

FOR THE *RECORD*: REVISITING AND REVISING PAST AND PRESENT
1898 WILMINGTON RACE RIOT NARRATIVES

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to promote knowledge and understanding of the 1898 Wilmington Race Riot by informing and exploring the function of Alexander L. Manly, the Wilmington *Daily Record*, and the editorial “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” in past and present 1898 Wilmington Race Riot narratives. Both the dominant (past) and new (present) narratives reinforce the idea that Manly’s 18 August 1898 editorial, “Mrs. Felton’s Speech,” caused, motivated, or otherwise inspired the 1898 Wilmington Race Riot; both narratives likewise maintain Manly wrote the editorial as a response to Rebecca Latimer Felton’s 1897 speech before the Georgia State Agricultural Society, “Woman on the Farm.” I argue Manly’s purpose for writing the editorial, and consequently his role in the 1898 Wilmington Race Riot, as defined by the dominant and new narratives is misleading and short-sighted. Although Manly directly addresses Felton in “Mrs. Felton’s Speech,” he indirectly addresses the 18 August 1898 editorial, “A White Man’s Country,” written by Wilmington *Morning Star* editor William H. Bernard. Each text—“Mrs. Felton’s Speech,” “A White Man’s Country,” and “Woman on the Farm”—is re-contextualized, explicated, analyzed, and engaged with 1898 Wilmington Race Riot narratives. Approaching these primary historical documents as texts consequently reveals clandestine features of Manly, the *Daily Record*, and “Mrs. Felton’s Speech.” By adding ways to think and talk about their roles in the 1898 Wilmington Race Riot, this thesis subtracts from the symbolic power of this local legend used to regulate normative behavior.

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DEDICATION

This is for Mr. Alex Manly.

INTRODUCTION

This study aims to promote knowledge and understanding of the 1898 Wilmington Race Riot by exploring and informing the function of Alexander L. Manly, the Wilmington *Daily Record*, and the editorial “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” in past and present 1898 Wilmington Race Riot narratives. This introduction will familiarize readers with the historical details of the Wilmington Race Riot, relate the stories told about the Wilmington Race Riot and explain how they operate, and outline the structure and arguments of later chapters.

In post-Reconstruction North Carolina, the alliance of Populists and Republicans, known as Fusion, defeated the Democratic Party in 1894 and 1896. Elected Governor in 1896, Daniel L. Russell was North Carolina’s first Republican governor since the end of Reconstruction twenty years earlier (1898 Wilmington Race Riot Commission 34). Determined to regain power in the fall of 1898, Democratic Party campaign chair Furnifold Simmons invented a platform based on appeals to white supremacy and orchestrated party member’s delivery of the message through stump speeches, newspapers and pamphlets, and terroristic violence. With a large population of whites and blacks, winning Wilmington’s votes was a primary objective of the Democratic Party.

Wilmington’s African American population had a small but noticeable influence on Wilmington’s social, economic, and political climate, and Democrats used violence and threats of violence to deter African Americans from political involvement; race-baiting journalism persuaded many whites to vote the Democratic ticket (1898 56). The Wilmington *Daily Record*, an African American owned and operated daily newspaper, published an editorial speaking out against the white press’ prejudiced reportage of the African American race on 18 August 1898. Democratic newspapers picked up this editorial—written by *Record* owner and editor, Alexander

L. Manly, and titled “Mrs. Felton’s Speech”—and manipulated its content to support their arguments against African American character (1898 94).

Around the beginning of October, Democratic newspapers throughout North Carolina and the South—especially the Wilmington *Morning Star* and *Wilmington Messenger*—began reprinting “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” ad nauseam until the 8 November 1898 election (1898 99). The Democratic press presented Manly as the epitome of “uppity” African Americans responsible for the “evils” caused by “Negro domination,” “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” as damning evidence of the African American male’s threat to the virtue of white womanhood, and the *Record* as a greenhouse where this sentiment is nurtured. With the symbolic power of Manly, the *Record*, and “Mrs. Felton’s Speech,” the Democratic Party successfully planted resentment and animosity in Wilmington and North Carolina whites towards African Americans, and the 1898 election ushered Democrats into seats in North Carolina’s state government. But, many coveted government positions were still occupied by Fusionists, including governor, collector of customs, and Wilmington’s mayor, board of aldermen, and chief of police. Manly’s act of writing “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” provided, in the minds of many Wilmington whites, moral justification for revolutionary activity. (1898 99)

Prominent Democratic speaker Alfred Moore Waddell read a statement now referred to as the “White Declaration of Independence” during a 9 November 1898 meeting of white males at the New Hanover County Courthouse, and four hundred and forty-five men signed the manuscript (1898 114). Arguing the editorial published by the African American paper was vile slander, the courts provided no adequate punishment for this offensive exercise of the First Amendment, and publicly insulting white women warranted lynching Manly, the seventh proclamation contained in the “White Declaration of Independence” ordered the *Record* to cease

publication and its editor to leave Wilmington within twenty-four hours (qtd. in 1898 115). A Committee of Colored Citizens was designated to deliver the resolution to Manly and reply to Waddell at his home by 7:30 the next morning. On 10 November, a tragic miscommunication of Shakespearean proportions resulted in Waddell leading a previously organized militia to the *Record's* office in Love and Charity Hall with intentions of seizing the paper's publisher and publishing materials. When no one answered the door, they proceeded to break into the office, destroy any materials that looked like they belonged to the paper, and set it on fire (1898 121). This early morning destruction of property initiated a day of murderous injustice in Wilmington: a day that has come to be called the Wilmington Race Riot.¹

Like almost any event of historical significance, our understanding of and the way we talk about the Wilmington Race Riot changes over time. In *Narrative, Political Unconscious, and Racial Violence in Wilmington, North Carolina*, Leslie Hossfeld traces the evolution of the Wilmington Race Riot narrative across more than one hundred years. She identifies the “dominant narrative” of the Wilmington Race Riot, simplified as the elite white version of the Wilmington Race Riot that defends white aggression against blacks as a protective measure, redirects white fault to African Americans, and uses the Wilmington Race Riot as an instructive anecdote to stifle those holding alternative accounts of the Wilmington Race Riot into fearful and obedient silence (Hossfeld 100). Almost one hundred years later, a “new narrative” exposed the “official history” of the Wilmington Race Riot, and promoted reconciliation of the races and individual responsibility for success (Hossfeld 108). Although the new narrative's “official

¹ This thesis uses the terms “Wilmington Race Riot” or “1898 Wilmington Race Riot” to describe the 10 November 1898 violence to avoid confusion. However, more appropriate terms include, but are not limited to, “tragedy,” “massacre,” “violence,” “mass murder,” “bloodbath,” and “slaughter.” Some scholars also prefer the term “coup,” a dysphemism of the dominant narrative's “revolution,” “rebellion,” or “revolt.” Perhaps the most appropriate term is “1898 Wilmington White Riot,” since a large group of whites initiated the noisy, public, violent protest against the *Record's* office.

history” illuminates multiple causes of the violence besides Manly’s editorial, “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” is still charged with causing the Wilmington Race Riot. These two narratives, the dominant narrative and the new narrative, provide the organizing framework for this thesis’ theoretical approach to studying the purpose, message, and author of “Mrs. Felton’s Speech.”

History, as they say, is written by the winners; in 1898, the Democratic Party defeated opposing parties largely due to the success of their white supremacy movement, and their campaign rhetoric laid the groundwork for perpetuating the dominant narrative and instituting the Jim Crow Era. After 10 November 1898, the “self-deceptive techniques of selective omission, blaming the enemy, fabrication, exaggeration, and embellishment” manifested linguistically as elite whites developed a narrative that rationalized and memorialized the Wilmington Race Riot in a flattering light (Hossfeld 100). This narrative acquires appeals to patriotism and democracy from the rhetoric of the American Revolution and Confederacy, and called upon “Men of the Cape Fear” to rebel against Republican and “Negro domination” just as their forefathers resisted the tyrannous British and federal governments (Hossfeld 34). The “White Declaration of Independence” exemplifies the extent to which elite whites carried the Revolutionary comparison. But the dominant narrative of the Wilmington Race Riot adds a unique spin to this rhetoric, as allusions to democracy and patriotism merged with references to white supremacy and the protection of white womanhood (Hossfeld 33).

Hossfeld explains, “Mixing metaphors of beauty (white womanhood), courage, honor, virtue and independence, all borrowed language from both the Revolutionary War and the Civil War, the white supremacy campaign masqueraded in the guise of ‘democracy’ via the ‘protection of white womanhood’ and ‘the end of Negro rule’” (36). Of course, there is always more than one side to a story, and Hossfeld identifies a “private narrative” relating the African American,

or their sympathizers', vision of the Wilmington Race Riot. However, the "public narrative," or dominant narrative, was so powerful that alternative versions of the Wilmington Race Riot were stifled by the fear of death, exile, or social ruin (Hossfeld 49). In sum, the dominant narrative operates to deflect white culpability by casting blacks as the antagonists and whites as the protagonists defending the American way. It justifies white aggression against blacks on the grounds of protecting white womanhood and liberty, and suppresses alternative versions of the Wilmington Race Riot with the promise of a fate similar to those whose bodies (so they say) dyed the Cape Fear red (Hossfeld 120).

Efforts to construct and perpetuate the dominant narrative of the Wilmington Race Riot began with Wilmington's elite white writers and speakers before the 10 November, and national papers quickly absorbed their story. The American reading public learned about the Wilmington Race Riot the day after it happened by reading newspapers, which drew on local testimonies and newspaper reporting of the event to inform their coverage. For example, the 11 November 1898 edition of the *Hartford Courant* related this destruction of property, and the violence that occurred afterward, to their subscribers in an article written by Alfred Moore Waddell (the same man who led destruction of the *Record* on 10 November, and Wilmington's "acting" mayor), titled "EIGHT NEGROES DEAD. Result of Race Riot in Wilmington, N.C. ALL THE CITY OFFICIALS RESIGN. Mob Destroys a Colored Newspaper Office—Negroes Open Fire Upon Whites—Troops Called Out—New Municipal Government in Charge" (1). Waddell, and those who rose to power alongside him, recognized the importance of getting the white version of the Wilmington Race Riot (what became the dominant narrative) into circulation in order to stifle any efforts to investigate their illegal activities.

In his *Hartford Courant* article, Waddell explains the role of Manly, the *Record*, and “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” in the Wilmington Race Riot to readers as follows:

The trouble in Wilmington today began at 8:30 o’clock this morning when an armed body of citizens, numbering about 400 and led by ex-Representative Waddell, chairman of a committee of twenty-five appointed for the purpose, proceeded to the publishing house of the “Record” to wreck it. Editor Manly had published an article defamatory of white women, and a mass meeting of citizens yesterday ordered his expulsion from the city. Fifteen leading negroes were called in by the committee of twenty-five last night and directed to notify the chairman by 7:30 o’clock this morning whether they would agree to the removal of the press. They were informed that if no answer were returned the press would be demolished.

Newspaper Office Wrecked

No answer was received by the chairman this morning, and after waiting an hour the citizens proceed in a body and demolished the fixtures of the printing office. The building was also fired and gutted. The leaders say that this action was the work of irresponsible persons, and as soon as the fire was discovered the fire department was called out to extinguish it. The burning of the printing office created a great commotion among the negroes of the town. The rumor spread that the whites were going to burn and murder in the negro quarter. This rumor reached the negro employees of a cotton compress numbering 300 or 400, who quit work and hung about the street in manifest terror. Other parties congregated in the negro section, and it was in one of these that the first tragedy was enacted. The men were standing on a corner and ordered to disperse. They declined, and, it is claimed, fired into the whites. (Waddell 1)

This reflects the dominant narrative in two ways: first, it places African Americans at fault; second, it characterizes whites’ destructive and violent behavior toward the African American community as last-resort protective measures.

Waddell characterizes Manly’s “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” as “defamatory of white women,” and insulting white women warranted exiling Manly from Wilmington; thus, Manly is the primary outlaw in the dominant narrative. The failure of the “leading negroes” to notify the chairman—Waddell himself—whether they would “agree to the removal of the press” on time required Waddell and a group of “about” four hundred “armed citizens” to finish a job abandoned by African Americans (Waddell 1). The African Americans who (again) deserted their jobs to loiter in “manifest terror” did not follow the direct order to “disperse” and “fired

into the whites” (Waddell 1). Without going into detailed analysis, this presentation of “the trouble in Wilmington” argues that Wilmington’s African Americans brought tribulation on themselves and portrays them as villainous, ineffectual, and violent.

Waddell emphasizes that whites resorted to the use of force because African Americans left them no other alternative. Instead of lynching Manly (the customary Southern punishment for African American men who “attacked” white women), these benevolent men allowed him the option of leaving town. Whites gave the “leading negroes” fair warning; they failed to deliver the response on time (typical!), and compelled whites to destroy the publishing office themselves (Waddell 1). Even though Waddell hedges about who fired the first shots, “it is claimed” nonetheless (1).

The dominant narrative, exemplified by Waddell’s article, influenced newspaper coverage of the Wilmington Race Riot across the country and thus informed people’s understanding of the event. The 12 November 1898 edition of the *Messenger* states “Beyond the newspaper reports, no information from Wilmington or Greenwood has reached the [McKinley] administration from any source” (“Federal Action”). This statement represents the way in which the dominant narrative proliferated by newspapers then informed national understanding of the Wilmington Race Riot from the biased and self-serving perspective of Wilmington’s white elites. It also suggests that the main reason for the destruction of the *Record* was not because of the editorial, but because the existence of the *Record* threatened the security of white supremacy—and, by default, the dominant narrative.

A “new narrative” of the Wilmington Race Riot developed and gained popularity around the same time the ideology of the Civil Rights Movement took root in America. Hossfeld uses the 1898 Centennial Foundation’s work to define this new narrative, which has three organizing

evaluative principles (108). The new narrative involves a plea for reconciliation between whites and blacks that absolves the living from the guilt of their ancestor's sins, and emphasizes that "no one living today" bears personal responsibility for the Wilmington Race Riot (Hossfeld 108). It includes an "official history" of the Wilmington Race Riot that resurrects suppressed historical details, such as the group of conspirators known as the "Secret Nine." Also, the Foundation's position on reparations mirrors the "ideology of color-blind liberalism...a type of liberalism that argues the color of one's skin should make no difference in the way they are treated" (Hossfeld 121). Color-blind liberalism maintains the social progress of the Civil Rights Movement successfully removed the obstacles blocking African Americans from "having the freedom of opportunity," and places the responsibility for achievement solely on the individual, regardless of race (Hossfeld 121). Basically, the new narrative emphasizes that racism existed in the past, rather than the present, and that the American ideals of equal opportunity and individual achievement should win out over reparations.

