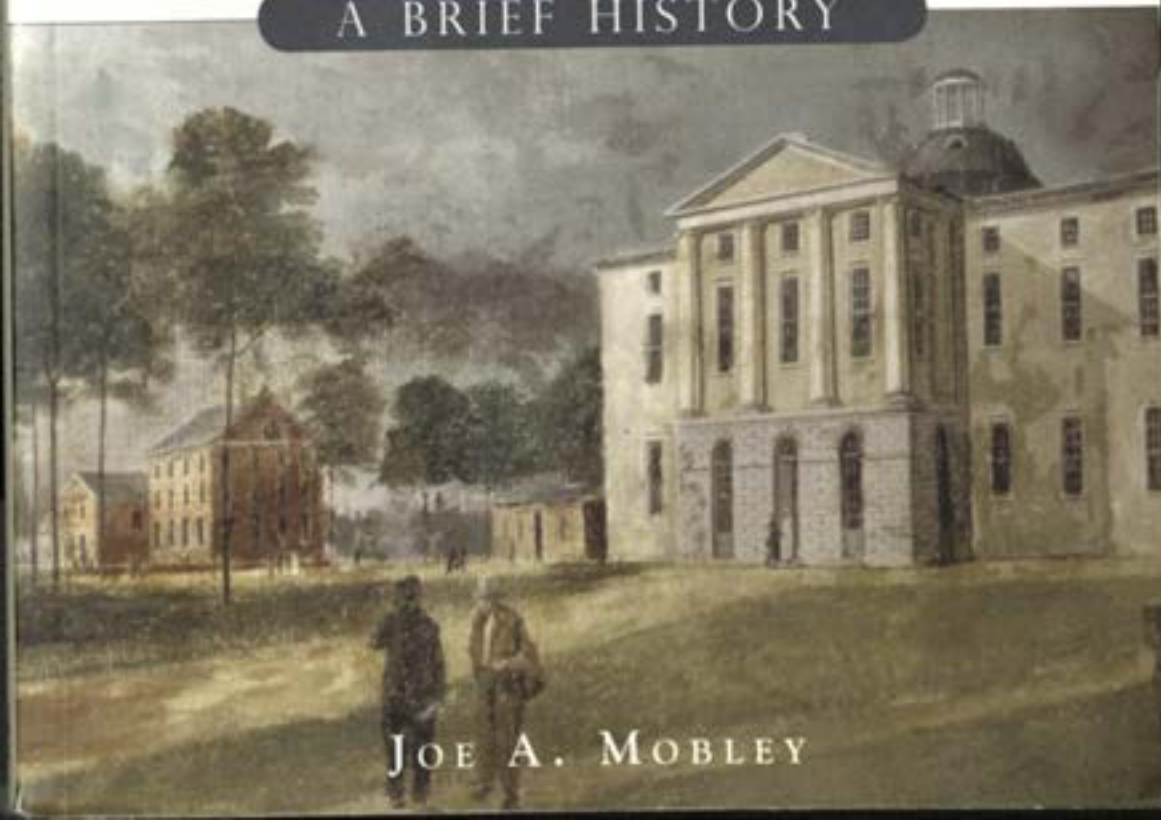




RALEIGH

NORTH CAROLINA

A BRIEF HISTORY



JOE A. MOBLEY

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Charleston London

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INTRODUCTION

A TOWN AT THE CROSSROADS

In the aftermath of the American Revolution, the time had come for North Carolina to establish a permanent state capital. But where should it be located? Since the war, the government of North Carolina had been a vagabond institution, moving from town to town. Even before the Revolution—until royal governor William Tryon built the imposing Governor's Palace at New Bern in 1770—colonial North Carolina had no fixed location at which the governor and the assembly could meet to conduct the official business of the colony. From year to year, the legislature convened at different sites, holding its sessions in various buildings, including churches and private residences. Governors and other officials conducted day-to-day business from their own homes. In the decade following the Revolutionary War, the legislature convened at Hillsborough, Fayetteville, New Bern, and Tarboro.

North Carolina's lawmakers recognized the necessity for establishing a permanent capital but could not reach a consensus on where to plant it. They ruled out New Bern, which was not centrally located and possibly subject to invasion from the coast. Fayetteville, Hillsborough, and Tarboro continued to vie strongly for the privilege and benefits of hosting the state capital. Politics and sectionalism prevailed as legislators favored sites in their areas. In 1782, Hillsborough was selected as a temporary location, but that authorization was repealed the following year. The heated debate continued, as none of the three towns could secure enough votes to defeat the other two.

In exasperation, the legislature assigned the task of selecting a site to a convention meeting in Hillsborough in the summer of 1788 to vote for or against ratification of the U.S. Constitution. (The Hillsborough convention voted against ratification, but a second convention in Fayetteville in 1789 ratified the document.) A committee appointed by the Hillsborough convention called for an "unalterable seat of government of this state" to be created within ten miles of Isaac Hunter's tavern on his plantation in Wake County. Hunter reportedly served a potent rum punch that was a favorite with legislators.

But the committee left the choice of the exact site to the legislature. The debate among the legislators then continued. Some argued that a capital at the Wake County location would never become larger than a mere village. Advocates for Fayetteville persisted in a strong argument for that town. Some eastern inhabitants complained that Wake County was too far west, and folk in the west argued that it was too far east. Not until 1791 did the Wake County site receive enough support for its selection as a permanent seat for state government. The General Assembly appointed a commission to acquire land for the new capital. The commissioners visited several farms and plantations but continued to put off a decision.

Among the promising tracts that they visited was the large plantation of Joel Lane, the legislator who introduced the bill to establish Wake County in 1771. He also served as a commissioner to set the boundaries of the county and to establish the initial county seat, known as Wake Courthouse, at a site previously called Wake Crossroads. The first county court session met at Lane's residence in 1771, and the legislature convened there during the Revolution and again in 1781. Wake Courthouse (also called Bloomsbury for a short while) lay in the center of the county and at the crossing of two main roads. One ran from the coast westward toward Hillsborough; the other ran south from Virginia to South Carolina. When erected, the original courthouse—believed to have been a log structure—stood a short distance from Lane's house. A close rival to Lane's site was a nearby tract owned by Colonel Robert Hinton and located on the banks of the Neuse River, which some commissioners thought would provide a good trade route by water to the coast. Ultimately, however, Lane wined and dined the legislative commissioners at a sumptuous dinner. Shortly thereafter, they recommended the purchase of a portion of his land for the permanent seat of state government. In early April 1792, the State of North Carolina bought one thousand acres from Lane for £1,378 (\$2,756).



Joel Lane House. Lane sold North Carolina the land on which to establish Raleigh.

The legislature had commissioned William Christmas—a state senator, militia commander, and surveyor—to survey the land and lay out a town. According to his plan, the town covered four hundred acres of the one thousand purchased from Lane and was bordered by North, South, East, and West Streets. In the center of the tract stood Union (now Capitol) Square, where the capitol building (called the State House) would be constructed. Equidistant from Union Square were four additional squares of four acres each. Those squares subsequently bore the surnames of four Revolutionary leaders and state politicians: Thomas Burke, Richard Caswell, Alfred Moore, and Abner Nash. The commissioners named the streets bordering Union Square after North Carolina's eight court districts: Edenton, Fayetteville, Halifax, Hillsborough, Morgan, New Bern, Salisbury, and Wilmington. Nine other streets were named after the commissioners themselves: James Bloodworth, Thomas Blount, William J. Dawson, Frederick Hargett, Henry William Harrington, Willie Jones, James Martin, Joseph McDowell, and Thomas Person. The names of the remaining four streets honored other prominent North Carolinians: Stephen Cabarrus, William R. Davie, William Lenoir, and the original owner of the land, Joel Lane. The plan stipulated that the four streets—Fayetteville, Halifax, Hillsborough, and New Bern—

leading directly to Union Square would measure ninety-nine feet wide. The remaining streets would have a width of sixty-six feet. Workers began clearing the land of trees and underbrush for the squares and streets. But many years would pass before any paving of thoroughfares occurred. Wet weather left them muddy, and ruts and dust were constant obstacles and annoyances for vehicles and pedestrians.

In June 1792, the commissioners met at Wake Courthouse to supervise the public auction of lots comprising the remaining acreage of the original tract sold by Lane. The sale quickly brought the purchase of 212 of the 254 lots auctioned for a total of £6,612, more than four times the amount paid Lane for all of the one thousand acres. The legislature intended to use the profits from the sale of the lots for construction of a statehouse on Union Square. The lots closest to the square sold for the most money, and lots farther away brought less, some as little as thirty pounds. Some of the commissioners and a number of North Carolina's leading political figures bought lots. The forty-two lots not purchased were reserved for sale at a future date.

Meeting in New Bern, the General Assembly passed an act on December 31, 1792, declaring that the Wake County tract would be the "permanent and unalterable seat of government of the state of North Carolina" and that the new capital would be known "by the name of the city of Raleigh." Governor Alexander Martin probably deserves credit for suggesting the name, in honor of Sir Walter Raleigh, the Elizabethan courtier who launched a failed effort to plant the first English colony in the New World on North Carolina's Roanoke Island in the 1580s. Raleigh, who never visited what is now North Carolina, stipulated that his Roanoke Island colony be named the "Citie of Raleigh in Virginia." The word *Raleigh* probably comes from two Anglo-Saxon words loosely translated as "meadow of the deer." The number of oak trees on the original tract would eventually lead to Raleigh's reputation as the City of Oaks.

This book deals with the history of Raleigh from its establishment in 1792 until the present day. In discussing its early history, I have chosen to refer to Raleigh as a town rather than a city. The terms *town* and *city* often mean the same in everyday parlance and in urban studies. But in general, *town* refers to a population center larger than a village and smaller than a city. I contend that this definition fit Raleigh until the late nineteenth century, when the capital began to emerge as a sizable, thriving metropolitan place. It was then that Raleigh became part of the New South movement that was transforming areas of the former Confederate states, bringing commerce, industrialization, and urbanization into a region that had previously been



Raleigh's original squares and named streets. (Plan not to scale.) Map from the author.

overwhelmingly rural and agricultural. After 1880, the number of southern towns grew significantly, and larger towns such as Raleigh became small cities. Between 1880 and 1910, Raleigh's population grew from 9,265 to 19,218, and it continued to rise significantly each decade. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Raleigh embraced the textile industry, became a major railroad shipping hub, and expanded its mercantile economy. It acquired or expanded the municipal and technological innovations traditionally associated with a modern city—innovations such as paved

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streets, public transportation, effective water and sewer systems, electricity, telephones, automobiles, public schools, libraries, improved police and fire protection, and other services. By the outbreak of World War II, Raleigh, despite the economic downturn of the Great Depression, had achieved true city status. It would, however, be in the decades following the Second World War that Raleigh would experience its fastest and greatest growth, ultimately becoming North Carolina's second-largest city, surpassed in size and population only by Charlotte.

CHAPTER ONE

A NEW CAPITAL IN A NEW STATE

Having authorized a permanent state capital on the last day of the last month of 1792, North Carolina's lawmakers mandated the construction of a capitol building from which to carry on the state's business. They appointed a building commission to oversee construction of a statehouse, to be funded by the money obtained from the sale of Raleigh town lots. The commissioners contracted with Rhodham Atkins, a local carpenter originally from Massachusetts, to draw a plan for the new building. Constructed on a stone foundation, the two-story edifice was built of brick made from Wake County clay in several nearby brickyards. A sizable number of skilled workers—white, free black, and slave—applied their talents as carpenters, brick masons, and plasterers. Most observers considered the final product to be a plain, square structure "without ornament, *inside or out*." Although the interior of the State House had not been fully completed, the General Assembly held its first session there in late December 1794. For that meeting, local residents provided the still unfurnished building with supplies, including candles, and furniture for temporary use. The legislators reelected Richard Dobbs Spaight as governor, the first chief executive of North Carolina to launch a term in Raleigh's new house of state government. As one of their last orders of business, the state lawmakers ordered Union Square enclosed with a rail fence.

Considered by a number of observers to be an unattractive and incommensurable building, the State House underwent several renovations. Architect William Nichols supervised the most extensive remodeling in



The State House, North Carolina's first permanent capitol building, opened for its initial legislative session in 1794. Image of painting attributed to Jacob Marling courtesy of North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh.

1820-21. He added porticoes, a dome, and a rotunda. He applied scored stucco to the brick exterior and made aesthetic improvements to the senate and house chambers. With its new appearance, the State House was deemed an appropriate setting for a statue of George Washington by the prominent Italian sculptor Antonio Canova. The statue was placed in the rotunda, where light passing through the dome helped make it the center of attention. The legislature approved the purchase of new furniture and furnishings for the chambers and halls.

Raleigh got a second government building in 1795 when Wake County erected a wooden courthouse on the west side of Fayetteville Street between Martin and Davie Streets. The threat of fire led county officials to replace the wood structure with a brick one in 1837. Unfortunately, however, the building did not prove as fireproof as hoped. In early 1856, a fire destroyed a number of county records. The present-day county courthouse stands at the same site.

Private residences, too, soon appeared as more people left the countryside for urban living in the new capital. Early houses in Raleigh generally were frame structures with two to four rooms and one or two fireplaces. Yards were small and included wells, outbuildings, vegetable gardens, and sometimes poultry, hogs, and a milk cow. State officials, such as the treasurer and secretary of state, and various government clerks and other workers settled in permanent residences. The most desirable and expensive locations for houses sat next to Union Square and along Fayetteville Street, and there the most extensive construction initially took place.

Perhaps the earliest of the more elaborate houses within the town was that of Benjamin Seawell on New Bern Avenue. Constructed circa 1796 and no longer extant, the dwelling consisted of two floors with a large number of rooms. Most of the rooms were plastered, and ten of them had fireplaces. A dry cellar and a separate two-story kitchen with fireplaces completed the complex. Seawell apparently operated his house as a tavern, advertising it as "large and commodious."

