

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

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.

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

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

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-*

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.

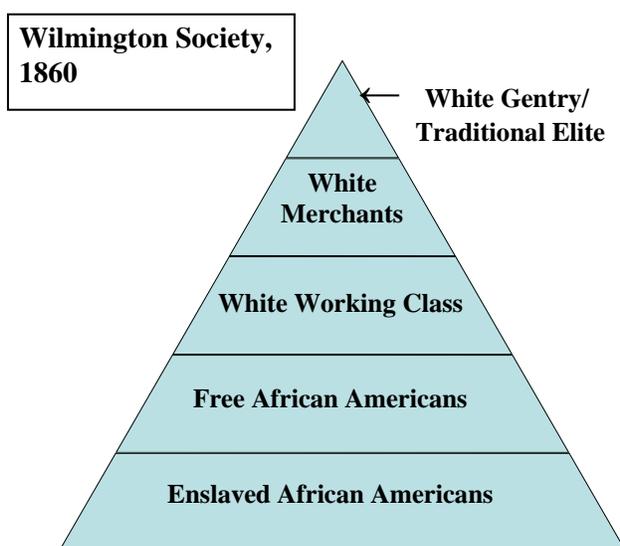
1865; and Laura F. Edwards, *Scarlett Doesn't Live Here Anymore: Southern Women in the Civil War Era*.

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

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>.

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

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

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 Trelease, *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.

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

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/histcens/us/index.html>.

²⁶ Of the 2,624 white males over the age of 14 working in Wilmington, in 1860 only 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

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

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

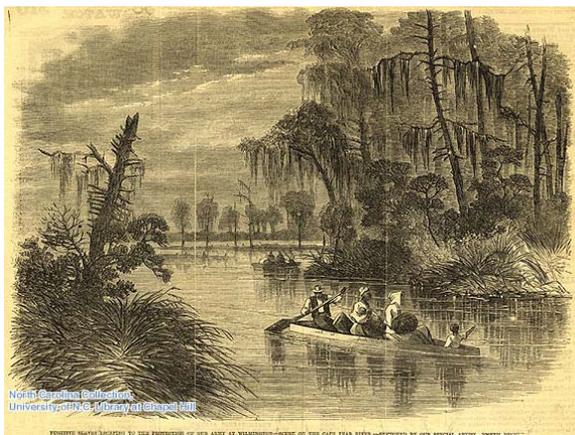
laborers. Review of both the names owner names and slave occupations shows that the primary occupation for insured slaves within this record group was working in either a saw mill or turpentine distillery. A small number were listed as domestic servants, and others were listed as artisan slaves, working 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

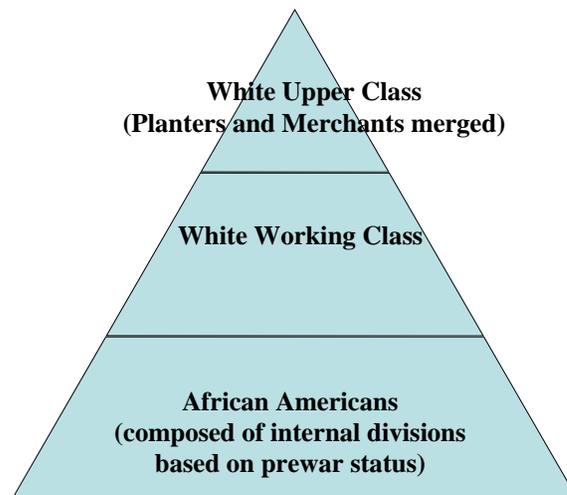


"Fugitive slaves escaping to the protection of our army at Wilmington--scene on the Cape Fear River." 1865. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 17, 1865. Image Courtesy of North Carolina Collection, UNC-CH

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.

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

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

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 Ransom and Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom*, 80, 87-88

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

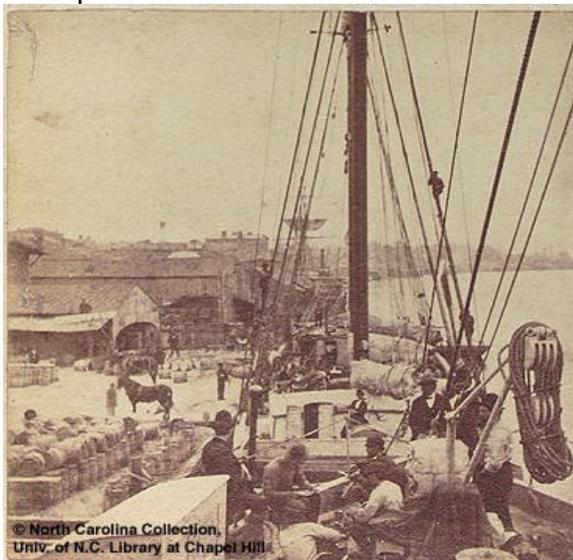
⁴¹ Many of these families produced men who figure prominently in Wilmington's history fall into this category: Waddell, Moore, Meares, deRossett, Taylor, McRae. Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails*, 36-37, 57-58, 122-125, 213; Ruark, “Some Phases of Reconstruction,” 102-103.

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

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.