The new narrative effectually sustains racial inequality and white social, political, and economic dominance in the Wilmington area, critiques Hossfeld. While the dominant narrative covered up white responsibility, some argue the new narrative's emphasis on the absolution of living descendants of white Wilmington Race Riot participants pardons whites completely (Hossfeld 109). The "official history" sheds light on the untold stories of the Wilmington Race Riot, yet it did not address the political, social, economic, and psychological losses suffered by Wilmington's African American community (Hossfeld 115). Like those voices calling out for help in 1898, the Foundation "dismissed" or otherwise silenced voices for reparations (Hossfeld 118). In the dominant narrative, Manly represents the sort of "uppity" African Americans responsible for the "evils" caused by "Negro domination," "Mrs. Felton's Speech" symbolizes

the “threat” black men posed to white womanhood and the need for “protection,” and the burning of the *Record* provides a lesson on the consequences of challenging the dominant narrative. To subvert the dominant narrative, as well as respond to Hossfeld’s critiques of the new narrative, this thesis contributes an unofficial history of the *Record*, “Mrs. Felton’s Speech,” and Alexander Manly that addresses a significant loss suffered by the black community in Wilmington and North Carolina and allows a heretofore obscured, dismissed, and silenced voice a chance to be heard.

Re-searching and investigating the “cause” of the Wilmington Race Riot through analysis of primary texts helps to unfetter Manly, the *Record*, and “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” from the linguistic chains placed upon them by the dominant narrative and present new ways to think and talk about their role in the Wilmington Race Riot. Secondary texts that correspond, at least temporally, with the new narrative and inform my analyses include Leon Prather’s *We Have Taken A City: The Wilmington Racial Massacre and Coup of 1898* (1984, 2006) and David Cecelski’s and Timothy B. Tyson’s collection of essays, *Democracy Betrayed: The Wilmington Riot of 1898 and its Legacy* (1998). The 1898 Wilmington Race Riot Commission’s *1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report* (2006) is this thesis’ main source of information on the Wilmington Race Riot. Hossfeld may find yet another “new” narrative developing after this publication, as the *1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report*² makes recommendations that “seek to repair the moral, economic, civic, and political damage wrought by the violence and discrimination resulting from a conspiracy to re-take control of the city, county, and state governments by the Democratic Party’s white supremacy campaign” (1).

One prominent way that these sources, along with Hossfeld’s dissertation, reinforce the dominant narrative is by clinging to the idea that Manly’s “editorial proved to be the catalyst for

² Abbreviated henceforth: *1898 WRRR*.

the November 10th violence” (Hossfeld 5). For example, Prather writes that Manly’s editorial “turned out to be the main source of fuel for white heat” (68). Whites’ essay in *Democracy Betrayed*, “Love, Hate, Rape, and Lynching,” asserts that Manly’s publication was “an act that was like throwing gasoline on the smoldering embers of the previous summer’s mayhem of lynching and mob violence” (157). Glenda Gilmore’s observations, also included in *Democracy Betrayed*, offer a more accurate description of the role Manly’s editorial actually played in the Wilmington Race Riot and begin to shake up the dominant narrative’s stand on the Manly editorial. She elucidates the content of Manly’s editorial “played directly into the ‘home protection’ campaign and brushed up against white men’s bruised patriarchy” and “It was the sexually charged political climate that gave Manly’s words their explosive effect” (Gilmore 78).

Instead of insisting that Manly’s editorial was a major factor in the evolution of the Wilmington Race Riot, the 1898 Wilmington Race Riot Commission argues, “Discussion of the 1898 white supremacy campaign cannot be complete without analyzing the contributions of Alexander Manly to the political circus” (95). Yet, J. Vincent Lowry, whose essay “Ever Threatened...Ever in Need: Alexander Manly’s Confrontation with the Democratic Campaign in 1898 North Carolina” is included in Appendix G of the *1898 WRRR*, claims, “Manly inspired this act of violence” (351). Thus, while the *1898 WRRR* itself downplays the dominant narrative’s claim that Manly’s editorial precipitated the Wilmington Race Riot, it still contributes to the continuation of the dominant narrative by including Lowry’s essay.

This thesis burns the dominant narrative’s record of the Wilmington Race Riot by lighting up contextual information about Manly, the reasons he wrote the editorial, and the editorial’s message through analysis of 1898 Wilmington newspapers guided by secondary sources that exist outside of Wilmington Race Riot narratives. Historical, sociological, political,

and literary texts on the Wilmington Race Riot serve as a touchstone for enriching understanding of Manly, the *Record*, and “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” with perspectives drawn from studies on the South and North Carolina in the post-Reconstruction era, white supremacy ideologies, American journalism, African American resistance to white supremacy movements in the press, and numerous other sources that shed light on Manly’s rhetorical situation.

I began my investigation with the discursive moment at the center past and present Wilmington Race Riot narratives: Manly’s 18 August *Record* editorial, “Mrs. Felton’s Speech.” Extant copies of the *Record* are few and far between, and the 18 August edition is almost completely illegible.³ Thus, I have used a reproduction of the original editorial printed in the *Messenger* on 20 October 1898; of all the reprints available, I chose this one because it attaches an affidavit from New Hanover County Clerk of Superior Court, John D. Taylor, after the reprinted editorial testifying that it is an accurate and honest reproduction of the original editorial.⁴ Considering the lack of journalistic ethics and objectivity characteristic of the North Carolina Democratic press in 1898, it is imperative to keep in mind that I analyze a reproduction of the original in one of these newspapers.

The fact that there is no readily-available original copy of the 18 August 1898 edition of the *Record* for analysis one hundred and twelve years after the Wilmington Race Riot is suggestive of the dominant narrative’s restrictive power over freedom of the press and speech. Influenced by the characterization of Manly’s editorial in the Democratic press, which typically described the editorial as “defamatory of white women” (Waddell 1), many white readers responded to the editorial with a defensive attitude of white supremacy. Chapter I describes the newspapers’ function in 1898 Wilmington and identifies sections of Manly’s editorial that the

³ See Appendix B.

⁴ See Appendix C.

white Democratic press later used against him. Then, I analyze interpretation of “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” from the perspective of the audience of the white Democratic press.

As demonstrated in Chapter I, the dominant narrative hinges on the idea Manly wrote “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” to publicly defame white women, but contemporary scholars frequently point out that Manly’s editorial was a response to a speech made by Rebecca Latimer Felton, titled “Woman on the Farm.” Most now agree that Manly’s editorial was a comeback to a reprint of this speech in the 18 August 1898 edition of the Wilmington *Morning Star*.⁵ Some suggest that an imprecise dateline provoked Manly to attend to what he thought was a recent advocacy of lynching.⁶ In an effort to negate and desexualize Manly’s motive for writing “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” as supplied by the dominant narrative and perpetuated by the new narrative, I consulted primary documents to identify Manly’s “inspiration.”

Chapter II analyzes Felton’s speech within the environment Manly encountered it (the 18 August *Morning Star* article, “Mrs. Felton Speaks,” written by J.A. Holman), and re-contextualization of Holman’s “Mrs. Felton Speaks” expands Manly’s purpose for writing the editorial. While re-perusing the 18 August edition of the *Morning Star*, I discovered Manly was responding not only to Mrs. Felton, but also to the editorial written by William H. Bernard, titled “A White Man’s Country.” Bernard uses Felton’s speech to support his own position on the color line, and his promotion of establishing a race law represented a far more immediate threat to Manly and Wilmington’s African American community than Felton’s advocacy of lynching. Textual analyses of Felton’s speech as it appeared in the *Star* and of Bernard’s editorial included in Chapter II foreground Chapter III’s examination of Manly’s editorial to support the argument

⁵ See Appendix A.

⁶ See Appendix A, “Mrs. Felton Speaks.”

that both Felton's and Bernard's opinion on the color line influenced Manly's decision to write "Mrs. Felton's Speech."

Chapter III situates "Mrs. Felton's Speech" within the tradition of the African American press to reroute the dominant narrative's interpretive direction. Building upon the argument that Manly was actually responding to the rhetoric of Bernard and Felton, Chapter III breaks down the argument of "Mrs. Felton's Speech" and abolishes the dominant narrative's characterization of it as simply "defamatory of white women" (Waddell 1). In "Mrs. Felton's Speech," Manly contends against race prejudice, journalistic demagoguery, and hypocrisy to fight for the virtue of his race and equal educational opportunities. Instead of studying Manly's editorial as the "cause" of the Wilmington Race Riot, it should be approached as an early and important African American literary contribution and response to the democratic "experiment" in the South during the post-Reconstruction era.

The Conclusion consolidates the investigative results of the preceding chapters and argues for a fresh conceptualization of Manly. His overt sexism and advocacy of racial purity demonstrate that he, too, was a product of the time, yet his argument in "Mrs. Felton's Speech" reveals him as an early adopter and advocate of the color-blind liberalism characteristic of the twentieth-century American Civil Rights Movement. While history typically treats Manly as a Demosthenes—a cowardly speaker who propels his people into battle only to retreat in the face of danger—he promoted his cause without resorting to physical force or terroristic violence, something later admired as non-violent resistance.

This thesis' findings on the purpose, argument, and author of "Mrs. Felton's Speech" bring to light the considerable impact the loss of the *Record* had on African American communities in Wilmington as well as throughout North Carolina and the South, and appraises

the psychological damage whites inflicted on blacks by destroying their agency to build a community in their own image.

CHAPTER I

This chapter argues whites ensured the continuation of the dominant narrative with the destruction of the *Record*; allowing the characterization of African Americans in the white press to inform understanding of African American identity and involvement in the Wilmington Race Riot enables the continuation of white social, political, and economic dominance in the Wilmington area. To remove the dominant narrative's control over the characterization of Manly, the *Record*, and "Mrs. Felton's Speech," this chapter elucidates the role of the press in 1898 Wilmington and demonstrates the ways Manly's editorial was repurposed by the white press to bring about a Democratic victory in the 1898 election and redirect responsibility for the Wilmington Race Riot.

What function do newspapers have in a community? In *Communities of Journalism: A History of American Newspapers and their Readers*, David Paul Nord writes, "printed, public communication, including journalism" is "at the vortex of many collective efforts to build community or undermine it" (2). He claims, "Americans have always exploited the press...to build groups and communities in their own interest and image—and to tear others down" (Nord 9). Nord explains, "Mobilization of bias creates and maintains groups and communities. And some of that political and cultural work has been done through newspapers" (9). After studying newspapers and their readers in late eighteenth century Philadelphia, Nord found, "the increasing complexity of the modern city required formal structures to build community and to hold it together" (201). Newspapers emerged as important construction sites for the building of public communities in the impersonal, modern metropolis because people can live a communal and isolated existence through the act of reading the newspaper (Nord 216). Essentially, the newspaper functioned as a public forum through which people virtually communicated with

other community members, and “newspaper readership was a form of active citizenship, a way to participate in the ongoing conversation of their community” (Nord 217).

Like eighteenth century Philadelphia, late nineteenth century Wilmington was becoming increasingly complex and populated. Considering Wilmington’s increasingly diverse population’s need for formal structures to build community and hold it together, it is no wonder that it became home to some of North Carolina’s most successful and influential newspapers. The *Messenger* and *Morning Star*, whose target audience primarily included white, democratically-oriented readers, and the African American oriented *Record* of 1898 Wilmington are the most visible collective efforts to both build and undermine communities. Taking Manly’s target audience into consideration when studying his editorial is especially important, because the symbolic power of “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” in the dominant narrative depends upon an audience with little to no understanding of Manly’s rhetorical situation.

During the height of Josephus Daniels’ white supremacy propaganda campaign, the *Record* was “the eminent black newspaper in the state” (Suggs and Duncan 266). There is no textual evidence to support the notion that the *Record* purposefully attempted to unify Wilmington’s African American community against its white community, but it is clear that the *Record* involved itself heavily in establishing a strong African American community in Wilmington. As editor of the *Record*, Manly published articles about and for Wilmington’s African American community to promote the level of “solidarity through racial pride” needed to counter the growing white supremacist cohort advanced by the *Messenger* and *Morning Star* (Washburn 51).

As will be discussed further in Chapter III, one of the *Record*’s main concerns was correcting the negative image of African Americans projected by the white press. Honey writes,

“Editor Alexander Manly, who ran perhaps the only black daily newspaper in the country, did not hesitate to expose the false image of black men as rapists of white women that Democratic editors promulgated so widely” (170). It is ironic that “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” became “famous and infamous” for slandering “the character of our best people” when it was meant to counter the white press’ continual defamation of African Americans (“Look at This Trio” 3). Among other things, Chapter III devotes itself to situating Manly, the *Record*, and “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” within the larger context of the African American press and expands upon this discussion of the *Record*’s function in 1898 Wilmington; the remainder of this chapter examines the ways in which the white press obscured Manly, the *Record*, and “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” to facilitate the victory of the Democratic Party in the 1898 election and, eventually, lay the blame for the Wilmington Race Riot upon Wilmington’s African American community.

The Democratic Party’s ideology of white supremacy prevented collaboration with African Americans to win the 1898 election, so Wilmington’s demographic (approximately 11,300 African Americans and 8,700 whites) posed a serious threat to their victory (Yarborough 227). Thus, it was imperative for all of Wilmington’s whites to vote—and vote the Democratic ticket. Although African Americans outnumbered whites in population, white newspapers significantly outnumbered African American press organs; moreover, the Democratic Party ran the majority of North Carolina’s papers. Michael Honey reveals the extent of this disparity:

To their great advantage, North Carolina Democrats controlled an increasingly vast preponderance of newspapers, particularly in mass circulation dailies. According to the state labor department, in 1900 the Democrats owned 145 of the state’s newspapers, the Republicans 20, and the Populists 36 (and most of the latter would not last long). It appears that all the newspapers in New Hanover County were Democratic except for Alexander Manly’s *Daily Record*, which provided the city’s one voice independent of the white elite. (171-2)

To contemporize this unbalanced flow of information: the only channel on your TV is the local public-access news station, the *Daily Record*; every other channel, white noise. The *Messenger* and *Morning Star* were key participants in the Democratic propaganda campaign, and they actively tried to unify Wilmington's white community in opposition to Wilmington's African American community by printing sensationalized and poorly documented accounts of African American insults and crimes against whites, especially the crime of raping a white woman.