Secretary of State William White built his two-story frame house on East Morgan Street about 1798. According to architectural historians Catherine W. Bishir and Michael T. Southern, "Its brick chimneys, stone foundation, modillion cornice, and molded weatherboards and window sills mark it as one of the best local houses of its era, with interiors of late Georgian character." The structure, now known as the White-Holman House, was moved to 206 New Bern Place in 1985. About 1800, Treasurer John Haywood constructed two-story Haywood Hall on New Bern Avenue (at present-day 211 New Bern Place). The wooden town house, maintained today by the Colonial Dames of America, features Flemish-bond brick chimneys and late Georgian interior finishes.

Joel Lane's house stood a short distance outside town near what is presently the intersection of Boylan Avenue and Hargett Street. It was built about 1770, with renovations in the 1790s. According to architectural historians Bishir and Southern, "The 1½-story frame dwelling exemplifies the scale of all but the grandest 18th-c[entury] plantation houses" and features an interior of a "simple late Georgian style." Following Lane's death in 1795, his descendants sold the house to Peter Browne, an attorney. The family of the large landowner and newspaper publisher William Boylan owned the structure from 1818 to 1911. In 1927, the Colonial Dames of America acquired and restored the house, which has been moved to its present site on the corner of West Hargett and St. Mary's Streets.



Haywood Hall, residence of state treasurer John Haywood.

Although certain state officials were mandated to reside in Raleigh during their terms of office, the governor was, for a time, not required to live in the capital. But the General Assembly soon passed a law that the chief executive had to live in Raleigh for at least half of his one-year term. (At the time, governors were elected by the legislature for one-year terms, though they could be reelected.) Governor Samuel Ashe, who served from 1795 to 1798, was the first chief executive to come under that regulation. He had to secure his own housing until 1797, when the state purchased a house on the corner of Fayetteville and Hargett Streets for use as the governor's residence. That two-story dwelling had been owned by Dr. Redmond Dillon Barry and apparently was one of the first constructed in Raleigh.

After Ashe left office, the General Assembly passed an act that thenceforth governors must "make the city of Raleigh their place of common residence" while they held office. Some governors, however, found the Barry house to be less than commodious and preferred to rent other accommodations at their own expense. The General Assembly early considered building another residence for governors, but not until 1816 was a public structure reflecting the status of the state's chief executive erected, at the opposite end of

Fayetteville Street from the State House. The legislature used funds derived from the sale of town lots to pay for the construction of the building, which was called the Governor's Palace or Government House. After the Civil War, the structure was deemed uninhabitable and demolished. Memorial Auditorium, now part of the Progress Energy Center for the Performing Arts, was built on the site in the 1930s. In 1891, the present Executive Mansion, located on Burke Square and facing Blount Street, became the residence of the Tar Heel governors.

As the capital of North Carolina, centrally located at the crossroads of two major thoroughfares for commerce and travel, Raleigh soon became a bustling urban center. Lawyers, judges, and county officials added to Raleigh's population because the town became the seat of both county and state governments and the meeting place for federal district court. Merchants, craftsmen, and tradesmen who could provide goods and services established themselves in town. Carpenters and builders found much work constructing dwellings and other structures. The federal government established the first post office for Wake County in the town in 1794.

Raleigh became a center of statewide finance when the State Bank of North Carolina opened its headquarters there in 1810. Four years later, the



Governor's Palace, also called Government House.

State Bank Building was completed on New Bern Avenue about a block from Union Square. The State Bank of North Carolina was succeeded by the Bank of the State of North Carolina, chartered in 1834, and then the Bank of North Carolina, chartered in 1859. They occupied the same State Bank Building. Today, it stands as the oldest brick building in Wake County and houses a branch of the State Employees' Credit Union. Two local savings banks also opened in Raleigh in the 1850s—the Raleigh Savings Institution in 1851 and the Oak City Savings Bank in 1859.

In 1800, Raleigh had a population of 669. By 1860 that number had increased to 4,780. As the population of Raleigh grew, so did the number of permanent businesses. General stores offering a variety of merchandise were the first permanent retail establishments, followed by more-specialized stores and shops. At various times, town artisans included tailors, saddlers, blacksmiths, wagon makers, carpenters, and other skilled workers.

Early store owners and artisans usually lived and operated their businesses in the same buildings. Among the early merchants was William Shaw, who owned several stores, opened the first commercial bakery in Wake County, and became the first postmaster of the Raleigh office. Other general merchants were William Glendinning, who also was a minister; Southy Bond; and Joseph and William Peace. Most of the general merchandise stores stood along Fayetteville Street. Saddlers of the 1790s were William Camp, who made and imported leather goods, and Jacob Wilfong, who left Hillsborough to open his leather business in the state capital.

No large-scale industry operated in the Raleigh area before the second half of the nineteenth century. But several gristmills existed in the vicinity as early as the eighteenth century. Still surviving from that era is Yates Mill, located on Yates Pond off present-day Lake Wheeler Road south of Raleigh. A mill has occupied the site since 1761. Some construction features of the existing building date from the early nineteenth century. Today, the mill stands as the chief landmark in a public park.

In 1800, Raleigh erected a market house at the intersection of Fayetteville and Hargett Streets. The market provided a facility for farmers from surrounding areas to sell their produce and made it possible for Raleigh residents to purchase vegetables, meat, and other "necessaries." The market house remained at the site for forty years but had to be rebuilt after fires in 1816 and 1832.

The old market house was replaced by a new one when, in 1840, Raleigh purchased another lot on the east side of the second block of Fayetteville Street. There the town constructed a town hall and a market house. Public



Above: State Bank Building.

Left: Yates Mill. Photograph by Paulette Mitchell.

outcry had led the town commissioners to select a new site because the neighborhood of the old market house, with its large number of saloons, had developed an unsavory reputation as "Grog Alley." The townspeople also wanted a town hall in a good location where, in addition to municipal business, public meetings and other events could take place. Then, in 1849, the commissioners voted to construct an additional market house on the Wilmington Street side of the market lot. That building was completed in 1853. Facing Wilmington Street, it also housed a guardhouse, a fire engine house, and an office for the intendant of police (mayor).

Not surprisingly for a town that catered to legislators, government officials, and other persons on state and county business, late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Raleigh had a significant number of taverns and ordinaries that provided food, drink, and sleeping accommodations. By the time the first General Assembly met, nine ordinaries and taverns were operating within town limits. In January 1795, the *North Carolina Journal of Halifax* reported that "we learn from a gentleman of the first respectability at Raleigh, that the accommodations at that place, during the present session, have exceeded all expectations; and that comfortable boarding can be furnished for at least one hundred more persons." Owners of such establishments included James Mitchell, John Marshall, Lewis Green, Archibald Wells, John Porter, and Charles Parish. Perhaps the most famous tavern was Casso's, owned by the Frenchman Peter Casso, who in 1795 opened his inn and stables in buildings on a lot on East Morgan Street across from the State House. Three times per week the north- and southbound stages stopped at Casso's. His main building and several subsequent additions provided twenty-five beds for travelers, legislators, and visitors. A barroom quenched many thirsts, and two kitchens furnished meals for boarders and catered public events. A large stable could handle as many as forty horses, and a general store completed the prosperous complex. On the second block of Fayetteville Street, on the east side, James Means, one of Raleigh's first commissioners, opened a tavern and a "house of entertainment." He boasted that he could accommodate thirty-five to forty persons in addition to travelers passing through Raleigh. The taverns of Joel Lane and Isaac Hunter—just outside the town limits—did a thriving business. The builder Rhodham Atkins opened a "house of entertainment" also a short distance from the town boundary.

As the center for the comings and goings of state and county governments, Raleigh increasingly needed rooms for rent. Hotels followed the rise of taverns and boardinghouses. One of the earliest hotels was the Indian

Queen, located on the southwest corner of Fayetteville and Martin Streets and on the north side of the county courthouse. An 1810 advertisement declared it the best accommodation in Raleigh, "with thirteen rooms, nine of which have fireplaces." The Lawrence Hotel, which burned down in 1860, replaced the Indian Queen. After the Civil War, the U.S. Courtroom and Post Office was constructed on the site, and that building remains there today.

The three-story Eagle Hotel, built in 1812 across from Union Square at the corner of Edenton and Halifax Streets, was the first brick hotel and for a number of years Raleigh's most elegant. It eventually became the Guion Hotel and then the National Hotel. North Carolina's new Department of Agriculture occupied the former hotel in the 1880s, and the present-day Agriculture Building (built in 1922-23) stands on the site. When the elaborate Yarrowborough House was constructed in 1850 on the east side of Fayetteville Street between Martin and Davie Streets, it also became a city landmark and a temporary residence, or gathering and dining place, for government officials, judges and lawyers, travelers, and local folk. It survived until fire destroyed it in 1928.



The Eagle Hotel, later named the Guion Hotel and then the National Hotel, eventually became offices of the Department of Agriculture.

Located in the heart of Raleigh, the State House served as more than the center of state government. It became a hub of community and social life in early Raleigh. Balls, Fourth of July celebrations, plays, lectures, concerts, and other public events took place in the building. Because no church was built in Raleigh for some time, religious services also were conducted there.

Standing conveniently on the west side of Fayetteville Street, the Wake County Courthouse also hosted social and civic functions when not in use for court sessions or county business. The clerk of court could rent the rooms for meetings, theatrical performances, church services, lectures, and other entertainments and gatherings attended by early Raleighites. The first town commissioners met at the courthouse, and the federal circuit court convened in the building.

The Wake County Court originally took responsibility for maintaining law and order and for the upkeep of the streets in Raleigh. In 1793, the county court appointed patrollers and a constable as law enforcement officers. It required the persons living near residential streets to maintain them, and it appointed an overseer of the main streets to ensure their upkeep. For many years, though, work and repair remained erratic.

Responsibility for the administration and governing of Raleigh quickly passed from county authorities. When the General Assembly first met in December 1794, it approved a bill "for the regulation of the city of Raleigh." That act provided for the appointment of seven commissioners to assume the authority for street maintenance and the selection of a constable and city watch, or patrollers. The original seven commissioners—who were responsible to the legislature—served for life or until they resigned. The freemen of Raleigh could then elect their replacements. The commissioners appointed a treasurer from among themselves and hired a clerk to assist him. They levied city taxes and appointed a collector for those fees. Every property owner in Raleigh had to list his property each year. All the commissioners were required to own or lease a lot containing a house within the city limits.

The selection of Raleigh's first mayor fell to the commissioners. In March 1795, they elected the first "Intendant of Police," whose duties were "to enforce obedience to the laws and punish offenders." The intendant of police prevailed as Raleigh's chief executive until the term *mayor* was adopted in 1857. He was elected from among the town commissioners and presided over their meetings. The first commissioner to serve as Raleigh's intendant of police is believed to have been John Haywood (also the state treasurer),

who filled that office from 1795 until probably January 1803, when the voters of Raleigh held their first popular election for town officials.

In 1803, the General Assembly issued a new charter granting the town of Raleigh the authority to govern itself subject to state law. The voters of Raleigh could then elect their intendant of police and seven commissioners every year. The charter also expanded the powers and responsibilities of town officials. The intendant of police received the same judicial authority in the municipality that justices of the peace held in the county, although defendants could appeal the intendant's decisions to the county court of pleas and quarter sessions. The commissioners could levy fines and fees as well as collect property and poll taxes to support town operations. Some of that revenue was earmarked for street maintenance, and Raleigh residents were no longer required to perform work on the streets. Other portions went for the salaries of patrollers and constables hired by the commissioners. The commissioners could enact ordinances such as those prohibiting the sale of merchandise on Sunday and not allowing hogs to run loose in the streets. They also were empowered to let contracts for public projects to the lowest bidders. Subsequent legislative charters extended the powers and responsibilities of the commissioners. The structure of Raleigh government would remain virtually the same until after the Civil War.

Early Raleigh had to face a number of difficulties related to urban living. In 1798, the problem of the burial of its deceased residents was solved when the General Assembly granted to the town the authority to lay off four acres of land for a cemetery just east of East Street, then the eastern boundary of Raleigh. The town subsequently acquired additional land to increase the size of the City Cemetery. John Haywood White, the son of Secretary of State William White, is believed to have been the first person buried in the public cemetery.

A more persistent challenge was maintaining an adequate water supply. A number of households had their own wells, and the town commissioners provided for two public wells with pumps. But the supply of water remained limited, which could prove disastrous in the event of fire. Most buildings were wooden and standing close together. A major fire in 1816 destroyed several dozen structures on Fayetteville Street and threatened the State House, and locals used buckets and tubs filled with water drawn from the wells to combat the flames. Afterward, the public clamor for fire prevention and an adequate water supply intensified.

The town ordered a fire engine from Philadelphia and launched a plan to secure a sufficient public supply of water for firefighting and domestic

consumption. The scheme involved constructing a dam at Rocky Branch, south of Raleigh, and using a water wheel at the site to pipe water a mile and a half to a water tower near the State House. The water flowed through wooden pipes approximately three inches in diameter. From the tower, gravity carried the water to Hargett and Fayetteville Streets. Completed in 1818, the system was essentially a failure. The wooden pipes frequently clogged and burst. Repairs and improvements proved expensive, and some Raleigh citizens, especially those not served by the waterworks, objected to raising taxes to maintain the clumsy enterprise. The town soon abandoned the operation.

Finally, in 1819, the fire engine arrived from Philadelphia, and Raleigh formed a company of firefighters. But the company seldom met or trained, and the fire engine fell into disrepair. A second major fire in 1821 destroyed a number of buildings on the east side of Fayetteville Street. During other blazes in 1823 and 1824, the fire engine "was so much out of order" that it proved useless, as did the public water system, which had been allowed to deteriorate.

In 1826, the town commissioners received legislative approval to draft Raleigh males into a fire company if fewer than forty volunteered to serve. The company, led by a captain and four other officers, was required to drill with the fire engine at least every other month. The legislation also mandated that when a fire alarm (originally the bell at Casso's tavern) sounded, all men in town must report with buckets to douse the fire with water and fill the tank of the fire engine. To some extent those measures improved Raleigh's capacity to deal with blazes, but subsequent fires consumed numerous buildings in the new town.

