

Chapter 4: Eve of Destruction

- Adding to the campaign hysteria created by the Democratic Party was an article published by Alex Manly, editor of the *Daily Record*, the city's only African American newspaper. The article sought to counter claims by whites regarding interracial sexual relationships. Manly's article was used repeatedly by Democrats as a tool to further anger whites.
- Republicans, locally and statewide, sought to alleviate the problems to no avail. Delegations traveled to Raleigh and Washington to meet with Governor Daniel L. Russell and President William McKinley in order to inform them about the stresses created by the Democratic white supremacy campaign. Russell bargained with Wilmington Democrats, and the Republicans did not mount a slate of candidates in return for promises by Democrats that violence would be averted on election day.
- Some African Americans in Wilmington sought to assist in efforts to calm tensions whereas others inadvertently assisted Democrats by forcefully reacting to white antagonism and threats.
- Despite threats of being fired or physically harmed for registering to vote, many African Americans sought to exercise their voting rights, resulting in increased efforts by the Democrats to intimidate black voters.
- Although many white men in the city had guns, no widespread violence broke out on election day, and Democrats won with wide majorities. A minor scuffle occurred at a majority African American Republican precinct while votes were being tallied. During the scuffle, the ballot boxes were stuffed to ensure white victory.
- The day after the election, whites held a meeting in which a series of resolutions were passed requiring Alex Manly leave the city and cease printing his paper. Additional resolutions called for the resignation of the mayor and chief of police. Meeting attendees selected a Committee of Twenty-five to be led by Alfred Waddell to implement a set of resolutions called the White Declaration of Independence.
- The Committee of Twenty-Five summoned leading black politicians and business leaders—the Committee of Colored Citizens (CCC)—to meet on the evening of November 9 and placed their demands in the hands of the city's African American community. The CCC prepared a response and sought to implement means to prevent violence. The response was to be delivered on the morning of November 10 by 7:30 A.M.
- Despite electoral returns favoring Democrats and the general conclusion by some leading members of the party that the worst was over, many whites were still on edge. They anxiously awaited the tenth bolstered by a block system of patrols and paramilitary organization of armed men already in place.

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

A Unifying Issue

Discussion of the 1898 white supremacy campaign cannot be complete without analyzing the contributions of Alexander Manly to the political circus. Manly's newspaper article challenging accepted beliefs regarding interracial relationships provided another weapon in the Democrat's white supremacy arsenal. Born in 1866, a descendant of Governor Charles Manly, and a native of Wake County, Alex Manly relocated to Wilmington after receiving an education at Hampton Institute. He was soon joined in business by several of his brothers who assisted him in opening the city's leading black newspaper, the *Daily Record*. Manly acquired a used printing press from Thomas Clawson, editor of the *Wilmington Messenger*, and successfully operated the paper for a number of years prior to the 1898 white supremacy campaign.¹ In

¹ It is unclear when Manly began publication of the *Record*, but the earliest extant copy dates to 1895. The *Record's* archives were apparently destroyed during the riot. By 1897, the paper was successful

in addition to his printing operations, Manly became involved in city politics and social life, teaching Sunday school at the Chestnut Street Presbyterian Church and serving as deputy register of deeds. Manly's paper was considered "a very creditable colored paper" and received white support through subscriptions and advertising. Because of its wide readership throughout the state, the paper expanded its publication from a weekly to a daily in 1897. Although the paper was supported by the white community through advertising, Manly used the paper as a voice for the city's progressive African American community as he sought universal improvement of blacks throughout the city. The paper advocated internal improvements, and its editorials managed to raise the ire of some whites.²

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

enough to switch to daily publication from weekly. Andrea M. Kirshenbaum, "Race, Gender and Riot," 38; Clawson, "Recollections and Memories."

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

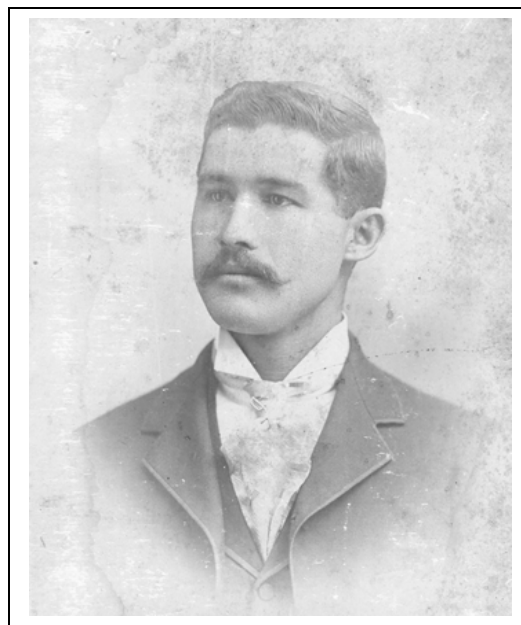
³ Some contemporary debate arose among Republicans and Populists as to whether Manly wrote the article and whether he was paid by Democrats to print it. It was speculated that Manly had spoken out against such claims and defended his paper as he claimed responsibility for the work. Chief of Police Melton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

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

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

⁴ Felton's speech, over a year old, was re-printed in the *Wilmington Morning Star* in August, 1898 because Felton's theme and tone mirrored the current white supremacy campaign. Manly may not have known that the speech was year old. However, Felton traveled widely to speak on the topic even after the 1897 speech at the Agricultural Society. LeeAnn Whites, "Love, Hate, Rape, Lynching: Rebecca Latimer Felton and the Gender Politics of Racial Violence," in *Democracy Betrayed: The Wilmington Race Riot and IOTs Legacy*, ed. David

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



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

Cecelski and Timothy Tyson (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 143-161; Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow*, 105.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Alex Manly's Editorial

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Masthead of the August 18, 1898 *Daily Record*

Source: Photograph in the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

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

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

Although Democrats sought to control response to the article, there was an immediate reaction in both the black and white reading public. Rumors circulated that Manly would be lynched, and it was reported that he had received written threats to leave the city. In response, groups of black men armed themselves to protect him and the press at its downtown location at the corner of Water and Princess Streets. The police force was able to disperse the crowd, but a few officers remained on guard duty for the night. The Ministerial Union and other black organizations defended Manly's right to publish on behalf of his race.⁸

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

⁸ "Resolved, That the Ministerial Union is in hearty sympathy with the efforts of the *Daily Record* in defending the rights of the race, and that each minister inform his congregation of the present situation and endeavor to sustain the paper by swelling its subscription list and urging prompt payment." Another religious group, the Wilmington District Conference and Sunday School Convention

Another reaction to Manly's article was that white advertisers pulled their ads from the paper, greatly reducing its income. Further, the owner of the building where the press office was located informed Manly that he had to vacate the building. Seeking support from the African American community, Manly moved his press to Love and Charity Hall on South Seventh Street, and the Ministerial Union encouraged pastors to "endeavor to sustain the paper by swelling its subscription list." Further, towards the end of the campaign, Wilmington's African American women, through an article in the *Daily Record*, explained that they supported Manly because his was the "one medium that has stood up for our rights when others have forsaken us."⁹

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

of Methodists resolved to support Manly and his paper "as long as she stands forth in the protection of the ladies of our race," and promised to "stand by you" even in the event of "hazarding our lives." *Wilmington Messenger*, September 13, 16, 1898; *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), August 25, 1898.