Gilmore succinctly reiterates the Democratic Party's strategy for victory: to "use a rape scare to pull white apostates back into the Democratic Party" (74). *News and Observer* editor Josephus Daniels, the ring leader of the Democratic newspaper propaganda campaign,

was perfectly willing to publish fabrications of 'Negro atrocities' on a daily basis. The actual facts of the matters seemed difficult to pin down. If the situation appeared calm locally, reports circulated that the white people in the next town had suffered outrages. If conditions in that town looked sleepy enough when one arrived, news came that trouble had broken out farther down the road. Local correspondents sent in reports of street altercations, of sassy black women pummeling innocent white virgins with umbrellas, of 'assaults with attempt to rape,' and of rapes. (Gilmore 75)

Sensational and racist journalism of this nature has a long and enduring presence in the history of the American press, especially in the post-Reconstruction South.

Southern press headlines during the summer of 1897 "screamed out the news of seemingly ever escalating incidents of violence, mayhem, and race hatred" (Whites 143). Whites notes, "Wrapped around this lurid reportage was a running commentary on the innocence and vulnerability of white women, the looming threat posed by black men, and the apparently uncontrollable mob violence of white men" (Whites 143-4). As they say, don't believe everything you read in the newspaper: Gilmore's analysis of crime statistics finds "no appreciable increase in either rapes or 'assaults with intent to rape' in either 1897 or 1898" (75). In reality, "there was only a rape scare, not a rape epidemic" (Gilmore 75). The rape/lynching

frenzy created by the white Southern press informed Felton's 1897 speech to the Georgia State Agricultural Society, and the Democratic Party's propaganda campaign instigated Manly's 1898 editorial. Since "real rapists" were hard to come by, Manly's schooling of Felton was easily twisted to look like abuse.

Manly addresses his editorial to Mrs. Felton, and discredits Felton's argument by attacking her ethos, or presentation of self. Elite white women, like Felton, were expected to uphold "The Image" of an acquiescent wife that lives to obey, honor, love, and entertain her husband, to bear and raise his children, and take care of all domestic activities (Prather 75). Whiteness was central to this image, as the white women of the South were expected to uphold and continue the pure Caucasian race (Prather 75-6). By characterizing Felton as an emotional, irrational, and hypocritical woman in "Mrs. Felton's Speech," Manly shattered "The Image" of white womanhood Felton embodied. Publicly confronting and criticizing Felton in print totally overshadowed the relatively polite tone and logical reasoning of Manly's argument. Thus, Manly publicly "attacked" a white woman; likewise, because "Woman on the Farm" and "Mrs. Felton's Speech" both deal with the rape/lynching issue, it was easy for Democratic newspapermen to repackaging Manly as a sexual predator.

There are several passages in "Mrs. Felton's Speech" that made Manly an easy target of the Democratic propaganda campaign. Manly writes, "We suggest that the whites guard their women more closely...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" (qtd. in "Look" 3). This statement played directly into the Democratic Party's rhetoric of protecting white womanhood from the "black beast rapist." The following statement was interpreted as a direct threat: "Don't ever think that your women will remain pure while you are debauching ours. You

sow the seed—the harvest will come in due time” (qtd. in “Look” 3). The “threat” Manly posed to white womanhood was intensified by his general discussion of interracial physical attraction.

Manly’s acknowledgement of voluntary interracial sex was likewise misappropriated to represent his lust for white women. He argues that a generous portion of black males who are lynched are the progeny of a white man, and “were sufficiently attractive for white girls of culture and refinement to fall in love with them, as is very well known to all” (qtd. in “Look” 3). His description of a hypothetical sexual relationship between a white woman and a black man cites the cause of the inevitable lynching to be either the “woman’s infatuation” or the “man’s boldness” (qtd. in “Look” 3). Suggesting that a white woman could become “infatuated” with a black man—and, for that matter, that a white woman could find a black man aesthetically appealing—put white women who considered it their duty to maintain and perpetuate a “pure” white race on the defensive.

Another frequently cited passage maintains, “our experience among poor white people in the country teaches us that women of that race are not more particular in the matter of clandestine meetings with colored men, than are the white men with colored women” (qtd. in “Look” 3). Here, Manly supports his claim that the preferences of poor white men and women in regards to the people with whom they privately socialize with his own “experience among” them. The audiences of the white Democratic papers and the *Record* would necessarily react to this statement in very different ways.

In front of a white audience, Manly’s observation that white men choose to sleep with black women, and white women choose to sleep with white men, resonates as deeply opposed to their personal identity. First, presenting evidence of voluntary, private interactions between men and women of different races forces readers of white Democratic papers to question the ideology

of white supremacy—in which “all” white women are “pure” and “all” black men are “animals or children”—and diminishes “the monolithic power of whiteness” (Gilmore 78). Interracial sex produces children, and these children dilute the “purity” of the white race. The right kind of white man would never put his family at risk by having sex with a black woman, and white women would never desire an animalistic, black boy over a masterful, white man. Saying that they do identifies a threat to the security of traditional Southern gender roles—the security of the home.

To understand how elite whites came to see Manly as symbolic of the evils of Fusion on all levels, it is helpful to look at Manly’s editorial through Felton’s eyes. Whites suggests,

From Felton’s perspective, Alexander Manly represented all the errors of the white man, beginning with his mixed-race background, extending to the Fusion politics in North Carolina that had put him into public office as the register of deeds, and ending with his position as editor of an independent black newspaper. (158)

She continues, “The initial ill-founded ‘embrace’ of the white man had in this case borne fruit in the form of a mixed-race man, now in a position not only to embrace the white woman, but to write about it for all the world to read” (Whites158). In other words, the politically and civically active grandson of former slave owner and North Carolina governor Charles Manly, in successfully operating his own business under the protection of the freedom of the press, represented both the causes and failures of white men to protect white women from being spoken to by black men in public.

In the rhetoric of North Carolina’s 1898 Democratic Party, Manly’s editorial became the refrain building up to the chorus: *Negro rule! Black beast rapists! Protect white womanhood by restoring white supremacy! Vote Democratic!* The *Record* “was a force in the community,” and “enjoyed a large circulation during the 1890s, not only in Wilmington but throughout the state” (Prather 24; Suggs and Duncan 266), but it couldn’t even begin to compete with the impact

Democratic “men who could write” had on readers in Wilmington, North Carolina, and America at large. As will be discussed further later on, Manly’s use of the *Record* “to rebut the Democrats’ defamation of Negro males” (Prather 71) seems a lot less “militant” when considered alongside the Democrats’ use of the *Messenger* and *Morning Star* to inspire the idea that African Americans were attempting to rule over whites and threatened the security of white women to spread “white supremacy fever” (1898 60-1). Despite Manly’s brave effort to continue the cultivation of a strong African American community through the newspaper in the face of “men who could ride,” this community’s voice was ultimately stifled by the Democratic papers’ overwhelming success in building a community based on racial hierarchy.

One reason Manly’s editorial was a major theme of the dominant narrative is because it was one of the Democratic Party’s main talking points throughout the election. The 1898 Wilmington Race Riot Commission explains, “Because the editorial became such an easily identifiable touch stone for the campaign, many used it as justification for violence that followed the election” (100). Although “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” hit the streets on 18 August 1898, Democratic Party officials refrained from making “political hay out of its content” until several weeks after its initial publication (1898 100). Baling that political hay were the Democratic newspapermen in Wilmington; these manufacturers of the Wilmington Race Riot strategically directed public understanding of Manly, the *Record*, and “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” through their rhetoric, and they were persuasive enough to lead a mob to violent conviction.

CHAPTER II

Both the dominant narrative and the new narrative point out Manly's purpose for writing the editorial was to respond to a speech given by Rebecca Latimer Felton at the annual meeting of the Georgia State Agricultural Society⁷ on Tybee Island, Georgia, in 1897. Felton's speech, entitled "Woman on the Farm," is popularly known for its advocacy of lynching "a thousand times a week if necessary" to "protect woman's dearest possession from the ravening human beasts" (qtd. in Holman 2). However, the new narrative emphasizes that Manly did not actually attend this meeting or hear this speech; he was most likely replying to a reprint of it in the 18 August 1898 edition of the *Morning Star*. Many have questioned the wisdom of crafting such a candid counter-argument to Felton's speech in light of its volatile subject matter, especially as an African American male. This chapter investigates Manly's motive for writing "Mrs. Felton's Speech" as explained in the dominant and new narratives.

Why would Manly choose to craft a response to Mrs. Felton in August of 1898, almost one year after she gave her 1897 speech that advocated lynching as an extreme measure? If one were to accept that Manly "thought he was responding to a recent lecture by Mrs. Fulton" simply because the *Morning Star* "neglected to provide the dateline of the year before" (Hossfeld 35), then one would also have to accept a premise that does not line up with Prather's description of Manly. One would have to believe that a civic-minded and lettered person was unaware of one of the South's most outspoken and politically powerful racists' catch-phrase, and hastily acted out of anger or outrage in writing his editorial (78). One would also have to believe that a newspaper owner and editor did not read local, state, and national newspapers. To understand Manly's reasoning for writing the editorial, it is necessary to revisit Felton's speech within the context Manly encountered it, the 18 August *Morning Star* editorial page.

⁷ Abbreviated henceforth: GSAS.

While re-browsing the *Morning Star*, I stumbled upon another potential source of inspiration for “Mrs. Felton’s Speech.” The editor and proprietor of the *Morning Star*, William H. Bernard, began running a daily editorial section focused on the Democratic campaign on 16 July 1898. Each of his editorials focused on a political issue and promoted the Democratic Party’s point of view. On 18 August 1898, Bernard continued this trend by discussing “the color line”—a topic he discussed in two previous editorials between 16 July and 18 August.⁸ The second page of the 18 August 1898 edition of the *Star* includes the following articles and editorials: Bernard’s editorial “A White Man’s Country,” unsigned articles, titled “A Small Demagogue,” “How it is in Mecklenburg,” and “Minor Mention,” and finally, “Mrs. Felton Speaks,” written by J.A. Holman for the *Atlanta Journal*. In a recovery effort, this chapter explicates Bernard’s argument in “A White Man’s Country” as well as Felton’s argument in “Woman on the Farm.” The following textual analyses of Bernard’s editorial, “A White Man’s Country,” and Felton’s speech as it appeared in the *Star* support the argument that both Felton’s and Bernard’s opinions on the color line influenced Manly’s decision to write “Mrs. Felton’s Speech.”

On 18 August 1898, the title of Bernard’s editorial column was “A White Man’s Country,” and the day’s topic was, “the color line, or, more properly, the race line.” He argues it is a “fact” America is a white man’s country, and supports this argument by including several “factual” pieces of evidence. Initially, Bernard says, “We published” (“we” being the *Morning Star*) two editorials that argued the color line is as “tightly drawn in the North as in the South and by Republicans as by Democrats,” and the McKinley administration was drawing the color line in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines (2). Bernard cited these two editorials to make this argument:

⁸ “The Color Line,” 9 August 1898; “Then and Now,” 13 August 1898.

Thus by their acts, if not by their words, the pretended friends of the negro, who profess to believe in his possibilities, and to desire his fullest development, acknowledge that there is a line between the white and the black men which must not be crossed, and that the negro man, when he comes into contact with the white man, occupy a subordinate position. (2)

From Bernard's allusion to the McKinley administration, it is safe to assume these "pretended friends of the negro" are Republicans and/or Fusionists; Bernard maintains the officials of these parties are not true "friends of the negro," but "pretended friends of the negro" because their actions (drawing the color line) speak louder than their words (2). Furthermore, Bernard makes the case that everyone, not only Democrats, acknowledges the proverbial line in the sand between whites and blacks, "which must not be crossed" (2). He also claims everyone recognizes, when a white and a black man come into "contact," the black man must "occupy a subordinate position" (Bernard 2).

Bernard's editorial then goes on to include an excerpted editorial from the "non-partisan" *Washington Post* that discusses "this question"—the question of the color line (2). Bernard uses this editorial, which "gives...some of the arguments that the negro has furnished against himself as a social factor or a factor in the body politic," as evidence African Americans' actions demonstrated the necessity of the color line (2). The *Post* editorial is about "negro troops, and especially those which have colored men as commissioned officers;" it argues enlisted African Americans "must be set down as a failure" (qtd. in Bernard 2). The *Post* claims, "the experience of the past few months has shown us that the negro officer is impossible under any circumstances, and that the negro soldiers are, as a rule, discordant with our scheme of society and civilization" (qtd. in Bernard 2).

The "experiences" that seem to prove that African American soldiers and officers can't function in white society are all non-combat related experiences, and occur while the soldiers are

“on liberty” (qtd. in Bernard 2). The *Post* admits all soldiers, regardless of race, are “prone to disturbance of the public peace” while on leave, but “while white offenders are always arrested without trouble by the civil police or by the provost guard, the negro is invariably protected by his fellows, even to the point of violence” (qtd. in Bernard 2). The *Post* cites examples from Tennessee, Louisiana, and Florida where African Americans broke into jails, “intimidate the Sheriff, and rescued criminals belonging to their respective regiments.” Not only this, but “it is of record that they have frequently assaulted the police...for the purpose of rescuing negro criminals belonging, not to the army, but to the local population” (qtd. in Bernard 2).

These “experiences” serve as Bernard’s and the *Post*’s evidence of arguments African Americans made for their disfranchisement. But, Bernard and the *Post* also use this “evidence” to support what they see as an indisputable “fact”; the *Post* editorial argues,

It is useless to ignore facts. This is a white man’s country, and the whites are not willing and cannot be compelled to accept the negro on equal terms in any relation of life. White soldiers will not salute negro officers, neither will they associate with enlisted men of color. We have tried the experiment and it has failed. Whether the negroes have been too jealous and too swift in asserting their imagined rights, we do not pretend to say. It is characteristic of them to do so, and the chances all are that they have given free rein to their predilections. But however that may be, the record of conflict, of resentment, of turbulence, and of agitation has been so universal and so ugly that we cannot shut our eyes to its significance. (qtd. in Bernard 2)

The *Post* goes on, “The underlying cause of the negro’s attitude toward organized society is not far to seek, but it would make too long a story at this time. Enough to say that it is far less his fault that would seem at a hasty glance, and that for the present we need only deal with the fact.” The “fact,” according to the *Post*, is that America is a “white man’s country”; “experience” proves the “experiment” of equality between the races has failed, and now “we need only deal with the fact” (qtd. in Bernard 2). This is a deliberative argument, suggesting a political agenda for the future based on the “fact” America is a “white man’s country”—it indirectly advocates

establishing white supremacy as a law in America by drawing and enforcing a strict color line between the races.

