th century. The counties with the most black representatives were:

New Hanover	15
Craven	14
Edgecombe	11
Granville, Halifax, Warren	9 each

- 4 blacks served in Congress from NC 1868-1900.

THE BLACK SECOND

- It is a mistake to assume that black majority districts are an innovation of the 20th century. In fact, the Democrats created the Second Congressional District with a black majority in 1872 and called it **“The Black Second.”**
- The district population was 61% black (Warren Co. was 71.8% black and Wilson was 46.1%). The largest town was New Bern. The district was rural & agricultural, 90% Baptist or Methodist.



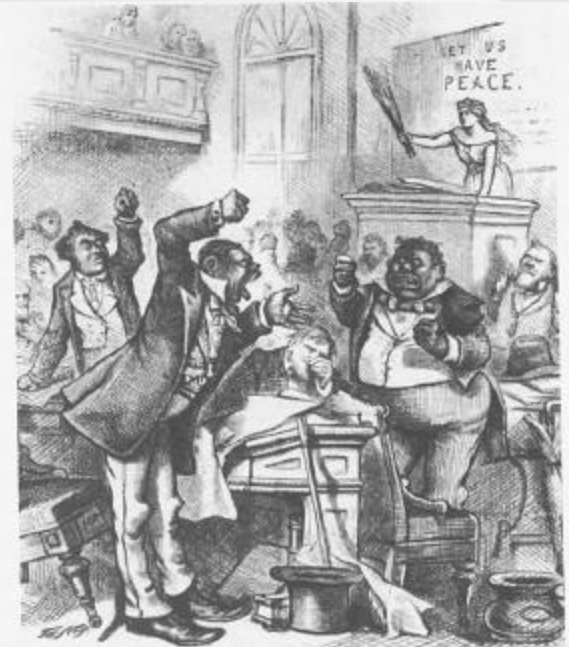
THE BLACK SECOND

- Sharecropping was the most common arrangement in agriculture. Many blacks preferred this to wage labor in large groups because that reminded them of slavery whereas in sharecropping they could work as if they were independent farmers. Roughly 67% of blacks were involved in sharecropping in the Second District, but 23% did own their land. The remaining 10% were renters, laborers, or professionals.
- This is the district from which **four black Congressmen served in the 19th century**. Only two blacks served from NC in the 20th century.

CONGRESSMEN OF THE BLACK

SECOND

- **John A. Hyman (1840-1891)** served in Congress 1875-77. Born a slave in Warren County, NC, he was sent to Alabama but returned to NC in 1865. He served in a number of capacities: 1867 delegate to the first GOP State Convention, 1868 delegate to Constitutional Convention, 1868 elected to NC Senate and served 1868-1875. A strong partisan & advocate of black political & civil rights, he always voted against ex-Confederate appointees. In private life, Hyman confronted frequent financial troubles related to campaigns & his own extravagance. He died in Washington.



Colored Rule in a Reconstructed State,
Harper's Weekly, Mar. 14, 1874

CONGRESSMEN OF THE BLACK SECOND

- **James E. O'Hara (1844-1905)** was born in New York City & studied law in NC and at Howard University. He served in Congress in 1883-87 and also served as: Engrossing Clerk of the 1868 Constitutional Convention; Chairman of County Commissioners of Halifax, 1872-76; delegate to Constitutional Convention of 1875. He was defeated by white Democrat **Furnifold M. Simmons** in 1886. Simmons later became US Senator. From 1887 until his death O'Hara practice law in New Bern.



