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This thesis deals with selected reforms, issues, and problems which concerned North Carolina's Republican press from 1867 to 1877. Before the Civil War public attention in the North was concerned with anti-slavery, public education, women's rights, and temperance reforms. After the war the central reform, abolition of slavery, had become a reality. Still, the Negro needed help in attaining equal civil and political rights.

Public education, women's rights, and temperance reforms also continued to be considered after the war ended. Of these reforms, public education was the most earnestly sought by Republicans. The women's rights movement gained important ground in the South after the war. The loss of a quarter of a million men's lives in the war opened new fields of endeavor for many Southern women. Temperance reform experienced little progress during this period, however agitation by a few did arouse public opinion to the evils of alcoholic consumption.

In North Carolina the newly organized Republican party and its press embraced most of these reforms. Particular emphasis was given to the granting of equal civil and political rights to the Negro, without which the party had little prospect of success. European and Northern immigration was another issue with which Southerners - Republicans as well as Democrats - were concerned during Reconstruction.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the attitudes and positions of the Republican press of North Carolina on these reforms and issues, as well as the dissension which occasionally took place among these journals.

NORTH CAROLINA'S REPUBLICAN PRESS DURING RECONSTRUCTION

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This thesis has been approved by the following committee
of the Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of North
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by

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I. THE REPUBLICAN PRESS AND THE NEGRO..... 5

II. THE REPUBLICAN PRESS AND EDUCATION..... 20

III. REPUBLICAN VIEWS OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS..... 37

IV. REPUBLICAN SUPPORT OF TEMPERANCE..... 46

V. THE REPUBLICAN PRESS AND IMMIGRATION..... 67

VI. DISSENT AMONG REPUBLICAN PAPERS..... 88

VII. CONCLUSION..... 92

BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 96

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....1

Chapter

I. THE REPUBLICAN PRESS AND THE NEGRO.....9

II. THE REPUBLICAN PRESS AND EDUCATION.....29

III. REPUBLICAN VIEWS OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS.....37

IV. REPUBLICAN SUPPORT OF TEMPERANCE.....44

V. THE REPUBLICAN PRESS AND IMMIGRATION.....49

VI. DISSENSION AMONG REPUBLICAN PAPERS.....55

VII. CONCLUSION.....62

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....66

INTRODUCTION

Before the Civil War, anti-slavery, public education, women's rights, and temperance were among the various reform movements which shook the United States. In one form or another each of these movements retained vitality after the war. The central reform, abolition of slavery, had become a reality. But if the Negro was no longer a slave, his precise status as a free individual was still very much in question. In the early months of Presidential Reconstruction, the South practically re-enslaved the Negro through the passage of the Black Codes. Under such laws, the Negro could hardly progress as an individual. Therefore, he still needed help in attaining civil and political rights. The Republican Party adopted Negro suffrage and civil equality as its goals. Beginning in 1867, the Reconstruction Acts passed by the Republican dominated Congress began to provide for civil rights for the Negro. In the same year, the Republican party was organized in the Southern states largely to ensure support of the Reconstruction Acts. In North Carolina the newly organized Republican party under the leadership of William Woods Holden, stood firmly behind Negro equality in the areas of civil and political rights.

Public education, women's rights, and temperance reforms also continued to be considered after the war ended. Of these reforms, public education was the most earnestly sought by Republicans. Southern public school systems had long lagged behind Northern ones. The Civil War led many Northerners to believe that the poorer white class in the

South had been led into war through lack of knowledge. Republicans also realized that the newly enfranchised Negro needed educational opportunities. Therefore, Northerners believed an important need of the South was education for all its people. The women's rights movement gained important ground particularly in the South after the war. The loss of a quarter of a million men's lives in the war, opened new fields of endeavor to many Southern women. Whether they wanted them or not, women accepted new responsibilities, and continued to accept their traditional ones. Temperance reform experienced little progress during this period, however. The amount of alcohol consumed had increased during the war but it took years of agitation by a few to arouse public opinion to the evils of alcoholic consumption.

In North Carolina the newly organized Republican party and its press embraced most of these reforms. Particular emphasis was given to the granting of equal civil and political rights to the Negro, without which the party had little prospect of success. European and Northern immigration was another issue with which Southerners-Republicans as well as Democrats-were concerned during Reconstruction. They hoped immigrants would bring needed capital to rebuild their underpopulated and economically depressed cities and countryside,

The purpose of this paper is to examine the attitudes and positions of the Republican press of North Carolina on these reforms and issues, as well as the dissension which occasionally took place among these journals.

Internal division was a luxury which Southern Republicans could little afford. In North Carolina, as throughout the South, Democratic newspapers far outnumbered Republican and were generally more prosperous—reflecting the overwhelming tendency of well-to-do whites to support the party they associated with tradition, white supremacy and the Lost Cause. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton notes that in 1871 there were thirty-six political papers in the state; twenty-seven were Conservative or Democratic, seven were Republican, and two were independent.¹

Republican papers resembled the Democratic in their concentration on politics. During campaigns their circulation tended to increase, while in non-election years it dropped. Republican journals in particular suffered from a lack of advertisements owing to the general hostility of the business community. They were especially dependent upon party subsidies or public printing contracts and repeatedly urged their subscribers to pay up overdue subscriptions. In an effort to increase its income, the Raleigh Constitution listed reasons why a colored man should subscribe to it even though he could not read: he would help the party struggle for his rights, encourage those who could read, and set an example for his children.² Even in Wilmington, where the party had a two-to-one majority, because of the large black population, the Republican Post had difficulty surviving. Low circulations everywhere

¹J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina (2nd ed; Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1964), p. 567

²Daily Constitution, July 5, 1875.

resulted from the fact that the Republicans, who equalled Democrats in number, drew most of their support from the poor and illiterate classes.³

Of the Republican papers, the Raleigh Standard was one of the two most effective and influential. From 1865 to 1868, the Standard was edited by William Woods Holden. Born in obscurity, Holden rose to become one of North Carolina's most influential editors, a major leader successively in four political parties, and twice governor of the state in 1865 and 1868 - 1870.⁴ His editorials were clear, simple, and forcefully written. He approached his subjects with the zeal of a crusader. As a champion of the poor, he fought for justice for lower class whites as well as for blacks. He labeled the Republican party, "the party of the people."⁵ After becoming its nominee for governor early in 1868, Holden officially ended his association with the Standard. His son, Joseph W. Holden, edited the paper until July 1868, when it was purchased by Messrs. N. Paige and Company, a front for the notorious carpetbagger, Milton S. Littlefield. In 1869 Littlefield admitted to being the new owner, with H. L. Pike as editor. Pike editorially supported the Republican party vigorously and proved to be outspoken toward any other Republican paper which disagreed with the Standard or Governor Holden. Dissension among the Republican press of the state reached its height while Pike was editor. In March Littlefield left the

³William McKee Evans, Ballots and Fence Rails: Reconstruction on the Lower Cape Fear (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), p. 220.

⁴Dumas Malone, ed., Dictionary of American Biography (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), IX, 138-140

⁵Raleigh Standard, November 16, 1867.

state as a result of investigations of his involvement in a railroad fraud.⁶ W. A. Smith and Company (Smith was the President of the state owned North Carolina Railroad) became the new proprietor of the paper, with Joseph Holden resuming editorship until the Standard stopped publication in December 1870, on the eve of Governor Holden's impeachment trial. The Standard's influence was wide-reaching and it was acknowledged by most of the other Republican papers as being the major party organ in the state. It attained this position because of its superior editorship as well as its location and contact with the state government.

After the Standard ceased publication the party was successively represented in Raleigh by the Carolina Era and the Constitution. The Era changed editors frequently. Among its editors from June 1871 until July 1872 were Quentin Busbee, Marcus Ervin, Lewis Hanes, W. Whitaker, and J. C. Logan Harris. Evidently none of these men could devote his full time to the paper and each took it over for a month or two at a time. Sometimes, as in October 1871, three men shared the editorial responsibility concurrently. Surprisingly, the Era was an excellent paper reflecting both state and national party interests. The Constitution was published in 1875 by W. M. Brown and edited by the Republican State Executive Committee. The paper was primarily published to report the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of 1875.

The other major Republican paper during this period was the Wilmington Post, which began publication in 1867. During its first years

⁶Jothan Daniels, Prince of Carpetbaggers (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1958), p. 222.

several men served as editor for short periods. Then in 1872 William Parker Canaday became editor, remaining for twelve years except for a short period when he served as mayor of the city. Although Canaday was a Confederate veteran, he joined the North Carolina Republican party the year it was formed, 1867. He was a popular politician and editor. W. McKee Evans, in his study of the Lower Cape Fear region, found that Canaday "converted the Post into about the most scurrilous, the most scandalous, and the most consistently democratic paper that Wilmington had ever seen.⁷ The Post became the most important party paper after the Standard ceased publication in 1870.

Another influential east coast paper was the New Berne Republican. It was edited in 1867 and 1868 by H. J. Menninger, who later became secretary of state. When Menninger became too involved in politics in 1869, he sold the paper to George Nason and the name was changed to the New Berne Daily Times. Under Nason and his successor Ethelbert Hubbs, the Times was a well-written, opinionated paper which dared on occasion to defy the Standard and Governor Holden. Nason turned the paper over to Hubbs when he became New Bern's postmaster. Later, he published a weekly Republican paper, the New Berne Republic and Courier.

The only other east coast Republican paper of significance was a weekly, The North Carolinian, published in Elizabeth City from 1869 to 1903. Its first editor, Palemon John, had previously edited the Columbia County Republican at Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania. The North Carolinian was well written and

⁷Evans, Ballots and Fence Rails, p. 222.

informative. The paper stressed that it was primarily a "local news-paper,"⁸ and its concern with national issues was of secondary importance.