After the end of the excerpted *Post* editorial, Bernard picks up the argument and expands it to emphasize the failure of the “experiment” on all levels. He writes, “this [contempt for the law] is not peculiar to the negro soldier,” because,

The fact is that there is nearly always a disposition shown by a negro charged with violation of the law to resist arrest, if he cannot escape, and there is a pretty universal feeling among his race that the negro who is arrested is a victim of persecution by white officers who arrest him, unless the crime with which he is charged happens to be against one of his own race, in which case they are not only willing but anxious to see him arrested and punished. (Bernard 2)

Essentially, Bernard argues it is a “fact” that America is a white man’s country, and supports this argument using “facts” that African Americans have proven themselves incapable of adhering to the rules of society in their supposed disregard for the “law,” and the “pretended friends of the negro” have themselves recognized the “fact” that this is a white man’s country by drawing the color line and through the experience of the “failed experiment” (2).

Like the *Post* editorial, Bernard suggests it is not totally the black man’s fault the experiment has failed, because he is “simply acting in accordance with the role of his race, which is either the result of race sentiment or of false teaching or of a misconception of what freedom means” (2). In Bernard’s eyes, the experiment of democracy was destined to fail because of the African American race’s generally foolish, ignorant, and childlike nature. Bernard gives four reasons for African American’s “disposition” to resist societal conventions: because of “his race feeling, for the feeling of the negro towards the white man isn’t a whit more cordial than the feeling of the white man towards the negro,” “association, for much of the conversation among them when they congregate is about the grievances and imagined proscription of their race,” “their ignorance which does not understand the conditions that confront them, and prevents them

from recognizing the fact that this is a white man's country," and "the insidious teachings of white and black political demagogues who pose as their champions and friends for the purpose of deceiving, leading and using them" (2).

In line with the ideology of white supremacy, Bernard characterizes African Americans as ignorant children whom it is "difficult if not impossible" to make "understand" they are subject to civil laws, the policeman is not their "natural enemy," and to "awaken" in them "a sense of obligation to any authority other than that of the military establishment" (2). Rather than listening to the teachings of "men of their own race like T. Booker Washington," they follow the "insidious teachings of white and black political demagogues" (Bernard 2). The purpose of citing the *Post* editorial now becomes clear: the example of the failure of African American soldiers and officers to be effective leaders translates into the idea African Americans need white leadership in every arena of life. Bernard ends his editorial with the following comment:

Whatever hope there is for the negro as a race lies in the guidance of the right kind of white men, and of colored men who have white ideas, but when he undertakes to assert himself, to reject the guidance of an attempts to rule the white man he puts brakes on his own progress, makes the chasm between the races wider and furnishes additional reasons why the color line, or race law, should be drawn still tighter, and emphasizes the fact that this is a white man's country. (2)

The "right kind of white men," presumably, are men who acknowledge the fact that America is a white man's country, not white or black leaders who muddle this fact by their inclusion of African Americans in their political agendas (Bernard 2).

Since Bernard specifically mentioned Booker T. Washington, it is safe to assume he and his teachings represent "colored men who have white ideas" (Bernard 2). When Bernard states a black man who contends with a white man "makes the chasm between the races wider," he makes a direct allusion to Booker T. Washington's famous 1895 speech, titled "Bridging the

Chasm.” This speech was included in the 28 September 1895 edition of the *Record*, and so one must wonder whether or not this is a direct jab at Manly.⁹

Finally, Bernard argues when African Americans dismiss white instruction, it is an attempt to “rule the white man” (2). When “he undertakes to assert himself” in contact with a white man, this action slows down the progress of the entire African American race and provides reasons for making a firm “race law” (Bernard 2). Until this last line, Bernard has used the phrases “color line” or “race line;” abruptly shifting from “line” to “law” is a follow up on the *Post* editorial’s deliberative argument: for the time being, “we need deal only with the fact” (qtd. in Bernard 2). Bernard suggests to readers they should deal with this fact by instituting a “race law”—a law that Bernard and his readers would live to see implemented.

⁹ See pages 2-3 in Appendix E, “Bridging the Chasm.”

Holman contextualizes the excerpted sections of Felton's speech with commentary on Felton and her speech before the GSAS, and Bernard tags on some commentary about Felton at the end of the article. Although he took the time to explain who Felton was, Bernard neglected to provide the proper dateline for Holman's article: he listed the date as "August 12," rather than "August 12, 1897." This suggests, as many scholars have been quick to point out, Bernard may have been trying to deceive readers into believing Felton recently gave her speech; this could also have been standard practice or an innocent typo.¹⁰ Regardless, this misprint made it appear as if Felton spoke to the GSAS only six days before, but the 1897 speech was over a year old when the *Morning Star* featured it in the paper. Moreover, versions of "Woman on the Farm" had been around for more than six years.

Holman begins "Mrs. Felton Speaks" by introducing the GSAS's annual meeting, and highlights Felton's speech before the GSAS as the "feature of the session yesterday afternoon" (2). Excerpted sections of Felton's speech begin with her definition of a societal problem: "The crying need of women on the farms is security in their lives and in their homes" (qtd. in Holman 2). She strengthens her assertion that keeping "a closer watch" on poor white girls would provide them this "security" by expressing she is somewhat frustrated by the money sent abroad for missionary purposes when "the heathens are at your door" and "when our young maidens are destroyed in sight of your opulence and magnificence." She states: "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..." (qtd. in Holman 2). By bringing up the money sent abroad to educate foreign "heathens," Felton negates any counter-argument from her audience that there is

¹⁰ In other 1898 *Morning Star* editions ranging from 16 July-18 August, the date line includes the month and the day, but not the year; the article that contains excerpts from Felton's speech, "Mrs. Felton Speaks," follows a similar pattern.

not enough money in the budget for women's education and suggests social and political energy and funding could easily be repurposed from foreign to local educational institutions.

Felton stresses the urgency of women's need for education by underlining the close proximity of the "heathens"—they are "at home," "so close at hand," and "at your door" (qtd. in Holman 2). According to Felton, the "heathens" are one source of the lynching problem, and she feels she can help to stop lynching by "keeping a closer watch over the poor white girls on the secluded farms." While Felton claims she does "not discount foreign missions," she points out, "our young maidens are destroyed in sight of your opulence and magnificence." Any Southern man would be heartily upset upon learning that the "poor maidens" of the South were being "destroyed" right under his nose, and Felton provided these men with a way out of their predicament: stop sending money abroad to foreign missions and start saving women at home by educating them in the ways of white womanhood.

From Felton's perspective, providing farmers' daughters with a "better" education would protect them "from the ravening human beasts" (qtd. in Holman 2). Whites explains the logic behind Felton's thinking:

By empowering women in their own right, Felton hoped to put white women in a position to protect themselves against the potential abuse of both black and white men. As long as women could be educated to do what Felton considered to be right on their own, the dangers that the shortcomings of men of both races posed to the maintenance of a "constructive" social order could be reduced. (154)

By 1897, explains Whites, Felton perceived a failure in the racial order: by "allowing" black men to steadily ascend to social and political equality, white men were failing to preserve the social and political dominance of the white race (152). But, "white Southern women could still be expected to hold the line" (Whites 152). To do her part to maintain white supremacy, Felton reprimands the men of the GSAS.

Felton shames the “[Civil War] survivors who fail to be protectors for the children of their fallen comrades,” an appeal meant to conjure up feelings of resentment amongst her audience of Confederate Sons toward the political, economic, and social progress of the African American race made possible by the Civil War and Federal Reconstruction (qtd. in Holman 2). In making this appeal, Felton identifies white men as the true source of the poor farm women’s “insecurity,” rather than the African American male, and simultaneously rekindles their war-time bravado. Delicately scolding the men of the GSAS, Felton states:

And I say, with due respect to all who listen to me, 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 a brother when they propose to defeat the opposition by honey-snuggling him at the polls, and so long as he is made a familiar with their dirty tricks in politics so long will lynching prevail, because the causes of it grow and increase. (qtd. in Holman 2)

White men, according to Felton, have been “honey-snuggling” African American men, taken the “colored man” into their “embraces,” made him “a familiar with their dirty tricks in politics,” and made “him think he is a man and a brother” (qtd. in Holman 2).

Here, Felton identifies the main causes of lynching as stemming from white men’s willingness to allow African American men to participate in the exercise of democracy—even if only using them to commit election fraud.

Whites clarifies how Felton connected the crime of election fraud and the crimes of rape and lynching, a faulty cause and consequence analysis:

She [Felton] argued that lynching belonged in the same category of lawlessness as encouraging crimes against the electoral process, such as registration fraud, ballot box stuffing, and false counting. According to Felton, white men’s crime was in having “initiated” black men as voters into these “mysteries” by bribing and otherwise corrupting the black man’s vote in order to ensure their own political party’s victory at the polls. In her speech at Tybee Island, she argued that it was not surprising that once black men came to understand that they could break the election laws with impunity, they would also come to assume that they could engage in “theft, rape, and murder” without fear of legal retribution. (149)

What Felton leaves unsaid is, by becoming friendly with African American men and promoting a common brotherhood, white men inadvertently endorsed familial relationships across the color line—something Felton views as equally criminal. Felton states: “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” (qtd. in Holman 2). The “such things” Felton is speaking of are interracial sexual relationships, these “such things” are sufficiently vague enough for her audience to assume she is talking about rape and lynching (qtd. in Holman 2).

Although Felton does eventually advocate lynching, she suggests lynching is appropriate only “When there is not enough religion in the pulpit to organize a crusade against sin; nor justice in the court house to promptly punish crime; nor manhood enough in the nation to put a sheltering arm about innocence and virtue” (qtd. in Holman 2). It is crucial to recognize Felton relates the line that made her famous (“if it needs lynching to protect woman’s dearest possession from the ravaging human beasts, then I say lynch—a thousand times a week if necessary”) after arguing the church, educational system, legal system, and patriarchal family units are more appropriate institutions for protecting women from rape than the white lynch mob (qtd. in Holman 2).

Even today, Felton’s hyperbolic sponsorship of lynching receives more attention than any other issue she endorsed. As Whites points out, this suggests, “Felton would appear to be much more a tool of the white-male-dominated press...which advocated white mob behavior...” (149). It is now clear why Bernard chose to include this article on 18 August 1898, more than a year after Felton gave this speech to the GSAS: Bernard’s topic of the day was the color line, and Felton’s position on the color line was firm. Basically, Felton’s logic is, if poor white trash is “educated” to her liking, then they would be just as disgusted as she by the idea of integrated

political parties, businesses, and (especially) sexual relationships. In Felton's eyes, if everyone was a white supremacist, there would be no political, economic, social, or sexual opportunities for a black person in the white man's world, and lynchings would cease to occur because the church, educational system, legal system, and family unit would "protect" white women from "rape" by black men—which, of course, is the only remaining scenario of interracial sexual relationships in a world where white supremacy reigns supreme.

Crossing the color line in any way—politically, economically, socially, or sexually—produced an interracial harmony that appalled Felton, and,

It was the horror of this fusion that drove Felton on, that propelled her ever more militant advocacy of racial violence and gender "protection" in order to secure a segregated domestic integrity, where both black and white women would be properly recognized and empowered as the "coming mothers" of their respective races. (Whites 155)

In sum, Felton left the domestic realm for the political realm to try to "protect" all women, white and black, from being raped by "the ravening human beasts" (qtd. in Holman 2). In making her 1897 speech before the GSAS, Felton wanted to advance educational opportunities for white women so they could, in a sense, pick up their men's slack and rise faster in society than African American men, and thus maintain the "white supremacist social order of the South as a whole" (Whites 152). Her advocacy of lynching, although perverted by the male press into the main point of her speech, started as nothing more than a sound bite, a way to capture and maintain the attention of her white male audience. Like Manly's "Mrs. Felton's Speech," the white male press printed "Woman on the Farm" to emphasize and promote their own point of view.

Bernard's carelessness in neglecting to provide the proper dateline for Holman's article seems to have started a trend. Scholars have traditionally studied Felton's speech, or the article in the *Star* containing her speech, in isolation from the rest of that day's paper; consequently, Manly's deeper purpose for writing the editorial was lost. Manly was not countering Felton's 1897 speech per-se, but his editorial certainly addressed Felton and her speech, parts of which were excerpted in the Thursday morning, 18 August 1898 editorial section of the *Morning Star*.

But, the 18 August 1898 editorial page of the *Morning Star* contains Felton's speech because her argument was similar to Bernard's, and because her speech touches on aspects of the color line issue that Bernard did not address in his editorial: the rape/lynching issue and its causes. The main purpose of Felton's "Woman on the Farm" speech is to promote legislation that would allow women to receive an education at the University of Georgia. In stark contrast to her actual goals, Felton claims her main reason for making this speech was to "make a strong effort to stop lynching, by keeping a closer watch over the poor white girls on the secluded farms" (qtd. in Holman 2).

Being a savvy lady, Felton recognized the sexist attitude of her male audience and the difficulty of formulating an argument that would convince them educating women is a good idea—a difficult task, indeed. Thus, she turned to the rhetoric of home protection to convince her male audience educating women is equivalent to the manly duty of protecting women, and she focused her argument on two related issues in order to grab her audience's attention. Felton pointed out the close proximity of "the heathens" and primarily emphasized that educating women would stop the rape/lynching problem (qtd. in Holman 2). These sensational appeals excited and distracted Felton's audience, and prevented them from fully recognizing Felton was laying the blame for the rape/lynching problem on the shoulders of Southern white males.

In sum, Felton argues lynching is appropriate when religion, justice, and manhood fail to protect “woman’s dearest possession from the ravening human beasts” (qtd. in Holman 2). These poor women’s “security” is threatened because white men have allowed black men to enter into the political arena: they have made black men “a familiar with their dirty tricks in politics,” been “honey-snuggling him at the polls,” and made black men think they are “a man and a brother” by taking them into their “embraces.” She suggests expanding educational opportunities for women is the way to “protect” the poor farm girls because they can be kept under a “closer watch” (qtd. in Holman 2). So, in effect, Felton promotes taking steps toward granting white women a larger role in American society and limiting the role of African American men, because she believes their participation in the white man’s realm has had negative effects on women’s security.