CONGRESSMEN OF THE BLACK SECOND

- **Henry P. Cheatham (1857-1935)** was the son of a house slave & was treated with favor by his white father. He attended Shaw University & studied law, but chose not to practice law. He was elected to Congress in 1888, defeating incumbent F. M. Simmons, and served 1889-1893. He lost his seat in 1892. He served as register of deeds for Vance County & was a delegate to several state and national GOP Conventions. He served as recorder of deeds for D.C., 1897-1901. As a member of the House, Cheatham championed small farmers

CONGRESSMEN OF THE BLACK SECOND

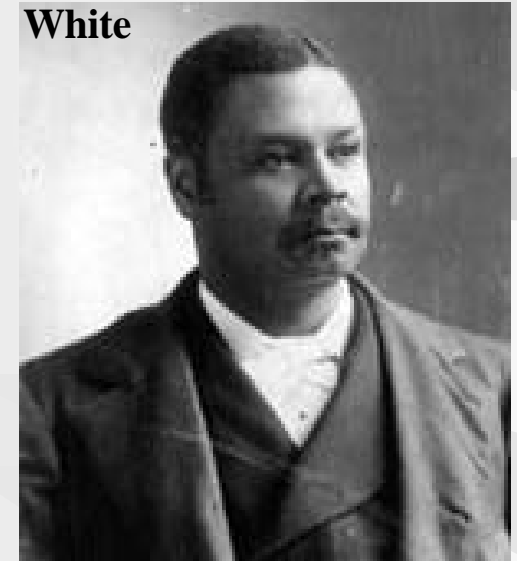
- **Cheatham** was a personal friend of **Booker T. Washington**, and like him, an advocate of self-improvement.
- After 1901 he became director of the **Colored Orphan Asylum of Oxford**. It started as three rundown shacks, but got increased funding from the legislature and major gifts from benefactors like **Benjamin N. Duke**. After 28 years Cheatham had a collection of well-maintained brick buildings on a 700 acre campus. He put much of his personal money into the Orphanage where he died just before his 78th birthday.



CONGRESSMEN OF THE BLACK

SECOND

- **George H. White (1852-1918)** was born near Rosindale, Bladen Co. A graduate of Howard University (DC), he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1879, after which he practiced in New Bern. He served in Congress in 1897-1901. He also served in both the NC House and the NC Senate and was prosecuting attorney for the 2nd Judicial District, 1886-94. He did not run for re-election in 1901 due to disfranchisement. White said, “I cannot live in North Carolina and be a man.” He moved to Philadelphia & practiced law.



JAMES H. HARRIS, 1832-1891

- **James H. Harris** was a prominent black political leader born in Granville County where he was apprenticed as a carpenter in his youth. He ran a business in Raleigh and later attended school in Oberlin, Ohio, & during the war helped raise the 28th Regiment of US Colored Troops. In 1865 he returned to Raleigh with the Freedman's Bureau. He served as both president & deputy president of the National Equal Rights Convention. He served in the state House & Senate. A Raleigh city alderman, he was editor of the *North Carolina Republican*. Harris was a close adviser to **Gov. W. W. Holden**. His major interests were education & ending of legal discrimination. An outspoken opponent of return to Africa, he died in D.C. & was buried in Raleigh.

JAMES H. YOUNG, 1858-1921

- **James H. Young** was born near Henderson. He attended Shaw University. He served in the IRS and as a customs collector for Wilmington. He also served in the legislature 1895-1901. A supporter of Fusion & Republican Gov.

Daniel L. Russell, he was appointed Director of the State Asylum for the Deaf, Dumb, & Blind & State Fertilizer Inspector. He became a **Colonel of NC Negro Troops during the Spanish-American War in 1898.**



Negro Troopers in Battle in Cuba 1898

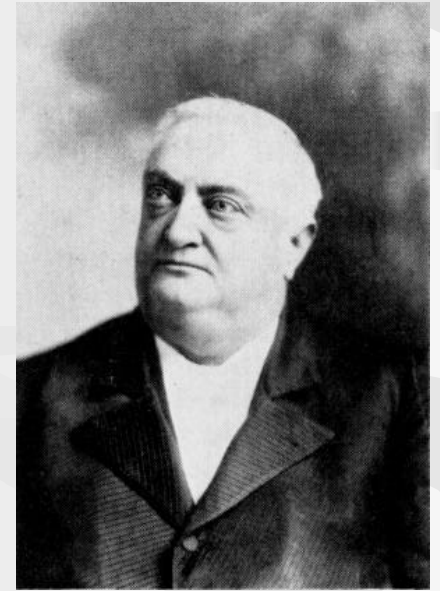
Democrats returned in 1899 & they removed Young's name from the cornerstone of the School for the Deaf, Dumb, & Blind. In 1913 Young was removed as deputy revenue collector for Raleigh by the Wilson Administration. He was the last significant black official at the time.