In the west, the Rutherford Star and the Asheville Pioneer, both published weekly, represented the Republicans for the greatest length of time. The Star began publication in 1867 with J. B. Carpenter as editor. A year later, Robert W. Logan became associate editor and from this point on the Star was controlled by his father, Judge George W. Logan, the most prominent Republican in that part of the state. The Star lived up to at least half of its motto: "Be sure you are right and then go ahead." Whether it was right or not, the Star went ahead. The paper was intensely sectional and sometimes rejected state party candidates if they did not directly represent the west. Publication was stopped briefly in the early summer of 1871, when the Ku Klux Klan destroyed the Star's office

The other western paper, the Asheville Pioneer, differed greatly from the Star. Its editorials definitely reflected its motto: "No North, No South, No East, No West - Our Whole Country." The paper always supported the state party leaders and criticized the Star for not doing the same. Alexander H. Jones began publishing the Pioneer in 1867. After becoming the party nominee for Congress in 1868, he turned the paper over to A. H. Dowell, Jr., who gave way in 1870 to Pinkney Rollins. It is difficult to determine the influence of the Pioneer, but it continued publishing until 1874.

The only other state Republican paper with a significant number of back issues extant is the Fayetteville Statesman. This weekly began

⁸The North Carolinian, October 14, 1874.

publication on April 5, 1873, and continued for a year. Benjamin Robinson served as publisher and editor until September, when O. H. Blocker took over. The paper never attained the circulation which it required to survive.

The Greensboro Union Register, which began publication under the editorship of Albion W. Tourgée and A. B. Chapin, deserves mention although few issues are left. Tourgée had moved from Ohio to Greensboro in 1865 for health and economic reasons. He quickly became interested in local politics and was shocked by Conservative injustice to Unionists and freedmen. Tourgée was a leading advocate of Negro suffrage and became known as a radical Republican. The Union Register reflected his doctrines. A. B. Chapin was a native of Michigan and served as a surgeon in the Union Army before coming to Greensboro.⁹

Other weekly Republican papers were: the American of Statesville, the Union Republican of Winston-Salem, the Roan Mountain Republican of Bakersville, the Weekly Surry Visitor of Mt. Airy, the Carolina Clipper of Rockingham, the Goldsboro News, the Charlotte Republican, and three successive Greensboro papers after the Register: the Republican Gazette, the Republican, and the New North State. These papers have only few issues left.

⁹Otto H. Olsen, Carpenter's Crusade: The Life of Albion Winegar Tourgee (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1965), pp. xii, 61-62.

CHAPTER I

THE REPUBLICAN PRESS AND THE NEGRO

In March 1867, Congress took over the direction of Reconstruction policy from Andrew Johnson, with Negro suffrage and civil equality as its chief goals. The Reconstruction Acts beginning at that time marked the initiation of the Negro in politics.

In 1867, the Republican party was organized in North Carolina and other Southern states largely to ensure support of the Reconstruction Acts. With temporary disfranchisement of many Conservatives under these laws, wartime Unionists, freed slaves, and former Northerners now could control state government. Under the leadership of William Woods Holden, the Republican party of North Carolina was composed of these three groups.

Holden had recognized that Johnson's plan for Reconstruction would be rejected by Congress. In January 1867, he attended a colored meeting in Raleigh where he announced that the Negro was entitled to vote and soon would be able to do so.¹ Holden put the Standard firmly behind Negro equality in the areas of civil and political rights. In the following weeks it endorsed the Reconstruction bill then before Congress,² arguing that it was anti-Republican and unjust to tax the Negro and deny him a voice in the government. Also, the Negro should be given the right to

¹Tri-Weekly Standard, January 8, 1867.

²Ibid., January 12, 1867.

vote "because he is loyal, and will stand by the Union under all circumstances against treason and traitors; because we shall have no peace in this country, and no adequate protection to the Negro himself, until he is placed on the same footing in his civil and political rights with the white man."³

After the passage of the first Reconstruction Act the other newly founded Republican newspapers in the state followed the lead of the Standard. They saw clearly that the enfranchisement of the Negro would be the making of the Republican party in the state. The Rutherford Star urged all Union men to work in harmony with Negroes in order to save themselves from rebel rule. It admonished Republicans not to stand by their "foolish dignity," but to co-operate with the newly enfranchised colored voter. The law now required such action, since the Negro was officially and potentially a political equal whether Republicans liked it or not.

We have not to choose whether we will make them political, equal, co-working friends and faithful and efficient allies or drive them to the arms of our enemies for political refuge. We must face the music squarely. If any union man is now too good or too white to cooperate with the Negro, on a basis of complete and absolute political equality in the political regeneration of the South, let him go over to the rebels.⁴

The Star pledged to do its part in informing and instructing the new Negro voters in order that they could act their role as part of the Republican Party.⁵

³Ibid., January 19, 1867.

⁴Star, March 23, 1867

⁵Ibid.

The New Berne Republican also felt that it was the duty of Republicans to educate the Negro to the nature of American political institutions and the position occupied by the leading political parties of the country.⁶ Republicans occasionally doubted that the Negro really understood these positions. They were quick to point out that even though his former masters in the Democratic party were forever telling him that they wished him well and were his truest friends, it was the Republican party which had freed him.⁷ As a result the colored man owed the Republicans gratitude for his freedom.⁸

All Republican newspapers were united in the belief that the Negro was entitled to equal civil and political but not social rights. Their problem was how to convince the white man that by giving the Negro the right to vote, they were not giving him control of the government. The Conservative press immediately began the cry of "Negro supremacy," and "Negro domination." Republicans pointed out that the South's black population of four million could not possibly overrule the white population of eight million. Nor could the Negroes be intellectually superior since on the whole they were without even the basic rudiments of education. In only four Southern states did Negroes hold a majority and in those the race owned only a ten-thousandth part of the property.⁹ The New Berne Republican believed that the term "Negro supremacy"

⁶New Berne Republican, July 9, 1869.

⁷Ibid., May 16, 1867.

⁸Ibid., May 7, 9, 1867.

⁹Evening Post, November 3, 1867. See also Daily Standard, March 25, 1868.

probably had power to frighten the timid and ignorant masses of white people, but surely no intelligent man could believe that a minority of poor, uneducated men would be able to attain power and rule supreme over a vast majority of white people who had all positions of honor, trust, and wealth in their control.¹⁰ At various times the Republican press pointed out that no one in the United States, favored a black man's government. Instead, white and black races both wanted "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. The people of both races, who are entitled to equal political and civil rights without regard to race or former condition."¹¹ At a large meeting of black Republicans in New Hanover County, a resolution was passed stating that they had "no disposition to encourage the bugbear 'negro supremacy'... We look for reconciliation, harmony, and good will."¹²

The Wilmington Post went a step further than the other Republican papers, perhaps because there was a black majority in its area.¹³ On August 13, 1867, in an article entitled "The Last Bugaboo," its editor stated that if Negroes did control state government, there was nothing in the past to warrant the conclusion that all kinds of outrages would follow. In general, he said, blacks conducted themselves properly and tastefully. The Post did not believe that many colored people

¹⁰New Berne Republican, December 9, 1868.

¹¹Tri-Weekly Standard, August 22, 1867.

¹²Evening Post, September 8, 1867.

¹³William McKee Evans. Ballots and Fence Rails, Reconstruction on the Lower Cape Fear (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), p. 220.

proposed a "black man's" party or government. They desired to acquire knowledge in order to exercise their new rights and their only offense in the eyes of Conservatives was co-operation with the Republican party. Indeed, the paper commented, there should be no hostility between the races since the wants of "a black man and the wants of a white man are precisely the same." This was especially true among the working classes, it continued, because all laborers needed legal protection, schools, and fair judges.¹⁴

To counter a Conservative accusation that the Republicans were endeavoring to bring about a war of races, the Republicans cautioned the Negro against permitting the remembrance of their former condition as slaves to engender feelings of hatred toward their former masters.¹⁵ The Post found in August 1867 that the "conduct of the newly enfranchised race thus far warrants us in saying that if there should be any collision of the races, the whites and not the black man will be responsible."¹⁶ Republican editors believed that their party, by guarantying equal rights for all men, had dispelled the only reason for a war between the races.¹⁷

¹⁴Evening Post, September 1, 1867.

¹⁵New Berne Republican, May 23, 1867.

¹⁶Evening Post, August 17, 1867.

¹⁷New Berne Republican, July 16, 1867. One other source gives an insight into the mind of the white Republicans concerning the Negro. The Charlotte Republican told its white readers that they need not fear a black revolt. "As a free people they (the blacks) are in the infancy of life. A false step, and they go back and down to the degradation of barbarism--heathenism--probably slavery, and final extermination. --They will not take that step." Standard, October 12, 1867, quoting Charlotte Republican. Italics in original.

The Post successfully pointed out the illogic of Conservative racial views. Conservatives felt that the black as a slave was orderly, virtuous, and Christian, but as a freeman he was a savage. When he was ignorant of his rights and could not read the Bible, he was a paragon of virtue; now that he was free, gaining a knowledge of his rights and privileges, seeking education for himself and children and desiring to read the Bible, the black man had become a brute.¹⁸

Other Republican papers were quick to point out the rapid progress which the colored population was making since emancipation. The New Berne Daily Times advised its Negro friends to obtain an education because freedom and education were closely allied.¹⁹ In July 1869, it noted with pleasure, that colored children were participating in exercises at the Academy in New Bern.²⁰ In New Bern black and white children were at least graduating together. The Post too pointed out that colored children were rapidly being educated. In giving colored individuals opportunity to improve themselves, there was no need to fear they would abuse their new privileges.²¹

Later, when Conservatives charged that the Negro was too ignorant to vote and hold office, the Post found the charge unjustifiable. Many

¹⁸Evening Post, December 14, 1867.

