

“This is a White Man’s Country”: Challenging and Communicating White Supremacy in
1898 Wilmington, North Carolina

It was November 10, 1898, and the white men in Wilmington, North Carolina were ready to kill. The men loaded their guns before descending on Wilmington’s burgeoning black community. They set fire to the press building of the *Daily Record*, one of the only African American newspapers of its time, before perpetrating a massacre. As terrified black citizens fled from their homes or fell dead, white men also overthrew Wilmington’s duly elected biracial government. This uprising was the Wilmington Insurrection, the only successful coup in American history.¹ The Wilmington Coup was prompted by a white supremacist propaganda campaign that occurred because of African American economic, social, and political progress. This racist movement mobilized white voters with written and spoken propaganda and intimidated black voters with physical violence to undo the racial progress that was catalyzed during Reconstruction. Ultimately, the insurrection fundamentally reshaped the expectations for black advancement that prevailed in 1898 Wilmington and advanced white supremacy, which has had—and continues to have—a far-reaching legacy.

I. Challenging White Supremacy

Between the Civil War of the 1860s and the 1898 coup, Wilmington’s African American community made significant and visible socioeconomic and political progress. Even after Reconstruction ended in 1877, black Wilmington fulfilled the era’s promise to advance political and civil equality by challenging race-based segregation, discrimination, and voter suppression.² In the 1890s, Wilmington’s black population outnumbered its white population, and sections of

¹ Melton Alonza McLaurin, “Commemorating Wilmington’s Racial Violence of 1898: From Individual to Collective Memory,” *Southern Cultures* 6, no. 4 (2000): 35–57, accessed February 18, 2021, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26236941>, 35.

² “Interracial Democracy,” Facing History and Ourselves, accessed April 10, 2021, <https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/video/part-four-interracial-democracy>.

the two communities were integrated.³ Blacks and whites patronized many of the same shops and lived in many of the same neighborhoods.⁴ Wilmington also boasted a thriving black middle class.⁵ Indeed, rates of black property ownership in Wilmington were among the highest in the nation.⁶ Black businesses were built next to white ones, and several black businesses were in fields typically dominated by whites, such as medicine and law.⁷

The black community in Wilmington organized several conspicuous displays of their socioeconomic advancements. Every January, African Americans paraded through the city to commemorate the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863. Furthermore, every May, the black community celebrated Memorial Day, which many white North Carolinians viewed as an oppressive holiday for fallen Union soldiers.⁸ Black residents also organized award-winning volunteer fire companies that showcased black progress by marching through the streets.⁹ These displays challenged white supremacy by demonstrating that the African American community was prominent, respectable, and flourishing.

In the 1890s, black North Carolinians also made significant political progress. The 1868 Fourteenth Amendment made blacks American citizens, and the 1870 Fifteenth Amendment gave black men the right to vote.¹⁰ Despite these landmark Reconstruction Amendments, in 1876, conservative North Carolinian Democrats regained statewide political control. But then, in

³ David Zucchini, *Wilmington's Lie: The Murderous Coup of 1898 and the Rise of White Supremacy* (New York, NY: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2020), 17-18, 64.

⁴ Ann V. Collins, *All Hell Broke Loose: American Race Riots from the Progressive Era through World War II* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2012), 36.

⁵ Lerae Umfleet, *1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report*, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, May 31, 2006, accessed February 28, 2021 https://cdm16062.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/api/collection/p249901coll22/id/5842/page/0/inline/p249901coll22_5842_0, 47.

⁶ Margaret M. Mulrooney, *Race, Place, and Memory: Deep Currents in Wilmington, North Carolina* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2018), 114.

⁷ *Ibid*; Umfleet, *1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report*, 47; Lisa Adams, interview by author, February 25, 2021.

⁸ Zucchini, *Wilmington's Lie*, 76.

⁹ Mulrooney, *Race, Place, and Memory*, 101, 114-5.

¹⁰ "Timeline of North Carolina African American History," 2007, *North Carolina African American History & Culture*, January, 2, <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=b6h&AN=26075985&site=ehost-live>.

the early 1890s, many white farmers and laborers turned away from the Democratic Party because of an economic recession.¹¹ In response, Populists and Republicans built a biracial political alliance called Fusion, and, in 1894, they gained control of the state legislature.¹² In 1896, North Carolina elected its first post-Reconstruction Republican governor. By 1897, Wilmington had a Fusionist mayor and police chief, and Fusionists controlled the city and county governments.¹³ Indeed, Fusion was the most successful Southern biracial alliance in the post-Reconstruction Era.¹⁴