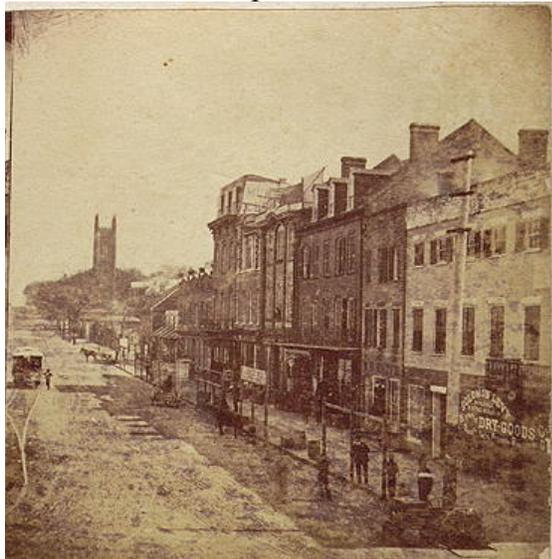
⁴⁵ Timber and naval stores interests also began to feel the effects of deforestation as the pine forests disappeared. For more information on Wilmington's economy before and after the Civil War, see Alan D. Watson, *Wilmington Port of North Carolina*, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1992). *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*.

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

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

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.

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

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

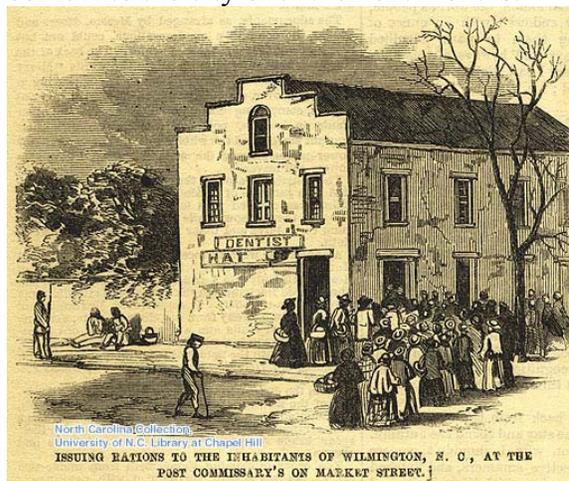
Wilmington's location and dependency on the commercial import/export trade forced her citizens to face the end of the war and ensuing Reconstruction with a much different

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.

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

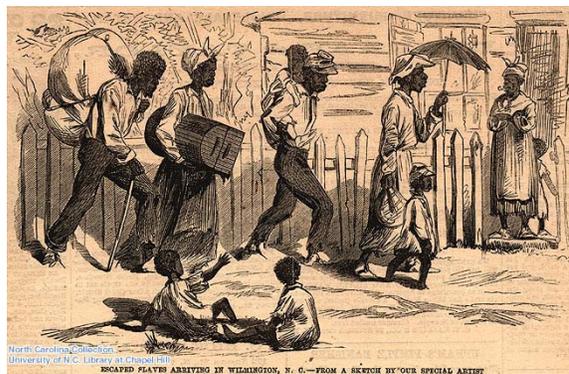
Image courtesy of North Carolina Collection, UNC-CH.

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

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



"Escaped slaves arriving in Wilmington, N.C." 1865. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, April 29, 1865.

Image Courtesy of North Carolina Collection, UNC-CH

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

Summer **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

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

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

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

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,

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

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

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

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

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



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

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 Political 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.

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

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

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 cast 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; Cheney 447-448, 558; Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 286; Evans, *Ballots and Fence Rails*, 114-118.

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.

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

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,

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.

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

<http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?in dex=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

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

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

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”

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

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 argued 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

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.

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

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

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

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 Jonkonnu.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

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, Jonkonnu were celebrated in Wilmington well into the twentieth century by both blacks and whites. Dressed in bright, outrageous costumes, participants were known as kunnners. Singing and dancing with drums and rattles, the kunnners 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 reinforced 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

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

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

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

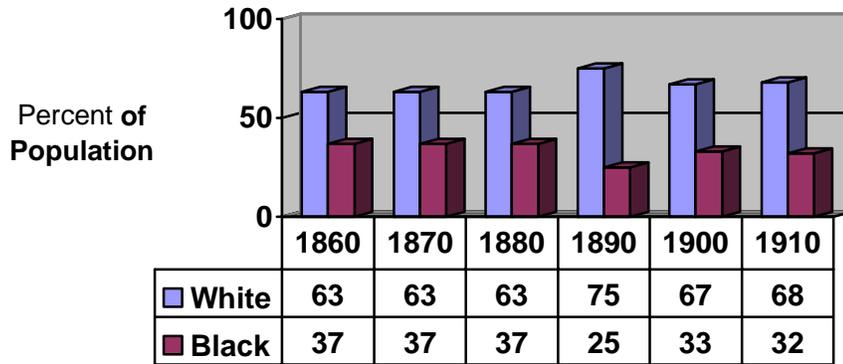
middle class was the majority of black workers of the 1880s, who were laborers. As early as 1865, black workers were organized enough to stage a stevedore strike. Unions were organized for various professions in the 1870s and 1880s, creating a visible presence and a strong voice to advocate for workers' 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



Wilmington Population by Race