¹⁹New Berne Daily Times, July 27, 1869.

²⁰Ibid., July 10, 17, 1869.

²¹Semi-Weekly Post, July 30, 1868.

Negroes could no longer be considered ignorant; besides, they agreed, many ignorant white men had voted and held office in the past without dire consequences.²²

In speaking of the colored members of the recent Republican state convention in 1867, the Standard confidently stated as a fact, apparent to the whole world, "that their intelligence far exceeds the circumstances of their former condition, and as a component part of the loyal people of North Carolina, we cheerfully confide the prosperity and glory of our state to their keeping."²³ Later, the Standard admonished critics of the Negro to give the race time and a helping hand. The belief that blacks would shortly relapse into barbarism was totally unfounded, it declared.²⁴

Although Republican editors in North Carolina were firm in their belief that the Negro deserved equal civil and political rights, they by no means favored integration, or social equality as it was then called. Nor did they believe that the Negro desired social equality with whites. The primary charge of the Conservative press against Republicans was that they favored social equality or at least that their policies inevitably would lead to it. Republicans consistently repudiated the accusation. The Standard denied that "because the colored man has, as he ought to have, all his political and civil rights, that he will

²²Evening Post, March 19, 1874.

²³Tri-Weekly Standard, April 2, 1867.

²⁴Ibid., November 12, 1868.

trench on the social rights or status of the white race."²⁵ The paper considered all talk of social equality as nonsense. "Have you heard," Holden demanded in an editorial, "any colored men who advocated social equality between the races. No law can force you to take a black man into your home."²⁶

The editor of the New Berne Republican, H. J. Menninger, presented on December 8, 1868, what has become the classic argument against racial social equality:

Negro equality...has been one of the bugaboos of the enemies to freedom and equal rights. Just as it would be a matter of course that by making all men, without regard to race or color, equally responsible to and equally justified by the laws, there should necessarily follow an equality in every other respect. Are white men equal in all their relations in life? Equally wealthy and equally intelligent? And do they all associate together on terms of equality?...I pity the aspirations of a white man, who is afraid to take an even chance with a negro in the race of life.

As much as to say if you treat negroes with equal justice and give them equal political rights, with other men, you must make them your social equals and intermarry with them as a matter of course. I do not see the point. There are thousands of white women in every community...that I would not marry, and there are thousands of white men also that I would not like to have a daughter of mine marry. So I do not think that marrying or intermarrying has anything to do with the matter of equal justice and equal rights before the law, as far as citizenship is concerned.

In the summer of 1867, a mixed party convention meeting in Morganton declared that "no sensible person of any complexion desires or expects social equality." They added that if anyone claimed social

²⁵Ibid., June 29, 1868.

²⁶Ibid., November 19, 1867.

equality to be an object of the party, he was a "base slanderer."²⁷
 The Reverend Alexander Boss, a black delegate to a Republican convention
 in 1867, told his fellow party members: "No such thought entered into
 any sensible colored man's head and that of no respectable white man....
 Equal political rights was what they [Negroes] were for."²⁸

The Asheville Pioneer quoting the New Berne Republican published
 an ironic song written by "Loftin" of Core Creek:

Good white folks, fellow citizens
 I mean to tell you straight,
 We nigger nebber wish to have
 White women for our mate,
 Our gals learn's enought dar tricks--
 Use backy, snuff and sech,
 De waterfall and tiltareen,
 And ebry foolish ketch,
 So keep nigger ladies all for us,
 You keep your side de fence;
 Boubt mixin breeds you make no fuss,
 But I'm feared you fust commence.

'Tis true dars Julia Washington,
 And Miss Diana Lane--
 Bright yaller in dar plexions--
 Hab white mixture in their vein,
 And den dars Denis Davidson,
 Pomp Nixon, Charlie Green--
 You would swear dat all dar mammies
 Nigger daddies nebber seen.
 So keep nigger ladies, and etc.

You white folks say de nigger's mean
 And all dat sort of stuff;--
 What makes de man? Is it him skin?
 Den tell me whar's dar proof?
 "De mind's de standard," massa Pope
 Say many years ago;
 Den if we wish to turn de joke.
 We ask what mind you show?
 So keep nigger ladies, and etc.

²⁷ Ibid., August 31, 1867, quoted in Forrest G. Wood, Black Scare: The Racist Response to Emancipation and Reconstruction (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), p. 153.

²⁸ Ibid., September 14, 1867.

If mind exalts the body, pray,
 To what height do you fly?
 Your reason how do you display,
 And Equal Rights deny?
 I envy not the boasting,
 Vain position which you blaim;
 My reason tells me I'm a man;
 And my manhood I'll maintain.
 So keep nigger ladies, and etc.²⁹

The Pioneer also expressed its belief that if there were any attempt to force the two races together socially, it would inevitably prove disastrous to the colored people.³⁰ Other papers stressed that Negroes only objected to regulations and laws which denied them opportunities and privileges because they were not white. They wanted free separate public schools and churches. They desired to have equal facilities in public conveyances. Republican editors found it unjustifiable that the Negro was forced into uncomfortable seats at the rear and forced to freeze on steamboats.³¹

Not only did the Republicans deny that they were advocating social equality, they frequently turned this accusation upon the Conservatives. The Standard accused Conservatives of practically adopting the doctrine of social equality when delegates to a Democratic convention not only ate with, but slept with Negroes.³² The New Berne Republican pointed to seven bastardy cases pending before the city

²⁹Asheville Pioneer, August 29, 1867, quoting New Berne Republican.

³⁰Ibid., June 6, 1874.

³¹Evening Post, October 7, 1873; Fayetteville Statesman, February 7, 1874; and Raleigh Era, June 11, 1874.

³²Daily Standard, August 14, 1868.

magistrate's court there; all the mothers were reported to be colored and all the alleged fathers white "dyed-in-the-wool democrats."³³ This was an old, old practice, and the editor was confident that Republican policies would diminish rather than increase such social equality. Offenders of this sort were now aware that "the law will take cognizance of these matters, [they] will be more chary of running risks and having themselves placed before the public in an unenviable light."³⁴

In June 1869, there occurred a break in the hitherto solid phalanx of Republican press support for the Negro. Charles I. Grady, new editor of the Wilmington Post, launched an attack on black voters and office-holders. After urging the colored man to use his power carefully, Grady stated "if you will prove to the North that you neither desire to rule or ruin, you are all right on the trial; but if the jury can be satisfied that you will rule in your incompetent state, the verdict will be 'guilty'."³⁵ Grady proclaimed Negro suffrage a failure. He believed that Negroes should be silent observers of the political process and abstain from voting or holding office.³⁶ After this, the Post lapsed into silence over Negro officeholding until January 27, 1870, when Grady discussed the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment. Republicans had backed the freedmen, he announced, even as they realized that the newly extended powers and privileges would probably be abused and

³³New Berne Republican, November 8, 1868.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Semi-Weekly Post, June 18, 1869.

³⁶Ibid.

unappreciated. "In season and out of season we have declared 'all right,' when we knew...from the childish condition of the African intellect that all was not right, and possibly might be all wrong."³⁷ Grady scorned those "idiots" who believed "that color creates Congressmen, and that blackness means brains."³⁸ He had no doubt that white Southerners would continue to insist that intelligence must rule. "We now give notice that as foremost we have been in the maintenance of 'equality before the law' - rather than see an ignorant and depraved class elevated to power by designing demagogues, and depraved darkies we will lead the crusade and force into obscurity and consequent missionary duty the political infants we have adopted until we have made our land a vast foundling hospital."³⁹ According to the Post, men who were unable to write their names were permitted to control county committees. Others who were just able to read thought that they could adequately represent the state in the Congress of the United States, and totally illiterate candidates were supported for sheriff, judges, and clerks of court.⁴⁰

Grady thought he had found a new cause for the Republican press. It was now time to stop the Negro in the political arena. After all, the Republican party did not save the Union for Negroes to destroy it. By February Grady advocated sending all Negroes back to Africa, since

³⁷ Ibid. January 27, 1870.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., February 3, 1870.

he was convinced that the two races, equally free, could not live together.⁴¹ These views were typically voiced in the Conservative press, but only rarely by Republicans.

The Standard immediately disagreed, saying that they were "unjust and uncharitable" to the colored race. Nor could the Standard understand how a Republican paper could differentiate between a white and black Republican. If the colored people held a larger share of offices than they had in the past, it was because this was the first time they had qualified. Negroes were appointed to office because of their fitness and capacity. Nothing could be more injurious to the party "than the raising of the question of color, and the day it is generally done will secure the downfall of Republicanism in the south and will be the death knell of the liberties of the colored people."⁴² The Standard recognized the plain fact that the Republican party owed its success to Negro support. Colored citizens were not asking too much of the party, therefore, nor did they receive as much from it as they could justly have demanded. Negroes, according to the Standard, were aware of their lack of educational attainment. For a people who had undergone a sudden social and political change, the colored race had reacted with "a spirit which has gained them the respect of the nation and which will be a source of wonder to future generations."⁴³

⁴¹Ibid., February 6, 1870.

⁴²Daily Standard, February 2, 1870

⁴³Ibid.

This argument continued for a short while, and Grady soon acquired other problems with a similar foundation. In 1870, a group of popular Negro leaders gained control of the New Hanover County Republican Convention. They accused Grady of being prejudiced and anti-Negro and demanded his removal as editor of the Post. Since that paper was subsidized by an assessment on Republican officeholders, Grady's job was in a precarious position. The Negroes even refused to send a copy of the official records of the convention to the Post for publication.⁴⁴ Somehow Grady managed to keep his position until 1872, perhaps by compromising; there were no more anti-Negro articles in the paper.