African Americans gained sociopolitical influence by not only voting but also taking over leadership positions previously occupied by whites. For instance, George White, from North Carolina's Second District, became the only African American to serve in the U.S. Congress from 1897 to 1901.¹⁵ In Wilmington, African Americans became postmasters, police officers, magistrates, and aldermen.¹⁶

To Democrats, increasing black political influence was a threat. In the 1898 North Carolinian *Democratic Handbook*, the party advocated for systemic white supremacy and declared that "this is a white man's country and white men must control and govern it."¹⁷ The handbook continues by emphasizing North Carolinian black political engagement, which was exemplified by the 1896 election, in which 87% of eligible black voters cast a ballot.¹⁸ In other

¹¹ Zucchini, *Wilmington's Lie*, 89-90.

¹² William R. Kenan, *When African-Americans Were Republicans in North Carolina, The Target of Suppressive Laws Was Black Republicans. Now That They Are Democrats, The Target Is Black Democrats. The Constant Is Race*, The American Civil Liberties Union, 2013, accessed February 28, 2021, https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/assets/lwv_expert_report_-_m_kousser.pdf, 10.

¹³ Zucchini, *Wilmington's Lie*, 91.

¹⁴ Kenan, *The Constant is Race*, 10.

¹⁵ Zucchini, *Wilmington's Lie*, 91.

¹⁶ Andrea Meryl Kirshenbaum, "'The Vampire That Hovers Over North Carolina': Gender, White Supremacy, and the Wilmington Race Riot of 1898," *Southern Cultures* 4, no. 3 (1998): 6-30, accessed February 20, 2021, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26235595>, 8, 13-14.

¹⁷ Democratic Party (N.C.). State Executive Committee, *Democratic Hand Book* (Raleigh, NC: Edwards & Broughton, Printers and Binders, 1898), <https://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/dem1898/dem1898.html>, 38.

¹⁸ *Ibid*; Kirshenbaum, "The Vampire That Hovers Over North Carolina," 7-8.

words, African Americans became targets for the Democratic Party because of their growing political presence. To suppress the black political voice, which had been amplified by Reconstruction, Democrats launched a white supremacy propaganda campaign to make white North Carolinians fear “negro domination.”¹⁹

II. Communicating White Supremacy

For months before the Wilmington Insurrection, a group of white elites directed a three-pronged white supremacy campaign made up of men who could write, speak, and ride.²⁰ This campaign occurred because of black progress, and it opposed the Reconstruction-era promise to advance black political equality by undermining the possibility of interracial alliances like Fusion and intimidating black voters.

Men Who Could Write

One of the most visible parts of the Democratic campaign was the use of written propaganda; several pro-Democratic newspapers, including the *News and Observer*, the *Wilmington Messenger*, and the *Wilmington Morning Star*, were used to promote white supremacy. For months before Election Day, these newspapers portrayed Eastern North Carolina, which included Wilmington, as a region that needed Democratic “white rule” because it was overtaken by “negro domination.”²¹ This message was utilized to convince Fusionists to abandon their party. Indeed, the *News and Observer* frequently featured reports of “life-long” Republicans or Populists abandoning biracial Fusionism and adhering to “the color line” because they deplored black political influence.²²

In addition, in August, in response to an editorial written by middle-class black

¹⁹ Democratic Party (N.C.). State Executive Committee, *Democratic Hand Book*, 38.

²⁰ Timothy B. Tyson, “The Ghosts of 1898: Wilmington’s Race Riot and the Rise of White Supremacy,” *News and Observer*, November 17, 2006, <http://media2.newsobserver.com/content/media/2010/5/3/ghostsof1898.pdf>, 6, 8.

²¹ Survey of *News and Observer* (Raleigh, NC), *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers* (Library of Congress, July 16-November 12, 1898), <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85042104/>.

²² *Ibid.*

Wilmingtonian Alexander Manly, Democratic propaganda began to relentlessly remind white men to defend white womanhood from African Americans. Manly was the editor of the *Daily Record*, North Carolina's only black daily. In August, he wrote an editorial responding to a speech given by Rebecca Felton, a white woman who believed consensual relationships between black men and white women were impossible.²³ In her speech, Felton promoted the myth of the black male rapist and declared that she supported lynching blacks up to "a thousand times a week" to protect white women.²⁴ In response, Manly argued that white women often lied about being raped and explained that black men "were sufficiently attractive for white girls... to fall in love with them."²⁵ On August 23, the *Wilmington Morning Star* reprinted Manly's editorial under the headline "Vile and Villainous: Outrageous Attack on White Women."²⁶ Furthermore, almost every day in the months leading up to the election, the *Wilmington Messenger* reprinted excerpts of Manly's article with the title "Slander of White Women by Negro Editor."²⁷ Since Manly ran a newspaper, he epitomized the highly visible success of black Wilmington. Thus, Democratic newspapers' reactions to Manly's editorial indicate that the white supremacist campaign as a whole was a response to African American progress.