BLACKS AND FUSION, 1894-1899

- **Fusion** was a political movement in NC whereby two political parties (the Populists and Republicans) united to support joint electoral tickets while maintaining their separate identities. Winning a landslide election in 1894, they did such things as
 - 1) Repealed the County Government Act.
 - 2) Reinstated the Charter of the Farmers Alliance.
 - 3) Passed a new liberalized election law that increased registrations by 50,000.
 - 4) Increased expenditures for education.
- During this period there were over 1,000 black office holders in North Carolina.

BLACKS AND FUSION, 1894-1899

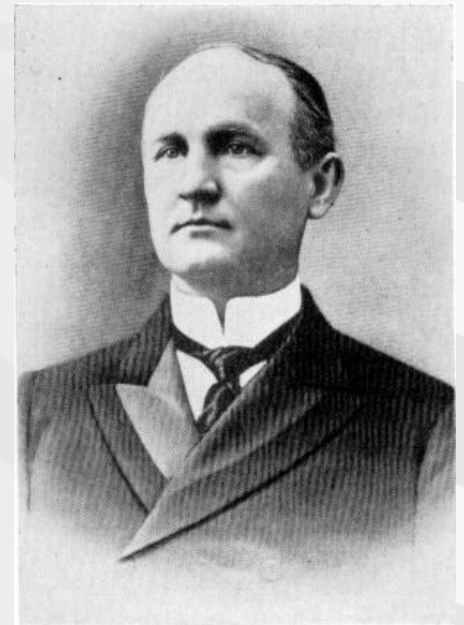
- **The Fusion** changes resulted in an even more smashing victory in 1896 when the Fusionist majority increased in the General Assembly and Republican **Daniel L. Russell** was elected Governor. It turned out that almost all of the new 50,000 voters registered by the Fusionists were African-American.
- Democrats immediately started strategizing on ways to return to power and decided upon the use of the race issue in the upcoming 1898 election.



Gov. Russell

THE WHITE SUPREMACY CAMPAIGN OF 1898

- **Democrats** in 1898 launched the most racially charged campaign in the history of the state, decrying “evils of Negro domination” & calling for a restoration of “Anglo-Saxon civilization.” Chairman of the party was **Furnifold M. Simmons** and the major stump speaker for the cause was **Charles B. Aycock**.
- **Josephus Daniels** of the *News and Observer* played a key role in the campaign attacking Fusion and promoting racial solidarity.