Another point of frequent Conservation attack upon Negroes was their alleged criminality. The virulently racist Raleigh Sentinel, for instance, proclaimed in 1871 "that 4/5 of the crimes done in this state, for the last four years have been committed by negroes."⁴⁵

The Rutherford Star denied this accusation and countered that a majority of crimes had been committed by white Democrats.⁴⁶ The New Berne Republican noted that Southern papers with strictly Southern views had an ironic way of accounting for murders and outrages. If a Negro were killed by an ex-Confederate, the murder would be justified on the ground that the scoundrel should have been eliminated long ago. If a Negro murdered a white man, it showed that the Negro race was

⁴⁴Evans, Ballots and Fence Rails, p. 220.

⁴⁵Star, January 7, 1871.

⁴⁶Ibid.

barbaric and unfit to govern. And if a Northerner murdered a Negro, it demonstrated that Northerners did not really care about the Negro race.⁴⁷

Republican papers showed a good deal of sympathy toward the Negro on the question of crime. They argued that the black man's position was about as bad as it could possibly be. The largest portion of Negroes were poor and ignorant. Everywhere they turned, they found Democrats trying to increase prejudice and embitter feelings against them. Many blacks were jailed without adequate reason and once in jail they could not afford the high bonds or employ counsel.⁴⁸ And in some sections of the state it was impossible for a colored man to receive justice from a jury.⁴⁹

The subject of Negro involvement in crime led to a controversy between the Post and its rival, the Conservative Wilmington Journal. The Post - no longer under Grady's editorship - disagreed with the Journal's belief that Negroes violated the law from a natural predisposition to crime. It replied that degradation and ignorance were the most powerful sources of crime, and those persons who had kept the Negro in slavery were responsible for his present moral and intellectual level. But the Post quickly added that his outstanding characteristic was respect for law and not criminality.⁵⁰

⁴⁷New Berne Republican, December 23, 1868.

⁴⁸Daily Standard, May 26, 1868. See also New Berne Republican, December 23, 1868

⁴⁹Evening Post, January 28, 1876.

⁵⁰Ibid.

Very soon after blacks first received the right to vote Conservative landowners began threatening them with violence or discharge from employment if they insisted on voting Republican.⁵¹ The Republican press tried to discourage this pressure by pointing out the need of landowners to keep their laborers satisfied and at home.⁵² Early in 1870, the Standard began complaining about outsiders who were recruiting laborers to go to Mississippi to work on railroads. Conditions among the Negroes who had left, the paper claimed, were terrible.⁵³ By June, the Standard was trying to find a means to bring such labor back to the state.⁵⁴ The New Berne Daily Times was certain that colored people were leaving North Carolina because of the prejudice exhibited toward them and the refusal of whites to recognize their equal rights before the law. The Negroes were going where they would be treated as citizens and men.⁵⁵ The paper could "see no remedy except in forming a community of interest which binds the laborer to his section and state, and holds him by stronger ties than grudgingly paid compensation for service rendered."⁵⁶ The Times hoped to improve

⁵¹Tri-Weekly Standard, October 31, 1867.

⁵²Ibid., see also New Berne Republican, December 9, 1868.

⁵³Daily Standard, February 8, 1870.

⁵⁴Ibid., January 24, 1870.

⁵⁵New Berne Daily Times, May 17, 1871.

⁵⁶Ibid., August 6, 1873.

conditions of colored men by pleading for whites to give them a chance to make good homes for themselves, to sell land at a reasonable figure, and to aid them in establishing schools and churches.⁵⁷

The Post and the Era joined in the cause by noting that the demagogue who recommended deportation or destruction of the Negro would one day be recognized as a traitor to the South.⁵⁸ If there were a sudden withdrawal of colored labor from the South, the Post believed that the section would experience financial distress amounting to absolute pauperism.⁵⁹

When the Republican press in North Carolina began supporting the Negro in his goal of political and civil equality in 1867, it did so on an optimistic note. Editors predicted the eventual disappearance of race prejudice.⁶⁰ The light of intelligence and higher civilization would help both races to forget old feuds and learn to live with one another in peace.⁶¹ By 1872, the Carolina Era admitted that innovations had usually encountered opposition in previous times, "but, perhaps, none ever encountered more violent prejudices than the granting of equal civil and political privileges to the colored people in the Southern

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Evening Post, September 3, 1875, and Era, October 8, 1874.

⁵⁹Post., May 12, 1876.

⁶⁰Ibid., August 17, 1867.

⁶¹Daily Standard, March 6, 1869.

States."⁶² In spite of the prejudices, civil and political rights came, and the Negroes deserved the respect and courtesy of white people. The Era felt that North Carolinians had reason to feel proud of their colored population, since it had conducted itself over the years with propriety and dignity.⁶³ The paper still believed that the future of the colored race was bright and hopeful, since the interests of both races in the South were mutual. It offered its readers a philosophical view of the future, stating that "the elevation of one [race] is the elevation of the other. The depression of one carries down the hopes and the interest of both."⁶⁴ A later Raleigh Republican paper, the Daily Constitution, joined in praise of the Negro by emphasizing that whatever political course he might pursue in the future, he would prove an effective, productive, and useful citizen.⁶⁵

By 1876, the Republican party in North Carolina and the South was badly demoralized. No longer did its press retain such high hopes for the Negro's future. Optimism gave way to pessimism. The Daily Constitution issued advice on October 17, 1876. "It is proper...that the colored people in this state should in this awful crisis confess their sins, humble themselves, and pray to Him for His guidance and protection in the dangerous and not distant future that confronts them." The paper

⁶²Carolina Era, February 6, 1872.

⁶³Ibid., February 6, 1873.

⁶⁴Ibid., January 8, 1873.

⁶⁵Daily Constitution, October 7, 1875.

feared that Democrats would deprive the Negro of his rights which had been granted by Republicans.

From the time of its organization, the Republican party in North Carolina, as throughout the South, supported Negro suffrage and civil equality. The party stood firmly behind the Negro's right to hold office, and repudiated Democratic accusations of "negro domination." Negro voters never equaled white voters nor did they occupy the highest elective offices of the state. Republicans were successful in bringing Negroes into active politics. Negroes were influential in the state Constitutional Convention of 1868 (fifteen participated), in each session of the state legislature between 1868 and 1876, and in numerous local public offices. Democratic criticism of Negro officeholders' morals, honesty, intelligence, and educational attainment were repudiated by Republicans. Instead, the Republican press frequently commented on the proper conduct of Negroes and on their desire for education.

Republican control of the state legislature ended in 1870, although the party was able to elect a Republican governor in 1872. Democrats did not immediately disfranchise the Negro. Instead, they added three amendments to the Constitution in 1875 which eventually enabled them to control Negro political activities. Two of the amendments gave the General Assembly more control over local government, and the other amendment authorized the General Assembly to elect justices of the peace. Negroes continued to vote in large numbers and to hold local and legislative positions until the 1890's.⁶⁶ Through these years

⁶⁶Frenise A. Logan, The Negro in North Carolina, 1876-1894 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), p. 25.

CHAPTER II

THE REPUBLICAN PRESS AND EDUCATION

At the beginning of the Civil War North Carolina had the best system of public schools in the South. The system received most of its income from an endowment set up by the state called the Literary Fund and not from taxes. During the war the Literary Fund was invested in state and Confederate bonds and in railroad stock. With Northern victory the Literary Fund was almost wiped out. Democratic leaders proved uninterested in providing public schools after the war.

The Republican party in North Carolina throughout the Reconstruction period was deeply interested in public education. The leaders of the party reflected the Jeffersonian philosophy that liberty and free government could not long endure among an ignorant citizenry. Instead, the future of the state depended upon an enlightened and educated populace. They believed that all classes should have an equal opportunity to obtain and education and that this was a responsibility which the state was obligated to shoulder. In 1869, the Republican-controlled legislature enacted a school law which contemplated a "general and uniform system of state schools," and it was upon this statute that the public school system of North Carolina was later built.¹

In 1866 and 1867, the Conservatives who then controlled the state government had showed little concern for public schools and made no provision

¹Daniel Jay Whitener, "Public Education in North Carolina During Reconstruction, 1865-1876, " in Essays in Southern History, ed. by Fletcher M. Green (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949), pp. 82-83.

for a state supported school system. In fact, they were so hostile to the idea that in March, 1866, they destroyed the shadowy system then existing on paper.²

Basically, there were two motives for this action. The most publicized reason was that the people were unable and unwilling to pay taxes for public education. The state was in fact poverty-stricken and the lack of funds was a serious problem. But the reason which apparently convinced most members of the legislature was the fear of racially mixed schools.³

Neither of these reasons seemed to bother the Republican press. During the period of Conservative control, Republican papers advocated more state and local government action to improve the schools. Since the state had very few qualified teachers, the New Berne Republican pleaded for the establishment of a normal school.⁴ The Wilmington Post suggested that a direct tax be levied upon each individual through county officers, for the erection and support of public schools.⁵ Of course, no such tax was levied at this time.

²The law passed abolished the offices of superintendent of common schools and the treasurer of the Literary Fund. All resources of the school fund were to be transferred to the state treasury and county courts were given the power to see to the maintenance of common schools in their respective counties. By this act, local control now supplanted state control. Ibid., p. 70.

³Ibid., pp. 70-71.

⁴New Berne Republican, July 27, 1867.

⁵Evening Post, September 4, 1867.