Editorial cartoons published in the *News and Observer* also played a critical role in Democratic propaganda. These cartoons were displayed on the frontpage of the paper and illustrated white fears of black advancement.²⁸ For instance, on September 27, the newspaper ran a cartoon captioned "The Vampire That Hovers Over North Carolina." This cartoon depicts a

²³ Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920*, 2nd ed. (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 105-7.

²⁴ "Mrs. Felton Speaks: She Makes a Sensational Speech Before Agricultural Society," *Wilmington Morning Star*, August 23, 1898, <https://newscomwc.newspapers.com/image/54488594>.

²⁵ "Vile and Villainous: Outrageous Attack on White Women by a Negro Paper Published in Wilmington," *Wilmington Morning Star*, August 23, 1898, <https://newscomwc.newspapers.com/image/54488887/>.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Kirshenbaum, "The Vampire That Hovers Over North Carolina," 11.

²⁸ Survey of *News and Observer*, July 16-November 12, 1898.

black male vampire with “Negro Rule” written on his wings towering over a “Fusion Ballot Box” and reaching toward terrified white men and women.²⁹ Since the vampire, which represents “Negro Rule,” is next to a “Fusion Ballot Box”, the cartoon deceitfully suggests that blacks were in complete control of the biracial Fusionist movement. Thus, the cartoon denies the possibility of interracial democracy, which was exemplified by biracial Fusionism and Reconstruction governments.³⁰ In addition, by drawing a black “man” chasing white women, the cartoonist alludes to the myth of the black male rapist and racist fears of miscegenation, which the Manly editorial intensified. Furthermore, the dehumanization of a black man in the form of a vampire references white fears that African Americans were “consuming” the white race politically, socially, and sexually. Similar to the writing in Democratic newspapers, white supremacist cartoons were reactions to black sociopolitical progress.

Men Who Could Speak and Ride

Democrats also used speakers and riders to mobilize white voters and intimidate African Americans. Speakers were Democrats who traveled throughout North Carolina to give speeches. These orators spread fear of “negro domination” and, in the last weeks of the Democratic campaign, they were in every available town hall and commons in North Carolina.³¹ One notable speaker was Alfred Moore Waddell, a former U.S. congressman.³² Two weeks before Election Day, Waddell gave a speech to white men and “many ladies” in Wilmington.³³ The *Wilmington Morning Star* reported that Waddell declared:

[If] white supremacy in North Carolina [is not established]... disaster, social, commercial

²⁹ Appendix A; Norman Ethre Jennett, “The Vampire That Hovers Over North Carolina,” Cartoon, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, (Library of Congress, September 27, 1898), <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85042104/1898-09-27/ed-1/seq-1/>.

³⁰ “Interracial Democracy,” *Facing History and Ourselves*.

³¹ Umfleet, *1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report*, 86.

³² Collins, *All Hell Broke Loose*, 37.

³³ “White Supremacy: Col. A. M. Waddell Addressed a Large Audience at the Opera House,” *Wilmington Morning Star*, October 25, 1898, <https://newscomwc.newspapers.com/image/54493372/>.

and political awaits us... Who would have believed five years ago that a negro editor would publish such an editorial as appeared in the negro paper... We shall never surrender... even if we have to choke the Cape Fear [R]iver with carcasses.³⁴

By highlighting the “many ladies” in his audience and referencing Manly’s editorial, Waddell portrays Democrats as defenders of white womanhood against African Americans. In addition, Waddell emphasizes that Manly’s editorial could not have occurred “five years ago” and specifically mentions the possibility of “social, commercial and political” disaster. In other words, his speech references and responds to the socioeconomic and political progress of African Americans in the 1890s. Waddell concludes by proclaiming that Democrats were willing to resort to violence, which foreshadowed the massacre of November 10.

Choking “the Cape Fear [R]iver with carcasses” also alludes to the third branch of the Democratic propaganda strategy: men who could ride. Men who could write and speak targeted whites so that they would vote for Democrats on Election Day.³⁵ In contrast, men who could ride disenfranchised African Americans through violent intimidation. Members of a white vigilante group known as the Red Shirts played a major role in this part of the Democratic campaign.³⁶ In the months preceding the election, the Red Shirts traveled throughout North Carolina terrorizing black voters.³⁷ One black man described how he was “whipped out of politics” when Red Shirts invaded his home and assaulted him.³⁸ Since the black vote was essential to the African American political voice, by intimidating black voters, the Red Shirts were also responding to Reconstruction-era-catalyzed African American political progress.