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

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

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

Democrats made effective use of the article with its implications of miscegenation and threats to white men’s control over white women, black women,

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

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

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

Response of Wilmington’s Non-Democrats and African Americans

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

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

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

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

Wilmington's African American community watched the growing hatred of their race with trepidation while still working to make a place in the city.¹⁵ Some of the city's black leaders attempted to pre-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Peter Drake. Possibly a propaganda card created after October 2, 1898 incident. Note the props in the photograph suggesting that the photo was staged: his hat has a sign saying "Mayor," the papers under the hilt of his sword are possibly ballots, and his rifle still has a price tag.

Image courtesy of Bonitz Collection, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

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

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

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

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

Robert Mason, a manager for the North Carolina Cotton Oil Company, noted that several of his black employees had voted but that most did not. He said, “[A] great many people have made a mistake in discharging old and faithful servants because I think sooner or later they will have to take them back, although, of course, such

an idea is hooted at now.” Mason believed that blacks were the “least troublesome labor we can handle” and observed that “their natural disposition when unmolested by mean white people is to know their places and keep in them.”²² Chief of Police Melton testified that Wilmington’s black population was “scared” and that a “great many” came to him to tell him they were not going to register or vote because “they thought more of their lives than they did of their votes or politics.” Despite intimidation and promises of blacks not to vote, Democrats were still wary because after the final registration tallies were in, 2,965 blacks and 2,918 whites had registered to vote.²³

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

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

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

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

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

²³ McDuffie, “Politics in Wilmington,” 663.

²⁴ *Wilmington Messenger*, October 21, 1898.

“Whereas, since it has become apparent that there is a disposition to intimidate the voting element of our race by discharging them from various places of employment in the event that they register to vote, and whereas it has come to the notice of us, the colored ladies—the laboring class—that certain of our men have refused to register because of the intimidation mentioned above, we have therefore resolved that every negro who refuses to register his name next Saturday that he may vote, we shall make it our business to deal with him in a way that will not be pleasant. He shall be branded a white livered coward who would sell his liberty and the liberty of our whole race to the demons who are even now seeking to take away the most sacred rights vouchsafed to any people. We are further resolved that we teach our daughters to recognize only those young men who have the courage and manhood to stand up for the liberty which under God he now has, be he ever so poor. We are farther resolved to lend our assistance in every way to perpetuate the liberties which we now enjoy, regardless of the insults and threats thrown out at us by those who seek to crush us. We have resolved to teach our children to love the party of manhood’s rights and liberties, trusting in God to restored order out of the present confusion. Be is resolved further that we have these resolutions published in our Daily Record, the one medium that has stood up for our rights when others have forsaken us. Respectfully submitted, An Organization of Colored Ladies.”

Wilmington *Messenger*, October 21, 1898

recognized the Democrats’ campaign “threatened their rights” as citizens. Democrats used the activism of black women to demonstrate another avenue in which white men had lost control under Fusion. Black women, once voiceless and helpless to resist white men in every realm, were now speaking out.²⁵

Final Maneuvers

Amid armed threats and heated rhetoric, the Republicans and Populists tried to find ways to assuage Democrats. At the center of these efforts for both Republicans and Democrats was Governor Daniel Russell. Both parties looked to him to alleviate tensions in the city. Late in October, Wilmington Democrats acknowledged that if the city’s Republicans were allowed to put African American candidates on the ballot, Democrats would lose those races. Therefore, a movement sought to prevent the Republicans from mounting a slate. After capitulation to Democrats in October, both William Chadbourn and Flavel Foster urged Republicans not to mount a county ticket,

thus allowing the Democrats to gain control of county government through election.²⁶

Still, local Democratic Party leader George Rountree claimed that the Republicans, under the leadership of George Z. French, planned to place nominees on the ballot despite threats of violence. Believing that intervention with Russell in Raleigh would alleviate the problem, he encouraged merchants E. K. Bryan, James Sprunt, and James H. Chadbourn to visit Russell. Sprunt, as representative of the businessmen, wrote to Russell on October 24 and explained that things were out of control in the city and entreated Russell to do what he could to prevent violence.²⁷

²⁶Fusionists throughout the state removed opposition candidates, particularly black ones, from the ballot in hopes of peace. The *Messenger* acknowledged the Republican sacrifice on November 5 with a short sentence: “The decision of the Republican managers to place no ticket in the field, making a Democratic county out of a county having a Republican majority of 750 was the last move they could make to prevent extreme measures.” *Wilmington Messenger*, November 5, 1898; McDuffie, “Politics in Wilmington,” 632; Haley, *Charles N. Hunter*, 110; Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics*, 145; Hunt, *Marion Butler*, 153.

²⁷ “We have been deeply concerned during the past week by the very excited state of our inhabitants in

²⁵ Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow*, 107.

After first trying to promote white businessmen as candidates in the days before the meeting, Russell came to a compromise with Sprunt: some Democratic candidates were withdrawn and replaced with others less offensive to the Republican Party in return for a deletion of the Republican slate.²⁸ Russell then prevented a Republican ticket after calling French to Raleigh to explain the compromise.²⁹

view of the approaching election which threatens to provoke a war between the white and black races. We have frequently observed during political campaigns in the past, a degree of hostility which, at times, appeared to threaten the public peace but which passed off when wiser counsel prevailed; but the present state of excitement is apparently and really beyond bounds and we declare to your our conviction that we are on the brink of a revolution which can only be averted by the suppression of a republican ticket. The white people, and tax payers generally, protest that they have been driven to desperation, and we have no hesitation in saying that, even the unusual indiscretion of political partisans on the next election day, will precipitate a conflict which may cost hundreds, and perhaps thousands of lives and the partial or entire destruction of the city. We therefore on behalf of the conservative business firms of Wilmington deeply interested in the peace and welfare of our community, entreat you as the representative of the republican party here, to meet the emergency and avert a calamity by the means which we have indicated or by some other personal or political sacrifice which would be gratefully recognized and approved by our conservative and patriotic people who look to you in this extremity.” James Sprunt to Governor Russell, October 24, 1898, Alexander Sprunt and Son, Inc. Papers, Duke University Library, Durham. This letter was also reprinted in the October 28, 1898 issue of the *Wilmington Messenger*.

²⁸ Some of the white businessmen named as potential candidates for the Republican slate were openly against running for office during the election, particularly Benjamin Keith and D. L. Gore. McDuffie, “Politics in Wilmington,” 641-643; *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), October 28, 1898; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, November 2, 1898.

²⁹ An unsigned note in James Sprunt’s papers at Duke University provides insight: “For the Republican Party of New Hanover County to make no nominations for County Commissioners, Sheriff, Register of Deeds, Treasurer, Coroner, Clerk of

French returned to Wilmington just before the Republican convention on October 29 at the courthouse where county Republicans reluctantly complied.³⁰ The last African American candidate, incumbent Register of Deeds Charles Norwood, announced on November 3 that he would not run for reelection. Norwood stated in the paper that because “it was evident to him that a race war was being stirred up,” he wanted to “take no part in any such proceedings” and, as such, “he thought it advisable to withdraw.”³¹

The compromise was tenuous and local Republicans were unhappy with Democratic Party machinations.³² Flavel

Superior Court or Members of the House of Representatives, provided the Dem Party shall support for the house of Representatives any two of the following named gentlemen as representatives of the business interests of the City and County: E. S. Martin, D. L. Fore, Martin Willard, George Rountree, Henry McQueen, William Gilchrist, Roger Moore, R. W. Hicks, Frank McNeil, Junius Davis, J. C. Stevenson, Oscar Pearsall, Sam. Bear, Jr., S. P. McNair, C. W. Yates, J. W. Atkinson. These concessions to be upon the basis that such action will bring about a better state of feeling and result in a peaceable and orderly election for County State Senatorial and Congressional offices, without interference with the rights of lawful voters.” Russell’s bargaining removed from the slate several Democrats, including Joseph Carr and George Peschau, who would have pushed for his impeachment had they been elected to the legislature. Alexander Sprunt and Son, Inc. Papers, Duke University Library, Durham; *Contested Election Case*, 255; McDuffie, “Politics in Wilmington,” 642.