In the fall of 1867, public education became an important political issue for the Republicans. They charged Conservatives with being hostile to educational and economic improvement of the poorer classes, both black and white.⁶ This charge was widely aired while the Constitution of 1868 was being written. Conservatives responded that the new Constitution would create mixed schools as well as mixed militia, while the Republicans continuously stated that all such organizations would be separate but equal in rights and responsibilities. Nor would taxes be raised excessively under the new constitution.⁷ Negroes, maintained the New Berne Republican, deserved and needed to be educated in order to fulfill their new responsibilities. The Republican pointed out that people would soon see that "it is better to live among intelligent negroes than among ignorant ones."⁸ Republican members of the constitutional convention deliberately omitted any references to race in the new constitution.⁹

After the acceptance of the new constitution, Republicans tried to carry their beliefs into reality. In a Commencement address at the University in 1869, Governor Holden presented his ideas on education:

We may say, indeed, that these who were selected at former periods to control the operations of the institution were not called to the assumption of responsibilities and duties equal to those that have been imposed upon us; for the University is now a popular institution; it is held to an inseparable connection with the free public schools....

⁶Weekly North Carolina Standard, October 30, 1867, and Wilmington Post, December 4, 1867.

⁷Daily Standard, March 7, 27, 28, 1868.

⁸New Berne Republican, July 27, 1867.

⁹Daily Standard, March 7, 1868.

It is now the people's University...Education knows no color or condition of mankind. It should be free, like the air we breathe, and as pervading and as universal.

The chief want of our people is education...We have the means to sustain this University, and to establish good public schools in every township in the State. We must do it. If we fail in this we shall have failed in the work of self-government.¹⁰

The New Berne Daily Times expressed the belief that it was the duty of state government to provide and extend education. The character of a state depended upon those who composed it. Education increased a person's ability to judge calmly and considerately. It taught him to act with prudence and to control his passions. Education also helped a person to take the broader and more comprehensive view of things.¹¹ Unless the government provided means to enlighten the popular mind, the Standard believed North Carolina would not be truly democratic. Uneducated people could easily become tools of wealthy and selfish aristocratic demagogues. The Southern rebellion was itself a result of ignorance.¹² In the past, the Asheville Pioneer pointed out, former slaveowners had kept their slaves from being educated since to let them learn would increase their resistance to bondage. Now the Conservatives did not want to allow the laboring whites to be educated since then they would know where lay their true interest and their power.¹³

¹⁰Ibid., June 12, 1869. Italics in original.

¹¹New Berne Daily Times, February 9, 1871.

¹²Daily Standard, March 30, 1869.

¹³Asheville Pioneer, September 16, 1869.

The Carolina Era philosophically stated: "If we knew what would be done for education in the state during the next half century, we would predict what the state itself would become at the end of that time."¹⁴ The Era did not believe that it was safe to leave such a vital public interest in the hands of private enterprise. It was the state government's duty to provide free and equal educational opportunities for its people. Private enterprise would not use its wealth to help the common people.¹⁵

Commonly, in the North at least, education was considered a "cure-all" for everything that ailed society. The Republican press in North Carolina shared this belief. The Raleigh Era and Examiner, for example, declared that education "decreases crime, reduces taxes, improves labor, increases the value of property, and elevates the whole community."¹⁶ The community which provided adequate educational facilities would prosper, since the first thing which a family or industry moving into an area wanted to know about was the schools. If they were considered good, more people would be attracted to the community.

Ignorance was the major cause of crime, so far as the Republican press was concerned, and crime was expensive for society as a whole. The Post found that the safety of society depended upon the education of its children. In every community the men who disturbed the peace

¹⁴Carolina Era, December 9, 1871.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid., February 19, 1874.

did so as a result of ignorance.¹⁷ Likewise, the Era and Examiner found that "in the United States the illiterate person commits ten times the number of crimes the educated one commits."¹⁸ An educated child becomes a source of wealth, while a neglected child becomes an expense and a peril to the state.¹⁹ Without educational progress, the Carolina Era could foresee an increase in ignorance, pauperism, and crime. Surely, editors cried, schools and colleges cost less than criminal courts, jails, and poor houses.²⁰

Republicans had only two years to develop and apply their ideas about education. Lack of funds severely hampered their progress. Edgar W. Knight, in his study of North Carolina's public school education, found that by the end of the fiscal year 1869, no taxes had been collected for education. Moreover, state officials found it difficult to recruit qualified teachers for the few schools that did operate. Textbooks and supplies were also scarce.²¹

After the Conservatives took over the legislature in 1870, Republicans saw little hope for any expansion of state aid to education

¹⁷ Semi-Weekly Post, June 27, 1869. View also reflected in New Berne Daily Times, January 17, 1869.

¹⁸ Weekly Era and Examiner, February 19, 1874.

¹⁹ Evening Post, January 23, 1873.

²⁰ Carolina Era, December 9, 1871, and Daily Standard, February 2, 1869.

²¹ Edgar W. Knight, Public School Education in North Carolina (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1916), p. 241.

in the near future. The only chance they could see for improving and extending the school system was a federal aid program, emanating from Congress. Republican editors reasoned that proceeds from the sale of public lands would be adequate for this purpose.²² The federal government's help failed to materialize, however.

An important achievement of Southern Republicans during this period was the establishment of state supported public school systems for children of both races. Although Republicans were not as successful as they hoped to be, their efforts deserve recognition. In North Carolina, the Constitution of 1868 established provisions for public schools which were more mandatory and thorough than any previously provided by the state.²³ Through the Constitution and new school laws, Republicans effected three important changes for state education. First they made provisions for a general tax to be levied for educational needs. Secondly, they introduced state support of Negro education, and thirdly, they established a prescribed school term of four months.²⁴

Republican efforts in North Carolina were crushed by Democrats after 1870. In one of its few acts concerning education, the Democratic controlled legislature of 1870 reduced the salary of the superintendent of public instruction from \$2400 to \$1500 a year and deprived him of

²²New Berne Daily Times, December 29, 1872; December 3, 1872; and February 5, 1874; and Rutherford Star, July 16, 1870.

²³Knight, Education in North Carolina, p. 230.

²⁴Ibid., p. 263

clerical help and traveling expenses.²⁵ The problems of inadequate resources, indifference, and resistance continued to plague public school officials of North Carolina and the rest of the South until the turn of the century. In the school year 1900-1901, North Carolina school funds averaged \$4.56 per child attending school while the national average was \$21.14.²⁶ In the same year, North Carolina led in native white illiteracy with 19.5 per cent.²⁷ When North Carolina awakened to the need of better public schools, the state was further behind than almost all other states. If Republican reforms had been continued by the Democrats after 1870, North Carolina's struggle to catch up would not have been as difficult.

²⁵Ibid., p. 249.

²⁶C. Van Woodward, Origins of the New South, 1877-1913 (2nd ed.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), p. 398.

²⁷Ibid., p. 400.

CHAPTER III

REPUBLICAN VIEWS OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS

For several decades before the Civil War, the issue of women's rights (among others) had suffered in competition with the anti-slavery movement. Many abolitionists, although favoring women's rights, had felt that emancipation was the primary cause, requiring the most attention. Immediately after the war most public attention centered upon politics and the Negro. As a result it was some time before many people noticed the changes which were occurring in the woman's role in society.

The lives of many Southern women were significantly altered by the abolition of slavery and the widespread destruction of the plantation system. Reduction of the male population by war thrust women into new areas of work. The 1870 census found 25,000 more women than men in North Carolina. The census figures also reflect changes in women's occupations. More women were now the heads of families, managing their farms, and providing for their children. Along with their new responsibilities, they still maintained their old ones - cooking, cleaning, gardening, and watching after children. The census figures also list women occupied as "teachers, seamstresses, laundresses, boardinghouse keepers, and mill workers." The shortage of men who could take the loyalty oath made it possible for a woman to be appointed postmistress at Tarboro, North Carolina.¹

¹Anne Firor Scott, The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 106-110.

The growing belief that increased educational opportunities were needed to help rebuild the economy coincided with the need of many women to find employment. Teaching was a respected occupation and attracted more women from Reconstruction to the present. Teaching particularly attracted many upper-class women who needed an income. Women taught in the newly established public schools, in their own private schools, and in the few academies which survived the war.

A few Republican papers in North Carolina showed interest in the new roles of women. Many joined the Conservative press in opposition to women taking jobs outside the home and gaining more civil rights. Still, a few Republican papers did aid in the women's rights movement.

According to the Standard in 1869, female suffrage would be destructive both to women and the country. "God has assigned definite duties in the world to both man and woman, and these duties cannot be departed from without resulting in a direct injury to society."² Believing that the issue was lowering and unwomanly, the Standard felt female suffrage was the hobby of "strong-minded women and weak-minded men."³ No man except a hen-pecked husband would participate in or sanction a cause such as women's rights, which was "calculated to destroy the proper balance of society."⁴

The Rutherford Star agreed with Mark Twain's reasons why women should not be given the right to vote. If they had the suffrage, there

²Daily Standard, January 6, 1869.

³Ibid. May 12, 1869.

⁴Ibid.

would be no chance for peace on earth, they would rapidly swamp the country with debt, and they would forget about their household duties in order to drink with the candidates.⁵ Still, the Star felt it was only justifiable to reassure the public that a woman's judgment was sound on the practical matters of domestic and secular life.⁶ The Star demonstrated its ability to change with the times, however. By 1870, it published a favorable article about a young woman who had been licensed as a practicing lawyer in St. Louis.⁷ It also admitted that the woman's role in society had been more "despicable and degrading than that which has characterized any other of the slaveries which man has selfishly maintained since the fabled expulsion from Eden."⁸

The Wilmington Post in 1870 broke its traditional policy of never disputing with women. The paper found it could not agree with the radical ladies who advocated woman suffrage. Still, the editor admitted that ladies did have cause to complain when they were not allowed to enjoy other civil rights.⁹

The New Berne Republican and Daily Times showed the greatest and most continuous interest in this issue. In 1868 the Republican favored paying women the same wages as men for the same amount of work.¹⁰ The

⁵Ibid., April 20, 1867.