III. Massacre, Coup, and Legacy

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Umfleet, *1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report*, 65.

³⁶ Ibid, 66-8.

³⁷ H. Leon Prather, “The Red Shirt Movement in North Carolina 1898-1900,” *The Journal of Negro History* 62, no. 2 (1977): 174-184, accessed February 18, 2021, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2717177>, 175-8.

³⁸ *Contested Election Case of Oliver H. Dockery vs. John D. Bellamy, from the Sixth Congressional District of the State of North Carolina*, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1899), <https://cdm16062.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p249901coll37/id/3208>, 140.

In the end, Democrats swept the November 8, 1898 election and regained control of the state legislature; the white supremacy campaign successfully mobilized whites against black progress and the promises of Reconstruction.³⁹ However, whites who had been inflamed by Democratic propaganda were not satisfied: they wanted a complete overhaul of Wilmington's government. The day after the election, the *Wilmington Messenger* called for a meeting in the city courthouse.⁴⁰ During the meeting, white men signed what is now known as the White Declaration of Independence.⁴¹ This document proclaimed that they would "never again be ruled by men of African origin" and demanded that Manly "leave this City forever" and stop printing his newspaper.⁴² In addition, a resolution in the final version of the Declaration called for the resignation of Wilmington's Fusionist police chief and mayor.⁴³ Since the White Declaration of Independence targeted Manly as well as black and Fusionist political leaders, it responded to African American sociopolitical growth.

The day after the Declaration was signed, armed white men traveled to the printing office of the *Daily Record*.⁴⁴ The men did not find Manly, who had left Wilmington, but they burned down his press building.⁴⁵ Then, around an hour after the building was destroyed, shots were fired between blacks and whites; ultimately, whites suffered no casualties, while as many as sixty African Americans were murdered.⁴⁶ In addition, during the massacre, hundreds of frightened black Wilmingtonians fled from the city. The *New York Times* reported that these black "men,

³⁹ Tyson, "The Ghosts of 1898," 2.

⁴⁰ "Attention White Men," *Wilmington Messenger*, November 9, 1898, <https://www.newspapers.com/newspage/54012352/>.

⁴¹ Rachel Marie-Crane Williams, "A War in Black and White: The Cartoons of Norman Ethre Jennett & the North Carolina Election of 1898," *Southern Cultures* 19, no. 2 (2013): 7-31. Accessed February 18, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26217424>, 22.

⁴² Alfred Moore Waddell, "White Declaration of Independence" (East Carolina University), accessed February 28, 2021, <http://core.ecu.edu/umc/Wilmington/scans/ticketTwo/whiteDeclaration.pdf>.

⁴³ Umfleet, *1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report*, 114.

⁴⁴ Tyson, "The Ghosts of 1898," 3.

⁴⁵ Zucchini, *Wilmington's Lie*, 191.

⁴⁶ Umfleet, *1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report*, 2, 130.

women and children [were] in a starving condition” on November 13 when they returned to the city.⁴⁷ While African Americans were dying or fleeing, white men also forced Wilmington’s mayor, police chief, and board of alderman, four of whom were black, to resign at gunpoint.⁴⁸ Waddel, the Democratic orator who threatened “to choke the Cape Fear [R]iver with carcasses,” became Wilmington’s new mayor.⁴⁹

Due to the propaganda campaign, massacre, and insurrection, the economic, social, and political progress of 1890s black Wilmington regressed significantly, and Reconstruction-era civil rights advancements were undone. After white men destroyed the *Daily Record*, Wilmington did not have a regular black newspaper until 1927—the events of 1898 sabotaged black discourse.⁵⁰ Furthermore, whites banished black socioeconomic leaders from the city. Lisa Adams, the great-granddaughter of William Everett Henderson, Wilmington’s most prominent black lawyer, described how “Red Shirts came [into his house] and gave him one-way tickets to Indianapolis.”⁵¹ By targeting leading members of the African American community, like Henderson, whites crippled black progress. Other African Americans abandoned Wilmington voluntarily, and those who remained were subject to heightened discrimination. By 1900, there was a considerable decrease in the number of employed blacks and business-owning blacks in Wilmington.⁵² In addition, once they were in office, Democrats passed Jim Crow legislation to enforce racial segregation and oppression. For instance, Democrats enacted a poll tax and a literacy test to disenfranchise African Americans. Indeed, between 1898 and the Civil Rights era,

⁴⁷ “Race Riots Are Ended: The Federal Government Decides That It Has No Legal Right to Interfere,” *New York Times*, November 13, 1898. <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1898/11/13/issue.html>.