Perhaps the most devastating fire for the population at large burned the State House in 1831. Ironically, the conflagration started apparently while workmen labored on the roof to replace the wooden shingles with zinc in an attempt to help fireproof the building. The fire destroyed the capitol and virtually demolished the Canova statue of George Washington, of which only fragments survived. Fortunately, a copy of a Gilbert Stuart painting of George Washington was saved. So were most of the state records, which were housed in a separate building on Union Square. After the fire, the First Presbyterian Church—on the corner of Morgan and Salisbury Streets just across from the State House—offered its buildings for the meetings of the legislature and the North Carolina Supreme Court. The court met in the church's session house, but the General Assembly convened in the Governor's Palace, or Government House, at the other end of Fayetteville Street.



Session House, First Presbyterian Church.

When the State House burned to the ground, some North Carolinians began to push for the capital to relocate to another town. Fayetteville still received the support of a number of advocates. The legislature took up the issue when it convened in the governor's residence in November 1831. But it failed to make a decision about moving the seat of state government or to appropriate money for constructing a new capitol on Union Square.

Just before the General Assembly adjourned in early 1832, another devastating blaze struck Raleigh and demolished thirty buildings on Fayetteville and Hargett Streets. In an attempt to prevent the flames from spreading, the firefighters blew up several structures. Among those was the market house on the corner of Fayetteville and Hargett. Despite that action, the flames reached the 100 block of Fayetteville Street near Union Square before the conflagration halted after a store and several outbuildings were blown up to create a firebreak. Almost unbelievably, another fire struck in September and consumed all the buildings in the 100 block on the west side of Fayetteville Street. The blaze started in the store of Richard Smith,

who was also the county register of deeds. The flames claimed eighteen deed books that Smith was keeping at his store rather than at the county courthouse. A Cumberland County jury convicted an arsonist of starting the fire, and he was executed in May 1834.

In June 1833, yet another fire occurred. That one consumed several buildings on the east side of North Fayetteville Street. It began in a coach maker's shop, which occupied the building at the corner of Morgan that had earlier housed Casso's inn. That structure was among those that burned to the ground. Again, buildings had to be blown up to halt the spread of the fire. Following these fire disasters of the 1830s, some merchants and residents managed to occupy buildings left standing. But others had had enough and moved away from Raleigh.

The town commissioners passed ordinances intended to help thwart the hazards of fire, including mandating that no wooden buildings could be constructed on the east side of the first block of Fayetteville Street. But they accomplished little in the way of fire prevention. The old fire engine of 1819 remained on the job, and the resources of the town firefighters were inadequate at best. That became obvious in 1841, when another major fire broke out and the engine's hose burst. Early Raleigh historian Moses N. Amis described the blaze and the firemen's efforts:

The flames swept down Hargett Street until checked within one house of Wilmington Street. The weak hose of the engine burst soon after it was brought into action. The water flowed on the ground and, mixing with red clay, formed a plastic material, which the ready-witted firemen gathered by handfuls and bucketfuls, and dashing it against the walls of a threatened store, formed a nonconductor, impervious to heat. The fire was extinguished, and the grateful citizens dubbed this heroic band as the "mud company," and this well earned name stuck fast up to the day of its dissolution.

In the decade of the forties, Raleigh purchased a second fire engine, named the *Perseverance*, and established an additional company of volunteer firemen. Town leaders ordered the installation of two more pumps to bolster the water supply. But those measures did not go far in creating an effective firefighting capacity. Raleigh did not have a force approaching efficiency until the 1850s. In December 1851, a fire claimed more than seventeen buildings on Fayetteville, Hargett, and Wilmington Streets. Again, shops and houses were blown up to prevent the spread of the blaze, and water to douse the flames proved insufficient. As a result,

an outcry by the town's citizens led the commissioners to adopt most of the suggestions made by a fire and water committee. To increase the supply of water, the town built four cisterns and deepened the public wells, adding metal pumps to some of them. The commissioners replaced the two old fire engines with new ones—the *Excelsior* and the *Rescue*—and purchased other equipment. The engines and equipment were kept at the new brick engine house. The commissioners organized the firemen into three companies and, in February 1852, hired Raleigh's first fire chief, Seymour W. Whiting. Unfortunately, the town soon terminated the position of fire chief and found it increasingly difficult to maintain the fire companies at full strength. Nevertheless, by the end of the decade some progress had been made. The engines and equipment were properly maintained, and to facilitate the supply of water, twenty wells had pumps. Such improvements notwithstanding, many years would pass before Raleigh had a truly efficient fire department or a proper public water system.

After debating for some months following the burning of the State House, the General Assembly in December 1832 passed an act stipulating that Raleigh would remain the seat of state government. The bill provided for \$50,000 to build a new capitol on Union Square and designated commissioners to oversee its construction, using stone from a nearby quarry owned by the state. The commissioners hired William Nichols Jr., the son of the William Nichols who had remodeled the State House, to design a larger version of his father's cruciform plan. The younger Nichols submitted his design, and the commissioners paid him \$350 and proceeded with the project without any further services from him. They hired William Drummond as superintendent of construction.

Once the foundation had been laid, the commissioners turned to architect Ithiel Town of the architectural firm Town and Davis (whose previous design for the building they had declined). Town retained the cruciform structure but, in cooperation with his partner, A.J. Davis, designed the building in the Greek Revival style, adding columned porticoes on the east and west sides. When superintendent Drummond withdrew in 1834, Town replaced him with Scottish architect David Paton, who incorporated his own ideas into the design of the building. Paton's features included cantilevered balconies, expansion of the rotunda, and neoclassical additions to the chambers and stairs. Workmen finally completed the State Capitol in 1840 at a total cost of \$532,682. In 1970, the state installed a marble copy of the Canova statue of Washington in the rotunda. In recent years, original paint colors have been



The State Capitol, completed in 1840, replaced the State House after fire destroyed it.
Photograph by Paulette Mitchell.

applied and other renovations made to the interior. But the building remains largely unaltered since its construction and is one of North Carolina's most admired architectural gems.

During its early years, the government of Raleigh came under attack for not properly maintaining law and order. The constables made arrests for violations of town ordinances, and defendants appeared before the intendant of police, who had the same judicial powers as a county justice of the peace for offenses committed in Raleigh. Defendants who protested their sentences could appeal to the county court. Some citizens complained that the commissioners, intendant, and constables were not doing enough to protect their property and well-being from robbers and other lawless types, as well as from fire. In response, Raleigh provided for a night watch, which was made up of paid watchmen at times and sometimes of a citizen guard. Local inhabitants, upset over public drunkenness and persons conducting business or playing games on the Sabbath, formed committees to pressure the commissioners to enforce ordinances against such activities. To bolster law and order, the commissioners passed new ordinances in 1822 "which direct the apprehension and punishment of

vagrants, gamblers, swindlers, prostitute women, and disorderly negroes." As an aid to public safety, the town installed street lamps on Fayetteville Street in 1830.

During the War of 1812, the city formed a military company known as the Raleigh Volunteer Guards. That unit was replaced by another called the Raleigh Blues. In preparation for possible slave insurrection—a growing fear in North Carolina at the time—Raleigh formed an additional company of light infantry known as the City Guards of Raleigh in 1830. That detachment became part of the Wake County militia but soon disbanded. Men from Raleigh served in a number of Wake County home guards—including one named the Raleigh Guards—during and after the Mexican-American War (1846–48).

Sanitation in early Raleigh left much to be desired. In the absence of a public sewer system and effective garbage disposal, unpleasant odors and health risks prevailed throughout the town. Outhouses and poultry and livestock pens were standard facilities in most yards. Municipal ordinances required that "necessary houses" be "cleansed" with lime every winter and in early July and September of each year. Other ordinances required inhabitants to remove dead animals from the town limits and drain stagnant water from basements and low areas. Further regulations banned any new tan yards or slaughterhouses within the boundaries of the town. But not until the 1850s did Raleigh instigate a type of systematic sanitation service. At that time, the commissioners ordered that "dirt and offal" be carted from the major streets. Merchants and residents swept such refuse into piles on Fayetteville, Wilmington, and Hargett Streets. Then, once a week between May and the fall, a wagon or cart collected the piles and transported them to a site outside the town.

In the late 1850s, indoor plumbing appeared in a few homes owned by Raleigh's wealthier citizens. Some Raleigh folk who could not afford the luxury of indoor plumbing availed themselves of public bathhouses, which were open in the summer months. Joshua E. Lumsden owned one such facility, located at a spring near the Governor's Palace at the south end of Fayetteville Street. In 1837, Lumsden announced that, at his remodeled bathhouse, patrons could make use of either hot or cold water "conveyed from an enclosed Spring by a Roman Aqueduct to a small cistern, whence it is elevated to the Reservoir by a Pump worked by machinery."

Gas lighting for streets, residences, public facilities, and businesses arrived in Raleigh in 1858. Three years earlier, the town commissioners had granted the Raleigh Gaslight Company permission to manufacture and distribute

gas. That permission included right-of-way for installing pipe, tax exemption, and free use of a lot on the corner of McDowell and Cabarrus Streets.

Like most towns and cities in the antebellum United States, Raleigh found itself susceptible to disease and epidemics. Maladies related to poor sanitation, such as typhoid and typhus, always posed a threat. In 1822, an undefined "fever" called "marsh miasma" (probably malaria) struck the town. More than a third of the population was stricken, and forty-six persons died. Work on remodeling the State House halted for a time because the workmen became ill. A number of prominent inhabitants fled the town to escape the sickness.

Smallpox threatened Raleigh in 1836, 1849, and 1854, but vaccination and the isolation of infected patients helped prevent a widespread outbreak of the disease. The cholera epidemic that swept through the United States in 1849 caused considerable concern in the state capital, and as a preventive measure the commissioners ordered that residents use lime and other disinfectants on organic matter on their property. Despite its fear, the town managed to avoid the epidemic.

Healthcare in general remained primitive. Most medical care was administered in physicians' offices or patients' homes, and the people of Raleigh often doctored themselves with patent medicines and home remedies. Most operations and dental work were performed without anesthesia, although whiskey or an opiate drug such as laudanum might have been offered. Dr. Fabius J. Haywood was among the pioneers in North Carolina to use chloroform in surgery. In 1854, the town appointed all its physicians to its Board of Health. But their only responsibility was to make monthly reports of the number and causes of deaths among their patients.

Infected patients were on occasion quarantined at a "city hospital." In actuality, however, Raleigh had no true hospital. An isolated building, sometimes called the pest house, usually served as a quarantine facility. In 1839, John Rex, a local tanner and planter, willed a portion of his estate to be used "to provide a comfortable retreat for the sick & afflicted poor belonging to the City of Raleigh, in which they may have the benefit of skillful medical aid & proper attention." Two years later, trustees of Rex Hospital were appointed. But because of problems in settling Rex's estate and other difficulties, the hospital was not established until 1894, when it began accepting patients in a house on South Street. Fifteen years passed before a hospital building was erected on the site. In 1937, Rex moved to a new location at the corner of St. Mary's Street and Wade Avenue, and in 1980 it relocated to its present site on Lake Boone Trail.

Care of mental patients in North Carolina improved considerably when the state established the State Hospital for the Insane on 182 acres on the southwest outskirts of Raleigh. The North Carolina legislature provided funding after the famous nurse and mental health activist Dorothea Dix visited Raleigh in 1848 and implored lawmakers to build a mental hospital. Funds were appropriated and the land was acquired in 1851. New York architect A.J. Davis designed the main building, which had a large central section and two wings. A second facility containing a kitchen, bakery, and staff apartments quickly followed. The hospital opened in 1856. Dorothea Dix would not agree to have the institution named for her, but she consented for the land on which it stood to be designated Dix Hill in memory of her grandfather Elijah Dix, a physician. The name was changed to Dorothea Dix Hospital in 1959.

CHAPTER TWO

ANTEBELLUM SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

Almost from the time Raleigh was established, its inhabitants enjoyed an active social life. In 1796, their celebration of the Fourth of July included a dinner at Casso's tavern and an evening ball at the State House. The annual Independence Day ball eventually moved from the State House to the Eagle Hotel. The people of Raleigh attended numerous balls each year. Patriotic holidays and special occasions nearly always featured a dance. Subscription assemblies, or dances, convened most months. Dances were sometimes held at the Masonic lodge, and the Raleigh Academy hosted the "students' ball" following commencement exercises. In the winter of 1843-44, local military units gave a "grand Military Soiree," at which a cavalry band provided the music for dancing and the men attending turned out in full uniform. When Susan Davis Nye, a teacher from New York, attended a Raleigh ball in 1815, she "saw many things to reprehend." She deplored the "vitiated style of dress," noting that "the ladies have forgotten that even dress was necessary, or at least that they have anything to conceal. Their backs and bosoms were all uncovered." Only "shameless women" would dress in such a fashion, she declared.

Prominent women frequently presided over private dinners and parties, sometimes with music or other entertainment, held in their homes for government officials and other dignitaries. "Feasts" were common to celebrate Christmas, as were church services and the giving of small gifts on Christmas Day. Most merchants, however, did not advertise merchandise as Christmas gifts until just before the outbreak of the Civil War. North

Carolínians did not observe Thanksgiving Day until 1849, when Governor Charles Manly proclaimed Thursday, November 15, "as a day of general Thanksgiving and Praise to Almighty God."

Raleigh society became abuzz with the visit of the famous Marquis de Lafayette during his tour of the United States in 1825. During the American Revolution, the young French nobleman left his native country to fight for the cause of American independence. As a major general under George Washington's command, he served with distinction, becoming one of the new nation's most revered heroes.

Lafayette and his entourage arrived in Raleigh on March 2, 1825, having spent the previous night some miles northeast at the plantation and tavern of Colonel Allen Rogers. The Raleigh Blues, a cavalry detachment from Mecklenburg County, a marching band, and about one hundred mounted citizens escorted the visitors into town. The welcoming party seated Lafayette in "an open barouche" pulled by four gray horses, and the procession proceeded from Union Square down Fayetteville Street to the Governor's Palace. Shopkeepers and residents waved greetings to the guest of honor along the way. At the governor's residence, Governor Hutchins G. Burton and other prominent officials welcomed the French nobleman. The procession then returned to Union Square, where Colonel William Polk, who had fought with Lafayette in the Revolution, delivered a speech praising the Frenchman for his service to the American cause. Standing in front of the Canova statue of Washington, Lafayette responded that it had been his honor to serve "the cause of mankind." In the evening, Burton hosted a dinner and ball at Government House, where Lafayette spent the night. The next morning, he visited with another Revolutionary veteran, William Ruffin, at the Eagle Hotel and then received many members of the public at Government House. He left Raleigh that afternoon and continued on to Fayetteville, the Cumberland County town named for him in 1783.