Bernard claims the actions and attitudes of African Americans have solidified the opinion among whites there is a line between white and black men that must not be crossed, and black man must occupy a subordinate position in society to the white man. He maintains, “the experiment” has failed—the practice of democracy has failed because all African Americans prove to be “discordant with our scheme of society and civilization” (qtd. in Bernard 2). Since “our scheme of society and civilization” (qtd. in Bernard 2) holds America is a white man’s country, then he endorses the implementation of the “race law” to disenfranchise all African Americans (Bernard 2). Bernard’s editorial answers Felton’s plea to stop lynching and protect poor farm women by sanctioning a “race law” that would put a stop to the fusion of whites and blacks. While Felton blames white men for the evils of Fusion, Bernard argues it is the political “demagogues” rather than “the right kind of white men” who are responsible for the “race issue.”

Both Felton and Bernard claim enforcing the separation of whites and blacks in America, and repositioning whites at the top of the social hierarchy, would put an end to all of society’s

ills. Alex Manly, however, has a very different opinion on how to solve the issues created by the blurred color line. As will be made clear in Chapter III, Manly addressed his editorial response to Mrs. Felton, but he was in actuality responding to the entirety of Bernard's 18 August 1898 editorial conversation. Re-contextualizing Felton's speech finds Manly's decision to write "Mrs. Felton's Speech" not to be rash, foolish, or suicidal, but the result of careful consideration.

CHAPTER III

Chapter III situates “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” within the tradition of the African American press to reroute the dominant narrative’s interpretive direction, then breaks down Manly’s argument in “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” to reveal a color-blind and sexist position on the “color line.” To abolish the dominant narrative’s characterization of “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” as simply “defamatory of white women” (Waddell 1), this chapter next engages “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” with Bernard’s editorial, “A White Man’s Country.” In “Mrs. Felton’s Speech,” Manly contends against race prejudice, journalistic demagoguery, and hypocrisy to fight for the virtue of his race and equal educational opportunities. Instead of studying Manly’s editorial as the “cause” of the Wilmington Race Riot, it should be approached as an early and important African American literary contribution and response to the democratic “experiment” in the South during the post-Reconstruction era.

Because the *Daily Record*’s banner exclaims it was “The Only Negro Daily in the World!,” many assume the *Record* was the only African American paper in Wilmington, the South, or the world-at-large in the nineteenth century (15 Nov. 1897).¹¹ The key word here is “daily,” and it is true the *Record* was one of the few daily newspapers of, by, and for blacks in America. However, operating on the assumption the existence of a black-owned and operated newspaper like the *Record* was totally unique in America reinforces the dominant narrative by discouraging study of the *Record* as it fits into the history of the African American press. Likewise, this, as well as lack of information about the *Record*, engenders a contradictory and equivocal understanding of the Wilmington Race Riot: narrative of reconciliation texts emphasize the role of the white press in bringing about the Wilmington Race Riot while simultaneously upholding Manly’s *Record* editorial as the motivating force. Therefore, the

¹¹ See Appendix F.

following sections include a brief history of the African American press focused on North Carolina during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Knowledge of the *Record* before its destruction is limited, and flushing out the *Record's* history helps to diminish the power of the dominant narrative by including more about the paper than its publication of “Mrs. Felton’s Speech.” In *The African American Newspaper: Voice of Freedom*, Patrick Washburn clarifies the birth of the African American press can be traced back to 1827, when John B. Russwurm and Samuel Cornish established *Freedom’s Journal* in New York City. However, “The papers in New Orleans were the only ones in the South” before the Civil War (Washburn 24). Between 1865 and 1870, the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution were ratified; “Respectively, these ended slavery; granted citizenship to former slaves; and said no one could be deprived ‘of life, liberty, or property, without due process of the law,’ or be denied the right to vote or have that right curtailed because of race or color or the fact of having formerly been a slave” (Washburn 45). Additionally, Congress passed the Civil Rights Acts in 1866, 1870, and 1875 (Washburn 45). African Americans remaining in the South after the Civil War valiantly established newspapers during Reconstruction, a period in which the Federal Government sought to ensure that African Americans were not deprived of their new rights.

According to Henry Suggs and Bernadine Duncan’s “North Carolina” chapter of *The Black Press in the South, 1865-1979*, hundreds of black-owned and operated newspapers existed in the post-Civil War South; the *Journal of Industry*, the *Raleigh Gazette*, Salisbury’s *Star of Zion*, the *Charlotte Messenger*, Weldon-based *Republican and Civil Rights Advocate*, and the *Wilmington Daily Record* were the most influential African American newspapers in nineteenth century North Carolina (258-66). The Manly brothers “owned and operated” the *Daily Record*,

but it was run by Alex, traditionally characterized as its “militant and progressive editor” (Prather 24). The *Record* was established in 1892, and the Manlys took over in 1895 (Suggs and Duncan 266). This information corresponds to the *Record*’s 28 September 1895 edition; “To Our Subscribers” implies the Manlys recently assumed ownership or control over the *Record*. F.G. Manly writes, “Having assumed the management of the RECORD, I wish to thank our friends...and ask for a continuance of the same under our management” (1).

The Manlys were able to start printing their paper when the editor of the *Messenger*, Thomas Clawson, sold his used Jonah Hoe press to the Manlys on an installment deal (Prather 70). After acquiring the press, Alex and his brothers established their business office “over a saloon directly across the street from the *Star*’s office” (Prather 70). This information also corresponds to the 28 September 1895 edition, which informs readers, “We have just received a new lot of type and other material preparatory to enlarging the RECORD...” (Manly 1). The *Record* played the conventional role of North Carolina’s black press: to help facilitate the adjustment from slavery to freedom “by serving as an instrument of promotion for suffrage, education, religion, and economic self-help” (Suggs and Duncan 266; 258).

There are four extant editions of the *Daily Record* in the University of North Carolina Chapel Hill’s North Carolina Collection: the *Wilmington Record* of 28 September 1895, and the *Daily Records* from 15 November 1897, 26 March 1898, and 18 August 1898.¹² Though not quite as illegible as the 18 August 1898 edition, the 15 November 1897 paper is in bad shape—whole pages and sections have been omitted or torn—and the 1895 and 26 March 1898 papers are in poor condition. However, there is evidence this paper operated in support of education, religion, economic self-help, and suffrage (or, more generally, participation in democracy).

¹² See Appendices E, F, G, and B, respectively. Also, note name change (from *Wilmington Record* to *Daily Record*) that corresponds with the Manly brother’s 1895 acquisition of the *Record*.

The 1895 *Wilmington Record* includes an article in praise of Charlotte, NC's Biddle University, an advertisement for the Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race at Greensboro, NC, and a "Masterly Address at the Atlanta Exposition" by Tuskegee Institute's Booker T. Washington (a speech popularly known as "Bridging the Chasm") (2;3; 3-4). Almost equal emphasis is placed upon education and religion, as the 1895 and 1897 editions include announcements for and coverage of local church activities.

Readable church names, listed before their respective locations, service times, and pastors, include: Mt. Zion AME Church, Mt. Olive AME Church, Central Baptist Church, Ebenezer Baptist Church, Mt. Calvary Church, St. Stephen's AME Church, Luke's AME Zion Church, Shiloh Baptist Church, Mt. Calvary AME Church, First Baptist Church, St. Mark's PE Church, Trinity ME Church (*Wilmington Record* 1-2), as well as an announcement for the annual North Carolina AME Church Conference, which entailed a Monday night event hosted by Mt. Olive AME Church in Wilmington's Love and Charity Hall (*Daily Record*, 15 Nov. 1898 1). Promoting education and religion works to uphold the American ideals of economic-self help.

In the aftermath of slavery, African Americans became American consumers—the most important cog in the capitalist machine. African Americans are encouraged by educational institutions, such as Biddle University, the Tuskegee Institute, and the Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race, to educate themselves in a marketable trade, skill, or discipline so they can become productive members of society. The abundance of advertising in every extant issue—for pharmacy, transportation, apparel, medical services, labor, grocery, entertainment, and many other products and services provided by blacks and whites—suggests the *Record's* readership represented a desirable consumer base for all of the wonders of the free market. Hard work propelled African Americans into the free market, and "participation in

journalism was one phase—an increasingly important phase—of participation in democracy” for African Americans (Nord 104).

To spread information about social, political, and legal conditions facing a body of democratic citizens is one function of the newspaper. Much like the white press, the *Record* was a forum for readers to highlight their participation in and contributions to the area. Local “gleanings,” obituaries and memorials, church activities, and special interest columns (for example, “Helps for Housewives,” “Children’s Column,” and “For Woman’s Benefit” (*Daily Record*, 26 Mar. 1898 2-3)) were specifically geared to foster a sense of unity and construct a local identity.

When Reconstruction ended in 1876, white supremacy rapidly returned as the informal law of the land. The US Supreme Court ruled Congress’ 1875 Civil Rights Act unconstitutional in October of 1883, and made their infamous *Plessy vs Ferguson* decision in 1896: these two Supreme Court decisions created a snowball effect across the country, and the civil rights of African Americans diminished as the turn of the century approached. In this atmosphere, African American papers formed the heart of the push for equality and the fight against white racism in America (Washburn 51). Like the black press across the country, North Carolina’s black newspapers broke into two camps. While some of North Carolina’s African American papers, like William Caswell Smith’s Charlotte-based *Messenger*, espoused that “blacks would meet them [whites] halfway,” the majority of the papers did refused to settle for less than equality (Suggs and Duncan 264).

The *Journal*, the *Gazette*, the *Star of Zion*, the *Republican*, and the *Record* refused to remain silent while whites once again tried to control African American identity and deny their civil rights (Suggs and Duncan 258-66). The *Journal* was known for running “militant,

outspoken, and aggressive” editorials emphasizing the common welfare of whites and blacks (Suggs and Duncan 259). James H. Harris, of the *Gazette*, “never failed to criticize those who espoused the philosophy of white supremacy, including the white media” (Suggs and Duncan 261). When John C. Dancy was editor of the *Star of Zion* in the 1870s, he used it to defend black civil rights and condemn mob violence (Suggs and Duncan 264). The *Republican’s* motto in the 1880s was “I Take No Step Backward” (Suggs and Duncan 265). In Wilmington, the *Daily Record* “functioned as an advocate, crusader, and protector of black civil rights” (Suggs and Duncan 266). Prather concurs: “Manly used the *Record* to champion the causes of Wilmington’s black citizens, including the promotion of progressive legislation” (70). And, “Like the black presses, in general, he used the paper to expound Negro opinions” (Prather 70).

Frank Manly’s article, “To Our Subscribers,” outlines the intended purpose of the *Record*. Under the heading “Our Claim,” he writes, “That the RECORD is of the Negro for the Negro and by the Negro. We will continue to look after the interests of the Negro...” (Manly 1). On 15 November 1897, the *Record* covered the rape/lynching scare from the African American perspective in “Paul Davis Free”; Davis was “accused of assaulting a white girl” and was found guilty and sentenced to nine years in prison after his trial, or “flagrant travesty of justice” (1). On 26 March 1898, the *Record* reprinted a letter written by “Jno. Thos. Howe” to Senator Pritchard, which caused “the alleged rumpus” over “honest dealing” in political appointments (“Those Letters” 1). Scholars of the 1898 Wilmington Race Riot know this letter is an important piece of history, as it contains a discussion of the racially contested Post Master General position in Wilmington.

In the letter, Howe appeals to Senator Pritchard’s sense of obligation to his constituents:

Now, Senator, in order to effect a compromise agreeable to you and Col. Boyd, my friends, on the promise that you would see that Mr. Chadbourn carried out his part of the agreement, consented to withdraw the claims of Mr. Albright for P.M. and then they asked that I be appointed Asst. P.M. which request I sent to you, and which has been presented to Mr. Chadbourn, but directly Mr. C took possession of the office he declined to make the appointment, alleging that it would be impolitic, as there is a white lady in there protected by Mr. Cleveland's civil service who would resign her position as money order clerk, although that lady has not, nor ever has had a single vote under her control that can aid the Republican party. Mr. Albright suggested to Mr. Chadbourn by the way of harmony that I be designated as Asst. P.M. with the salary thereof and placed in the charge of the mailing department where I would not come in contact with this lady...[illegible]...Is this fair? Is it just? Does it savor harmony [between whites and blacks]? (qtd. in "Those Letters" 1).

Both of these excerpts demonstrate the *Record's* concern with fighting for justice for African Americans by highlighting political and legal injustice. Another political editorial that informs Manly's purpose for writing "Mrs. Felton's Speech" comes from the 28 September 1895 *Wilmington Record*. The proverbial prose is similar to that contained in "Mrs. Felton's Speech," and this cryptic way of communicating probably did not read well out of context:

The air is full of politics, the woods are full of politicians. Some clever traps are being set, and some skilful moves are being made upon the political board. In North Carolina the Negro holds the balance of power, which he can use to the advantage of the race, state and nation, if he has the manhood to stand on principles and contend for the rights of a man, Snap judgements and hasty action mean nothing. We believe that the present condition of things requires us to make hast slowly. Every step should be taken with caution, every move should be made after calm and mature deliberation. While all the views of the old leaders cannot be endorsed. We would remind the young leaders, to, be sure you are right, otherwise it will be suicide to go ahead. While concocting a safe remedy for the people, death may be dropped in the pot. Some have already shown their hand, others are lying low, others are sleeping with one eye open. We will wait till the iron is hot, then grasp our sledge and strike at selfishness, corruption and every man who looks as if he wants to use the Negro vote to further personal ends. (Editorial 2).

The important lesson to be taken from this contextualization of the *Record* within the tradition of the African American press is the *Record* was not isolated, but rather "united in protest" against white mob rule (Suggs and Duncan 264). Manly's editorial, then, is in no way a unique example

of hard line African American opposition to white supremacy in the press—not even for his paper.

Keeping the points made by Bernard and Felton, as well as the tradition of the African American press, in mind, it is time to take another look at Manly's argument in "Mrs. Felton's Speech." Although Felton does eventually advocate lynching in "Woman on the Farm," she suggests lynching is appropriate only when manhood, justice, and religion fail to protect "innocence and virtue," "promptly punish crime," and "organize a crusade against sin," respectively (qtd. in Holman 2). Bernard endorses the implementation of a "race law" because he believes African Americans have proven themselves to be totally incapable of functioning in "our scheme of society and civilization" (qtd. in Bernard 2). The "scheme" Bernard is speaking of is white supremacy; he argues the color line, or "line between the white and the black men," must not be crossed (Bernard 2). According to Bernard, African Americans' inharmonious disposition is the result of ignorance, racism, association, and "insidious teachings of white and black political demagogues" (2). "Mrs. Felton's Speech" represents Manly's contribution to Bernard's entire 18 August 1898 editorial conversation about the color line.