⁴⁸ Tyson, “The Ghosts of 1898,” 5, 11.

⁴⁹ Collins, *All Hell Broke Loose*, 37.

⁵⁰ Umfleet, *1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report*.

⁵¹ Adams, interview by author.

⁵² Appendix B; Tod Hamilton and William Darity, “An Interpretation of the Economic Impact of the Wilmington Riot of 1897: Summary of Preliminary Findings,” in *1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report*, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, May 31, 2006, 437-464, accessed February 28, 2021, https://cdm16062.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/api/collection/p249901coll22/id/5842/page/0/inline/p249901coll22_5842_0, 446, 448, 451-2, 464.

North Carolinian black political participation was virtually nonexistent, and no black Americans served in Wilmington's city or county government.⁵³ These socioeconomic and political regressions indicate that the white supremacy campaign and insurrection responded to and reversed late 19th-century black progress.

The events in Wilmington also had significant consequences beyond the borders of North Carolina. The 1898 massacre and coup showed white supremacists all over the United States that they could murder blacks and overthrow a duly elected government in broad daylight. The Wilmington Massacre set a precedent for other acts of racial violence, such as the 1921 Tulsa Massacre, which also targeted thriving black communities that challenged white supremacy.⁵⁴

The Wilmington Insurrection also advanced a national movement to not only abandon but also undo Reconstruction era-catalyzed racial progress, which has had long-lasting consequences. Just two years after the Supreme Court legalized racial segregation in the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision, the federal government did not condemn the events in Wilmington.⁵⁵ This federal response tacitly permitted the violent oppression and disenfranchisement of African Americans and the reversal of Reconstruction-era racial advancements. Indeed, throughout the 20th century, enabled by *Plessy v. Ferguson* and federal permittance, Jim Crow legislation similar to that of post-1898 North Carolina prevailed all over America and prevented black Americans from exercising their civil rights.⁵⁶ Furthermore, today, the legacy of white supremacy remains significant—white supremacists attempted a coup on the federal government and black Americans are still disenfranchised.⁵⁷

⁵³ Kenan, *The Constant is Race*, 4; Umfleet, *1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report*, iii.

⁵⁴ Collins, *All Hell Broke Loose*, 10, 60-7.

⁵⁵ "Timeline of North Carolina African American History;" "Race Riots Are Ended," *New York Times*.

⁵⁶ Zucchini, *Wilmington's Lie*, 333-335, 362-366; McLaurin, "Commemorating Wilmington's Racial Violence of 1898," 36-7.

⁵⁷ Kenan, *The Constant is Race* 33-6; Christine Fernando and Noreen Nasir, "Years of White Supremacy Threats Culminated in Capitol Riots," *AP NEWS*, January 14, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/white-supremacy-threats-capitol-riots-2d4ba4d1a3d55197489d773b3e0b0f32>.

In 1898, the North Carolinian Democratic party responded to black socioeconomic and political progress by launching a propaganda campaign that culminated in the Wilmington Insurrection and the reversal of Reconstruction-era racial progress. The events of 1898 illustrate the power of communication in establishing institutionalized racism. The propaganda campaign promoted white supremacy; the coup led to the suppression of black discourse by destroying a black newspaper and sabotaging the black political voice. Yet the converse is also true: the events of Wilmington indicate that communication can be harnessed to fight racism. The writers, speakers, and activists of this generation will ultimately drive America to be more than just a “white man’s country.”

Appendix A:



The cartoon “The Vampire That Hovers Over North Carolina” was published in the *News and Observer* on September 27, 1898 as a part of the “men who could write” branch of the Democratic white supremacy campaign. This cartoon illustrates a dehumanized black “man” and references white fears of “negro domination” and miscegenation.

Jennett, Norman Ethre. “The Vampire That Hovers Over North Carolina.” Cartoon. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress, September 27, 1898. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85042104/1898-09-27/ed-1/seq-1/>.

Appendix B:

	1897			1900		
	Total	Black	White	Total	Black	White
(1) Directory Entries	7,663	3,786	3,875	8,381	3,656	4,720
(2) Occupation Listed	6,894	3,498	3,396	6,374	2,562	3,812
(3) Business Owners	1005	216	789	933	162	771

This table summarizes Wilmington’s 1897 and 1900 city directories. The table’s three rows show the changes in (1) population, (2) employment, and (3) business ownership for Wilmington’s black and white communities directly before and after the insurrection of 1898. The first row of numbers demonstrates that, following the coup, there was a decrease in the black population and an increase in the white population. In addition, there was a 25% decline in the number of black business owners (216 to 162), and only a 2% decline in the number of white business owners (789 to 771). The table indicates that the coup led to unfavorable living and working conditions for Wilmington’s black community.