In the same year as Lafayette's sojourn, Raleigh received a visit from the famous southern rights politician John C. Calhoun, who held in succession the national offices of secretary of war, vice president, senator, and secretary of state. The Raleigh Blues escorted Calhoun and his family into Raleigh, where they visited for three days. Governor Burton hosted several dinners for them at the governor's residence. Local citizens also honored Calhoun with evening events. The South Carolina firebrand stopped again in Raleigh in 1833 as he journeyed to Washington.

In 1827, Senator Martin Van Buren of New York, who later became secretary of state, vice president, and then president, passed several days at



William Boylan.

Governor Burton's guest, but he did not attend a public dinner scheduled for his last day in town. Between 1803 and 1834, John Marshall, chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, presided over federal district court at the Wake County Courthouse in Raleigh twice annually. Raleigh and state officials, among them several governors, held a series of elegant dinners for Marshall in the summer of 1834, just before his death the following year.

The first newspaper published in Raleigh was the *North-Carolina Minerva*, moved from Fayetteville in May 1799 by New Jersey native William Boylan and his uncle,

Abraham Hodge. Boylan published the *Minerva* for more than a decade in Raleigh and then sold his interest in the paper, which continued publication until 1821. Boylan played a distinguished role in early Raleigh history, serving as a town commissioner, a justice of the county court, and a state legislator. He was a charter member of the board of trustees for the Raleigh Academy, president of the State Bank of North Carolina, and president of the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad. He owned three large plantations in Wake County, published an almanac, and operated a bookstore.

In September 1799, Joseph Gales, a native of Britain, moved from Philadelphia and began publishing the *Raleigh Register*, the town's second newspaper. Gales, too, was active in the civic and political life of Raleigh, serving as town commissioner, treasurer, and intendant of police. He was one of the founders of Raleigh Academy and a director of the State Bank of North Carolina. In addition to issuing a newspaper and operating a printing and publishing business, Gales published an almanac and ran a bookstore and a paper mill. In 1833, he turned over the *Register* to his partner and youngest son, Weston. The Gales family relinquished the paper in 1856, when John W. Syme purchased it and became editor. The *Raleigh Register* continued until the 1880s.

In November 1808, Thomas Henderson Jr. and Calvin Jones launched the *North Carolina Star*, Raleigh's third newspaper. Unlike the papers of Boylan



Joseph Gales.

and Gales, the *Star* generally avoided political controversy and concentrated on commercial and agricultural news. Thomas J. Lemay became publisher and editor of the paper, which ceased publication in 1856.

In 1834, editor Philo White launched the *North Carolina Standard* but quickly sold it to Thomas Loring, a Raleigh businessman and intendant of police (1842-43). Loring sold the newspaper in 1843 to William W. Holden, a strong voice for the Democratic Party who became a Republican governor during Reconstruction. The *Standard* continued publication

until 1870. Another successful and influential newspaper was the *Spirit of the Age*, established in 1850 and edited by Alexander M. Gorman. It remained in circulation during and after the Civil War. A number of other newspapers had short runs in the capital prior to the war. Religious periodicals issued from Raleigh included the Baptist *Biblical Recorder* and *Primitive Baptist*, the *Christian Sun*, the Methodist *Christian Advocate*, and the Episcopal *Quintessence*. Timely delivery of the news and general communication with the outside world improved with the arrival of the telegraph in Raleigh in 1848.

Before the establishment of North Carolina's first public schools in 1839, education was privately funded. Families paid for tutors or sent their children to private academies. In Wake County at the close of the eighteenth century, "no respectable School of any kind" existed. Those residents who could afford it sent their children away for education.

In 1801, forty Wake County citizens petitioned the General Assembly to allow them to build an academy on one of Raleigh's squares. The legislators agreed and designated Burke Square—northeast of Union Square—for the location of the school. The new institution was to be called Raleigh Academy, and the state lawmakers appointed fourteen trustees from various parts of Wake County to oversee its construction and governance. The trustees solicited funds from several sources and employed John M. Goodloe to build a wooden school building.

The academy, which accepted both male and female students, eventually gained an excellent reputation and remained in operation until 1828. During its lifetime, the school had a number of principals. William Turner, who became principal in 1806, significantly expanded the curriculum and faculty and introduced uniform textbooks. The student body grew to 180 pupils, and a second building was added. The academy had no dormitories. Local students lived at home, and those from out of town boarded in Raleigh.

Turner was replaced by Dr. William McPheeters, a Presbyterian minister who remained head of the school from 1810 to 1826. He further enlarged the curriculum, added a preparatory school, and introduced the Lancastrian system, whereby the older students helped the younger ones in learning. Jonathan Otis Freeman, another Presbyterian minister with thirty years' experience in education, replaced McPheeters, who became pastor of Raleigh's First Presbyterian Church (which he helped establish). By the time of Freeman's term as principal, the academy had fallen into debt, and it was forced to close. The school's treasurer, William Peace—a bank director, business leader, and proponent of education who later founded Peace College—bought the buildings in 1830. A number of schools rented the structures and offered instruction, which included classes held for girls by the widowed Susan Davis Nye Hutchinson, who had arrived from New York in 1815 to teach in the academy and returned to Raleigh in 1835. She was a strong exponent of the education of young women and set forth her

opinions in a pamphlet titled *Mrs. Hutchinson's View of Female Education*. She deplored the "unfortunate impression that the female mind is incapable of laborious study." The Pittsborough Academy, formerly of Chatham County and operated by Jefferson Madison Lovejoy, moved into the buildings in 1843, and ten years later it was known as Lovejoy's Academy. The academy buildings remained in use until the late nineteenth century, when the present-day governor's residence was built on Burke Square.

A variety of other private schools held classes in Raleigh in the first



William Peace.

half of the nineteenth century. In 1840, six were open, and that number had grown to ten by 1860. Most of them operated from private homes and offered subjects ranging from writing and shorthand to mathematics, music, drawing, modern languages, English, Latin, Greek, and ancient Hebrew. In 1822, the Raleigh Female Benevolent Society opened a school for poor children. During the following year, Episcopal clergyman George W. Freeman opened a classical school for boys. Ten years later, as rector of Raleigh's Christ Church, he assisted in the creation of the Episcopal School of North Carolina for boys at the location where St. Mary's College subsequently appeared.

The school for boys, under headmaster James Green Cogswell, fell on hard times, and in 1839 the Episcopal diocese closed it and sold the property. Two years later, Duncan Cameron—a wealthy planter, judge, politician, and supporter of education whose house stood near the school—purchased the property. He then leased it to the Reverend Aldert Smedes of New York, who opened St. Mary's School for girls on the site in 1842. One parent who visited his daughter at St. Mary's in 1844 reported that he "found the girls are kept under great restraint, and what is admirable, not one of them seem[s] to know it."

The Smedes family managed the school until near the end of the nineteenth century. The Episcopal diocese, which had always considered St. Mary's a diocesan institution, then assumed ownership. Since that time the school has operated as a secondary school and junior college and currently serves as a high school for young women. Noteworthy buildings on the campus include East Rock and West Rock (1834–35), Smedes Hall (1835–37), St. Mary's Chapel (1855–57), the Language Arts Building (1887), the Bishop's House (1904), and Eliza Pittman Auditorium (1906–7).

One of the most popular and respected Raleigh schools was run by John Chavis, a free black man who had attended the Presbyterian Washington Academy (present-day Washington and Lee University) and probably private classes at Princeton University. Licensed as a Presbyterian minister, Chavis preached to both blacks and whites until after the rise of northern abolitionism and the Nat Turner Rebellion in 1831, when state law prohibited African Americans from preaching to fellow blacks. But it is for his school, opened in 1808, that Chavis is most remembered in Raleigh history. He provided instruction, including Latin and Greek, for both blacks and whites. White students attended during the day and blacks at night. Well respected by the white community, Chavis taught the children of some of Raleigh's and North Carolina's most prominent families. A few apparently boarded



Chapel at St. Mary's School. Photograph by Paulette Mitchell.

in his home. Many of his pupils went on to become some of the state's most illustrious leaders. He had a particularly close relationship with U.S. senator Willie P. Mangum, often advising him on political affairs. When Chavis died in 1838, the Mangums buried him in their family cemetery in present-day Durham County. A Raleigh street, housing project, and park were later named for Chavis.

North Carolina did not establish public schools until the General Assembly passed the Education Act in 1839. That legislation provided for "common schools" throughout the state to be paid for by the Literary Fund and local taxes. Although the movement for common schools had varied results across the Tar Heel State, Raleigh could claim two such institutions by the early 1840s. In the town's eastern district, one school appeared on the southeastern corner of Moore Square. The other began in an "old shanty" on land in the western district purchased from William Boylan. That school was soon replaced by a building on a city-owned lot at the corner of Cabarrus and McDowell Streets. Known as the Gum Spring School, it moved to Nash Square in the late 1850s when the Raleigh Gaslight Company occupied the lot at Cabarrus and McDowell.

In 1854–55, Raleigh's common school committeemen consolidated the female students of the eastern and western districts into a separate school

constructed at the east end of Morgan Street at the northwest corner of the City Cemetery. They hired Mrs. Eleanor Campbell for \$254 to instruct the twenty-five pupils. Within two years, the committeemen authorized a new building for the Nash Square school, soon followed by a new facility for the Moore Square school. Each cost approximately \$300. By the outbreak of the Civil War, about fifty male students attended each of those two, and the same number of females attended their consolidated school.

Raleigh's common schools exemplified what was taking place statewide in public education under the leadership of North Carolina's first superintendent of common schools, Calvin H. Wiley. His measures—such as training and certification of teachers, standardization of textbooks, and requiring reports from school districts—made North Carolina's public school system one of the best in the South prior to the Civil War. Present-day Wiley Elementary School on St. Mary's Street is named for him.

In 1849, the state completed construction of the North Carolina Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb on Caswell Square facing McDowell Street. Since the 1820s, several Raleigh leaders—especially William McPheeters of the First Presbyterian Church and Joseph Gales of the *Raleigh Register*—had advocated and lobbied for such an institution. The legislature appropriated funds, and the first school for the hearing and speech impaired opened in 1845 in a rented house on the south side of Hillsborough Street. Classes convened there until the new building was completed. In 1851, the school added a department for the blind and assumed the new name North Carolina Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, and of the Blind. By the end of the 1850s, additions and another building had increased the size of the facilities.

So-called reading rooms led to the advent of the first public library in the town. The Polemic Society established probably the earliest reading room after the opening of the Raleigh Academy. Intended to serve primarily the students, the room also allowed members to borrow books. In 1815, public desire for a library resulted in the creation of the Raleigh Library, which consisted in large part of the Polemic Society's reading room materials. The holdings were available to "Subscribers" and "Ladies" and to "Strangers" who were visiting Raleigh for a few days. Besides books, the collection included sixty-seven newspapers "from every state in the Union, of all sort of politicks, and three different languages...together with four magazines and reviews." In addition, "Maps, Gazetteers, public documents and other helps to newspaper reading are furnished." Because of a shortage of operating money, the library closed in 1820.

But a number of reading rooms continued thereafter, largely under the sponsorship and support of local booksellers and publishers. In addition to those owned by newspapermen Boylan and Gales, the bookstores in antebellum Raleigh included the *Star* store, owned by *Star* editor Thomas Henderson Jr., and the shops of O.L. Cleveland, W.L. Pomeroy, and D. Lindeman on Fayetteville Street. In 1826, the company of Turner and Hughes opened a store also on Fayetteville Street. Having published and sold books for a number of years, Turner and Hughes opened a reading room in the 1830s that became a special "place of public resort" known for "encouraging a taste for literature."

Theater initially excited considerable enthusiasm in Raleigh. Young men organized themselves into the Raleigh Thespian Society and staged plays in the county courthouse as fundraisers for the Raleigh Academy. In 1814, the state legislature incorporated the society, which continued to present plays in a dual-purpose theater and Masonic hall constructed at the northeast corner of Morgan and Dawson Streets in 1815. The Raleigh Theater occupied the lower floor of the building. The local amateurs were soon joined by touring professional actors and theatrical troupes.

Stagings by the Thespian Society and visiting performers continued off and on until the early 1840s. Productions ranged from dramatic readings of Shakespeare to the Thespians' rendition of Oliver Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer* to performances—including the Highland fling—by the French dancer Madame Vincent of the Royal Opera Company of Paris. By the outbreak of the Civil War, however, theater entertainment had nearly vanished, and the Raleigh Theater had fallen into disrepair. It was demolished in the 1870s.

Traveling entertainments that visited the capital included an assortment of circuses, animal exhibitions, variety shows, magic lantern shows, and panoramas. Minstrel shows became particularly popular and featured black as well as white performers. Those troupes included Sweeny's Virginia Minstrels, the Julian Minstrels, Everett's Varieties, and Ned Davis and his Olio Minstrels. Performances took place at various locations, including the town hall, the Odd Fellows Hall, and even a tent on Nash Square.

The Raleigh Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), founded in 1858, sponsored public lectures. Its members also held devotional meetings, conducted Sunday schools, and engaged in such charitable works as assisting the poor and visiting the sick.

In 1853, Raleigh joined with the Wake County Agricultural Society and the newly revived North Carolina State Agricultural Society to launch a

state agricultural fair. The town commissioners allotted \$2,500 for the acquisition of land and the construction of buildings. They procured thirty acres east of Union Square, and on sixteen acres south of New Bern Avenue between Hargett and Davie Streets they constructed fairgrounds. They dug wells and built a number of structures for the display of livestock, farm products, and agricultural machinery. The largest building was the Farmers' and Mechanics' Hall. In Floral Hall, women exhibited domestic crafts including food products and needlework. In addition to exhibitions, speeches, concerts, horse racing, and the awarding of prizes, the fair provided refreshments and meals. Large crowds came from the countryside to attend, and Raleigh merchants and hotels profited from the influx. Some town residents rented out rooms in their homes, and camping sites were provided near the fairgrounds. The town of Raleigh retained ownership of the fairgrounds, expanded the facilities, and held the fair every year until the Civil War, when the grounds became the location for a training camp and a hospital for Confederate soldiers.