⁶Ibid., March 6, 1869.

⁷Ibid., April 16, 1870.

⁸Ibid., May 14, 1870.

⁹Evening Post, December 1870.

¹⁰New Berne Republican, December 20, 25, 1868.

Times denied that a woman's place was and should always be in the home. There were many kinds of work which a woman could do as well as a man, and if a lady were smart and desirous of earning her own living, advantages should be given to her.¹¹ Jobs which the paper felt were appropriate for women were telegraph operators, nurses, and clerks. At this time, however, the Times felt that ladies should not vote and should refuse to join in political canvasses and stump speaking.¹² Actually, women who were continually harping on the right to vote irritated the paper. "If women would leave the suffrage question alone, and apply themselves to opening new avenues of industry for their sex, or secure them their just rights, where they are desired, then every man will give them [his] hearty support."¹³

By 1871, the Times advocated educating women to strengthen their intellects and make them self-reliant, independent, and capable of contending with life. It viewed women as having been "brought up as dolls and playthings, worshipped and admired for their beauty, petted and caressed for thier useless accomplishments."¹⁴ Now was the time for women to begin association with men in all businesses of life, relying on their own judgment and resources.¹⁵ This attitude, along with

¹¹ New Berne Daily Times, January 10, 1869.

¹² Ibid., June 19, 1869.

¹³ Ibid., November 30, 1869.

¹⁴ Ibid., April 1, 1871

¹⁵ Ibid., June 7, 1871.

an expressed belief that women should be given the right to vote and that social inequalities must be abolished, represented a complete about-face.

Once the Times agreed to the desirability of woman's suffrage, the problem was how to get the rest of the country to see the issue in the same light. The admission of women to vote in one of the western territories helped soften opportunities and accustom people to it, but this was too far away to be an effective influence. Therefore, the Times concluded that Congress needed to set an example by allowing women to vote in the District of Columbia.¹⁶

By 1873, the Raleigh Era had joined the Times' fight to obtain for women equal compensation for work. The Era claimed to reflect the views of the Republican party on this issue.¹⁷ It pointed out that the Republican party of North Carolina was the first to give women their rights of property and person as well as to advocate equal pay for equal work. North Carolina ladies were currently filling professorships and teaching at all levels; they were writing fiction, and at least one was a physician. It was time to stop men from monopolizing all pleasant and profitable jobs and from becoming wealthy at the expense of women, who received only fifty percent of a man's compensation for the same amount of labor.¹⁸ The North Carolinian of Elizabeth City added its support

¹⁶ Ibid., August 11, 1871, and October 4, 1874.

¹⁷ Era, December 4, 1873.

¹⁸ Weekly Era and Examiner, March 5, 1874.

in the fight for equal wages and job opportunities for women.¹⁹ It is unfortunate for the women's movement that the Raleigh Era, The North Carolinian, and the New Berne Daily Times did not have a national following.

The changing role of women in Southern society came about as a result of difficult times, the shortage of men, and the need of women to support themselves and their families. Anne F. Scott found in her study of Southern women that by the "turn of the century a significant percentage of southern females, especially single ones drawn from all social classes, and especially in the older states, were gainfully employed."²⁰ Women outnumbered men as teachers, typists, and stenographers.

The activity of women in the temperance crusade boosted the women's rights movement in North Carolina and the nation. Their work in the cause of temperance will be discussed in the next chapter.

It is interesting to find that North Carolina's Republican papers became more liberal on the issue of women's rights after the party began losing its political influence in the state. Even the paper most concerned about women's rights, the New Berne Republican and Daily Times, was against women's suffrage until 1871. The paper never explained its change in attitude. If Republicans had endorsed women's suffrage in 1868, it might have hurt their chances at the hands of a male electorate. After 1871, there was little chance for Republicans to expand unless they embraced a newly enfranchised group. If women were given the right to vote nationally, surely the ladies (like the blacks) would remember

¹⁹The North Carolinian, December 2, 1874.

²⁰Scott, The Southern Lady, p. 129.

their debt to the Republicans. Also, Negro suffrage might have added some strength to the women's suffrage movement. If Republicans believed that former slaves should have the privilege of voting, why not women? In fact the woman's role in society was at times compared to slavery. Still, Republican support did little to help women in North Carolina to vote. When Congress long afterward passed the Nineteenth Amendment and sent it to the states for ratification, only Texas, Tennessee, and Arkansas among Southern states voted to ratify it.²¹

²¹Ibid., p. 181.

CHAPTER IV

REPUBLICAN SUPPORT OF TEMPERANCE

The temperance crusade in the United States experienced slow growth from the early days of the Republic. It reached its first high-water mark in the late 1850's and early 1860's, when moral reform was primarily turned to the anti-slavery movement. Temperance differed from other reform crusades in its heterogenous following. The advocates of temperance included feminists, Negroes, pro-slavery supporters, and abolitionists. Each of these groups felt that temperance was essential to its own cause. They considered temperance to be the "cornerstone of moral principle."¹

The Civil War and Reconstruction proved to be the low-water period for temperance reform. Alcoholic beverages were abundant, morals became increasingly lax, and the federal government supported distillers because of a new tax on whiskey. Confederates were more temperate in their attitude toward alcohol than Northerners because alcohol was far more abundant in the North. The public, North and South, simply lost interest in temperance. During Reconstruction it was primarily a Northern concern, and Republicans created the small amount of interest exhibited over it in the South.

¹Louis Filler, The Crusade Against Slavery, 1830-1860 (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), pp. 39-40.

Temperance gained only limited attention from the Republican press in North Carolina. Only a few Republican papers wrote editorials about this issue, and those editorials were few in number. Still, the papers had some valuable advice about the control and use of alcoholic beverages.

For the Standard, temperance was a "holy cause,"² since it affected all mankind. A man who did not drink was affected by the crime which resulted from someone else's intemperance. Crime was expensive for the entire public, for through their taxes people as a whole supported the courts, the legislature, and penal and reformatory institutions which allegedly existed largely because of intemperance.³

The Wilmington Post recognized that men would have stimulants; therefore, it sought to confine the sale of liquors to discreet and respectable men. Society was injured when liquor was obtained by men without character, or who had little regard for the health of their fellow citizens. It urged that Wilmington set an example by establishing a system of inspection of all shops where alcoholic beverages were sold.⁴ This inspection plus regulations concerning who could buy liquor would go a long way in controlling this evil to society. The Post was vague over what individual or agency would decide the qualifications an individual needed in order to buy alcoholic beverages. Evidently, such details would be worked out in the future. The Post warned against being

²Daily Standard, December 11, 1868.

³Ibid., February 2, 4, 1869.

⁴Semi-Weekly Post, June 27, 1869.

intemperate in the cause of temperance. Prohibition of the sale of alcoholic beverages would always be a failure, since no law could possibly enforce what the public would refuse to sustain. The use of moral persuasion, argument, and reasonable language was the best methods of convincing men to be temperate.⁵

The New Berne Daily Times was alarmed in 1871 to observe "with what indifference and unconcern this evil is looked upon by those who should be guides and reformers."⁶ It took New Bern four months to organize a temperance society. Then the paper urged its reading public to join and support the newly formed group which was Christian in spirit and in its goal of elevating its fellow men.⁷ The Times urged the temperance society to establish tea and coffee houses where men could socialize without the presence of liquor.⁸

The Greensboro New North State found the temperance reform movement to be one of the most hopeful signs of the time.⁹ Intemperance was the greatest foe to human prosperity and happiness. In 1874, the paper advocated the passage of a bill to outlaw the sale of liquor to minors.¹⁰

⁵Ibid., June 4, 1871.

⁶New Berne Daily Times, October 8, 1871.

⁷Ibid., February 28, 1872.

⁸Ibid., March 6, 1873.

⁹New North State, January 1, 1873.

¹⁰Ibid., January 21, 1874.

These four Republican papers demonstrated a progressive attitude toward temperance. Recognition of the expense and the danger of immoderate drinking to society as a whole would become more accepted in the twentieth century. Laws which regulated the sale and possession of alcoholic beverages were later to be added to statute books. Perhaps most prophetic was the Post's warning that prohibition of alcoholic beverages would always fail since the public would not support it. Republicans in North Carolina from the late 1860's through the early 1870's had some very modern ideas about temperance.

One of the interesting aspects of the temperance movement after the war was the emergence of women in the crusade. Intemperance was a problem for many women, since it caused family hardships and instability. Although there were exceptions, drinking was considered to be a male prerogative. Many women began to believe that alcohol was the basic cause of a number of things which bothered them about men and life in general.¹¹ In unofficial ways women had been active in temperance reform before the Civil War. In 1866, they were officially recognized by temperance advocates when the Sons of Temperance welcomed them into their organization.¹² From that point until national prohibition in 1919, women were among the leaders of the temperance movement. In 1874,

¹¹Anne Firor Scott, The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 145.

¹²Joseph C. Furnas, The Life and Times of the Late Demon Rum (London: W. H. Allen, 1965), p. 242.

the national Women's Christian Temperance Union was founded in Cleveland, Ohio.¹³ In 1883, women in North Carolina launched the state Women's Christian Temperance Union. They were active in bringing about state-wide prohibition for North Carolina in 1908.¹⁴ The fight for temperance also led more women to agitate for voting rights. Frustrated by lack of political action for their cause, members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union also became suffragists.¹⁵ The cause provided women with opportunities to speak in public without the usual criticism. The temperance and women's rights movement linked together late in the nineteenth century.