Hamilton, Tod and William Darity. “An Interpretation of the Economic Impact of the Wilmington Riot of 1897: Summary of Preliminary Findings.” in *1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report*. North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources. May 31, 2006. 437-464. Accessed February 28, 2021. https://cdm16062.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/api/collection/p249901coll22/id/5842/page/0/inline/p249901coll22_5842_0.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

“Attention White Men.” *Wilmington Messenger*. November 9, 1898. <https://www.newspapers.com/newspage/54012352/>.

This issue of the pro-Democratic *Wilmington Messenger* was published the day after the election of 1898, and it included a notice calling for a meeting of white men in the city courthouse. This source was incorporated into my explanation of how the White Declaration of Independence was signed.

Contested Election Case of Oliver H. Dockery vs. John D. Bellamy, from the Sixth Congressional District of the State of North Carolina. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1899. <https://cdm16062.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p249901coll37/id/3208>.

This 1899 report originates from a contested election case between Fusionist Oliver H. Dockery and John D. Bellamy, a Democrat who became a U.S. congressman after the election of 1898. This report investigates instances of physical assault and voter suppression that were instigated by Democratic vigilante groups like the Red Shirts before the election. A quote from this source was used in my explanation of “men who could ride.”

Democratic Party (N.C.). State Executive Committee. *Democratic Handbook. Documenting the American South*. Raleigh, NC: Edwards & Broughton, Printers and Binders, 1898. <https://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/dem1898/dem1898.html>.

This book is the 1898 *Democratic Handbook*, which expresses the Democratic Party’s strong belief in white supremacy. Quotes from this handbook were utilized in my analysis of how African American sociopolitical progress challenged the Democrats’ vision for their party, state, and country, and led to the Democratic white supremacist propaganda campaign.

Jennett, Norman Ethre. “The Vampire That Hovers Over North Carolina.” Cartoon. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress, September 27, 1898. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85042104/1898-09-27/ed-1/seq-1/>.

This source is one example of several Jennett cartoons that were published in 1898 issues of the *News and Observer* as a part of the written branch of the Democratic propaganda

campaign. Specific imagery from this cartoon was analyzed in my section about “men who could write.” A photo of this cartoon was also included in the appendix of my essay.

“Mrs. Felton Speaks: She Makes a Sensational Speech Before Agricultural Society.” *Wilmington Morning Star*, August 23, 1898. <https://newscomwc.newspapers.com/image/54488594>.

This newspaper article includes a transcript of Mrs. Felton’s speech, which I quoted in my essay, and reveals how white supremacists supported her belief in the myth of the black male rapist. In my paper, I also describe how Alexander Manly’s response to this speech was utilized by Democrats to rally white voters against “negro domination.”

“Race Riots Are Ended: The Federal Government Decides That It Has No Legal Right to Interfere.” *New York Times*, November 13, 1898. <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1898/11/13/issue.html>.

This newspaper article is from the *New York Times*, and it provided a national perspective on the events in Wilmington after the massacre and coup. This source was used in my description of how the national government did not condemn the events in North Carolina. This article also includes a description of how starving African Americans returned to Wilmington three days after the massacre.

Survey of *News and Observer* (Raleigh, NC). *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Library of Congress, July 16-November 12, 1898. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85042104/>.

To better understand the “men who could write” section of Democratic propaganda, I surveyed every issue of the *News and Observer* from July 16 to November 12, 1898 (104 issues, ~850 pages). This source broadened my perspective on elements of Democratic written propaganda and how it rallied white North Carolinians against “negro supremacy.” For instance, I learned that Democrats featured letters to the editor from Republicans and Populists turning away from their party. For an example of a life-long Republican deciding to vote Democrat because of fear of black progress see the September 30 issue; for an example of a Populist deciding to vote Democrat see the October 4 issue. For more examples of inflammatory cartoons like “The Vampire That Hovers Over North Carolina” see August 19, 24-5, 30, September 3, 8, 11, October 28, November 1-2.

“Vile and Villainous: Outrageous Attack on White Women by a Negro Paper Published in Wilmington.” *Wilmington Morning Star*. August 23, 1898. <https://newscomwc.newspapers.com/image/54488887/>.