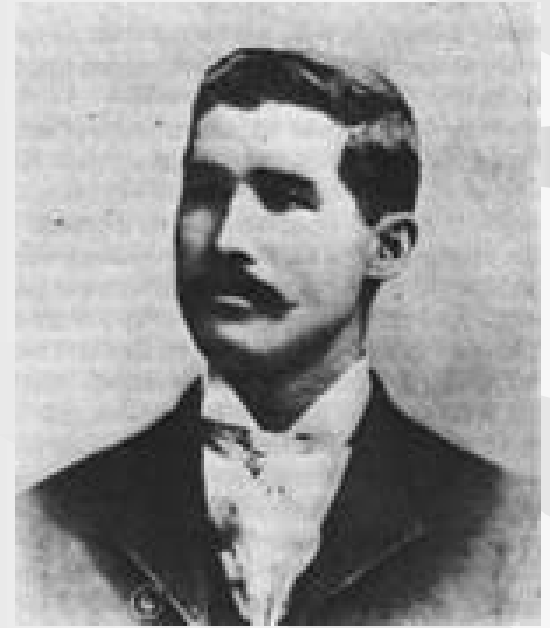
Aycock

THE WHITE SUPREMACY CAMPAIGN OF 1898

- Democrats rejected a Fusion offer from the Populists and 100,000 copies of a “White Supremacy Address” authored by Simmons were circulated.
- **Red Shirts** emerged during the campaign to intimidate black voters & they were most active in the southeastern part of the state. This intimidation did result in a lower black turnout and an overwhelming Democratic victory.
- The Democrats were worked up to such a frenzy that electoral victory was not enough

THE WILMINGTON RACE RIOT 1898

- During the campaign Democrats became outraged at the editorials of **Alexander Manly**, mulatto editor of the *Daily Record* in Wilmington. It was common knowledge that Manly was son of a former NC Whig Governor.
- The editorial that most upset them was one on the issue of rape where Manly answered the charge that black men took liberties with white women. Manly replied that some white women were as attentive to black men as white men were to black women.



Alex Manly

THE WILMINGTON RACE RIOT 1898

- On Nov. 9 an order was issued over the name of **Alfred M. Waddell**, the Democratic candidate for mayor of Wilmington, demanding that Manly leave Wilmington immediately and take his press with him. Waddell was to be informed of such action by 7:30 a.m. on Nov. 10.
- Reportedly Waddell was not informed that Manly had already fled. At 9 a.m. a mob of 400 whites broke into Manly's office and set fire to his press. Firefighters attempting to reach the scene were held back. Gunfire was exchanged between the mob & some local blacks.

THE WILMINGTON RACE RIOT 1898

- The white mob indiscriminately shot up the black part of town & many blacks fled into nearby woods. The official report was 3 whites wounded, 11 blacks killed, and 25 wounded. But oral history places the number of dead as high as 250.
- Silas Wright, the Republican mayor, resigned along with the entire town council. Waddell took over as mayor and appointed a new council consisting of those involved in the “*Coup d’etat*.”
- Gov. Russell called out the militia to stop the violence, but the head of the Wilmington militia was a Democrat and he only arrested blacks.

THE WILMINGTON RACE RIOT 1898

- This page from *Collier's Weekly* shows Waddell top left & the new police chief top right. The vigilantes pose in front of the burned-out *Daily Record* office.

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COLLIER'S WEEKLY

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THE REVOLUTION AT WILMINGTON, NORTH CAROLINA

1. Ex-Congressman Alfred M. Waddell, Revolutionary Mayor of Wilmington. 2. "Market Park," where shooting affray took place. 3. Fourth and Harriet, where first Negroes fell. 4. F. G. Pender, new Chief of Police. 5. The burned "Record" Building and a group of Vigilantes.

MEANING OF THE RACE RIOT 1898

- The riot marked a clear end to meaningful black political participation in Tar Heel politics for the next 70 years.
- It solidified the control of NC as a one-party state dominated by the Democrats for almost 90 years.
- It was the opening shot in the **black disfranchisement campaign**.

Josephus Daniels reported positively on disfranchisement amendments in Mississippi, Louisiana, & South Carolina. The NC amendment contained 1) a literacy test, 2) a poll tax, and 3) a grandfather clause (if you or an ancestor could vote Jan. 1, 1867, then you did not have to pass the literacy test).



Daniels

DISFRANCHISEMENT'S IMPACT

- On August 2, 1900 the disfranchisement amendment passed by a vote of **182,217** to **128,285**.
- Below is an example of the impact in terms of voting for **Governor**:

Year	Democrat	Republican	Other	Total
1896	145,286	154,025	30,943*	330,254
1900	186,650	126,296	--	312,946
1904	128,761	79,505	--	208,266

- From the above statistics it is apparent that disfranchisement eliminated over 120,000 votes. These votes were almost exclusively those of black Republicans.

*Populist vote.