¹³Scott, The Southern Lady, p. 144

¹⁴Ernest H. Cherrington, The Evolution of Prohibition in the United States of America (Westerville: American Issue Press, 1920), p. 291.

¹⁵Scott, The Southern Lady, p. 148.

CHAPTER V

THE REPUBLICAN PRESS AND IMMIGRATION

If Southerners after 1865 were asked what they needed most, their answer would invariably have been - capital. The war-ravaged South desperately needed money to rebuild the destroyed and dilapidated towns and transportation facilities. Southerners were also envious of Northern wealth. They wanted to emulate and catch up with the North. The South also needed industry to compete with the industrial North, to keep Southern money in the South, and to stimulate the Southern economy. It was impossible to build industry without capital and it appeared that the easiest way to get capital was to attract moneyed immigrants from other areas. After all, the Southerner had only to look at the North and West to see the blessings which flowed from the immigrants who had arrived in the United States to seek a new life. Therefore, immigration became a great hope of the South.

The problem was finding a way to induce Northerners and foreign immigrants to come South. It was not difficult to understand why people moved westward - cheap land. After the war, land was available in North Carolina at very reasonable rates, but one problem Republicans were quick to point out was that there were many large unused estates not for sale. As a solution, the press suggested that such estates should be broken into smaller farms and sold. After all, the state

needed less idle land and more cultivation.¹ Another problem seen by the Republican press was the cost of railroad fares. European immigrants could purchase railroad passage to the West cheaper than they could to the South. If nothing else could be done, Southern railroads could lower their rates as an inducement to get the immigrant to come South. North Carolinians needed to advertise the glorious opportunities available in their state.² According to the Standard, the obstacle which had hindered immigration to North Carolina before the war was slavery, since an immigrant worker could not compete with a slave.³ Then the war frightened people from coming.⁴ As soon as the unsettled conditions of wartime were past, people would be less afraid to come and Northerners would be less fearful of their investment. When Northerners moved into the state, the Republican press pleaded for North Carolinians to treat them well socially so that capital would come flowing into their area.⁵

Republicans were so convinced that immigration was an urgent necessity for the state, that they included a provision for its encouragement in the new Constitution of 1868. Section 17 established

¹New Berne Republican, November 18, 1868. Also see Raleigh Daily Standard, February 25, 1869, and Wilmington Evening Post, September 8, 1867.

²Daily Standard, April 13, 1869.

³Ibid., March 26, 1868.

⁴Tri-Weekly Standard, December 14, 1867.

⁵Ibid., January 2, 1868 and July 21, 1868.

in the office of Secretary of State a Bureau of Statistics, Agriculture and Immigration. This provision was applauded as being the first positive step on the part of the state government to encourage immigration.⁶

Later, the Wilmington Post suggested that North Carolina should organize a company supported by state funds to advertise in Europe and provide means for immigrants to come to the state.⁷

The Republican press was quick to criticize any who would demean Northerners moving into North Carolina. The Conservatives charged that Northern adventurers or carpetbaggers were controlling political positions which should be held by natives. The Republicans replied that these Northerners who held offices did so mainly because other suitable persons could not be found who could take the required oath of past loyalty.⁸

Republicans insisted that Northern immigrants would be more feasible than foreign immigrants. New citizens had to be taught new customs and a new language. Many Northerners who had moved South were teachers and leaders. Their talents could begin to enrich the South immediately.⁹ The character of Northerners living in North Carolina was lauded highly; the majority were mechanics, artisans, merchants, and some men of education and refinement. They had come to help the South in her

⁶ Ibid., March 26, 1868.

⁷ Evening Post, September 8, 1867 and May 4, 1877.

⁸ Tri-Weekly Standard, September 24, 1867.

⁹ New Berne Republican, December 2, 1868.

time of need.¹⁰ The New Berne Daily Times believed that anyone who tried to make birthplace substitute for character and worth in judging men should be distrusted.¹¹ The same paper admitted that Yankees who came to the state might "have notions peculiar to themselves, but what does it matter as long as they encourage intelligence, make money and circulate it, hire laborers and pay them, raise crops and sell them and add to the general industry and prosperity of North Carolina?"¹²

Apparently, the pleading of the Republican press did little to convince native North Carolinians to welcome Northerners. Regardless of how concerned the Northern immigrant was in the welfare of the South and its people, they were often confronted with a "cold-shoulder" attitude.¹³ If a Northern immigrant supported the Republican party with his votes, time, or money, he was quickly labeled a "carpetbagger" by Conservatives.¹⁴ He and his family then found themselves ostracised from everyone who was not a Republican. The Raleigh Era said that this ostracism was practiced by Conservatives in hopes of breaking down the Republican party and driving its Northern-born members back to the North.¹⁵ Such treatment naturally caused great bitterness on the part of Republicans. The bitterness is reflected in a statement

¹⁰Daily Post, October 2, 1867.

¹¹New Berne Daily Times, July 30, 1869

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid., November 8, 1872.

¹⁴Ibid., August 20, 1872.

¹⁵Era, December 17, 1872.

from the Era on August 19, 1875:

It becomes individual members of our party to cast about the means of protection, not to say, retaliation; to see to it that their wives and daughters, thus indirectly tabooed by an aristocracy whose mouth-piece is suffering from a diseased mind, hatred and corruption, shall be enabled to hold up their heads in this free land.

In their editorials about immigration Republicans sometimes inferred that the imported laborers were not well thought of by native Southerners. The Republicans were always trying to convince their readers that hard work was honorable and dignified. When commenting upon an article from a Conservative paper, the New Berne Republican took offense at a statement that "an effort had been made to 'import' a certain number"¹⁶ of workers. The Republican replied that:

Now, it is about time this old pre-slavery idea of alluding to men as though they were animals or merchandise, was totally ended. If there are those, who, heretofore, have never comprehended that laborers were entitled to respect they had better arouse themselves to the new and progressive condition of things. That repulsive term, import, had better be suspended entirely, if it is ever expected to make immigration a success. We want immigration, along with capital, but don't like the idea of laborers being insulted when they are invited to be among us.¹⁷

Nor did the attitude of the Republican change when George Nason became editor and the paper's name changed to the New Berne Daily Times. The Times believed that Chinese laborers should be allowed to come to

¹⁶New Berne Republican, November 8, 1868.

¹⁷Ibid.

the United States, not because their labor was cheaper, but because they were needed to improve the land and enrich the country.¹⁸ Nor did the Times feel that the Chinese should be held back because of prejudice against their color.¹⁹ The Post felt that Chinese and Japanese laborers should be allowed to come to the country because they would bring knowledge of different traditions, customs, and beliefs. It also reminded its readers that since the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, Orientals should not be called "coolies" or be maltreated, for they were men trying to better their condition.²⁰ On the other hand, the Raleigh Standard firmly opposed Chinese immigration. It felt that their entrance into the country would threaten working men by driving wages down to an impossible level.²¹

The New North State of Greensboro compared the Southern people to the Chinese. Both had been hostile to outsiders and had had no desire for strangers to settle among them. Both had refused to mingle with the world. Now it was time for North Carolina to welcome Chinese and all other immigrants.²²

¹⁸New Berne Daily Times, October 19, 1869.

¹⁹Ibid., August 10, 1869.

²⁰Semi-Weekly Post, July 11, 1869, and October 3, 1869.

²¹Daily Standard, September 4, 1869.

²²New North State, November 28, 1872.

CHAPTER VI

DISSENSION AMONG REPUBLICAN PAPERS

Republicans in North Carolina not only disagreed with Conservatives, they occasionally disagreed among themselves. Their dissension was reflected in the Republican journals. The most intensive infighting during the Reconstruction period occurred in 1869, involving the Raleigh Standard, the Rutherford Star, and the New Berne Daily Times.

By 1869, the Rutherford Star had become an intense supporter of western Republican interests, sometimes at the expense of state-wide Republican interest. It had expressed dislike for both Republican Senators Joseph C. Abbott and John Pool because both were easterners. Westerners, according to the Star, furnished a greater share of votes than they received offices.¹ Also, the Star complained that the western part of North Carolina was more concerned over internal improvements than the east. As a result, the east blocked bills which would benefit the west.²

Often, the Star's position on the sectional question was amusing. At one point the paper asked the General Assembly to stop agitating the question of eastern and western influence. Yet, in the same article, the Star stated that, "we want to see the West honored and treated as a part of North Carolina and we hope that our Western

¹Rutherford Star, January 30, 1869.

²Ibid., February 6, 1869.

members will never cease crying West until the West gets her dues."³
The Standard accused the Star of arousing sectional feeling without
due cause, a charge which the Star denied.⁴

When a Star editorial accused Governor Holden of doing nothing
to allay dissension in the party, the Raleigh Standard upheld the
Governor. The Standard believed that the Governor deplored dissension
in the party, but he did not take part in it, or try to force a
settlement.⁵

The Star's belligerency was next expressed as an accusation
that the Standard advocated "mixed schools" for North Carolina.⁶ It did
not quote the article from the Standard which led it to draw such a
conclusion. The Standard immediately denied that it had ever advocated
white and colored children going to the same school. "All that is needful
for our learned and expert Brother is that he read the article to which
he refers at some moment when 'nigger' is not on the brain and when the
fever of his prejudice has been cooled by a little reason."⁷ At this
point the Standard decided to ignore the Star but the dispute erupted
again over another issue later in the summer.

There was nothing in the Standard to justify the impression
that it favored "mixed schools." The Standard consistently stated

⁴Daily Standard, February 2, 1869 and Star, February 13, 1869.

⁵Daily Standard, February 2, 1869.

⁶Star, February 27, 1869.