This pro-Democratic newspaper article describes the publication of Alexander Manly's editorial. The title and language of this article provide insight into how white supremacists viewed Manly's article and how his editorial was utilized in their propaganda campaign. In addition, quotes from Manly's editorial, which were reprinted in this source, are utilized in my paper.

Waddell, Alfred Moore. "White Declaration of Independence." East Carolina University. Accessed February 28, 2021. <http://core.ecu.edu/umc/Wilmington/scans/ticketTwo/whiteDeclaration.pdf>.

This document is a transcript of the White Declaration of Independence, which was signed on November 9th. Quotes from this source were used in the section of my essay describing the events that led up to the massacre and insurrection of November 10th.

"White Supremacy: Col. A. M. Waddell Addressed a Large Audience at the Opera House." *Wilmington Morning Star*. October 25, 1898. <https://newscomwc.newspapers.com/image/54493372/>.

This newspaper article was utilized in the section of my paper outlining the "men who could speak" branch of the Democratic propaganda campaign. This article was published two weeks before the election, and it includes excerpts from a speech Alfred Moore Waddell gave in which he reveals that he was willing to "choke the Cape Fear river with carcasses." The article also demonstrates that the speeches of Democratic orators like Waddell successfully inflamed white voters.

Secondary Sources

Adams, Lisa. Interview by author. February 25, 2021.

Ms. Lisa Adams is the great-granddaughter of William Everett Henderson, who was Wilmington's most prominent lawyer before he was forced to leave the city by Red Shirts. I got in touch with Ms. Adams by contacting Mr. Zucchini, the author of one of my secondary sources. I greatly appreciate Ms. Adams' willingness to talk to me and tell me about Henderson's experiences in 1898 as well as her perspective on the legacy of the Wilmington Massacre and Coup.

Collins, Ann V. *All Hell Broke Loose: American Race Riots from the Progressive Era through World War II*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2012.

This book includes a comprehensive overview of the race riots that occurred in the late

19th-century and 20th-century United States. I utilized this source's in-depth description of the Wilmington Insurrection in my explanation of the role Alfred Moore Waddell played in inflaming white voters, as well as the connections between the Wilmington Massacre and later 20th-century racial violence.

Fernando, Christine, and Noreen Nasir. "Years of White Supremacy Threats Culminated in Capitol Riots." *AP NEWS*, January 14, 2021. <https://apnews.com/article/white-supremacy-threats-capitol-riots-2d4ba4d1a3d55197489d773b3e0b0f32>.

This article describes the connection between white supremacy and the January 2021 Capitol Riots, which have been classified as an attempted coup. This article provided insight into a contemporary example of a white supremacy-related movement, and it was used in my discussion of the legacy of the Wilmington Coup.

Gilmore, Glenda Elizabeth. *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920*. 2nd ed. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2019.

This book focuses on the intersections between race, gender, and white supremacy in North Carolina from 1896 to 1920. I referenced this source in my analysis of Ms. Felton's speech and used it to understand why Manly's editorial was repeatedly referenced and emphasized in the Democratic propaganda campaign. This source also describes the immediate impact and 20th-century legacy of the Wilmington Massacre.

Hamilton, Tod and William Darity. "An Interpretation of the Economic Impact of the Wilmington Riot of 1897: Summary of Preliminary Findings." in *1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report*. North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources. May 31, 2006. 437-464. Accessed February 28, 2021. https://cdm16062.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/api/collection/p249901coll22/id/5842/page/0/inline/p249901coll22_5842_0.

This economic report describes the black community in Wilmington before and after the massacre of 1898, and it was utilized in my assessment of the effects of the Wilmington Insurrection. The authors used the Wilmington 1897 and 1900 city directories as well as the OCCSCORE (occupational score) and Duncan Socioeconomic Index variables to evaluate the immediate impact of the Wilmington Insurrection. The authors found a significant decrease in the black community's socioeconomic standing.

"Interracial Democracy." *Facing History and Ourselves*. Accessed April 10, 2021. <https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/video/part-four-interracial-democracy>.

This video focuses on early biracial Reconstruction governments, and it was made by the nonprofit Facing History and Ourselves, which aims to fight hate by helping teachers and students learn lessons from history. This video contains interviews from historical experts, including David Blight, the Director of the Gilder Lehrman Center at Yale and George Lipsitz a Professor of Black Studies at UCSB. I utilized the information in this video in my description of the promises of Reconstruction and the potential of interracial political alliances.