As the editor of the *Record*, the responsibility for representing the African American position on the color line fell on Manly. As a journalist, he had a right to cover this current event. Yet, countering the claims and recommendations espoused by Bernard in the 18 August 1898 *Morning Star* would be tricky to do without publicly violating the principle of the color line, which holds black men must "occupy a subordinate position" when in contact with a white man (Bernard 2). Manly attempts to stop lynching and the establishment of a "race law" by acknowledging and supporting the enforcement of the color line in "Mrs. Felton's Speech"; it is fair to speculate that Manly's strategy was to craft his response to Felton's "strong plea for

womanhood” and focus his criticism on her in the hopes verbally crossing the line with a woman would be less offensive to those in power than if he crossed the line in contact with Bernard (qtd. in “Look at This Trio” 3).

Manly directly addresses Felton in “Mrs. Felton’s Speech”; superficially, it appears his main point is Felton’s method for protecting womanhood is not worthy of consideration. Manly begins, “This woman makes a strong plea for womanhood, and if the alleged crimes or rape were half so frequent as is oftentimes reported, her plea would be worthy of consideration” (qtd. in “Look” 3). Outwardly, Manly contends Felton’s argument is fundamentally flawed, and thus her claims and recommendations should not be taken seriously. He finds fault with her argument on four counts: first, Manly dismisses Felton’s argument because of her failure to construct ethos; second, her argument contradicts the “basic principle of the religion of Christ”; third, her argument is based upon falsified evidence of “crimes or rape”; and fourth, Felton’s remedy to protect womanhood addresses the symptoms rather than the disease (qtd. in “Look” 3).

Manly makes a complex argument in “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” through a simple structure: he begins each new point with the dissection of Felton’s argument, follows with an explanation to his audience of where and why she went wrong, and then adds his own opinion on the topic. The following analysis of “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” reveals Manly’s corrections to Bernard’s characterizations of the African American race.

The first way Manly discredits Felton’s argument is by calling into question her ethos, or presentation of self. Prather discusses the “intense *sexism* expressed by both races, and the propensity of everyone (both black and white) to view women as they formerly had viewed slaves, i.e., as the possession of white men” (75). Women, like African Americans, held a position in Southern society subordinate to white men, and were subjected by laws to economic,

political, educational, legal, and social restrictions (Prather 75). These social and legal restrictions “reflected attitudes about masculine superiority,” and this attitude is part of “our scheme of society and civilization” (Prather 75; qtd. in Bernard 2). The content of “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” echoes this belief in male authority, as Manly’s view of Southern society places all men (black or white) above women; thus, Manly demonstrates his accordance with the patriarchal system.

Manly discredits Felton’s ethos by appealing to the traditional gender hierarchy. Bernard built up Felton’s ethos as the epitome of “The Image” when he stated Felton is, “one of the most distinguished women in 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” (Bernard 2). Manly, however, places limits on Felton’s womanly ethos by associating her with a much less attractive feminine stereotype: the hysterical, irrational, and uneducated woman.

Manly begins, “This woman makes a strong plea for womanhood, and if the alleged crimes or rape were half so frequent as is oftentimes reported, her plea would be worthy of consideration” (qtd. in “Look” 3). After familiarizing his audience with Felton and her speech, Manly attaches the adjective pronoun “this” to “woman,” avoiding a disrespectful tone while emphasizing Felton’s sex to his audience. He repeats the word “plea” twice, accentuating the denotation of the urgent and emotional request (qtd. in “Look” 3). In addition to characterizing Felton as childishly insistent, Manly also stresses that she is unintelligent and hypocritical.

The second paragraph begins, “Mrs. Felton, like many other so-called Christians, loses sight of the basic principle of the religion of Christ”; the third, “Mrs. Felton begins well, for she admits that education will better protect the girls on the farm from the assaulter”; and the sixth

paragraph suggests, “Mrs. Felton must begin at the fountainhead if she wishes to purify the stream” (qtd. in “Look” 3). These topic sentences position Manly as Felton’s patient, gently-chiding teacher—a direct reversal of the role Felton envisioned for herself. Like any good teacher, Manly strives to give Felton some constructive criticism and encourages her continued growth when he “admits” that she “begins well” (qtd. in “Look” 3). However, in Manly’s eyes, Mrs. Felton is not only a hypocritical “so-called Christian,” she does not have the intelligence to understand a “basic principle” of her religion, or to see the foolishness in trying to “purify the stream” without decontaminating the “fountainhead.” By depicting Felton as nothing more than a stereotypically irrational woman, Manly discredits her personal ethos enough to claim her “plea” is not “worthy of consideration” (qtd. in “Look” 3).

Again pointing out flaws in Felton’s logic, Manly maintains she has overlooked the “basic principle of the religion of Christ” (qtd. in “Look” 3). This is a classic abolitionist rhetorical strategy (abolitionists argued that the institution of slavery also lost sight of the basic principle of Christianity, which states that God created all men equally). Although Manly sees a person’s sex as a social restriction, he criticizes Felton’s vision of the Southern social hierarchy that limits people according to class and race.

Felton betrays Christianity’s “basic principle” by appealing for “one class of people as against another” (qtd. in “Look” 3). In her lily white worldview, poor white farm women needed protection from African American “heathens”; to Manly, Felton’s petition of the GSAS to “protect” women by lynching inaccurately rated the moral character of poor white women over that of poor black men (qtd. in Holman 2). Manly points out, “The morals of the poor white people are on a par with their colored neighbors of like conditions” (qtd. in “Look” 3). Using “on par” and “as” (between “one class of people” and “against another”) to describe the moral and

social status of lower-class whites and blacks demonstrates Manly's clear understanding and application of Christian doctrine (qtd. in "Look" 3).

Manly disrupts the traditional social structure of the South by suggesting people's moral character and intelligence have nothing to do with race and everything to do with sex and class; white people during this time, no matter their level of education or class, considered themselves "better" than the "best" black person simply because they were white. Directly contradicting this popular belief, Manly asserts poor people, no matter their race, have equally questionable moral standards. He maintains, "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" (qtd. in "Look" 3).

Manly again debunks Felton's argument on the grounds that she values one group of people over another, but this time Manly is not talking about social status, he is talking about race. Unlike Felton, who never once actually mentions the race of the poor farm women she seeks to protect, Manly introduces a (less)controversial solution to the rape/lynching problem: equal educational opportunities. He writes, "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" (qtd. in "Look" 3). Felton was lobbying the GSAS to support education for poor white women, not all poor people, and so she is essentially being "un-Christian-like." Why, Manly argues, should only white "girls on the farm" be protected "from the assaulter" (qtd. in "Look" 3)?

Safeguarding virtue is especially important for African Americans because, as Manly points out, "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" (qtd. in "Look" 3).

Like Felton, Manly reasons education in Christian virtues can help to protect poor women from the assaulter or, more accurately, from falling into sinful sexual relationships. Educators, or “those who profess so much religion,” can quell the immorality of the lower classes by teaching the improvement “the preservation of virtue” can make in the destiny of any race (qtd. in “Look” 3).

Another way Manly discredits Felton’s argument likewise ties in with his attack upon her ethos, as he contends, “if the alleged crimes or rape were half so frequent as is oftentimes reported, her plea would be worthy of consideration” (qtd. in “Look” 3). Manly brings Felton’s “strong plea for womanhood” into question with a direct appeal to his audience’s sense of reason and justice. The law is supposed to represent reason free from passion; by underlining the trend amongst white newspapers of printing sensational stories of black crime, often without more than a personal testimony from the victim in the place of an investigation, Manly presents Felton to his audience as a woman rendered by sensational newspaper articles in “manifest terror” (Waddell 1). Quite judiciously, Manly reasons all “crimes or rape” are “alleged” until tried in a court of law (qtd. in “Look” 3).

While Manly was certainly countering the rape/lynching scare in the press, it is important to notice Manly was also addressing the African American crime scare, as he cites “crimes or rape” (qtd. in “Look” 3) rather than “crimes of rape,” “crimes,” or “rape.” In this way, Manly addresses the subjects of both Felton’s speech and Bernard’s editorial. The *Record*’s editor stands up against the sensational and propagandistic journalism of the Democratic newspapers by highlighting the dubious nature of their journalistic integrity and leading by example.

Comparing the evidence Manly and Bernard use to support their arguments further suggests Manly was indirectly addressing Bernard. Bernard proves the “fact” that “this is a white

man's country" by re-printing pieces from the *Washington Post*, *Charlotte Observer*, and *Atlanta Journal* on his 18 August 1898 editorial page. No tangible evidence of African American inability to operate in "our scheme of society and civilization" is offered, only stories of African American offenses that function as personal testimony (qtd. in Bernard 2). In Bernard's case before his audience, these reports fill in for his absent witnesses.

Rather than second-hand information, Manly uses first-hand experiences to support his observations on color line issues. He explains, "our experience among poor white people in the country teaches us that women of that race are not more particular in the matter of clandestine meetings with colored men, than are the white men with colored women" (qtd. in "Look" 3). Somewhat questionably, Manly uses common knowledge: "Every negro lynched is called a 'big burley, 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 'burley,' but were sufficiently attractive for white girls of culture and refinement to fall in love with them, as is very well known to all" (qtd. in "Look" 3). However, Manly doesn't overload his audience with inartistic proofs because it isn't necessary; doubting readers only need to "visit among them" for confirmation (qtd. in "Look" 3).

Readers are warned not to trust the presentation of African Americans in the white male press: "The papers are filled often with reports of rapes of white women, and the subsequent lynching of the alleged rapists. The editors pour forth volleys of aspersions against all negroes because of the few who may be guilty" (qtd. in "Look" 3). Furthermore, he writes, "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..." (qtd. in "Look" 3). Here, Manly directly confronts the rape/lynching/crime scare of the white press, and points out the

editors of these papers make slanderous statements against the entire African American race because of the select few who may have committed crimes.

Calling out both the “papers and speakers of the other race” fortifies the argument that Manly was responding as much to Bernard as he was to Felton (qtd. in “Look” 3). Moreover, he specifically tackles the North Carolina Democratic Party’s 1898 campaign propagandists who “try to make it appear” that all societal sins belong to African Americans. In stark contrast to Bernard’s sensationalistic yellow-journalism, Manly’s almost scientific investigation and factual reportage reflect modern models of journalistic integrity and objectivity.

Finally, Manly shelves Felton’s argument on the grounds that her remedy to protect womanhood treats the symptoms rather than the disease. He advises, “Mrs. Felton must begin at the fountain head if she wishes to purify the stream” (qtd. in “Look” 3). What, exactly, does this mean? To Manly, the “fountainhead” of the entire rape/lynching problem is the “immorality” of interracial sex—and the true source of this problem has its roots in the institution of slavery. Positioned at the top of the social hierarchy, white men operated on a double standard when it came to interracial sex or rape, and frequently forced black women into sexual relationships or “kept” them as secret mistresses.

Manly criticizes the double standard afforded to white men when it comes to interracial sex, rape, and lynching, saying, “You set yourselves down as a lot of carping hypocrites; in fact, 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” (qtd. in “Look” 3). Perhaps drawing upon personal experience as the progeny of a slave master and his slave mistress, Manly reveals that preserving the “virtue” of white women is impossible when white men often “destroy the morality” of black women by treating them as sexual objects. The result

of these interracial sexual relationships, whether consensual or not, is often a child, and a person who is both black and white further complicates the idea of “morality” by blurring the “color line.” Manly boldly told white men, “You sow the seed—the harvest will come in due time” (qtd. in “Look” 3). Black and white women, Manly suggests, should be educated in the virtues of womanhood to “protect” them from males who would seduce, abuse, and/or rape them.

Manly’s editorial “named the nameless” (Whites 157). The “nameless” is white culpability: white people—men and women—choose to sleep with black people, and vice versa. Even though Felton criticizes white men in “Woman on the Farm” for causing the rape/lynching problem by including black men in their political activities, she never gets around to directly blaming them and instead places the bulk of their sins upon the black man. Much like Felton, Manly credits white gentlemen with the genesis of the rape/lynching crisis, but he doesn’t abide scapegoating African Americans to absolve white sins. To a certain extent, Manly actually argues in accordance with Bernard and Felton: it appears he, too, believes drawing the color line tighter and punishing criminals would answer the “race question.” However, he only supports enforcing the color line when it comes to sex and procreation—in the social, educational, legal, political, and economic arenas, everyone deserves an equal opportunity to be virtuously educated, act, be judged for their actions, and punished accordingly.

“A White Man’s Country” suggests racism, ignorance, association, and demagoguery are the principal sources “of the negro’s attitude towards organized society” (qtd. in Bernard 2). According to Bernard, African American ignorance is to blame for their seduction by the “insidious teaching of white and black political demagogues” and failure to “understand the conditions that confront them” and thus recognize “the fact that this is a white man’s country” (2). Manly’s strategic approach allows him to systematically contradict Bernard’s assertions by demonstrating his intelligence and respect for the law.

Whites asserts Manly was “Unfettered by the constraints placed upon black men in the white male press” (157); sadly, that is not the case. Clearly comprehending the rhetorical constraints upon him—or, the conditions of a white man’s country that confronted him—Manly chose to lecture Felton rather than Bernard (or white men in general). Manly acknowledges that this is a white man’s country by avoiding “contact” with white men and, as a consequence, accepting “a subordinate position” (Bernard 2).

In their hurry to celebrate Manly’s editorial and emphasize his role as a victim in the Wilmington Race Riot, many scholars exalt Manly’s argument in “Mrs. Felton’s Speech” as “color blind” (Whites 158). However, just because Manly was a target of the Democrat’s white supremacy campaign, a victim of white violence in the Wilmington Race Riot, and saw past the color line doesn’t mean his editorial should not receive fair criticism. Manly saw his position in society as a male business owner, who was a leader in his church and community, as above women in the social hierarchy.

As demonstrated above, his entire argument revolves around his intellectual and moral superiority to Felton. He may not have been arguing that America is “A White Man’s Country,” but he certainly argued that it is a “man’s country.” Women are nothing more than “goods” that

can be “taken away” when left “out of doors” (qtd. in “Look” 3). In pointing out the sexual “immorality” of both races, Manly posits the notions all women need to be protected, and all men should “protect their women” from the male assaulter through education. Essentially, Manly reorganizes the Southern social hierarchy so race does not relegate a person to a certain position; in Manly’s paradigm, where manhood, religion, and justice are “color blind,” sex is the only limiting factor.