⁷Daily Standard, March 5, 1869.

that there should be separate but equal schools and that other social institutions for the two races should be organized accordingly.

The disagreement between the two papers flared up again during the summer of 1869. This conflict, which arose from a disagreement between Governor Holden and Ceburn L. Harris, superintendent of public works, was to affect other Republican papers in the state, particularly the New Berne Daily Times.

In the summer of 1869, new directors for the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad, the North Carolina Railroad, and the Wilmington, Charlotte, and Rutherford Railroad were to be elected by their stockholders. Since the state held a majority of stock in all three companies, it was clear that whomever the state nominated as directors would be elected. At the same time, there was a movement to consolidate the North Carolina and the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroads in order to create a through line from Morehead City to Charlotte. Governor Holden at first favored consolidation, but for some unknown reason he changed his mind. As a result Holden appointed Byron Laflin, a chief member of the railroad ring⁸ and chairman of the House committee on internal improvements, as state proxy on the board of the North Carolina Railroad in order to block any consolidation move.⁹ Ceburn L. Harris was angered by this appointment, since he felt that it was his duty and

⁸Name given to George W. Swepson, M.S. Littlefield and their associates by their enemies.

⁹J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina (2nd ed.; Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1964), p. 430.

not the Governor's either to select or to serve himself as state proxy. Harris' anger was justified. He had accepted the Governor's nomination as superintendent of public works instead of the presidency of the North Carolina Railroad, which he really wanted, because Holden had assured him that he would have control of all state railroads.¹⁰

In June, when the Rutherford Star was anticipating the election of new officers for the Wilmington, Charlotte, and Rutherford Railroad, it mentioned that there was a diversity of opinion over who would serve as state proxy - the Governor or Harris. At the time, the Star did not care which gentleman won the dispute and expressed confidence in both men.¹¹ Its stand changed after the Laflin appointment and after Harris secured an injunction from his brother-in-law, Judge George W. Logan, setting it aside. Holden went ahead nevertheless and appointed William J. Clarke as state proxy for the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad,¹² again ignoring Harris' claim.

When the stockholders of the North Carolina and the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroads met, they faced the problem of whom to recognize, the Governor's proxy or Harris. On both occasions they voted for the Governor's proxy. Their action brought forth a bitter protest from the Star, which argued that the constitution clearly placed control of the railroads in the hands of the superintendent of public works and not

¹⁰Ibid., p. 395.

¹¹Star, June 3, 1869.

¹²Ibid., July 1, 1869.

the Governor.¹³ Why had the Star taken such a stand in favor of Harris and against the Governor after it had previously stated that it did not matter which man won the dispute? The Star changed its mind when Judge George W. Logan became involved. Logan controlled the paper and his son Robert W. Logan edited it. On July 9 the Raleigh Sentinel, the leading Conservative journal, speculated that the primary purpose of Harris was to make his brother-in-law, Judge Logan, president of the consolidated road. There may have been some truth in the Sentinel's charge, but the Star recognized that consolidation would be advantageous to the west.

When the stockholders of the Wilmington, Charlotte, and Rutherford Railroad met at Wilmington on July 29, they faced the same problem and resolved it in the same way. Incidentally, George W. Logan's name was the first on Harris' list of nominees for directors.¹⁴

Late in July the Star was ready to end its quarrel with the east, if such action would benefit both sections. It favored railroad consolidation in order to create the through line across North Carolina which would have the effect of reducing freight and transportation rates. The only regret of the paper was that there was a "certain central influence" which would prevent consolidation.¹⁵

The Star's implication that the Governor was attempting to block consolidation won support from the New Berne Daily Times, which also began to campaign for Harris. The Times, representing the east, demanded

¹³Ibid., July 8, 1869.

¹⁴New Berne Daily Times, July 29, 1869.

¹⁵Star, July 22, 1869.

consolidation. If the Governor was not in favor of consolidation, then the Times believed he was wrong.¹⁶ The paper also pointed out that the Governor did not have authority under the constitution to appoint a state proxy. It quoted Article 8, Section 18, of the state constitution, which created the office of superintendent of public works and said "that he shall have charge of the state's interest in all Railroads, Canals, and other works of Internal Improvement."¹⁷ Still, the Times did not want to lose the friendship of the Governor. It simply felt that in this incident he was wrong.¹⁸

The Standard made no attempt to answer the constitutional objection and resorted to political muscle. It threatened critics of the Governor's power and implied that it might be necessary to declare the office of superintendent of public works vacant.¹⁹ But neither the Times nor the Star was intimidated. The Times pointed out that it represented public opinion in the east, which demanded consolidation. Nor should any "deluded victim of ambition think that he holds the reins of a party in his hands so firmly that he cannot be thrown from his seat and the reins be wrestled from his grasp."²⁰ The Star simply declared that the Governor had switched to the Democratic party and the Standard had joined him.²¹

¹⁶New Berne Daily Times, August 10, 1869.

¹⁷Ibid., August 26, 1869.

¹⁸Ibid., August 6, 1869.

¹⁹Daily Standard, August 6, 1869.

²⁰New Berne Daily Times, August 10, 1869

²¹Rutherford Star, August 12, 1869.

Finally, the Greensboro Register spoke out against the quarrel itself, which it said was causing Democrats to celebrate. According to the Register it was time the railroad proxy question went before the state Supreme Court and was settled. The Greensboro paper noted that the Standard, the Times, and the Star all claimed to speak for the Republican party. This was not so, it said; none of these papers was big or important enough. Since the Register felt that it too spoke for some Republicans, the other three should stop making such claims.²² On August 26, the Asheville Pioneer supported the Register's views.

The Governor prevailed in his effort to appoint state proxies, but in the long run he lost heavily. The conflict led to a split in the Republican party in North Carolina. The Harris-Logan group completely controlled Republican politics in Cleveland, Rutherford, and other nearby counties. Under the leadership of the Star, these became intensely hostile to Holden. Never again would the New Berne Daily Times completely support the Governor. The incident left the belief that Holden had discriminated against the east and west in blocking consolidation and in his overall railroad policy.²³

²²Greensboro Register, August 25, 1869.

²³Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina, p. 395.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The Republican party flourished in North Carolina from 1868 to 1870. After Republicans lost control of the legislature in 1870, the Republican press slowly withered away because it could no longer obtain necessary financial support. Some prominent Republicans left the state for more friendly areas. A few returned but most did not. Republicans lost complete control in 1876, when Democrats won the gubernatorial election. Essentially, after 1876, there was no need for a Republican press, since there was no real Republican party operating in North Carolina.

The Republican press served the party well during these years. Throughout the South, Democratic papers far outnumbered Republican papers. But through their minority press Republicans were able to reach the public with their philosophy. In most instances, North Carolina's Republican papers reflected the political and philosophical beliefs of the national Radical Republicans. It was both idealistic and liberal.

During Reconstruction Republicans helped spread democracy through both humanitarian considerations and political expediency. They were the champion of the underdog. Their efforts on behalf of the freedmen are remarkable when considered in their proper setting of the nineteenth century. It took almost eighty years for these attitudes again to become

widely held. In their fight to gain political and civil rights for the Negro, Republicans offered the former slaves their first real chance for individual dignity and equality. The Republican party considered the burdens under which Negroes labored and how they rose above their limitations. They repaid the Republican party with their votes. Negro officeholders were not very different from white officeholders. They ran the gamut of ability, competency, and honesty. Their desire to improve themselves led them to enter the new public or private schools.

Republican belief that free public schools should be provided for all children, regardless of the cost, was an important contribution to North Carolina and the rest of the South. At the time the idea was almost revolutionary. Poorer whites had rarely been able to educate their children in the ante-bellum South. Education had been considered a privilege for those who could afford it. Republicans of the Reconstruction period felt differently. They left the South with the belief that increased educational effort was essential if a democratic society and a flourishing economy was to prevail. Republicans left North Carolina with an established public school system. They laid the foundation of the present state system.

By increasing educational opportunities, Republicans also opened more doors of opportunity for women. The women's rights movement gained momentum slowly but steadily during Reconstruction. War and post-war conditions led women to take on new responsibilities. Many women found employment in the new state school systems as teachers. Although teaching absorbed the largest number of upper-class single women, many women were also employed in manual labor and factory work. In general

Republicans were not much more liberal on the women's rights issue than Democrats. But in North Carolina, at least, a few Republican papers took the lead and supported women in their new endeavors.

One of the causes in which women became active during Reconstruction was temperance. Temperance had gained public attention from the early days of the Republic, but women greatly boosted the crusade. The Republican press in North Carolina supported the cause of temperance. It recognized that excessive drinking was harmful to society as a whole and that the possession and sale of alcoholic beverages should be regulated. Republican views on temperance would become more generally accepted in the early twentieth century.

Republicans were more interested than Democrats in attracting immigrants to Southern states after the war. Both parties wanted to rebuild the Southern economy and to emulate the industrial North. Republicans though were more interested in attracting moneyed Northern immigrants. Democrats were distrustful and resentful of Northerners who came to reside in the South after 1865. On the other hand, native white Republicans welcomed them not only for their financial support, but in some cases for their political support. The effort to attract immigrants to North Carolina was not as successful as the state Republican press desired.

Republicans in the late 1860's and 1870's were ahead of their time on the issues of Negro rights, education, women's rights, and temperance. These issues became important in the years after the Civil War, and their struggles would engage dedicated people for another century. At least Republicans began to attack all these problems and

tasted some degree of success. Their contribution is that they brought such issues before the public for discussion and action.

The dissension which occurred among the state Republican papers during this period was not unusual. Rivalry and sectional jealousy certainly were not new to North Carolina or to other states. Still, it did cause a weakening of the party and its press in the state.

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