³⁰ Despite last minute machinations by white Republicans, resistant black leaders urged others to go to the polls “prepared to fight” for their right to vote. McDuffie, “Politics in Wilmington,” 623.

³¹ *Wilmington Messenger*, November 4, 1898.

³² Local Democrats were encouraged by the compromise and took note of the capitulation in their letters and diaries. Peter Mallett recorded in his daily journal that the “Republicans accede to demands of the Citizens.” Despite Russell’s compromise in order to maintain peace, about a week before the election Democrats in the city became more “emboldened and violent.” *Contested Election Case*, 36-7; Rountree,

Foster, already quieted by a visit from the Democrats earlier in the month, wrote Sprunt that he was unhappy to see that the businessmen did not select legislative candidates favorable to the Republicans but, instead, “practically turned it over to the political machine” which [he believed had] a majority in [Sprunt’s] joint committee.” The joint committee Foster mentioned was that of the Democratic Party Campaign Committee and the Merchant’s Association. Foster continued that he was “the first and strongest advocate of ... putting out no ticket in consideration of the business interest of the city, and the elimination of any possible race conflict” and “in consideration of the Governor’s generous proposition I trust that you, as the representative of the businessmen will see that no one is nominated who is as politically offensive to the Governor as the regular nominees were.” Foster concluded, “[T]his is only a reasonable request in consideration of what we are giving up.”³³

Furthering the tensions, the Democrats did not completely comply with the compromise, and additional discussion between Russell and Sprunt focused on the militant nature of the city’s armed whites. Russell sent a telegram four days before the election: “Am astonished to hear that merchants refuse to aid in preserving order if appeal is made to Republicans to vote . . . You know the agreement. I appeal to you and all conservative men to enforce it.” Sprunt ignored the increasing numbers of guns on the streets as he replied that he “conferred with several leaders and businessmen and so far as we are aware there has been no agreement understanding

or effort looking towards the use of any force or other disorderly methods of obstructing voters.” Sprunt closed the telegram with a promise to call his committee and send further communication the following day. The next morning Sprunt wired Russell again that the “Merchants and Campaign Committee will carry out agreement in good faith” although he indicated that other groups beyond his control were operating in the city.³⁴

Governor Russell issued a proclamation at the end of October in response to the heightened sense of militancy. The proclamation acknowledged “lawlessness in certain counties in this state . . . lying along the southern border of this state have been actually invaded by certain armed and lawless men from another state” and that “citizens have been taken from their homes at night and whipped.” Further, Russell knew that “in several counties peaceful citizens have been intimidated and terrorized by threats of violence to their persons and their property, until they are afraid to register themselves preparatory to exercising that highest duty of freemen—the casting of one free vote at a ballot box for men of their own choice.” Russell cautioned

“Memorandum;” Peter Mallett Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; McDuffie, “Politics in Wilmington,” 615.

³³ Flavel Foster to James Sprunt, October 30, 1898, Alexander Sprunt and Son, Inc. Papers, Duke University Library, Durham.

³⁴ Some of those groups were possibly Populists and independent Republicans. Although no county ticket was mounted, Fusionists still lobbied Wilmington voters on behalf of their candidates for statewide and congressional seats. Printed circulars were distributed in the city to encourage “every man who is opposed to the Democratic machine” to vote for men such as Oliver Dockery, Fusionist congressional candidate. *Wilmington Messenger*, November 3 -5, 1898; *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 3 -5, 1898; McDuffie, “Politics in Wilmington,” 651; Governor Russell to James Sprunt, November 4, 1898, Alexander Sprunt and Son, Inc. Papers, Duke University Library, Durham, 9:15 pm; James Sprunt to Governor Russell, November 4, 1898, 10:30 pm, Alexander Sprunt and Son, Inc. Papers, Duke University Library, Durham; James Sprunt et al to Governor Russell, November 5, 1898, Alexander Sprunt and Son, Inc. Papers, Duke University Library, Durham .

“ill disposed persons” to “immediately desist from all unlawful practices and all turbulent conduct” even as he counseled “good and law abiding citizens not to allow themselves to become excited by any appeals that may be made to their passions and prejudices . . . but to keep cool heads.” He commanded judges and officers of the law to bring offenders to trial and to protect the civil rights of all citizens. Further, Russell commanded that troublemakers from outside the state should leave “upon pain of being arrested and dealt with according to law.”³⁵

In response to Russell’s fears of violence and as a follow-up to correspondence between Russell and the county’s Democratic Party leaders, Rev. Peyton Hoge of the First Presbyterian Church penned a letter to the governor on November 5. Hoge reassured Russell that he had been in contact with “several prominent members of the campaign committee and [had] positive assurances from them” that the election would proceed peacefully. Hoge further explained that “if negroes do as Henderson advised them: go to the polls and cast their ballots quietly and go home; I have no idea that there will be any disturbance.” Hoge provided a bit of insight into the mindset of the white leaders when he stated that “members of our committee feel that their honor is involved in seeing that this agreement is carried out in good faith.”³⁶

³⁵ *Wilmington Messenger*, October 26, 1898.

³⁶ Hoge and other ministers also joined in the final rhetoric when they were requested by Democratic Party leaders to build their sermons around specific chapters in the Bible that reinforced the white supremacy arguments. The ministers also participated in rallies and the riot, carrying guns alongside their parishioners. The Bible chapters were indicated as being Isaiah, Chapter 17, verse 14 and Jeremiah, Chapter 25, verse 35. J. Allen Kirk, *Statement of Facts Concerning the Bloody Riot in Wilmington, N.C. of Interest to Every Citizen in the*

Election Day

The night before the election, both sides readied for what all thought would be a day of violence. The White Government Unions held a joint meeting at the courthouse where “red hot speeches were made” and it was “clearly evident that white men [would] have the victory, cost what it may.”³⁷ The same day, African American ministers called upon the community to have a day of fasting and prayer, to demonstrate their dedication to preserving the peace.³⁸ Other, more militant, African Americans met at Ruth Hall, and although their discussions have not been recorded as well as those of the whites at the courthouse, Democratic Party papers claimed that two of the speakers present encouraged listeners to “go to the polls tomorrow and raise h---l.”³⁹ The white leadership, vested in the Secret Nine, apparently became alarmed at this point because the threat of violence was very real and jeopardized their plans to control the overthrow of municipal government after the election as well as the validity of the election itself.⁴⁰

Election day dawned “bright and clear” on November 8, 1898 as a tense city and state prepared to vote.⁴¹ Statewide, voters took to the polls in record numbers with few incidents of violence reported. In Wilmington, white men were armed and prepared for the day with patrols posted on every block. The polls opened at seven in the morning and closed at sundown,

United States, online edition available at <http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/kirk/menu.html>.

³⁷ For more on this meeting, see *Washington Post*, November 8, 1898 and the *Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution*, November 8, 1898.

³⁸ Kirk, *Statement of Facts*.

³⁹ *Morning Post* (Raleigh), November 9, 1898.

⁴⁰ McDuffie, “Politics in Wilmington,” 633.