Manly presents himself as a man with “white ideas”—he is rational, just, and most importantly, he wants people to draw the color line and punish crime—to counter-act Bernard’s suggestion that “association” engenders African Americans’ discordance (2). Manly demonstrates his ability to think for himself by identifying the demagoguism of the Democratic press, and points out their responsibility for shaping their audience’s negative image of the African American community. These “speakers and editors” conjure black offenses against whites and their way of life to “make it appear” as if only blacks need punishment (qtd. in “Look” 3).

If, promises Manly, these papers and speakers would stop celebrating African American crime and start lamenting all crimes, then their greatest source of support would come from “intelligent negroes” who would work alongside whites to “root the evil out of both races” (qtd. in “Look” 3). This statement directly undermines Bernard’s argument in “A White Man’s Country” that African Americans have no respect for the law, but also represents a threat to the continuation of white supremacy via Democratic victory at the polls. It is this statement, rather than the “controversial statements” analyzed in Chapter I, that inspired elite whites’ animosity toward Manly, the *Record*, and “Mrs. Felton’s Speech.”

CONCLUSION

The dominant and new 1898 Wilmington Race Riot narratives emphasize Manly's role in bringing about the violence and destruction of 10 November 1898. While the dominant narrative's function as a cautionary tale deliberately makes an example out of Manly, the paradox of the new narrative is that it celebrates Manly's participation while hinting that no good came of it. With the information concerning Manly's purpose for writing the editorial re-covered in this thesis, we can begin to re-cast the roles of the *Record*, "Mrs. Felton's Speech," and Alexander Manly in the 1898 Wilmington Race Riot.

The one-way flow of information greatly influences, if I may borrow a chapter title from Prather, the psyche of a Southern city. New Hanover County lost its one public instrument not tuned to the white elite when the *Record* burned, leaving African Americans to hear about "how they are" from whites. With no formal structures to rebuild their ravaged community apart from the church (lead by now fearfully submissive pastors), blacks had no opportunity to inform their own identity as members of an American community. They were only the other, the non-white, the opposite of liberty and virtue.

African Americans were not the only demographic negatively impacted by the 1898 Wilmington Race Riot; non-elite whites profited the knowledge that they were of the "upper class" but were left to scrape for its benefits. Chapter II names a nameless white culpability—"Mrs. Felton's Speech" was in conversation with Bernard because an American journalist could not ignore the *Morning Star's* anti-democratic content in good conscience. In both 1898 Wilmington Race Riot narratives, another "nameless" factor is white men are guilty of distorting reality to break the laws of "our society and civilization," and the principles of American journalism did not avoid violation (qtd. in Bernard 2). Manly was not inspired to write "Mrs.

Felton's Speech" just because Bernard printed Holman's article in the *Morning Star*. Black, white, Republican, Democrat, Populist, Fusionist—to Manly, anyone who manipulates people's thoughts by appealing to their emotions, instincts, and prejudices to gain political power is a demagogue. Manly is not the fool for responding to Felton and Bernard, he is the hero who tries to cut the strings between puppet and master.

Richard Yarborough, in "Violence, Manhood, and Black Heroism," explains how "moments of political crisis have elicited from black authors diverse literary responses intended to have an impact on the public's view of events" (226). Although his essay focuses on authors of fictional works on the Wilmington Race Riot, Manly was no different from these authors who set out to rewrite "the history of the African American experience in the face of widespread distortions and untruths" (Yarborough 226). He elaborates:

The urge on the part of black writers to effect social change also informs their desire to shape the popular white conception of the African American. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the depth and power of white supremacist sentiment made this task nearly impossible. Nonetheless, African American writers from across the political spectrum fought this war over images by asserting not only that blacks were human in the most basic sense but that they had the potential to be exemplary men and women, that they could be, in a word, *heroic*. (Yarborough 226)

Manly is indeed one of these African American writers, and he attempts to offset Bernard's characterization of "all" African Americans, who he claims are discordant with "our scheme of society and civilization," by presenting himself to his audience as the antithesis of a man inharmonious with the system. In an attempt to transform white perceptions of African American males, Manly repeatedly highlights his class status and education, ability to think for himself, reverence for the laws of society and Christianity, and desire to protect women.

In Manly's view, African Americans and whites can be heroic together, as they "root the evil out of both races" (qtd. in "Look" 3). When he ardently opposed Felton's suggestion (poor

women's security is threatened primarily because of African American men's participation in the exercise of democracy) and Bernard's suggestion (the experiment should be set down as a failure and a race law implemented), Manly was trying to save his people from disfranchisement and death. Felton and Bernard make their arguments around the color line, and Manly's editorial stance is based on the basic principle of democracy and Christianity: he advocates the principle that all men are created equal, and should be treated as such.

Manly's argument is based on appeals to humanity, rather than appeals to race, and he stands up for the African American race in the face of their wide-spread slander in the white press. In stark contrast to Bernard and Felton, Manly highlights the universality of evil: to him, the threat comes from "the human fiend, be he white or black" (qtd. in "Look" 3). To counter the grossly exaggerated reports in the white press of "Negro atrocities," he uses universal language to appeal to his audiences' sense of the common good: "any people," "together," "whites and blacks," and "all" (qtd. in "Look" 3). Instead of establishing a race law to "protect" women from "rapists," Manly suggests white and black women should be granted the right to receive an education at the college level at a state university—a significant extension of the rights African American women had at this time.

The primary way Manly counters Bernard's characterization of African Americans is by demonstrating his willingness to, when slapped in the face by injustice, turn the other cheek. Felton essentially threw African Americans under the bus by indirectly advocating lynching in order to secure expanded educational opportunities for women; Manly did not return the favor. Even though Manly seems to be partially in alliance with Bernard (to him, America is not a "white man's country," but is still a "man's country"), he advocates women's right to receive an education so they are better "protected." Ultimately, Manly is an example of what to do—not

what not to do—when democracy is threatened. But, because of his characterization in 1898 Wilmington Race Riot narratives, that is not how we think of him.

Manly's emphasis on common humanity, the possibility for moral and social uplift through education and equal opportunity, and willingness to acknowledge and forgive white guilt betray him as an early adopter of modern color-blind liberalism. Just like the ideology of white supremacy never manifested in reality for most white people, the ideology of color-blind liberalism has yet to truly blossom in America.

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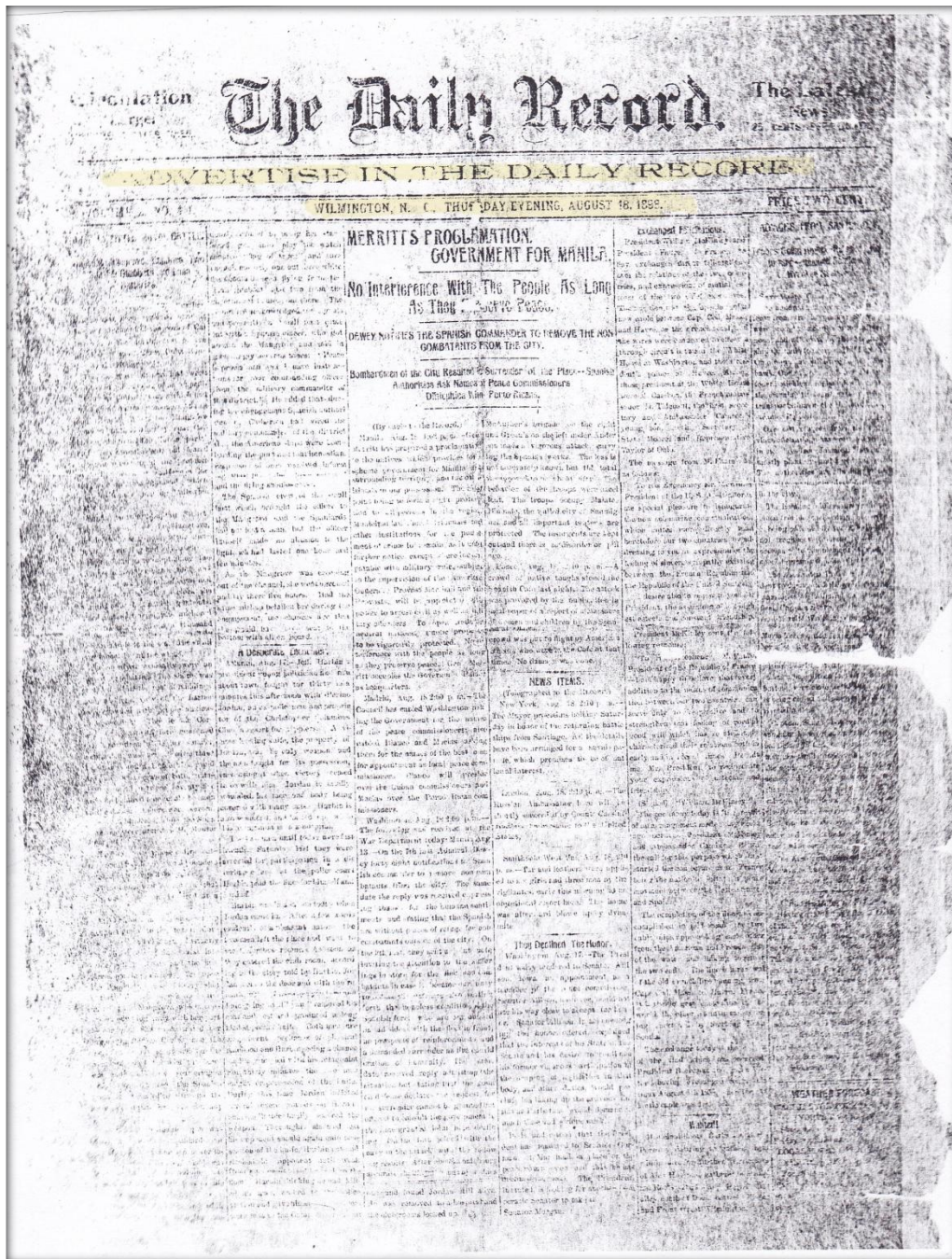
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About one month ago my child, who is fifteen months old, had an attack of fever accompanied by vomiting. I gave it such medicine as is usually given in such cases, but nothing gave relief we sent for a physician, and it was under his care a week. At this time the child was so feeble that it could scarcely lie down, sick for about ten days, and was having about twenty or twenty-five of the bowels every twenty-four hours, and we were convinced that less than soon obtained relief it would not live. Chamberlain's Colic, Cholera and Diarrhoea Remedy was recommended and decided to try it. We noticed a change for the better; by its continued use a complete cure was brought about, and it is now perfectly healthy.—G. L. KROON, Ironpoint, Olinier county, W. Va. Sold by H. R. HELLARY, drug-



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WILMINGTON RECORD

VOL. 2.

WILMINGTON, N. C., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1895.

NEW BERNE GLEANINGS.

Interesting Notes Gathered by Our
Hunting Correspondent.

Mrs. and Rev. George F. Miller and Mrs. Emma Johnson left the city last week for Washington City where they will attend the P. E. Conference that convenes there this week.

Dr. John S. Long, preached a very interesting and instructive sermon at St. Cyprian P. E. church Sunday evening. The congregation felt themselves benefited for having come out to hear Dr. Long.

Miss Charlotte Rhone returned home Saturday from Hyde County where she has been teaching, accompanied by Mrs. Farrow of Hyde who is the guest of Miss Rhone.

Prof. H. L. Jones of Philadelphia, who is traveling in Eastern N. C. giving Streptococcal exhibitions and Bible services. Addressed St. Peter's Sabbath School, Sunday, and will give several lectures while here. Prof. Jones exhibited on Tuesday, at Odd Fellows Hall, in behalf of St. Peter's Church. He also exhibited on Wednesday, at Rue Chapel. Prof. Jones uses a double magic lantern, which makes two pictures at the same time, and his selections of scenery are very good. The different appreciative audience.

Mrs. Lina Smith formerly of New Bern who is now residing in Worcester, Mass., has come home on a visit to her friends. She is the guest of Mrs. Corn Simmons.

Mr. C. E. Phisic has returned from Barbours where he has been teaching.

The Hon. J. H. Williams was in the city last week, in the interest of the "State Republican." He is an old war horse, has been tried in the fire, and says that to day, he is pure gold. In an interview with the "Recorder," he did some straight talking, although they say his tongue is crooked, and that he winked at the Judge, and that the Judge winked at him. Great is Williamson.

At a meeting of T. B. Reed Republican Association, held Tuesday night, Sept. 17, speeches were delivered by several of the members condemning the Constitutional Convention of S. C. for attempting to disfranchise the colored voters throughout the U. S. to adhere to the Republican Party, and vote the straight Republican ticket.

Memorial.

BY MR. R. H. WHITE.

In the bloom of life when all seemed fair, in the very center of activity, the hearts of her many friends were caused to ache at the departure by the cold hand of the monster death, of that fair and estimable young lady in person of Miss Carrie Blount. Though she had not reached her first score, she attained those principl-

ple which made her renowned in the community of our city. She was a Christian young lady and a constant member of Shiloh Baptist Church, and held laudable and responsible positions there. All admired her, and to form her acquaintance was to love her. Emblems of eloquence were visible and her desire for extended intelligence was predominant. Carriage no more exists; and while we deplore our loss and desire to have her brought back to us, we must accept of the will of God.

Pine Forest to imbed her remains an, imbedded her grave with flowers, symbolizing our esteem, we humbly submit to the will of God in His omnipotence, for with an ideal view of survey angles facilitating her, and escorting her to that Eternal mansion prepared for the faithful.

To the heart-felt family, we sympathize with them in their sore of bereavement, bear an equal portion of their inevitable burden and rest them to an all wise God who does all things well.

Monday night last, a bright, gay, happy company, representing largely the intelligence and refinement of our city, assembled at St. Stephen's church, in honor of Rev. Gre-

Monday night last, a bright, gay, happy company, representing largely the intelligence and refinement of our city, assembled at St. Stephen's church, in honor of Rev. Gre-

ROCKINGHAM NOTES.

We are very glad to have here in our town this week, Miss Laura Hill of Wilmington, which is the guest of Miss Enrice Loue.

There was a grand entertainment, Tuesday night for the benefit of raising money for Mt. Pisgah Zion Church which was quite a success. Everybody seem to enjoy themselves.

Miss Sallie Louax spent this week in our town. She was the guest of Mrs. W. D. Adams.