Early churches in Raleigh served both religious and social functions for the populace. Families came together for the comfort of sermons and fellowship. The first religious services were conducted by preachers traveling through town and convened in the State House or the county courthouse. Methodist bishop Francis Asbury, who rode a circuit throughout the state and nation, preached in the State House in March 1806. Some years earlier, his followers had erected the Asbury Meeting House, a hewn-log structure near the end of North Blount Street. Presbyterian William L. Turner, the principal of Raleigh Academy, became the first minister to hold regular services in the town, and he preached in the State House. He was referred to as the "pastor of the city," and his sermons were open to all denominations.

The first church building was constructed about 1808 on South Blount Street between Morgan and Hargett. Several denominations used the building, called Bethel, for services. In April 1809, the Orange Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church held meetings on the site. A frequent preacher at Bethel was the merchant and community activist William Glendinning. Glendinning published sermons, but he apparently suffered from some mental problems that led to William Boylan's being appointed his guardian.

The Methodists formed the first organized congregation in the town. They caught the fervor and emotionalism of the revivalist movement that swept through the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1811, the Methodists held a revival and conference in Raleigh. According to Bishop Asbury, about two thousand persons attended the weeklong sessions

during which, a local newspaper claimed, one hundred preachers held forth at the State House, often well into the night.

Following the revival, a number of residents launched an effort to establish a local Methodist church. The Methodists assigned the Reverend Canellum H. Hines to Raleigh as the first minister. The new congregation of Raleigh Methodist Church raised funds and constructed a building at the corner of Edenton and Dawson Streets. Fire destroyed that church in 1839. Fire also demolished subsequent structures, but the present-day Edenton Street Methodist Church stands on the site.

Raleigh Methodist Church was originally integrated, but in the 1840s the black members began holding separate services in the basement. They formed what is now St. Paul's African Methodist Episcopal Church, the first separate African American church in Wake County. The congregation acquired a lot on Edenton Street between Harrington and West Streets and moved to that site a frame building that had first served Christ Episcopal Church. It became known as the African Church, and services there began in 1853. The present-day St. Paul's AME Church—built in 1884–1901 under the supervision of black builder and legislator Stewart Ellison and restored after a fire in 1910—stands at the same location, now 402 West Edenton Street.

The Baptists created the second permanent church in Raleigh. In March 1812, twenty-three members—black and white—of a Baptist congregation in Wake County met in the State House and organized the Raleigh Baptist Church. They selected elder Robert Thomas Daniel as their first minister and continued to meet in the State House until 1814, when they built a church on South Person Street across from Moore Square. That building was subsequently moved onto the square, and the congregation worshipped there until it moved to a structure on the corner of Wilmington and Morgan Streets about 1840. The integrated church remained at that location until 1859, when the present First Baptist Church was built on the corner of Edenton and Salisbury Streets.

Presbyterians established the town's third church. When it was built, the denomination had been holding services in Raleigh for a number of years. Under the leadership of William McPheeters, the original members of First Presbyterian Church organized at a meeting at the State House in 1816. They purchased a lot at the corner of Morgan and Salisbury Streets and there built the first brick church in Raleigh. Over the years, the building hosted a number of public meetings and celebrations. The North Carolina Constitutional Convention of 1835 convened there. At times, the church's



Christ Episcopal Church.

bell served as the town bell, to be rung in the event of fire or emergency. The present-day church replaced the 1818 structure in 1897–1900.

The Episcopalians followed next in founding a church. After an Episcopal convention met in the state capital in 1821, residents seeking to establish a Raleigh congregation organized Christ Church Parish. For several years, they held services at various locations, including the First Presbyterian Church, where in 1823 their initial rector, Bishop John Stark Ravenscroft, preached a sermon. Three years later, the vestry bought the plot bounded by New Bern Avenue and Wilmington and Edenton Streets. At that location in December 1829, the communicants completed a small wooden church, which was replaced in 1848–53 and 1859–61 by the present-day Gothic Revival-style Christ Church.

The Reverend Father Peter Whelan conducted the first Catholic mass in Raleigh about 1832 in a boardinghouse. The Church of St. John the Baptist was completed in 1835 and dedicated by the Right Reverend John England, bishop of Charleston. The church stood on a lot on the west side of Wilmington Street between Davie and Martin Streets. Merchant and

Catholic benefactor John O'Rorke, formerly of Ireland, gave the land and played an active role in parish affairs. Irish Catholics who had arrived in Raleigh to build the new capitol made up a large segment of the parishioners. The church moved to the corner of Morgan and Wilmington Streets in 1859 and then to the corner of Hillsborough and McDowell Streets, the present-day location of the Cathedral of the Sacred Heart (built 1922–27).

A congregation formed Raleigh's first Christian church in 1842. It utilized the meetinghouse on Moore Square that had been vacated by the Baptists. The church, which had almost as many black members as white, disbanded in 1860. The building remained empty until after the Civil War, when the town's first separate African American Christian church moved it and began using it on a lot west of the Governor's Palace. The members later held their services in buildings on Battle and Manly Streets until they eventually merged with other denominations.

Although a number of Jewish people lived in early Raleigh, the town had no synagogue until after the Civil War. Among the prominent Jewish residents was Moses Mordecai. Born in New York in 1785, he moved with his family in the 1790s to Warren County, where his father became a merchant and ran the Mordecai Female Seminary. Licensed to practice law, Moses rode the circuit in North Carolina, including attending superior court in Raleigh. In 1815, he bought a house—not standing today—on Halifax Street. Through a profitable law practice and an inheritance, he became wealthy, eventually owning more than four thousand acres of land and thirty slaves. In 1817, he married Margaret Lane, the granddaughter of Joel Lane. Through that marriage, he became owner of the plantation house (built 1785) of Henry Lane, the son of Joel Lane and the father of Margaret. At that time, the house stood just north of the town limits. Following Moses's death in 1824, his second wife, Anne Willis (Nancy) Lane (Margaret's sister), hired William Nichols, the architect who redesigned the State House, to remodel the dwelling. The renovation was completed two years later and displays the Greek Revival style of many plantation houses. The Mordecai House, located on Mimosa Street, is now part of Mordecai Historic Park, which also features several relocated historic outbuildings, including the much restored structure reported to be the birthplace of President Andrew Johnson.

As in all cities and towns throughout the antebellum South, slavery was an integral part of day-to-day life in Raleigh. Nearly half of the town's residents in 1800 were enslaved African Americans. When the number of free blacks is added to the number of slaves, blacks actually outnumbered whites in



Mordecai House. Photograph by Paulette Mitchell.

the state capital that year. Thirty years later, Raleigh's population of 1,700 included 697 slaves and 134 free blacks. In 1860, the federal census listed Raleigh's population as 2,693 whites, 1,621 slaves, and 466 free blacks.

Raleigh slave Lunsford Lane exemplifies the success that some enslaved persons attained despite the trials, restrictions, and hardships that the southern system of bondage inflicted upon them. His intelligence, drive, determination, and ultimate achievement belied the opinions held by most of white society in the nineteenth century. Lane was a house servant of wealthy planter and banker Sherwood Haywood, who owned extensive property in and around the town, including many slaves. Despite his service to Haywood, Lane managed to establish a successful business of his own selling tobacco and firewood. With the permission of Eleanor Haywood, the widow of his master (who died in 1829), he also hired himself out to earn additional money, including working for the governor in various capacities. Lane managed to save a portion of his earnings with the object of purchasing his freedom for \$1,000. He convinced the merchant and devoted Methodist Benjamin Smith—who owned Lane's wife and children—to buy him with the \$1,000 and set him free. The county court, however, refused to give its required authorization for his liberation. Lane then persuaded Smith to take

him and his family along on a trip to New York and to grant him freedom in that state.

After he became a free man, Lane returned with Smith to Raleigh, where he intended to earn enough money to buy the freedom of his wife and children. But North Carolina law prohibited free blacks from entering the state and residing for more than twenty days. The legislature denied Lane's petition to remain longer. He therefore had to leave Raleigh or face re-enslavement. He traveled to New York and Boston, where he raised enough funds among antislavery advocates to purchase the freedom of his wife and children. He intended for them to accompany him back to Boston to live.

But when Lane returned to Raleigh to liberate his family, he encountered serious trouble from many white residents. The town constables arrested him and brought him before the town court, often referred to as the calling court, presided over by Intendant of Police Thomas Loring. A white mob gathered outside the store where the court was in session. Loring declared that Lane was charged with "delivering abolition lectures in the State of Massachusetts." But after hearing Lane's defense, the court discharged him. The white mob, however, seized him and dragged him to a wooded area, where it stripped him of his clothes and covered him with tar and feathers before releasing him.

Afraid for Lane's safety, some of his white friends gave him refuge and helped him purchase the freedom of his wife and children. They also managed to secure the family members aboard a train bound for Boston, where they ultimately arrived, along with Lane's mother, whom Eleanor Haywood had given a written pass to accompany them. The former slave family continued to live in Massachusetts, where Lane became active in the American Anti-slavery Society and gave lectures on his experiences. Having learned to read and write as a Raleigh slave despite prohibitive laws, he recorded his story in *The Narrative of Lunsford Lane Formerly of Raleigh, N.C.*, published in Boston in 1842.

Most slaves in Raleigh did not fare as well as Lane and his family. Held in bondage for their entire lives, they suffered the cruelty and humiliation that underpinned the South's "peculiar institution." They had virtually no rights under law and could not legally marry or possess their offspring. They were denied education, a secure family life, and any promise of a better future. Punishment inflicted by their masters or town, county, or state authorities could be cruel and severe, frequently for minor infractions or insubordination. Slaveholders remained largely free to sell their bondsmen or treat them any way they chose. Raleigh schoolteacher Susan Davis Nye, formerly of New

York, remembered being awakened one morning "by the screeching of a female slave who was fleeing from the whip of her enraged master. I never witnessed such a scene...her neck torn and bloody, her eye swollen."

The white people of Raleigh—indeed throughout North Carolina and the South—lived in constant fear that one day their slaves would rise up in rebellion and murder them. Past uprisings and suspected plots of insurrection in the Caribbean, around Albemarle Sound, and in the cities of Richmond and Charleston gave them reason to fear their slaves and to tighten control over them. A state of near hysteria descended on Raleigh when news of the Nat Turner revolt reached the town in 1831. Nat Turner, a literate and deeply spiritual slave, organized and led a band of enslaved African Americans in the brutal murder of fifty-seven white men, women, and children in Southampton County, Virginia, near the North Carolina border.

Although Virginia authorities quickly crushed the rebellion, word of the revolt excited panic in North Carolina. Rumors spread throughout the state, particularly in the large slaveholding counties in the east, that slaves were joining together to rise up and murder whites. Responding to the hysteria, militia and local officials arrested and tortured a number of innocent slaves whom they suspected of planning an insurrection. County courts executed several slaves said to be involved in an armed conspiracy.

Worried that slave insurrectionists from the eastern counties would march on Raleigh and butcher its citizens, the town authorities called a public meeting to make plans for defense. In addition to the local military unit, they organized the Senior Volunteer Association, composed of "individuals exempt from military duty" and called the Silver Grays. The town also planned to ring the bell of the First Presbyterian Church to alert the residents to seek safety and protection within the church. But that bell was also used as a fire alarm, and when a fire broke out in a blacksmith shop, the bell was rung. Hearing it and thinking that a slave attack was imminent, a number of Raleigh inhabitants fled to the church in their nightclothes. When a false rumor reached Hillsborough that Raleigh was about to be assaulted by an army of slaves, a group of armed men from the Orange County town set out for the state capital to protect the white residents. Reaching Chapel Hill, however, the contingent learned that the news of a pending attack was untrue and returned to Hillsborough.

Despite the alarmed reaction of the white people of Raleigh and other North Carolina towns, no slave revolt spread through the state in 1831. Nevertheless, an uneasiness about the possibility of a slave uprising prevailed and continued to grow. Sheriffs, constables, night watchmen, and slave

patrollers became more vigilant, and greater restrictions were placed upon slaves. When the white abolitionist John Brown led his unsuccessful attack on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in 1859 in an attempt to incite and arm slaves to rebel in the South, the white population of Raleigh became even more fearful of their bondsmen and outraged at northern abolitionists. Their apprehensions rose when they learned that a free black native of their city, John A. Copeland Jr., had been among Brown's band of insurrectionists. Copeland had lived in Oberlin, Ohio, prior to joining Brown. As he awaited execution for his participation in the plot, Copeland wrote to his parents that he was dying for a "Holy Cause, trying to liberate a few of my poor and oppressed people."

Over time, authorities and citizens had become more suspicious of free blacks such as Copeland. They increasingly viewed free blacks—who generally were more skilled, educated, economically secure, and autonomous than their slave counterparts—as potential instigators and leaders of slave revolts. The North Carolina Constitutional Convention of 1835 revoked the voting privileges of free African Americans. Subsequent state legislation prohibited free blacks from possessing any "seditious" publications, teaching slaves to read or write, gambling with slaves, selling outside their county of residence without a license, and leaving the state for more than ninety days and then returning. Other laws denied them the right to preach in public, possess a gun without a license, buy or sell liquor, and hold public meetings.

But the fear of slaves' rising up and murdering them was not the only worry afflicting the people of Raleigh and North Carolina. In the first third of the nineteenth century, North Carolina had lapsed into a period of economic and social stagnation known as the Rip van Winkle era, a name derived from a Washington Irving folk character who remained asleep for a long time while the rest of the world underwent change. During those decades, North Carolina—or Old Rip, as it was sometimes called—lagged behind other states that made progress. It particularly needed "internal improvements"—public-funded projects such as roads, bridges, canals, navigable rivers and harbors, railroads, and other physical innovations that would facilitate commerce. Perhaps the greatest advocate and spokesman for internal improvements was Archibald D. Murphey, a state senator from Orange County. A system of public education for a population with a high rate of illiteracy was also desperately needed. The state showed so little economic growth or potential that many people left seeking more opportunity elsewhere. Raleigh's population actually declined from 2,674 in 1820 to 1,700 in 1830.