⁴¹ The *Raleigh News and Observer* noted that the city was tense yet ready for whatever happened. *News and Observer*, (Raleigh), November 8, 1898.

although reports were that the “white votes” were nearly all cast by three o’clock.⁴² After the polls closed, the ballots were counted and an overwhelming Democratic Party victory. Although election day appeared to pass as a normal voting day, residents of Wilmington knew all too well that election day 1898 was unlike any other the city had experienced. Roving bands of armed men intimidated blacks and Republicans while others escorted less energetic Democrats to the polls to cast ballots under the watchful scrutiny of members of the White Government Unions. The day before the election, men from the WGU were appointed to post themselves at polls all day to ensure Democratic Party victory. The men were instructed to “never look a [white] voter square in the face, even if they knew that John Smith was voting as Willie James and the latter was dead and buried in Oakdale cemetery for lo many years.”⁴³

As the end of the voting day drew near, men who had been charged with watching the balloting were replaced by men who planned to watch and obstruct the election officials count ballots. Red Shirt/Rough Rider leader and election officer Mike Dowling explained that a great deal of planning went into disrupting the count. Dowling and others were taught “how to deposit Republican ballots so they could be replaced.”⁴⁴ Part of the day’s traffic also included men from other wards

⁴² *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 9, 1898.

⁴³ W. N. Harriss, interview by Harry Hayden and found in McDuffie, “Politics in Wilmington,” 664.

⁴⁴ Dowling also explained that he and others were instructed by Democratic Party leaders to take weapons to the polls, that the campaign committee distributed whiskey to polls in attempts to get Republican election officers drunk and that specific plans were made to storm a precinct that had a Republican majority in order to overwhelm the election officials and replace Republican tickets with Democratic ones. *Winston-Salem Union Republican*, March 15, 1900.

who were following the request of the *Morning Star* to “never mind where you live, go into the first and fifth wards to help.”⁴⁵

Governor Russell’s visit to cast his vote generated still more commotion. Russell voted in the city despite threats made against his personal safety. To ensure his safety while in town, he was accompanied by two prominent Democrats who were also his relatives—Walker Taylor and E. W. Sawyer. His return train to Raleigh was stopped and boarded twice by Red Shirts, one set led by future governor Cameron Morrison boarded the train in Maxton and warned him of the danger since it was rumored that others further up the line sought to lynch him. Morrison hid Russell in the mail car at the rear of the train and prevented his discovery when the train was stopped a second time in Hamlet. While Russell was enduring this humiliation, Red Shirts in Raleigh shouted taunts at his family in the governor’s mansion.⁴⁶ Most of the ballot counting took place without trouble but, in some of the precincts, there was difficulty. Democratic Party leaders sought to prevent trouble at the polls and during the counting so that the election could not be ruled invalid by the courts.⁴⁷

Many of Wilmington’s armed residents were prepared for retaliation from blacks that never came. On election day, the city mobilized, and the WLI was called to the armory and held there until early morning on the ninth. During their time at the armory waiting to be called up, the ladies provided the men with plenty of food. WLI member John Metts was exhausted, having been “kept on the go from the time I

⁴⁵ The First and Fifth wards were predominately black and usually carried a Republican majority. *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 8, 1898.

⁴⁶ Crow, *Maverick Republican*, 134; *Wilmington Messenger*, November 9, 1898.

⁴⁷ *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 8, 1898.

reached the armory yesterday [November 8] at three o'clock until this morning at five when I laid on the floor, with an overcoat for a pillow and then I was called each time I'd get asleep." The night of the election, Metts thought that although they were ready to move at a moment's notice, most of the hysteria turned out to be false alarms. They heard gunshots all night long, and Metts determined that, if there had been any unrest, it had been "settled without us."⁴⁸

An incident that occurred at the Fifth Division of the First Ward during ballot counting sheds light on the election day tensions.⁴⁹ African American drayman Albert Lamb had been a resident of Wilmington for about nine years and served as the election judge at the precinct located at the Fifth Division of the First Ward. Also working that precinct was African American carpenter Abram Fulton, a resident of the city for 25 years who was serving as registrar at the precinct. Both Fulton and Lamb testified during the contested election case of *Dockery v. Bellamy* that, although the day passed without incident, as they began to count ballots, a crowd of about between 150 and 200 whites had either entered the building or were stationed outside. Lamb explained that the precinct was predominantly Republican in character, the men who were at the precinct were "strangers," and none of the men gathered there were registered to vote at that polling place. Soon after the crowd arrived, the lamps were knocked off the tables by "someone pushing another against the table where the lamps were" and the room went dark. Fulton tried to make his way to the back of the store to find a way out. and, as soon as the lights were re-lit, Lamb left the

precinct before the ballots were fully counted. Fulton could not find a way out and resumed counting ballots after candles were lit. After counting the ballots, Fulton left as soon as he could, but he did not sign the election returns that night. Lamb explained he left because he was "scared" because he "did not know what would happen." Fulton fully believed that his life was in "imminent danger" when the crowd rushed in to extinguish the lights. Fulton further testified that only about 20 to 30 whites were registered to vote in the precinct, and about 300 Republicans were registered, making it the "strongest Republican precinct" in the city; he knew of no black Democrats residing in the precinct.⁵⁰

Other precinct workers, white grocer Joe Benton and white dairyman George Bates, were on hand at Lamb's precinct during the ballot counting and supported the testimony of Fulton and Lamb.⁵¹ Benton, as judge of the election, testified that scattered among the crowd were "between nine and twelve policemen" who did not attempt to "prevent the disturbance." Benton also revealed that the room in which the counting took place was small, measuring approximately 16 by 20 feet.⁵² Bates,

⁵⁰ Fulton had been appointed registrar by Walker Taylor and Roger Moore. He did not sign the election returns until the Monday following the election when he went to collect his pay for serving as registrar. *Contested Election Case*, 332-337.

⁵¹ Bates also testified that "the anxiety, fear and terror among the colored people, largely the Republican voters of the city of Wilmington was very great, exceeding that of any occasion." *Contested Election Case*, 338.

⁵² W. N. Harriss, Democratic Party leader, recalled that the building was an old stable and that he led the rush of whites into the precinct as the votes were being cast. He claimed to have pushed a policeman in a barrel of water as other men knocked oil lamps over. He then said that he stuffed "several hundred" ballots into the Democratic Senate candidate's box. Harry Hayden interviewed W. N. Harriss who was present at the precinct in 1898. Hayden shared his

⁴⁸ Jack Metts, November 9, 1898, Hinsdale Papers, Duke University Library, Durham.

⁴⁹ Each of the city's wards was divided into smaller voting precincts or divisions. The first ward was characterized by a black voting majority.