There was an entertainment given at the residence of Mr. Jary Peak, Wednesday for the pleasure of Misses Laura Hill and Sallie Louax. The ladies seem to have a pleasant time. Miss Hill says that she will surely come to our town again.

Mr. W. D. Adams have been on the list this week.

There will be a grand excursion from this town to Wilmington Sept. 27th. We hope that everybody will come and go with us to the beautiful seashore.

Yours
Correspondent,

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

Having assumed the management of the RECORD, I wish to thank our friends for their very liberal support in the past and ask for a continuance of the same, under our management. It is our aim to give you a clean newspaper with good reading matter. We will say right here that the RECORD is controlled by no party or faction.

Our Claim.
That the RECORD is of the Negro for the Negro and by the Negro. We will continue to look after the interests of the Negro. The management is not responsible for ideas expressed by contributors.

Now friends you say you like the RECORD, but that can't possible help us unless you pay your subscription. We have been sending the RECORD to a good number of persons who have never paid one cent for it, and this we must stop. So if you see a red mark on your paper look for your receipt. We will here give you a sketch of the United States Newspaper Law.

Persons taking news papers from post office or carrier, after last copy are considered subscribers and can only discontinue after all arrears have been paid all persons subscribing to a news paper must pay for it or can be arrested.

Publishers of newspapers can, under law, arrest any man who takes a newspaper and refuses to pay for it. Under the law it is a dangerous trick for a man to allow his subscription account to run on from 6 months to a year unpaid, and then tell the postmaster to mark "refused," or to send the editor a postal card to "discontinue the paper."

So if you want to save trouble please pay us as we are compelled to get our subscription book straight. Our collector will call on you so be ready for him when he come. We have just received a new lot of type and other material preparatory to enlarging the RECORD, so if you don't want to get left you had better settle up.

Yours for the race
F. G. MARY,
Manager.

Mr. Zion P. M. E. Church
Preaching service at 10:30 a. m.; 3 p. m. and 8 p. m.; class-meeting at 6 a. m.; Sunday-school at 2 p. m.
Rev. L. B. Sims, Pastor.

Mr. Olive A. M. E. Church
Preaching service at 11:00 a. m. Sabbath School at 2; afternoon service at 3; evening service at 8:00
Wednesday evening services at 8; Friday night prayer-meeting at 8
Rev. Edward Robinson, Pastor

Central Baptist Church
Preaching service at 10:30 a. m.; 3:00 and 7:30 p. m.; Sunday-school at 12 m.
Rev. L. T. Christmas, Pastor

Phenexer Baptist Church
Preaching service at 11:00 a. m. 3:00 p. m., and 8:00 p. m.; Sabbath School at 12:30

Rev. D. J. Moore, Pastor

Mt. Calvary Church.
Preaching at 11 a. m. 8 p. m.; Sunday School at 3 p. m. Prayer meeting at 8 o'clock
Rev. C. P.

Chestnut Street
Preaching at 11 a. m. 8 p. m.; Sunday School at 3 p. m. Prayer meeting at 8 o'clock
Rev. J.

Everyone
the churches

RESOLUTIONS.

To the Members

Fayetteville, N. C. Sept. 22nd
At a meeting of the Vestry of Joseph's P. E. Church held Sunday Sept. 22nd, the following resolutions were drafted in respect to the memory of Mr. Isaac B. Hall were unanimously adopted:

Whereas it has pleased the Grand Architect of the Universe to call from labor to reward our dear friend and worthy brother, Mr. Isaac B. Hall, who for a period of nearly 20 years was a devoted member of this church and a consistent Christian, and

Whereas he has labored zealously for many years as chorist of the church choir, and as Supt. of Joseph's Sunday School and was at the time of his death the faithful secretary and treasurer of this Vestry.

Resolved, 1st. That in the death of Mr. Isaac B. Hall, St. Joseph's Church and the members of this vestry have sustained an irreplaceable loss.
Resolved, 2nd. That he labored earnestly for the promulgation of the Christian religion, and by his acts of Christian purity, he endeared himself to all the members of St. Joseph's Congregation.

Resolved, 3rd. That we will ever cherish his memory and never forget the many stand he took for God and for right.

Resolved, 4th. That expressions of profound sympathy to the widow and family that we bow in hum. the will of Him who well, and we commend who tempers the will lamb.

Resolved, 5th. That copies of the RECORD be spread in cords, that a copy for publication in bereaved family.

Respectfully
Vestry St. Joseph
F. P. WILLIAMS
G. H. WILLIAMS

Extra copies! Extra

Extra copies of the WILMINGTON RECORD, containing the grand Oration by Booker T. Washington, can be had at their office,
14 Mulberry St. Wilmington.

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BRIDGING THE CHASM.

Booker T. Washington's Mastery
A dress at the Atlanta Exposition
—Sounds the Key Note For Racial
Progress along Practical Lines—
What the great Exposition means to
the Negro and the South.

One third of the population of the South is of the Negro race. No enterprise seeking the material, civil or moral welfare of this section can disregard this element of our population and reach the highest success. I but convey to you Mr. President and Directors, the sentiment of the masses of my race, when I say that in no way have the value and manifold of the American Negro been so fittingly and generously recognized, than by the managers of this magnificent Exposition at every stage of its progress. It is a recognition which will do more to cement the friendship of the two races than any occurrence since the dawn of our freedom.

Not only this, but the opportunity here afforded will awaken among us a new era of industrial progress. Ignorant and inexperienced, it is not strange that in the first years of our new life we lagged at the top instead bottom, that a seat in Congress or the State Legislature was more sought than real estate or industrial skill, that the political convention, or stump speaking had more attractions than starting a dairy farm or truck garden.

"CAST DOWN YOUR BUCKET WHERE YOU ARE."

A ship lost at sea for many days suddenly sighted a friendly vessel. From the mast of the unfortunate vessel was seen the signal; "Water, Water, we die of thirst." The answer came: "Cast down your bucket where you are."

A second time the signal, "Water, send us water," ran up from the distressed vessel and was answered, "Cast down your bucket where you are." The Captain of the distressed vessel, at last heeding the injunction, cast down his bucket, and it came up full of fresh, sparkling water from the mouth of the Amazon River. To those of my race who depend on bettering their condition in a foreign land, or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the Southern white man who is their next door neighbor, I would say cast down your bucket where you are, cast it down in making friends in every friendly way by the people of all races by whom we are surrounded.

Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce, in domestic service, and in the professions. And in this connection it is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called to bear, that when it comes to business pure and simple, it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world, and in nothing is this Exposition more eloquent than in emphasizing this chance. Our greatest danger is, that in the great leap from slavery to freedom, we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hand, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labor, and put brains and skill into the common occupation of life; shall prosper in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficial and the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful. No race

can prosper until it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin and not the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities. To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted, I would repeat what I say to my own race: "Cast down your bucket where you are." Cast it down among the 8,000,000 Negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested in days when to have proved treacherous meant the ruin of your fireside. Cast it down among these people who have without strikes and labor wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, built your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth, and helped to make possible this magnificent representation of the progress of the South. Casting down your bucket among my people, helping and encouraging them as you are doing on these grounds, and to the education of head, hand and heart, you will find that they will buy your surplus land, they will buy your waste places in your fields, and run your factories. While doing this you can be sure in the future, as you have been in the past, that you and your family will be surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding and unresentful people that the world has ever seen.

THE NEGRO'S UNFAIRLY LOYAL

As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing you, children, watching by the sick bed of your mothers and fathers and often following them with tear dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defense of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil and religious life with yours in a way that shall make interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.

There is no defense or security for any of us except in the highest intelligence and development of all. If any where there are efforts tending to curtail the fullest growth of the Negro, let these efforts be turned into stimulating, encouraging and making him the most useful and intelligent citizen. Effort on means so invested will pay a thousand per cent interest. These efforts will be twice blessed, "blessing him that gives and him that takes."

There is no escape through law of man or God, from the inevitable: "The laws of chanceless justice bind Oppressor with oppressed, And close as sin and suffering joined We march to fate abreast."

Nearly sixteen millions of hands will aid you pulling the load upwards. (Continued on fourth page)

THE AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE FOR THE COLORED RACE, AT GREENSBORO, N. C.

The first term begins on Wednesday, September 26, 1895, examination for admission will be made Wednesday and Thursday, October 2nd by the county examiner. The first Saturday in September next. Instruction is given in Agriculture, Horticulture, Dairy Management, the Mechanic Arts, the English Language, and various branches of Mathematics, Physical, Natural and Economic Science, with special reference to their applications in the industries of life. A limited number of girls will be admitted for whom, in addition to the regular course of study instruction will be given in Music, Sewing, Cooking and Laundry work. This School is endowed by the United States and the State of North Carolina. It is not sectarian, and is not controlled or influenced by any particular denomination.

COUNTY STUDENTS.

Tuition, Free

TERMS.

OTHER STUDENTS.

Tuition, per session... \$10.00

FOR ALL STUDENTS.

Board, per week... \$1.25
Lodging, use of room, bedding, &c. per session 10.00
Instruction on piano, two lessons a week, per month 2.00
For use of piano per session... 1.00
For additional terms see catalogue, which can be had by addressing, "The President of The Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race," Greensboro, N. C.

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Many Opportunities

SAVE A Little Money,

Which Cannot Recovered But you can profit by the experience of the past by beginning now without further delay with a few shares in the

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Admission fee 25 cts per share
Weekly dues 15 " " week.
Don't delay. Take shares now.

Jas B. DUBLEY,
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Notice of Removal.

I have Removed My DRUG BUSINESS

TO THE S. W. CORNER SEVENTH AND RED CROSS STS.

WHERE I WILL BE GLAD TO SERVE YOU. Fraternally yours,

WILLIAM NIESTLIE.

DO YOU WEAR PANTS?

IF SO have a pair made to order for \$3.00 positively. Come and see my Samples of fall and winter stock.

C. E. GORDON
Front and Market Sts. Wilmington, N. C.

J. W. FRY, Gen'l Manager. 9m 13d

N. NEWI NORFOLK RAILWAY

In effect, Sunday,

DAILY EXCEPT SUNDAY

North-Bol.

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At 7:30
Prayer
Church 10:00
"Christ Anointed for His Day."
Mark 14:8; at 7:45, "The Friendship
of Christ," John 12:14. Rev. P. C.
Ragland, Pastor.

Services at St. Mark's Episcopal
Church Passion Sunday service, 11
a. m. Morning prayer, 11:45 a. m.; day
mon; 3:15 p. m. Sunday School; 7:30
p. m. Evensong and sermon. Con-
firmation class meets 4:30 p. m. Ce-
lebrating of the first of April at the Sun-
day night services will be at 8 p. m.
instead of 7:30 o'clock. E. E. Geo-
niet, Rector.

E. Grand rally at St. L. e. t. A. M. E.
E. Zion Church tomorrow Ev. A.
S. Stroud A. M. E. Church will preach
at 10:30 a. m.; Rev. P. G. Hagyard
will preach at 3 p. m.; Rev. G. A.
Corpses of Brooklyn N. Y. will
preach at 8 p. n. The public is cordially
to assist us in this effort.
P. L. Cuyler pastor.
Special services at Trinity N. E.
Church tomorrow. Preaching at 11
a. m. by Rev. J. W. Tol'air; at 4 p.
m. by Dr. J. Allen Kirk; at 7:30 p. m.
by Pastor. The public is cordially
invited to attend. Rev. S. A. J.
Miller Pastor.

Naval Militia Galled On.
For the first time the militia is called into service, and the Governors of Massachusetts and New York are requested to direct their naval militia to assume charge of the monitors assigned for the protection of the Boston and New York, in conjunction with the said fortifications. The orders sent to Gov. Wolcott, of Massachusetts, and Gov. Black, of New York, for transmission to the commanding officers of the State naval militia, inform them that they will be directed to assume charge of the monitors assigned to each of these States as assistants in the second line of de-

The Boston men will be sent out to board when the monitors Catalina and Lehigh arrive, and the New Yorkers may proceed to Philadelphia and take their two ships around the coast. A naval officer will be in command of each monitor, and under him will be naval infantry officers and sufficient seamen from each organization to give the ships their complements. Instructions have also been sent to the Western organizations to keep themselves in readiness. A company will be sent to the East, with what is known as the "procurement" force to be sent to Iowa, Illinois and Ohio have been

A Colored People of Wilming
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can't have to blow so much to make
crack! A trial will convince you!
RESPECTFULLY
W. Rivenbark
W Store,
New Goods,
Low Prices.
10 & 12 Mulberry St,
L. Croom & Bro. WI

Store Firm have opened in the
 Middle New Stores which have
 been completed on the lot up-
 which the old store of A. E.
 stood.
 The firm has put in a Choice Stock
 of TAFFET and FANCY GOODS,
 LUXES, LIQUORS, CIGARS and TOBAC
 which they are selling at the
 best Cash Prices.
Croom & Bro
 10 & 12 Mulberry St.

What I Can't Do.

I can't say my policy is to write for the masses. I can't do it. I have written for the masses. I must be up and at it. I mean to do business at all times if I have no better money to give than the spring trade will be shortly after that is boys and girls. I am ready to day.

I will soon see where while I can, when some will die. That is the end of those dirty articles.

SOMEONE HAS THE RIGHT TO SPEAK UP.

LET ME BE KNOWN AS ONE WHO CAN DO MY JOB.

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 Solomon's New Shoe Store

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H. Gay, Proprietor
BEEHIVE, 117 SOUTH FRONT STREET.
WE ARE SATISFIED.

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Object.
 Buy us Stocks, so that we can share
 a few of the MANY PROFITS

adorned Muslim at 2-10.
 To Breasted Majors at 2-10.
 Breasted and the Majors at 2-10.
 Turkish Chamber at 2-10.
 Corsets.
 Work for the 10c, 50c, 60c for
 work for the 10c. Other grades
 for the 10c.
 Muslim Underwear
 Heavy Ribbed Vests 10c.
 Gent's Ribbed Merino
 Ties (qualities) a Royal
 Hats and Trimmings.
 First 5c of Trimmings
 second 10c of Trimmings
 Freshers, Hair, & less than

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month Hall suitable for
space. Will be rented
to E. M. Groom, cor.
Rum, Sta.

Dry-Goods & Clothing

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J. H. Rehder & Co
Near Fourth Street Bridge.

GEO. O. GAYLORD
E BUYER THE FOR WILMINGTON'S BIG

[illegible]

Geo. O. Gaylord, Proprietor,

[illegible]