But Rip van Winkle awakened when the North Carolina Constitutional Convention of 1835 changed the system of representation in the General Assembly and thereby made it possible for North Carolinians who wanted internal improvements and other progressive reforms to vote for taxes to support such programs. The newly founded Whig Party gained control of state government and threw its full support behind internal improvements and the realization of Murphey's ideas.

The internal improvements campaign led directly to prosperity and growth in North Carolina in the 1850s. At the same time, the rise of the cotton economy expanded profits in agriculture. With advances in transportation, farmers had greater access to distant markets. As hubs of transportation, trade, and commerce, towns grew in size and importance. Raleigh's population in 1860 was nearly three times what it had been thirty years earlier.

Supported by the 1835 change in the system of representation and the efforts of the Whig Party, railroad development moved forward. At first, Raleigh showed limited interest. The Wilmington and Weldon Railroad, founded in 1834, was originally named the Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad. But when residents of the state capital declined to invest in its completion, the line's route was changed to run from the port of Wilmington to Weldon in the northeastern part of the state. At Weldon, it connected to rail lines from Richmond and Petersburg.

Raleigh's businessmen and leaders, however, soon realized the great impact that rail transportation could have on commerce. They organized and secured a legislative charter to establish the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad. Constructed with private capital and state funds, that line ran eighty-six miles from Raleigh to Gaston on the Roanoke River near Weldon. There it joined a rail connection from Petersburg. The Wilmington and Weldon and the Raleigh and Gaston were completed in 1840 at a cost of \$1,300,000.

The depot for the Raleigh and Gaston was located at the capital town's northern boundary where Halifax, Salisbury, and North Streets joined. The first freight shipped from Raleigh was twenty bales of cotton sent to Petersburg in March 1840 by local auctioneer William Peck for some Johnston County growers. Local merchants and agents marveled at how quickly they could ship and receive goods to and from northern cities. One merchant, William C. Tucker, remarked that he received supplies from New York in eight days. That, he said, "seems like annihilating both time and space."

In June 1840, the citizens of Raleigh turned out to celebrate the arrival of the railroad, which coincided with the near completion of the Capitol



Raleigh and Gaston Railroad (later Seaboard Air Line Railway) office building. Photograph by *Pauline Mitchell*.

building. A three-day festival included public speeches and toasts, band concerts, railroad excursions, cannon fire, fireworks, and evening balls in the new Capitol. The Raleigh and Gaston constructed an office building—one of the few antebellum railroad offices still extant in the state—in 1861. The Italianate brick structure was moved in 1977 to the west side of Salisbury Street, where it stands today.

By the last decade before the Civil War, the Democratic Party—as the Whigs faded from the political scene—took up the banner of state support for economic and social reform and progress. That party, too, applied public funds for railroads. The North Carolina Railroad (NCRR), two-thirds of which was owned by the state, completed its route from Goldsboro to Charlotte in 1856. The rail line formed the Piedmont Urban Crescent by tying together old towns such as Raleigh, Greensboro, Winston, Salisbury, and Charlotte and new ones such as Durham, Company Shops (Burlington), and High Point. In those urban areas, the state's three major manufacturing industries—tobacco, textiles, and furniture—would be established after the war, making the Piedmont the most urbanized and industrialized area in the state.

William Boylan and George W. Mordecai were the most active of Raleigh's supporters of the NCRR and the largest stockholders. John R. Harrison, a contractor and hardware store owner, built a number of passenger cars for the new line, as he had done for the Raleigh and Gaston. Raleigh foundry owner Silas Burns constructed fifty freight cars for the railway. For joint use, the two railroads—the NCRR and the Raleigh and Gaston—constructed a depot and warehouses on Harrington Street between Cabarrus and Davie Streets in 1854. A crosstown line of rail connected the new facilities with the earlier depot on Raleigh's northern border and necessitated the building of bridges on Hillsborough and other streets.

The railroad gave a significant boost to antebellum Raleigh's economy and growth. That major technological innovation lowered old wagon freight rates by half. As more farmers began bringing their produce to Raleigh for shipment to markets and purchasing supplies in town, the demand for goods and services and the flow of cash rose. Along with the improvement in transportation and expansion of productivity, the number of commission merchants in the state capital grew. Among their number were William Peck, W.A. and A.B. Smith, Nelson B. Hughes, T.A. Mitchell, J.R. Whitaker, W.H. and R.S. Tucker, James M. Royster, Joseph Jones, and James A. Moore.

By the end of the 1850s, Raleigh had acquired an air of thriving business and trade. Businesses ranged from groceries, bakeries, and hardware stores to dry goods stores, milliners, and bookstores and to livery stables, barrooms, and a pawnshop. A special census commissioned by the town leaders in 1857 revealed the various occupations in the state capital. That census reported, as noted by historian Elizabeth Reid Murray, "231 'mechanics' (in the broad sense of the word), 77 laborers, 79 merchants including grocers, 88 seamstresses, 58 washerwomen, 36 clerks, 20 farmers, 21 printers, 6 editors, 20 teachers, 9 physicians, 2 dentists, 7 druggists, 6 ministers, 5 hotel keepers, 4 barbers, 1 broker, 1 judge, 1 member of Congress, 1 contractor, 1 'gentleman,' 1 'sportsman,' and 36 'loose women.'"

Although a formal merchants' association lay many years in the future, about seventy Raleigh merchants met in 1858 to consider the difficulty of granting twelve months' credit to customers. Among those signing resolutions agreeing to charge interest on unpaid balances was one businesswoman, Louisa Marling. Previously, she had taught painting and drawing at the Raleigh Academy, and her husband was artist Jacob Marling, who it is believed painted the familiar image of the State House. After his death, Louisa began a self-supporting business as a seamstress and produced the candle shades for the new Capitol's chandeliers.

Along with the economic growth in antebellum Raleigh, the streetscape changed and improved as brick and granite structures replaced the old wooden buildings so susceptible to fire. In 1835, George W. Mordecai and Gavin Hogg purchased the lot at the corner of Fayetteville and Morgan Streets where the Casso inn building had burned. There they constructed a three-story brick commercial building that housed offices and stores. The structure was demolished a century later, and the state's Justice Building now stands at the site. Three years after Mordecai and Hogg erected their commercial building, Benjamin H. Smith built a brick structure in the second block of Fayetteville Street. He incorporated two large rooms, or halls, with galleries for spectators to be used temporarily for sessions of the General Assembly. Those chambers later converted to business space. Other brick and granite businesses erected on Fayetteville Street included the tailor shop owned by Thomas R. Fentress and the establishments of jeweler Bernard Dupuy and cabinetmaker William Thompson. W.H. and R.S. Tucker expanded their family store on the east side of Fayetteville Street in the second block in the mid-1850s and enjoyed the profits from an enlarged and growing trade.

The success and profits of the rising mercantile, entrepreneurial, and professional middle class were reflected in a number of distinguished residences that appeared on Raleigh streets in the 1850s. Among them was the house of Richard Bennehan Haywood, a prominent physician, a founder and president of the North Carolina Medical Society, and a director of the NCRR. In 1854, Haywood built his two-story brick house at the corner of Edenton and Blount Streets, where it remains today, still owned by family descendants. The house exhibits the Greek Revival style popular in the antebellum period with affluent members of southern society.

Another Greek Revival residence (circa 1854) was the wooden house built by Augustus M. Lewis, a leader in the Baptist Church and a member of the board of directors for the new state mental hospital. After the Civil War, William N.H. Smith, chief justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court, owned the dwelling, which underwent renovations and additions in 1912. Subsequently known as the Lewis-Smith House, the structure was moved in the 1970s to its present location at 515 North Blount Street.

Two of Raleigh's most distinctive, elaborate, and expensive residences constructed in the 1850s were Montford Hall, which stands at 308 South Boylan Avenue, and the house of Rufus S. Tucker, built at the corner of Hillsborough and St. Mary's Streets. The renowned architect William Percival designed both dwellings in a unique Italianate style. William Montford Boylan, son of the newspaper editor and planter, built Montford Hall. The



Lewis-Smith House. Photograph by Pamela Mitchell.

residence of Tucker, a wealthy merchant and planter, was demolished in the mid-twentieth century, but its (renovated) late-nineteenth-century carriage house remains at the site and serves as a community arts center. Montford Hall and the Tucker mansion were among the few houses with indoor plumbing. The Tucker house's twin towers contained storage tanks for water pumped by hand from a pond on the property.

A new charter issued by the General Assembly in 1857 reflected Raleigh's antebellum growth. The charter expanded the town commissioners' authority to pass ordinances and regulations and levy new taxes. It changed the title of the intendant of police to mayor and provided for the first extension of the city limits. The expansions extended a quarter mile in four directions and annexed a number of residents living outside North, South, East, and West Streets. The new boundaries ran approximately along North Boundary and Peace Streets to the north, South Boundary Street and Bledsoe Avenue to the south, Haywood Street to the east, and St. Mary's Street to the west. The extensions increased the size of Raleigh from $\frac{2}{3}$ of a square mile to more than $1\frac{1}{4}$ square miles. The town retained that size until the early 1900s.

Since the founding of the town, national and state politics had been a part of everyday life in Raleigh. The nation's first two political parties were



Montford Hall.



Tucker Carriage House.

the Federalist Party and the Republican Party. The Federalists advocated a strong central government that would play a large role in state and national affairs. Republicans, on the other hand, believed that government should be small and limited in its power. They spoke for states' and individual rights.

In Raleigh, the strong competition between the Federalist and Republican Parties became especially heated in public debates between newspaper editors William Boylan of the *Minerva* and Joseph Gales of the *Register*. The conflict began when the Federalist Boylan attacked the Republican Gales, calling him a foreigner who fled England to avoid arrest and accusing him of having poor character. Gales at first ignored Boylan's charges. But as accusations flew back and forth—even dispensed in handbills from both printers—the animosity ultimately erupted into violence. In 1804, Boylan severely beat Gales with a cane when the two met on the steps of the State House. Gales then sued Boylan for assault and won his case. After deducting legal fees, he donated the settlement money to the Raleigh Academy.

The Republican Party, which probably dominated in North Carolina and Raleigh, ultimately prevailed over the Federalist Party. The beginning of the end of the Federalist Party came when Republican Thomas Jefferson became president in 1801, and the party dissolved after the War of 1812. The Republican Party, on the other hand, evolved into the Democratic Party when Andrew Jackson became president and ushered in the Age of the Common Man. When a new party, the Whig Party, arose in opposition to the Democrats in the mid-1830s, it called for a large role for both national and state governments in promoting and funding economic development. Raleigh was divided in its allegiance. Among the town's newspapers, for example, the *Raleigh Register* supported the Whigs and the *North Carolina Standard* backed the Democrats.

As the center of state government, Raleigh naturally became a scene for national politics also. When campaigning for president in April 1844, Whig candidate Henry Clay of Kentucky—the U.S. Speaker of the House, secretary of state, and senator known as the Great Pacificator—spent six days in the town, staying at the Governor's Palace, then occupied by Governor John M. Morehead. Clay attended various festivities planned in his honor and delivered a two-hour speech from the west portico of the Capitol. Large crowds turned out to see and hear him. During his sojourn in the state capital, Clay wrote his famous "Raleigh letter." Composed on April 17 and published in the *National Intelligencer* on April 27, the letter predicted that if the United States annexed the Republic of Texas, war with Mexico would follow. Some politicians believed that it caused him to lose the election. Local



Yarborough House.

legend maintains that Clay composed the letter while sitting under a large oak tree on the northwest corner of Blount and North Streets in the yard of what was then the William Polk House. The tree became known as the Henry Clay Oak, and in 1939 the Daughters of the American Revolution marked the site with a bronze plaque. The tree had to be cut down in 1991 because of disease, although the marker remains. The State of North Carolina distributed seedlings from the tree to Wake County schools with instructions about planting them on school grounds. Woodcarvers also made souvenirs from the wood, including an acorn that was placed in Raleigh's bicentennial time capsule on New Year's Eve in 1992.

In 1847, President James K. Polk, a native North Carolinian and a Democrat, visited Raleigh. He and his presidential party spent two nights at the Eagle Hotel, from which he addressed a crowd. Polk attended a reception in the senate chamber of the Capitol and witnessed a fireworks display and the ascension of a balloon from Union Square before departing for Chapel Hill to attend the commencement and reunion of his 1818 class at the University of North Carolina. He stopped briefly again in Raleigh on his way back to Washington.

President James Buchanan, another Democrat, called at Raleigh in May 1859 as he traveled to Chapel Hill to deliver the commencement address at the university. He spent the night at the house of General Lawrence O'Bryan

Branch on Hillsborough Street. Intendant of Police William H. Harrison was absent at the time, so Daniel M. Barringer, a former congressman and minister to Spain then living in Raleigh, made the official welcome.

Another national political figure who came to Raleigh was Stephen A. Douglas, the Democratic senator from Illinois, who campaigned for president in the Tar Heel capital during the election of 1860. He stayed at the Yarborough House and attended the state Democratic convention, which met in August. In the month prior to the arrival of Douglas, vice presidential candidate Joseph Lane visited Raleigh. He was on the ticket with John C. Breckinridge, the other Democratic candidate for president. (The party split in the election of 1860.) Lane, too, stayed at the Yarborough House, attended several parties, and visited his relative Henry Mordecai.