**Number of Registered Voters and Number of Votes Cast for State Senator
New Hanover County, November 8, 1898**

	# White Registered Voters	# Black Registered Voters	Total # Registered Voters	Votes for Democratic Candidate	Votes for Republican Candidate	Official Vote Total
1st Ward						
1 st Precinct	192	177	369	195	135	330
2 nd Precinct	140	242	382	135	216	351
3 rd Precinct	69	337	406	70	302	372
4 th Precinct	35	337	372	33	94	127
5 th Precinct	30	313	343	456	151	607
2nd Ward						
1 st Precinct	220	24	244	317	20	237
2 nd Precinct	271	25	296	266	26	292
3rd Ward						
1 st Precinct	321	46	367	322	30	352
2 nd Precinct	216	57	273	211	48	259
4th Ward						
1 st Precinct	256	25	281	250	6	256
2 nd Precinct	171	76	247	166	69	235
5th Ward						
1 st Precinct	215	112	327	213	106	319
2 nd Precinct	225	154	379	251	39	290
3 rd Precinct	153	170	323	172	135	307
4 th Precinct	43	309	352	43	300	343
Other Townships						
Masonboro	94	65	159	83	53	136
Cape Fear	68	184	252	85	146	231
Harnett	178	228	406	150	210	360
Federal Point	21	84	105	10	66	76

***Votes in the 5th Precinct of the First Ward and the 2nd Precinct of the 5th ward were later disputed because of intimidation, claims of fraudulent ballots, and inaccurate counts.

registrar with Lamb, claimed that the crowd was orderly while the counting was taking place until the workers came across a set of ballots in the wrong box, and members of the crowd objected to the counting method. Bates testified that as they were still counting the contested box for the election of W. J. Davis, the lights were extinguished. Once the lights were re-lit, Bates noted that Davis “got more votes by nearly two hundred than there were people registered in the precinct.” Bates also explained that after the lights were re-lit, the white men of the crowd had donned handkerchiefs on their arms and were going through the store with

pistols and guns.⁵³

Confirming previous testimony, Chief of Police Melton testified that the precinct building, located at the corner of Tenth and Princess, was the site of anticipated trouble and that he had patrolmen in the vicinity. His men reported to him that when the officers arrived after the crowd of white men assembled, they were “ousted,” the lights were extinguished, and the electric lights in the neighborhood were “muffled.” The patrolmen reported that once the situation was “straight again”

notes from the interview with Jerome McDuffie for his dissertation. McDuffie, “Politics in Wilmington,” 667.

⁵³ Two other election workers testified that their precincts did not experience trouble: Charles Keen of the fourth division of the First Ward and C. F. Craig, registrar of the second precinct of the First Ward. *Contested Election Case*, 336 – 341.

with lighting, it was evident that the ballot box had been stuffed.⁵⁴

The city was tense overnight, and whites sought to keep the peace so as to invalidate the election. Blacks, angered at the preliminary tallies and the intimidation they had endured, milled about in town, resulting in a rumor that a mob of blacks was prepared to attack the Fifth Ward Rough Riders. In response, white men moved to protect their families and posted extra sentries in the neighborhood. The rumor was false, but groups of white men remained on the streets, apparently eager for action. They were calmed by white leaders who asked that the white men go home and meet again in the morning for a mass meeting that had been recently scheduled.⁵⁵

Throughout the night, Democrats were in constant contact by phone and telegram across the state while they tallied their votes and assured themselves of victory. Robert Mason wrote in a letter on the night of the election that at 10:50 he had “just telephoned downtown as to results and everything is very encouraging.” Jack Metts wrote on the ninth that on the night of the election the men in charge of city government were “nowhere” to be seen and that every man he met on the street was white and armed with a Winchester and white handkerchief on his arm. Although Metts reported no violence, he said that guns were fired in the city all night after the election. Rev. J. Allen Kirk, African American minister of Central Baptist Church, recalled that “there was an army of white citizens mobilized in the old field back of Tenth Street, on Tuesday night,

waiting for signals from the sentinels.” Also on November 9, a woman named Sallie in New York received a letter from her mother that claimed election victory. She wrote that “the white man to-day has gained his point, rule or die.” She also said that blacks were not allowed across the Fourth Street bridge into town and that the Wilmington Light Infantry was out doing patrols without their uniforms.⁵⁶

The day after the election, Wilmingtonians breathed a sigh of relief. Chief of Police Melton noted that the day was fairly quiet.⁵⁷ Most white residents expected trouble during the election, and, after none materialized and the Democrats had secured victory, many felt the tensions would dissipate. Indeed, Jane Cronly noted that the day after the election, she “heard the colored people going by to their work talking cheerfully together as had not been the case for many days.”⁵⁸

November 9: Mass Meeting of White Citizens

Despite some indications that calm would prevail, some white leaders in Wilmington were still at work. Conceivably, the official Democratic Party leaders such as George Rountree who were not privy to the machinations of the Secret

⁵⁴ *Contested Election Case*, 363.

⁵⁵ McDuffie, “Politics in Wilmington,” 688-70; McDuffie referenced P. B. Manning to E. S. Tennet, November 12, 1898 in the Louis T. Moore Collection, New Hanover County Public Library. The Manning letter has since disappeared from the library holdings and McDuffie’s interpretation of its content must stand.

⁵⁶ Robert Mason to Bess, November 8, 1898, John Steele Henderson Papers, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; Jack Metts, November 9, 1898, Hinsdale Papers, Duke University Library, Durham; “Mother” to Sallie, November 9, 1898, Parsley Papers, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; Kirk, *Statement of Facts*, 5.

⁵⁷ Conversely, African American Rev. J. Allen Kirk noted that “There was a great Jubilee march” through the city by about 500 Democrats. The celebration was seen by Kirk as an effort to “intimidate and demoralize” blacks” because the parade through passed through all of the city’s black neighborhoods, businesses, churches and halls. Kirk, *Statement of Facts*, 8-9; *Contested Election Case*, 364.

⁵⁸ Cronly papers, Duke University Library, Durham.

Nine were taken aback by the call in the *Messenger* for a meeting of white citizens at eleven o'clock on the morning of the ninth at the courthouse.⁵⁹ Because early reports from the polls proved to Democratic Party leaders that their campaign had succeeded and that their party had won an overwhelming victory, men such as Rountree were prepared to rest on their laurels. Surprised by the announcement, Rountree attended the meeting and observed that he had “never seen more people in the courthouse” as Alfred Moore Waddell was called to the fore.⁶⁰ It was a “respectable representative assemblage of business men,

⁵⁹ Hayden and others credit Hugh MacRae of the Secret Nine for calling the mass meeting, presumably to address the issue of Manly and to pacify hot-headed Red Shirts ready to burn the press on the evening of the election. Several sources indicate that the mass meeting was definitely scheduled somewhat ahead of time by someone outside of the main Democratic Party campaign committee. Hayden stated that on the afternoon of the election, Mike Dowling and the Red Shirts were prepared to burn the *Record* press and lynch Manly. En route to the press, Dowling met MacRae, who persuaded Dowling to stop his men so as not to jeopardize the election. MacRae and Dowling met at L. B. Sasser’s Drugstore. Sasser, also a member of the Secret Nine helped MacRae convince the Red Shirts to desist in return for revealing some of the machinations of the Secret Nine to Dowling in the form of a document they had drawn up that has come to be known as the “White Declaration of Independence.” The WDI was to be read in public the next day at a meeting MacRae called to pacify Dowling. *The Morning Star* featured an article to call “every good white citizen” to the meeting that was called as a result of another meeting held the night before by a group of “representative businessmen of the city.” Hayden, *Story of the Wilmington Rebellion*, 6-9. Prather, *We Have Taken a City*, 107; *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 9, 1898; *Wilmington Messenger*, November 9, 1898.

⁶⁰ Rountree recalled that he had stayed up almost all night on election day and that, on the morning of the ninth, he was at home “sleeping the sleep of the just when my wife came in about nine o'clock and showed me an advertisement in the paper that stated that there would be a public meeting” that he had not known was planned. Rountree, *Memorandum*, Henry G. Connor Papers .

merchants, lawyers, doctors, divines and mechanics.”⁶¹



New Hanover County Courthouse
Image Courtesy of Lower Cape Fear Historical Society

Many of the city’s business leaders were present. Speakers included newly elected congressman John D. Bellamy, who claimed no prior knowledge of the meeting’s purpose.⁶² Waddell explained that he did not know what the meeting was about but had been asked to read a statement.⁶³ The

⁶¹ *Contested Election Case*, 257.