Kenan, William R. *When African-Americans Were Republicans in North Carolina, The Target of Suppressive Laws Was Black Republicans. Now That They Are Democrats, The Target Is Black Democrats. The Constant Is Race.* The American Civil Liberties Union, 2013. Accessed February 28, 2021. https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/assets/lwv_expert_report_-_m_kousser.pdf.

Kenan wrote this report to determine whether the 2013 election law H.B. 598 was discriminatory and disproportionately disenfranchised minorities for the League of Women Voters v. North Carolina court case. Kenan begins with an analysis of the history of black participation in North Carolinian politics, which was implemented in my discussion of black political progress in the 1890s. In addition, I referenced this source to support my assertion that the disenfranchisement of black and minority voters is still an issue today.

Kirshenbaum, Andrea Meryl. “‘The Vampire That Hovers Over North Carolina’: Gender, White Supremacy, and the Wilmington Race Riot of 1898.” *Southern Cultures* 4, no. 3 (1998): 6-30. Accessed February 18, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26235595>.

This source includes a general overview of the insurrection and a comprehensive analysis of the written branch of the Democratic propaganda campaign. The author carefully analyzes both the political cartoons of the *News and Observer*, as well as the pro-Democratic papers of Wilmington, including the *Wilmington Morning Star* and the *Wilmington Messenger*. This journal article was referenced in my section about “men who could write.”

McLaurin, Melton Alonza. “Commemorating Wilmington's Racial Violence of 1898: From Individual to Collective Memory.” *Southern Cultures* 6, no. 4 (2000): 35–57. Accessed February 18, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26236941>.

This article describes the events of November 1898 and also emphasizes the legacy and memory of the Wilmington Insurrection. This source was cited in the sections of my paper that described Manly’s newspaper as well as the legacy of the Wilmington

Massacre in the 20th century.

Mulrooney, Margaret M. *Race, Place, and Memory: Deep Currents in Wilmington, North Carolina*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2018.

This book describes the community of Wilmington, North Carolina's relationship with race from the 1730s to the present day. This source was used in my discussion of black socioeconomic advancements in 1890s Wilmington which challenged white supremacy.

Prather, H. Leon. "The Red Shirt Movement in North Carolina 1898-1900." *The Journal of Negro History* 62, no. 2 (1977): 174-84. Accessed February 18, 2021. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2717177>.

This journal article is about the origin and tactics of the Red Shirts in North Carolina from 1898 to 1900. This article was referenced in my discussion of "men who could ride."

"Timeline of North Carolina African American History." 2007. *North Carolina African American History & Culture*, January, 2. <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=b6h&AN=26075985&site=ehost-live>.

This source is a timeline of North Carolinian black history from 1712 to 2007. This timeline put the events of 1898 in context and provided information about Reconstruction-era amendments, Plessy v. Ferguson, as well as the literacy tests implemented by North Carolinian Democrats in 1900.

Tyson, Timothy B. "The Ghosts of 1898: Wilmington's Race Riot and the Rise of White Supremacy." *News and Observer*, November 17, 2006. <http://media2.newsobserver.com/content/media/2010/5/3/ghostsof1898.pdf>.

This newspaper article was written for the *News and Observer* over a century after the paper contributed to the Democratic white supremacy campaign. This article includes an extensive overview of the propaganda campaign and a breakdown of the events of November 10th. This source was cited in my description of the massacre and coup as well as their legacy in the 20th century.

Umfleet, Lerae. *1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report*. North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources. May 31, 2006. Accessed February 28, 2021. https://cdm16062.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/api/collection/p249901coll22/id/5842/page/0/inline/p249901coll22_5842_0.

This report was written by the Wilmington Race Riot Commission and it provided a comprehensive overview of the events leading up to the Wilmington Insurrection and the coup's legacy. This report was referenced throughout my essay.

Williams, Rachel Marie-Crane. "A War in Black and White: The Cartoons of Norman Ethre Jennett & the North Carolina Election of 1898." *Southern Cultures* 19, no. 2 (2013): 7-31. Accessed February 18, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26217424>.

This journal article discusses cartoons in relation to the "men who could write" branch of the Democratic propaganda campaign. Williams' analysis of the racist imagery in several Democratic cartoons was helpful in my own analysis of the cartoon "The Vampire That Hovers Over North Carolina." This source was referenced in the "men who could write" section of my essay.

Zucchino, David. *Wilmington's Lie: The Murderous Coup of 1898 and the Rise of White Supremacy*. New York, NY: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2020.

This book provides an overview of the events that occurred before, during, and after the Wilmington propaganda campaign, and it was referenced throughout my essay. I would also like to thank Mr. Zucchino for giving me the contact information of Ms. Lisa Adams, whom I had the opportunity to interview.