As the 1850s drew to a close, Raleigh—with the rise of the cotton economy, the advent of the railroad, and increased commerce—had grown and prospered. But catastrophe loomed. Political discord between North and South had ignited over the issue of slavery and was propelling North Carolina and the other southern states toward secession from the Union and civil war. As the state capital, Raleigh would be at the center of the growing crisis and ensuing armed conflict.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CIVIL WAR

As the antebellum era came to an end, Raleigh was swept up in the momentous political events that led to the outbreak of the Civil War. For decades the conflict over slavery had been leading the nation toward a sectional crisis. The slaveholding South—largely under the banner of the Democratic Party—wanted to preserve its “peculiar institution” and extend it as a labor system into the new western territories acquired with the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 and as a result of the Mexican-American War in 1846–48. Non-slaveholders in the North—led by the new Republican Party established in 1854—opposed slavery’s extension into the territories, and many wanted to see the institution abolished everywhere in the nation. Talk of seceding from the United States began to increase in the South as that region grew more apprehensive about the survival of slavery.

The crisis ultimately reached its boiling point with the presidential election of 1860. The Republican candidate was Abraham Lincoln, who opposed slavery in the territories. The Democrats split into two factions. One candidate, John C. Breckinridge, supported slavery’s extension. The other, Stephen A. Douglas, endorsed the principle of “popular sovereignty.” A new party, the Constitutional Union Party, offered still a third candidate, John Bell. He called for the nation to avoid a pending crisis over slavery by standing by the Union and the existing laws. The Southern states, including North Carolina, did not allow Lincoln to be included on the ballot at their voting precincts. Some in the Deep South, led by South Carolina, vowed that if Lincoln won the election, they would leave the Union.

When the voters of Raleigh went to the polls in November 1860, they had three choices for president—Breckinridge, Douglas, and Bell. The majority of them cast their votes for Breckinridge. Bell received the second-largest number of votes. Raleigh's vote reflected the overall balloting in North Carolina. Lincoln, however, won the presidency on the national level. With his election, South Carolina made good on its threat and seceded from the Union. Seven other slaveholding states soon joined South Carolina and formed the provisional Confederate States of America. But most of the citizens of Raleigh, and the rest of North Carolina as well, did not see Lincoln's election as sufficient cause for their state to leave the United States and join the Confederacy. They preferred to await the outcome of future events. By a margin of two to one, Raleighites voted against holding a state secession convention at the Capitol to consider withdrawal, although some in the town—such as John Spelman, editor of the new *Star Journal*—strongly supported secession.

Events, however, would soon change the minds of the people about remaining in the Union. Word reached the state capital that on April 12, 1861, Confederate artillery had fired on Fort Sumter and its small garrison of U.S. soldiers in Charleston Harbor. Within a short time, the fort surrendered, and Lincoln called upon the states still in the Union for troops to suppress the rebellion. Raleigh's position then changed drastically. Along with the rest of North Carolina, the town's citizens had to decide where their political loyalties lay: with the United States or with the new Confederate States of America.

The *Raleigh Register*, which prior to Fort Sumter had advocated restraint and a "watch and wait" attitude, began to call for a convention to "dissolve all connections with the United States government." Former governor Charles Manly reported that in Raleigh "even those who were loudest in denouncing Secession are now hottest & loudest the other way." When Governor John W. Ellis refused Lincoln's request for troops from North Carolina, William W. Holden's *North Carolina Standard*, which formerly had urged calm regarding withdrawal from the Union, applauded the governor's defiance and began championing secession.

On May 20, delegates from throughout the state assembled at a secession convention in the Capitol. The delegates elected from Raleigh were Holden, George E. Badger, and Kemp Plummer Battle. During his career, Badger served as a lawyer, a superior court judge, a legislator, secretary of the U.S. Navy, and a U.S. senator. Battle was a lawyer and railroad president who became president of the University of North Carolina and

a prominent historian after the war. The convention unanimously passed an ordinance of secession, which officially separated North Carolina from the Union and endorsed the constitution of the provisional Confederate States of America.

Anxiously awaiting the decision of the convention, a large crowd formed on the west side of the Capitol. About half past five in the afternoon, a figure appeared on the balcony and dropped a handkerchief, a signal to the crowd below that secession had passed. Cheers, shouts of jubilation, the firing of cannon, and the ringing of bells erupted in response to the news. North Carolina had committed itself to fighting with the other Confederate states for Southern independence.

Not all Raleighites, however, rejoiced about secession. A sizable number wanted to remain loyal to the United States. But, according to historian David H. McGee, "Their voices remained muted because they feared reprisal given the prevalent secessionist atmosphere." Privately, prominent lawyer and former state attorney general Bartholomew F. Moore referred to secession as "the madness of the South" and maintained that "Civil War can be glorious news to none but demons, or thoughtless fools, or maddened men." Even George Badger, who had voted for secession along with the majority as a delegate at the convention, confessed to a friend that the crowd's boisterous reaction to the news of North Carolina's secession was only, in McGee's words, "celebrating a tragedy" and the end of slavery.

Almost immediately, Raleigh became a site for the encampment and training of thousands of state troops bound for the Confederate army. Some units established temporary camps on Burke and Caswell Squares. Others occupied space at the state mental hospital campus, on church grounds, at the railway depots, and at boardinghouses and private houses rented or volunteered by their owners. William Montford Boylan opened the grounds of his estate near Hillsborough Street to the Ellis Light Artillery. A camp of instruction commanded by Colonel (later General) Daniel Harvey Hill took over the state fairgrounds. Named Camp Ellis for the governor, it quickly became overcrowded. As a result, the state adjutant general created two other camps on the outskirts of Raleigh: Camp Mangum, three or four miles west of the Capitol, and Camp Crabtree (also called Camp Carolina), north of Raleigh on the plantation of Kimbrough Jones. In June 1862, Camp Holmes for the instruction of conscripts (draftees) was established northeast of the town limits.

Men from Raleigh and surrounding Wake County formed several military companies and marched off to war. The first to depart was the Oak City

Guards, comprising mostly volunteers outside Raleigh. That unit eventually became part of the Fourteenth Regiment North Carolina Troops. The Raleigh Rifles left on June 2, 1861. Its captain, William Henry Harrison, had resigned as Raleigh mayor to lead the Rifles, which also became part of the Fourteenth Regiment. Charles B. Root, a jeweler, temporarily replaced him as mayor until Harrison returned and resumed his office in 1862. Prominent merchant Rufus S. Tucker, whom Governor Ellis had appointed the state's first quartermaster, resigned that office in September 1861 to lead the Wake Rangers, a special company of cavalry that ultimately became Company I of the Third Regiment North Carolina Cavalry. When Manly's Battery—first known as the Ellis Light Artillery and later named for its captain and postwar Raleigh mayor Basil C. Manly—left the capital in July 1861, it carried a flag made by the students at St. Mary's School. The battery was absorbed into the First Regiment North Carolina Artillery. The Reverend Bennett Smedes, who followed his father, Dr. Aldert Smedes, as head of St. Mary's, served for one year as chaplain of the Fifth Regiment North Carolina Troops. Dr. W.S. Lacy, son of Dr. Drury Lacy of First Presbyterian Church, became chaplain of the Forty-seventh Regiment. The Raleigh Home Guard was composed of men too old for service in the regular forces. It organized to "protect our homes and firesides, while our young men are in the field." Former governor and U.S. senator Thomas Bragg served as its captain.

The Raleigh native to achieve the highest rank in the Confederate army was Leonidas Polk, born in the town in 1806. He attended the University of North Carolina and graduated from West Point. Polk resigned his commission after only six months in the U.S. Army to attend Virginia Theological Seminary and take orders as an Episcopal priest. He married Frances Ann Devereux of Raleigh in 1830. She was the daughter of John Devereux, a prominent Raleigh merchant and a large plantation and slave owner. After a number of assignments, Polk became bishop of Louisiana and owner of a large sugar plantation. Commissioned into the Confederate army when the war began, he rose to the rank of lieutenant general, commanding a corps in the Army of Tennessee. His corps fought in a number of major engagements in the Western Theater. He was killed during the Atlanta campaign in June 1864 and is buried in New Orleans.

Another Raleighite who held the rank of general was Lawrence O'Bryan Branch. Born in Enfield in 1820, he graduated from Princeton University and launched a career as an attorney. Branch served in the Seminole War in Florida before he married Nancy Haywood Blount of Washington, North Carolina. In 1848, they moved to Raleigh, where he practiced law and

served as president of the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad. He was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from 1855 to 1861. At the outbreak of the war, Branch enlisted in the Raleigh Rifles, but the governor soon appointed him state quartermaster general. Branch resigned that position to become colonel of the Thirty-third Regiment North Carolina Troops. Promoted to the rank of brigadier general, he commanded in the defense of New Bern in March 1862. He then led his brigade in the Seven Days battles and the Second Battle of Manassas in Virginia. He was killed at the Battle of Antietam, Maryland, in September 1862 and is buried in Raleigh's City Cemetery.

After the sectional conflict erupted, Raleigh quickly became home to a number of military hospitals established by the state. The adjutant general appointed Raleigh physician Charles E. Johnson as surgeon general, and he served from May 1861 to September 1862, when he was succeeded by Dr. Edward Warren of Chowan County, who then resided in Raleigh until the war's end. North Carolina established its first military hospital on the state fairgrounds. It was called the Fairgrounds Hospital, and Raleigh surgeon Edmund Burke Haywood became its supervisor. When the Confederate government took over all military hospitals, the facility was renamed the Confederate States Hospital at the Fairgrounds and subsequently designated General Hospital No. 7. In June 1864, Dr. Haywood left that facility to the care of Dr. Wright Tracy of Cleveland County and became head of the new and larger Pettigrew Hospital—General Hospital No. 13 and named for North Carolinian General James Johnston Pettigrew—located at the southwest corner of present-day New Bern Avenue and Tarboro Road. Raleigh's other military hospital, General Hospital No. 8, opened in June 1862 in the unfinished main building of the future Peace Institute, today's Peace College.

In addition to the military hospitals, so-called wayside hospitals appeared across North Carolina and the South during the war. These usually were located near railroad depots, where they would be accessible to sick and wounded soldiers traveling between the front and their homes. Overnight accommodations would be offered to the soldiers passing through a town or village or to their families en route to visit them. Civilian volunteers, including physicians and nurses, staffed the wayside hospitals until they were eventually taken over by the Confederate government. In Raleigh, near the North Carolina Railroad depot, a wayside facility began operating in December 1862. Referred to as the Ladies' Wayside Hospital and supervised by Dr. W.C. Roberts, it bustled with volunteers providing care and comfort



Peace Institute, later Peace College. Photograph by Pmilette Mitchell.

to soldiers when a train pulled into the station. The local newspapers called upon town residents to supply food and linen and cotton cloth for bandages. In the final days of the war, hastily improvised hospitals tended to soldiers in the basement of First Baptist Church and at the house of Dr. Fabian Haywood (formerly the Bank of New Bern) at the corner of Fayetteville and Morgan Streets.

The arrival of large numbers of troops, along with state legislators and other officials, at the outbreak of the war brought a boon to Raleigh commerce. Hotels and boardinghouses filled to capacity. The initial demands for supplies and materials led to some shortages but also stimulated business and provided new opportunities and profits. Some merchants revamped their businesses to take advantage of the wartime demands and the presence of so many troops needing local goods and services. For example, Moses Grausman began manufacturing and selling uniforms to newly commissioned army officers. Grausman dispatched an agent to troop camps to take orders. Other tailors and seamstresses also took advantage of the ready market for uniforms, especially for officers. The dry goods stores of W.H. and R.S. Tucker and of James McKimmon featured gray cloth and other supplies

for sewing Confederate uniforms. Various merchants offered bowie knives, swords, and pistols for sale.

Small industries for war materiel sprang up in or near Raleigh. Leather maker Thomas Breen made and sold thousands of cartridge boxes and belts at \$5.50 each. Machinist James D. Hollister manufactured percussion caps for rifles. Carpenters found work building structures for the new camps, and bakers filled military orders for bread. The Raleigh Bayonet Factory employed a number of blacksmiths who made bayonets at a shop north of North Street. On the outskirts of town, on House Creek near the mouth of Crabtree Creek, George B. Waterhouse and Michael Bowes constructed a gunpowder factory named the Raleigh Powder Mill. An explosion at the facility in 1862 killed four workers. But Waterhouse and Bowes soon reopened their gunpowder plant downstream on Crabtree Creek. The new site had been the location of a paper mill once owned by Joseph Gales and then by others. Decades after the war, it became known as Whitaker's Mill.

The war had a significant impact on education. Raleigh's public schools remained open for only the early part of the war. The same was true of Lovejoy's Academy on Burke Square. But St. Mary's School continued to operate until the end of the conflict. Among its more distinguished students were Mildred Lee, daughter of General Robert E. Lee, and Lucia Polk, daughter of General Leonidas Polk. For a time, the local firm of Branson and Farrar supplied textbooks throughout the state.

During much of the war, Raleigh residents feared that Federal forces might invade their town. In early 1862, U.S. regiments had captured a substantial part of coastal North Carolina. They established headquarters at New Bern and maintained a formidable presence in the region until the end of the conflict. As a result, the haunting possibility that a Federal raid from the east would reach Raleigh loomed large in the public mind. At one point, a Raleighite reported that a rumored attack "was the sole topic of conversation." Concerned about a potential invasion of the state capital, Governor Zebulon B. Vance in 1863 ordered that earthen breastworks be constructed completely around the perimeter of Raleigh. Those defenses stood about five feet high and included a number of gun batteries. Slaves performed most of the labor.

To escape the occupation and forays of Union troops in eastern North Carolina, large numbers of refugees crowded into Raleigh. Other people fled the fighting in Virginia and sought refuge in the Tar Heel capital. Perhaps the best-known Raleigh refugee was Varina Davis, wife of Confederate president Jefferson Davis. When the Confederate capital at Richmond was

under the threat of attack in May 1862, President Davis sent his family to Raleigh, where they remained for several weeks. Mrs. Davis and the children first took up residence at the Yarborough House and then moved to accommodations on the campus of St. Mary's School. The president visited them briefly in June, and when he traveled through Raleigh again in January 1863, he addressed a large crowd and thanked the people of the town for the kindness and hospitality shown to his wife and children.