⁶² Bellamy claimed that in his remarks he “approved of the desire to rid the community of such a venomous reptile,” but urged that they “act with moderation and proceed lawfully and in order.” *Contested Election Case*, 257.

⁶³ Roger Moore’s widow confirmed that Waddell knew nothing of the planning done by the business leaders. She said that Waddell “was not present at any one of the meetings and knew nothing whatever of the plan of action until the night following his election as mayor, when he asked the leaders for

document he read was a series of resolutions that contained very structured language and has come to be called the “White Declaration of Independence.” Members of the press were called upon to serve as secretaries of the meeting.⁶⁴

After Waddell completed reading the statement, the crowd responded with a standing ovation. Former mayor S. H. Fishblate wished for additional wording to be added to the resolutions requiring the resignations of the mayor, chief of police, and Board of Aldermen. George Rountree then stepped up to move that the resolutions and proposed amendment be reviewed by a committee of five men who would report back to the assembly with any necessary changes or recommendations. After Rountree’s suggestion was approved, he was placed on the committee along with Iredell

information as it was necessary at that stage of the proceedings for him to be informed as from that time on he would be connected with the movement.” She also wrote that Waddell “was also made chairman of the committee of 20 men who were appointed to give the negroes a certain alternative concerning the Record printing press; and also he had charge of the impromptu affair at the armory, a thing not provided for; something unforeseen; and done on the spur of the moment. It was righteous and first, at least that part concerning the destruction of the printing press. Firing the building was considered to be a mistake and His being made mayor was something separate and distinct from the organization that was formed for the protection of the town.” She said that Waddell “was not present at any one of the meetings and knew nothing whatever of the plan of action until the night following his election as mayor, when he asked the leaders for information as it was necessary at that stage of the proceedings for him to be informed as from that time on he would be connected with the movement.” Mrs. Roger Moore, 1900, Mrs. Roger Moore Collection, University of North Carolina at Wilmington Library.

⁶⁴ Reporters who participated were E. P. Bell of the *Chicago Record*, N. W. Messenger of the *Washington Star*, Augustus Kohn of the *Charleston News and Courier*, T. W. Clawson of the *Messenger* and William J. Martin of the *Morning Star*. *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 10, 1898.

Meares, Hugh MacRae, Walker Taylor, and S. H. Fishblate.⁶⁵ The committee reviewed the resolutions and amendment while others called for a speech from Waddell, who advocated peaceful measures since he felt it unnecessary to “adopt violent measures as the editor of the *Record* would be dealt with.” In response, there were shouts to “fumigate the city with the *Record*.” Bellamy was also called to the podium and he, too, pressed for a peaceful end to the affair. Another speaker, P. B. Manning, urged moderation and claimed that the reason why the “people of Wilmington had not avenged the *Record*’s vile slander long before” was because they “had not had the time” due to the “great work of the campaign.” Manning also stated that to adopt Fishblate’s resolution would amount to “anarchy,” resting his faith in the new legislature to “make a clean sweep of the City Hall.”⁶⁶

Committee members returned to the podium with the resolutions that were approved after a second reading. The committee reworked Fishblate’s proposal to force the resignations of the entire city government in favor of pushing for the resignation of the mayor and chief of police. Fishblate and another businessman, Nathaniel Jacobi, felt that the amendment’s replacement wording did not “go far enough,” and Jacobi indicated that he thought the leaders “should be commanded to resign one by one.” In response, Rountree explained that the “matter would be attended to.” After a second reading and assurances that the matter of the rest of the

⁶⁵ *Wilmington Messenger*, November 10, 1898; *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 10, 1898.

⁶⁶ This statement by Manning clearly indicated that he and others were certain that the new Democratically controlled legislature would reverse Fusionist changes to the city’s charter. *Wilmington Messenger*, November 10, 1898; *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 10, 1898.

Board of Aldermen would be addressed, the men present approved of the revision.⁶⁷

The revised amendment read:

It is the sense of this meeting that Mayor S. P. Wright and Chief of Police Jno. R. Melton, having demonstrated their utter incapacity to give the city a decent government and keep order therein, their continuance in office being a constant menace to the peace and welfare of this community, they ought forthwith to resign.

After discussion of the amendment was settled, Waddell was chosen to head a committee of 25 men who would “direct the execution of the provisions of the resolutions.” Speakers also thanked the County Executive Committee of the Democratic Party who “successfully conducted this magnificent campaign” and to the newspapers “for the able and effective work done during the great campaign for the overthrow of Republican negro rule.” Further, G. J. Boney made a motion that thanks also be given to Furnifold Simmons for his work. The meeting then adjourned, and after 445 men signed the resolutions, Waddell and others selected the men to serve on the Committee of Twenty-Five. The resolutions, signatures, and committeemen’s names were published in the papers the next day since the November 9 papers had already gone to press.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ *Wilmington Messenger*, 11/10/1898; *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 10, 18; Rountree, Memorandum.”

⁶⁸ Members of the Committee of Twenty Five were: Rev. J.W. Kramer, Frank Maunder, Fred Skipper, Dr. W. C. Galloway, Joseph D. Smith, John E. Crow, Junius Davis, Iredell Meares, Preston L. Bridgers, W. F. Robertson, C. W. Worth, A. B. Skelding, F. A.

Local residents quickly informed loved ones by letter of the election victory and the citizens’ meeting. Jack Metts wrote a young lady in Raleigh while the meeting was taking place that the “businessmen are at present holding a big meeting to take steps to run the mayor and some prominent negroes out of town.” He underlined his words “Don’t mention this” supposedly because the information he gave her was only for a few privy leaders.⁶⁹ James Worth also gave details of the meeting to his out-of-town wife. The he explained that there was a citizens’ meeting on the morning of the ninth with about 1,000 men present who passed resolutions requiring that the staff of the *Record* leave town within 12 hours and demanding the resignations of Mayor Silas P. Wright and Chief of Police Melton. Worth explained that a committee of 25 men was appointed to “carry into effect the resolutions.”⁷⁰

Montgomery, Joseph R. Davis, B. F. King, Rev. J. W. S. Harvey, James Ellis, C. L. Spencer, Hugh MacRae, J. Alan Taylor, E. S. Lathrop, F. H. Fechtig, W. H. Northrop, Sr., Frank Stedman, and Gabe Holmes. Rountree was taken aback that Waddell purposefully left him off of the list of the Committee. Three of the Committee were members of the Secret Nine. *Wilmington Messenger*, 11/10/1898; *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 10, 1898; Rountree, Memorandum.”

⁶⁹ Jack Metts, November 9, 1898, Hinsdale Papers, Duke University Library, Durham.

⁷⁰ James Worth to Josephine, November 9, 1898, James S. Worth Papers, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

“White Declaration of Independence”

Believing that the Constitution of the United States contemplated a government to be carried on by an enlightened people; Believing that its framers did not anticipate the enfranchisement of an ignorant population of African origin, and believing that those men of the State of North Carolina, who joined in forming the Union, did not contemplate for their descendants subjection to an inferior race: -

We, the undersigned citizens of the City of Wilmington and County of New Hanover, do hereby declare that we will no longer be ruled, and will never again be ruled by men of African origin. This condition we have in part endured because we felt that the consequences of the War of Secession were such as to deprive us of the fair consideration of many of our countrymen. We believe that, after more than thirty years, this is no longer the case.

The stand we now pledge ourselves to is forced upon us suddenly by a crisis and our eyes are open to the fact that we must act now or leave our descendants to a fate too gloomy to be borne.

While we recognize the authority of the United States, and will yield to it if exerted, we would not for a moment believe that it is the purpose of more than sixty millions of our own race to subject us permanently to a fate to which no Anglo Saxon has ever been forced to submit.

We therefore, believing that we represent unequivocally the sentiment of the White People of the County and City, hereby for ourselves, and as representing them, proclaim:

▪ *First*

That the time has passed for the intelligent citizens of the community owning 90% of the property and paying taxes in like proportion, to be ruled by negroes.

▪ *Second*

That we will not tolerate the action of unscrupulous white men in affiliating with the negroes so that by means of their votes they can dominate the intelligent and thrifty element in the community, thus causing business to stagnate and progress to be out of the question.

▪ *Third*

That the negro has demonstrated by antagonizing our interest in every way, and especially by his ballot, that he is incapable of realizing that his interests are and should be identical with those of the community.

▪ *Fourth*

That the progressive element in any community is the white population and that the giving of nearly all the employment to negro laborers has been against the best interests of this County and City and is a sufficient reason why the City of Wilmington, with its natural advantages has not become a city of at least fifty thousand inhabitants.

▪ *Fifth*

That we propose in the future to give to white men a large part of the employment heretofore given to negroes because we realize that white families cannot thrive here unless there are more opportunities for the employment of the different members of said families.

▪ *Sixth*

That the white men expect to live in this community peaceably; to have and provide absolute protection for their families, who shall be safe from insult or injury from all persons, whomsoever. We are prepared to treat the negroes with justice and consideration in all matters which do not involve sacrifices of the interest of the intelligent and progressive portion of the community. But are equally prepared now and immediately to enforce what we know to be our rights.

▪ *Seventh*

That we have been, in our desire for harmony and peace, blinded both to our best interests and our rights. A climax was reached when the negro paper of this city published an article so vile and slanderous that it would in most communities have resulted in the lynching of the editor. We deprecate lynching and yet there is no punishment, provided by the courts, adequate for this offense. We therefore owe it to the people of this community and of this city, as a protection against such license in the future, that the paper known as the “Record” cease to be published and that its editor be banished from this community.

We demand that he leave this City forever within twenty-four hours after the issuance of this proclamation. Second, that the printing press from which the “Record” has been issued be packed and shipped from the City without delay, that we be notified within twelve hours of the acceptance or rejection of this demand.

If the demand is agreed to, within twelve hours we counsel forbearance on the part of all white men. If the demand is refused or if no answer is given within the time mentioned then the editor, Manly, will be expelled by force.

After the Committee of Twenty-Five was assembled, they moved their meeting to the Merchant's Association rooms for a meeting at 3:30 in the afternoon. After discussion of methods to implement the resolutions, the committee drew up a list of men they perceived as leaders and representatives of the African American community. These men, called the Committee of Colored Citizens (CCC), were attorneys, businessmen, laborers, ministers, and politicians.⁷¹ The whites on the Committee of Twenty-Five then planned to issue a summons to the CCC for them to appear before the white leaders at six o'clock that evening to hear the demands of the whites regarding Manly and the situation in the city.

The following named colored citizens of Wilmington are requested to meet a committee of citizens appointed by authority of the meeting of business men and taxpayers held this morning at 6 o'clock

⁷¹ The Committee of Colored Citizens were Dr. J. H. Alston, Richard Ashe, Salem J. Bell, Henry Brown, John H. Brown, John Carroll, John Goins, Elijah Green, Henry C. Green, Henry Green, James P. Green, Josh Green, William Everett Henderson, John Holloway, Daniel Howard, John Harriss Howe, John T. Howe, David Jacobs, David Jones, Rev. Lee (of St. Stephen's), J. W. Lee, Alex Mallett, Dr. T. R. Mask, Thomas C. Miller, William A. Moore, Carter Peamon, James Pearson, Robert B. Pickens, Isham Quick, Robert Reardon, Thomas Rivera, Frederick Sadgwar, Armond Scott, Rev. James W. Telfair. A handwritten copy of the list of men identified as the Committee of Colored Citizens, including check marks for contact and some with an "x" by their name, is in the Waddell papers in Chapel Hill. Federal appointees such as John C. Dancy and John E. Taylor, although prominent leaders of the African American community, were not among those called to the meeting because of the fear of federal intervention. *Wilmington Messenger*, November 10, 1898; *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 10, 1898; Alfred Moore Waddell Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

*this evening at the Merchants' Rooms, Seaboard Air Line building on Front Street to consider a matter of grave consequence to the negroes of Wilmington*⁷²

At the appointed hour, the committees met to discuss the resolutions passed earlier in the day. The black representatives sat across the table from the whites in a rigidly controlled meeting. Waddell "presented the resolutions as an ultimatum" and "firmly explained the purpose of the meeting." Waddell would not entertain discussion, and the black men were told in simple terms that they should "use their influence in carrying out the resolutions." Rev. W. H. Lee spoke up and indicated that he would advise Manly and his family to leave, and William Henderson stated that he thought the *Record* could be moved with the Manlys.⁷³ There being no more discussion, the Committee of Twenty-Five gave the CCC until 7:30 the next morning to provide Waddell a reply "as to whether the resolutions will be complied with without the use of strong measures."⁷⁴

Another tense night of readiness faced both whites and blacks on the ninth. The CCC left the meeting with Waddell and reconvened at David Jacobs' barber shop on Dock Street between Water and Front Streets to draft a reply. The CCC's response

⁷² Hayden's *Story of The Wilmington Rebellion*, page 13, indicated that the two committees met at the Cape Fear Club on Front Street. *Wilmington Messenger*, November 10, 1898; *Morning Star*, (Wilmington), November 10, 1898; Alfred Moore Waddell Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

⁷³ Confusion as to whether Manly had already left the city was found in both the white and black communities.

⁷⁴ In a pre-approved plan, Waddell would meet the Committee of Twenty-Five at the armory at eight o'clock in the morning of November 10 to provide them with the details of the CCC response. McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 684; *Ibid*.

was short and accommodating but did not address the municipal issue, and it reminded the whites that they were not in a position to dictate to the rest of the community. After the response was drafted, Armond Scott, a young attorney, was given the responsibility for delivery of the reply to Waddell's home by the appointed hour. However, as Scott began to walk towards Waddell's home, he encountered large numbers of hostile armed whites in the neighborhood. Scott, along with several members of the CCC, then took the letter to the post office for delivery instead. As Scott was attempting to deliver the letter, other members of the CCC tried to find Frank Manly, Alex Manly's brother, to encourage him to leave and take the *Record* with him since they thought Alex was already gone. Another member of the CCC met with Rountree and informed him that "everything was all right" because an appropriate response had been drafted and delivered to Waddell. Furthermore, those in the black community felt that peace would prevail because the contents of the letter were also made public even as they were supposedly being delivered to Waddell.⁷⁵

The late afternoon meeting between the white and black factions of the city was reported in the morning papers, along with the understanding that Manly was already out of the city, never to return again and that a formal reply was expected early in the morning from the CCC.⁷⁶ Further effects of the citizens' meeting on the ninth appeared in the *Messenger* in a small announcement that the *Record* had suspended publication, and the "outfit of the company will be turned over to creditors and the affairs of the paper will be closed up at once." In addition

⁷⁵ McDuffie used a sketch written by Armond Scott entitled "Up From Hell" that was in the possession of Scott's widow in Washington, D.C. McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 686; Rountree, "Memorandum."

⁷⁶ McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 686; Rountree, "Memorandum."

to speculation about Manly, the *Messenger* printed a rumor that some of the members of the Board of Aldermen had decided to resign. Further, the paper suggested that a solution for changing the face of the board would present itself.⁷⁷

Yet another stressful, sleepless night was ahead for many of Wilmington's citizens of both races. White sentries patrolled the town while others planned their next step. A group of whites in front of the First Baptist Church and resolved to destroy the printing offices of the *Record* and to lynch Manly if the demands of the White Declaration of Independence were not met. These men decided to use the citizens' Vigilance Committee established by Roger Moore to station men throughout the town in the event of violence while the press was being destroyed. They also decided that Roger Moore would lead the march upon the press if need be.⁷⁸

The mass meeting with the public presentation of the White Declaration of Independence, combined with the inflamed attitudes of those in attendance, gave the Secret Nine opportunity to enact its plan to overthrow the city government. Although the state and county were firmly in the hands of Democrats, the municipal government was not slated for replacement through the ballot box until the following spring. It was the judgment of leading white citizens that a complete overhaul of city government was

⁷⁷ *Wilmington Messenger*, November 10, 1898.

⁷⁸ Although the meeting was held outside the church, its new pastor, Rev. Blackwell, was a hearty supporter of the white supremacy campaign, and following the violence on the tenth and his views were quoted in the *Raleigh News and Observer*. Additional information on this clandestine meeting is apparently found in P. B. Manning's letter to E. S. Tennet, originally filed with the Louise T. Moore Papers at the New Hanover County Public Library. The letter has disappeared and references to the meeting and its plans as detailed are found in McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 687. *News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 15, 1898.

necessary, in accordance with the demands of the White Declaration of Independence. They felt that there were others who were better equipped or entitled to run the city and who should be returned to power despite their minority status.⁷⁹

James Worth wrote his wife to inform her of the day's events and expected trouble that night as a result of the actions of the Committee of Twenty-Five. He knew that Manly would "of course go dead or alive—but which I am unable to say." Worth anticipated "warm times in the old town" that night, but the night was quiet as the city awaited word from Waddell and the Committee of Colored Citizens.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Hayden, *Wilmington Light Infantry*, 70-120; Hayden, *Story of the Wilmington Rebellion*, 1-36.

⁸⁰ James Worth to Josephine, November 9, 1898, James S. Worth Papers, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Map Key – Major Participants in Wilmington Race Riot

(There were some key participants in both races whose address has not been identified.)

Key Participants – White

Bridgers, Preston L.	114 S 3rd
Clawson, Thomas	116 N 3rd
Crow, John E.	417 Chestnut
Davis, Joseph R.	320 Church
Davis, Junius	207 N 3rd
Dowling, Mike	713 S 7th
Ellis, James	
Fechtig, F.H.	220 N 2nd
Fennell, Hardy L.	807 Market
Fishblate, S.H.	815 Market
Furlong, John	219 Red Cross
Galloway, Dr. Walter C.	1 Post Office Alley
Gilchrist, William	714 Market
Harvey, Rev. J.W.S.	801 S 7th
Holmes, Gabriel	218 N 3rd
Johnson, William A.	716 Market
Kenan, William R.	110 Nun
King, B.F.	521 S 3rd
Kramer, Rev. J.W.	917 N 4th
E. S. Lathrop	802 Market
Manning, Pierre B.	714 Market
Maunder, Frank	624 N 4th
Mayo, William	307 Harnett
MacRae, Donald	711 Market
MacRae, Hugh	715 Market
Meares, Iredell	411 Orange
Montgomery, F.A.	203 Castle
Northrop, W.H.	15 S 5th
Parsley, Walter L.	711 Market
Robertson, W.F.	202 Orange
Rountree, George	411 N 2nd
Sasser, L.B.	802 Market
Schnibben, Charles	909 Market
Skelding, A.B.	520 S. 3rd
Fred B. Skipper	708 N. 3rd
Smith, Joseph D.	622 Dock
G. L. Spencer	
Sprunt, James	400 S Front
Stedman, Frank	311 N 2nd
Taylor, Col. Walker	321 S 3rd
Taylor, J. Alan	14 N 7th
Waddell, Alfred M.	16 N. 5th
Worth, Charles W.	412 S 3rd

Key Participants – Targets of White Campaign

Ashe, Richard	910 Castle
Bell, Salem J.	313 S 7th
Brown, Henry	512 Walnut
Brown, John H.	231 Princess
Bryant, Ari	1010 N 5th
Bunting, Robert H(w)	1307 Market
Carroll, John	412 Brunswick
French, G.Z. (w)	Orton
Gilbert, C.H. (w)	213 N 7th
Green, Elijah	323 S 7th
Green, Henry C.	607 Campbell
Green, Henry	913 Wooster
Green, James P.	720 Church
Green, Josh	612 Bladen
Holloway, John	810 N 7th
Howard, Daniel	312 N 6th
Howe, John H.	116 Castle
Howe, John T.	308 Castle
Jacobs, David	914 S 2nd4
Jones, David	210 McRae
Keith, B.F. (w)	407 Walnut
Lee, Rev. W.H.	804 McRae
Loughlin, James (w)	614 S. Front
Mallett, Alex	604 Campbell
Manly, A.L.	514 McRae
Manly, Frank	514 McRae
Mask, Dr. T.R.	510 S 7th
McAlister, Charles(w)	412 N Front
McMillan, William D.	414 Dock
Melton, John R.	1215 Market
Miller, Thomas C.	216 Castle
Moore, William A.	413 S 7th
Pearson, James	310 N 6th
Pickens, Robert B.	317 S 7th
Quick, Isham	313 N 9th
Reardon, Robert	29 Market
Rivera, Thomas	516 Red Cross
Sadgwar, Frederick	15 N 8th
Scott, Armond	519 Walnut
Telfair, Rev. J.W.	615 Walnut
Toomer, F.P.	916 Love Ave.
Walker, Andrew J.	1107 N. 5th
Webber, John H.	719 Hanover
Wright, Silas P. (w)	Orton

Response of the Committee of Colored Citizens⁸¹

Hon A. M. Waddell,
 Chairman Citizens Committee
 Wilmington N. C.
 Dear Sir
 We the colored citizens
 to whom was referred
 the matter of expulsion
 from from this com-
 munity, of the person
 and press of A. L. Manly,
 beg most respectfully
 to say that we are
 in no wise re-
 sponsible for nor
 in anyway endorse
 the obnoxious
 article that called

forth your actions.
 Neither are we
 authorized to act
 for him in this
 matter; but in
 the interest of peace,
 we will most
 willingly use our
 influence to have
 your wishes carried
 out.
 Very respectfully,
 The Committee
 of Colored Citizens.

⁸¹ Later in life, Armond Scott claimed that the letter he wrote was not the letter reprinted in the papers. He indicated that the letter he wrote for the CCC acknowledged that Manly's paper had ceased publication two weeks before the election and, as such, the "alleged basis of conflict between the races has been eliminated." Sue Cody appropriately concluded that "if the other version of the letter had been published, even after the violence, the mob's actions might have drawn more criticism." Edmonds, *Negro and Fusion Politics*, 176; Cody, "After the Storm," 33; McDuffie, "Politics in Wilmington," 686. The original of the letter Waddell claimed was from the CCC (image above) is in the Alfred Moore Waddell Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.