Under the growing stress of war, social events and entertainment declined in Raleigh. Most such activities were held as charity affairs intended to solicit assistance for soldiers and their destitute families. Local aid groups such as relief societies of various churches and women's aid clubs organized for the purpose of sending food, clothing, socks, blankets, and other comfort items to the troops and the military hospitals. Students at St. Mary's School sewed and knitted uniforms, overcoats, knapsacks, gloves, and other items for the soldiers. Five churches in Raleigh volunteered their bells to be cast into cannon.

As time went on, however, the initial enthusiastic support for the army started to fade, and many citizens in Raleigh began to resent the presence of so many soldiers with their never-ending demands on resources. Considerable conflict arose between the civilian population and the men in uniform when the soldiers' drunkenness and rowdiness became major problems for the community. Public disruptions frequently occurred as soldiers imbibed the alcohol readily available in the town's taverns and grocery shops. Fights and thefts often took place. On one occasion, an intoxicated soldier was shot and wounded by a Raleigh man when the trooper attempted to break into a house occupied by two women. In another episode, a group of drunken soldiers attacked the local jail to free two comrades who had been arrested earlier for disorderly conduct. Members of the Anson County Guards abandoned their inferior quarters at Camp Ellis and seized the county courthouse to use as barracks. From that site, before they departed for the town of Weldon, they harassed locals who passed by the building. Such episodes were common, and they continued until the war's end. Attempts by Confederate officers and local police proved largely unsuccessful in controlling the soldiers' drunken, loud, disruptive, and often violent behavior.

No one in Raleigh foresaw a devastating war lasting four long years and costing thousands of lives. The easy and quick victory that most Southerners had hoped for and predicted did not occur. As the months passed, the hot blood of the war hawks cooled. Every day brought news of horrible deaths, wounds, and sickness. The U.S. Navy's blockade of Southern ports strangled

the Confederacy by denying it food, clothing, war supplies, and other needed items that the lack of industry and poor transportation prevented it from producing and distributing. Prices for food and other necessities soared as the war wore on. In the Raleigh market, flour selling for \$15 per barrel in 1863 was costing \$500 by the war's end. Meal formerly priced at \$1 to \$6 commanded \$120. The price of salt, which became almost impossible to obtain, rose from \$5 to \$100 a bag. Quinine to treat malaria and other maladies brought the huge sum of \$1,700 per ounce. Inflation of Confederate currency, which fell in value every day, made it even more difficult to purchase the limited supplies that were available.

The shortage of food, clothing, and other essentials was made worse, especially for the poor, by speculation among a number of Raleigh's wholesale and retail merchants who seized on wartime conditions to turn a profit. They charged exorbitant prices for scarce items and frequently required payment in gold or other hard currency. In the final months of the war, some, anticipating a Federal victory, purchased and hoarded supplies for the day when sound Yankee dollars would once again appear in North Carolina. William W. Holden of the *North Carolina Standard* observed "the deadening, chilling effect of this speculation mania upon the large masses of the people."

The Confederate government's impressment of food supplies and the enactment of a tax-in-kind on farms in the countryside led to further shortages and more suffering for the people in the state capital. The will of Raleighites to wage war weakened even more with the large-scale desertion that took place among North Carolina soldiers. The citizens' enthusiasm and morale declined still further in the face of growing dissension among Unionists and peace advocates and with the state populace's resistance to conscription (the draft) and other new and objectionable measures—such as the Twenty-Negro Law, which discriminated against non-slaveholders—enacted by the Confederate government. Suffering among Raleigh's inhabitants became severe, and they grew weary of a prolonged war from which they could find no relief.

The growing dissatisfaction with continuing the war eventually led a sizable portion of the North Carolina population to favor peace negotiations with the Lincoln government. Like other North Carolinians, the citizens of Raleigh became divided in their opinions and feelings about continuing the war. Some wanted to end it with peace negotiations. Others wanted to see the conflict through until Southern independence was achieved. Peace advocates in the town and throughout the state found their spokesman in



W. W. Holden

William W. Holden.

William W. Holden, editor of the *North Carolina Standard*. Holden's editorials attacking the Confederate government and calling for peace angered many pro-Confederates and ignited violence in the streets of Raleigh.

Holden's peace advocacy so infuriated some Georgia troops passing through the capital in September 1863 that they ransacked the office of the *Standard* and scattered paper and type into the street. Holden sought safety from the attack at the Governor's Palace. In retaliation for the assault on his newspaper, a group of Holden's supporters in Raleigh demolished the office of the pro-Confederate *State Journal*. Neither the mayor nor the local police intervened, but Governor Vance managed to

convince the mob to disperse. The following day, an Alabama regiment threatened "murder and conflagration" in Raleigh. Again, Vance prevented further trouble by calling upon Confederate officers to control their men. He also wrote to President Davis about the threats and violence perpetrated by Confederate soldiers. Davis responded by issuing stern orders that officers maintain tight supervision over their regiments in transit through Raleigh. Apparently those orders had the desired effect, for the governor soon reported to the president that "the troops are now passing quietly, and no further disturbance apprehended. Quiet is restored."

Support for Holden and his call for peace continued, however. In the gubernatorial election of 1864, Holden ran against and lost to the incumbent Vance, who won the vote in Raleigh and Wake County. Holden carried only three counties. The general population of Raleigh had displayed an affection for the popular Vance since his first election as governor in 1862. He was inaugurated on September 6 of that year. A large crowd gathered on Capitol (formerly Union) Square for the morning ceremony. The Johnny Reb Band from the Twenty-sixth Regiment North Carolina Troops, which Vance had previously commanded, had arrived in Raleigh two days earlier and serenaded the population with martial airs and other tunes. On inauguration day, the band marched from the Yarborough House to Capitol Square, where

it played for the first time publicly "Governor Vance's Inauguration March," composed especially for the event. Vance then addressed the crowd from a platform on the west side of the Capitol. Vance's second inauguration in 1864 was a much quieter affair with very little fanfare.

Some of the final scenes of the Civil War played out in Raleigh. In March 1865, the Federal army of General William T. Sherman invaded North Carolina from the south. Opposing Sherman was the Confederate army of General Joseph E. Johnston. Upon reaching Fayetteville, Sherman intended to march to Goldsboro, where he would be reinforced and resupplied by U.S. forces occupying coastal North Carolina. He would then continue on toward Raleigh in pursuit of the retreating Johnston. But the two armies clashed at the Battle of Bentonville southeast of Raleigh on March 19-21. Defeated at the battle, Johnston withdrew toward the state capital in the hope of eventually uniting with General Robert E. Lee, besieged at Petersburg and Richmond in Virginia. But word came on April 11 that Lee had surrendered at Appomattox Courthouse. Johnston then departed Raleigh to meet at Greensboro with President Jefferson Davis and the Confederate cabinet, who had fled Richmond. He left the troops in and around Raleigh under the command of General William J. Hardee, with orders to continue marching them westward. In the meantime, Sherman had made his rendezvous at Goldsboro and was moving toward the state capital.

As he drew near, apprehensions grew in the town. Raleigh residents and prominent state politicians Kenneth Rayner and Bartholomew F. Moore attempted to persuade Governor Vance to meet with Sherman to try to save the town from destruction. In response, Vance composed the following letter for Sherman:

His honor Mayor Wm. H. Harrison is authorized to surrender to you the City of Raleigh. I have the honor to request the extension of your favor to its defenseless inhabitants generally and especially to ask your protection for the charitable Institutions of the State located here filled as they are with unfortunate inmates, most of whose natural protectors would be unable to take care of them in the event of their destruction.

The Capitol of the State with its Libraries, Museum and much of the public records is also left in your power. I can but entertain the hope they escape mutilation or destruction in as much as such evidence of learning and taste could advantage neither party in the prosecution of the war whether destroyed or preserved.

Vance then dispatched two emissaries—David L. Swain of Chapel Hill and William A. Graham of Hillsborough—to make contact with Sherman and deliver the governor's request for a meeting to discuss a cease-fire and possible termination of the war. Swain was president of the University of North Carolina and a former governor. Graham had been a member of the Confederate Senate, a U.S. senator, and secretary of the U.S. Department of the Navy, as well as a North Carolina governor. When Swain and Graham were late in returning to Raleigh, Vance—thinking that they had been detained by the Federals—left the capital to confer with General Johnston and President Davis at Greensboro. Missing them in that town, he traveled on to Charlotte, where he joined a conference with Johnston, Davis, and the president's cabinet. Vance would not return to Raleigh until shortly after the war ended, when he passed through on his way to Federal prison in Washington, D.C.

When Swain and Graham finally arrived back in Raleigh and discovered Vance gone, they sent word to General Joseph Wheeler, commanding the Confederate rear guard, that the capital would be formally surrendered. Wheeler pledged to complete the evacuation as quickly as possible. As the vanguard of the Union cavalry drew near Raleigh, Wheeler's subordinate, General Wade Hampton, sent an officer under a flag of truce to inform the advancing U.S. troops, under the command of General H. Judson Kilpatrick, that the Confederate army had evacuated Raleigh and that Mayor William H. Harrison would surrender the town. Riding out in a pouring rain accompanied by a group of commissioners, the mayor encountered the advancing Federals about one mile from the town limits. He officially surrendered Raleigh, promising cooperation and no resistance. Harrison and his delegation asked the Union officers to safeguard the town's residents and property. Kilpatrick pledged that if the surrender was peaceful, neither people nor property would be harmed. He would post guards where needed to ensure their safety.

Some Raleighites, however, had already safeguarded their possessions by hiding them. Charles Manly, for example, placed a number of his valuables in a heavy wooden box and buried it about three miles outside town. "It was a terrible job," he recalled. "I laid on the ground perfectly exhausted before I could gain strength to mount my horse." Some stores and citizens had already had items confiscated or pilfered by the retreating Confederate troops. Bartholomew F. Moore declared, "God save us from the retreating friend and advancing foe." Despite community fears, no significant reprisals, theft, or destruction of property took place when the Union troops entered

Raleigh. But an incident did occur that might have set off Federal retribution on the town.

Early on April 13, General Kilpatrick rode into Raleigh at the head of his division. His band played and his banners and guidons fluttered as his cavalymen rode down Fayetteville Street. Despite the Confederate promise to evacuate Raleigh and offer no resistance within its limits, a few soldiers of Wheeler's command had remained in town to plunder the local shops. As the Federal horsemen rode toward the Capitol, these thieves fired on them and cried out, "God damn 'em!" A Lieutenant Walsh of the Texas cavalry fired at General Kilpatrick, missing him but wounding one of his officers. Walsh then galloped down Morgan Street with several Union cavalymen in hot pursuit. As Walsh rounded a corner, his horse fell. He remounted but was soon captured. Kilpatrick ordered him hanged immediately. The execution and burial took place at Lovejoy's Grove northeast of Burke Square near the corner of Lane and Bloodworth Streets. Walsh's body was later moved to the Confederate section of Oakwood Cemetery. A marker there reads: "1st Lieut. Walsh / 11th Texas Cavalry / Died / April 13, 1865." Kilpatrick left a regiment to occupy Raleigh and, with the rest of his division, started after Wheeler, retreating toward Chapel Hill.

Within a short time, General Sherman himself arrived in Raleigh, riding in a heavy rain at the head of his Fourteenth Corps. The general immediately established his headquarters at the governor's residence, which had been vacated by Vance. A member of Sherman's staff described the building, stripped of its furniture, as "uninhabitable" and "a musty old brick building, which, in derision, has been called a palace." The Fourteenth Corps camped on the grounds of Dix Hill and was soon joined by vast numbers of troops who poured into Raleigh and vicinity, some of whom would remain to occupy the town.

Sherman held a review of his soldiers to display his strength to the local population. He stood on Capitol Square as the regiments marched by in "a sea of bayonets." A crowd of Raleighites gathered to watch the parade. General Carl Schurz observed one woman in the crowd who, with tears streaming, sobbed, "It is all over with us; I see that now, it is all over. A few days ago I saw General Johnston's army, ragged and starved; now when I look at these strong healthy men and see them coming and coming—it is all over with us."

Indeed, for the most part the war was "all over." At Johnston's request, Sherman met with him on April 17 at the farmhouse of James Bennett near Durham Station and discussed terms of surrender for the Confederate



Grave marker of Lieutenant Walsh. Photograph by Paulette Mitchell.

army. Upon returning to Raleigh that same day, Sherman announced to his soldiers that he had received a telegram reporting that President Abraham Lincoln had been assassinated two days earlier. The news enraged the Federal troops. About two thousand men from the corps of General John A. Logan began to march to Raleigh, intent on taking revenge on the town. Logan managed to halt them by threatening them with artillery. In an effort to calm his troops and protect Raleigh, Sherman spent much of the night riding through the encampments. He would later claim, "Had it not been for me Raleigh would have been destroyed."

The next day, Sherman returned to the Bennett farmhouse and presented Johnston with terms of surrender. After receiving approval from President Davis in Charlotte, Johnston agreed to the terms. Sherman then asked the U.S. War Department for authorization to accept Johnston's surrender based on the proposed agreement. But the War Department disapproved the terms, maintaining that they were too lenient. Only those terms that had been given General Lee at Appomattox would be allowed. Ulysses S. Grant, commanding general of the U.S. Army, soon arrived in Raleigh to talk with Sherman and ensure that only terms acceptable to the War Department would be given the Confederacy.

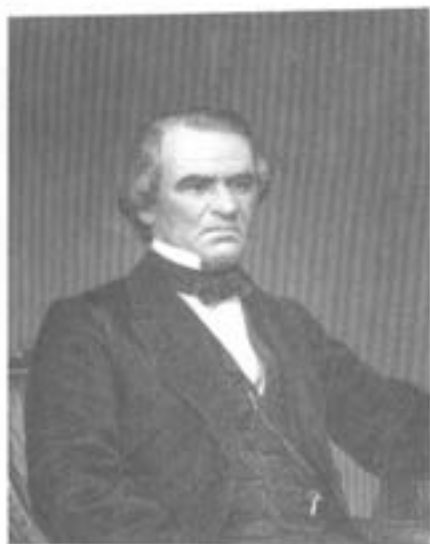
On April 26, Johnston and Sherman met again at the Bennett farm. After some discussion, Johnston agreed to the same basic terms as in Lee's surrender, with some supplements approved by the Washington authorities. For all practical purposes, Johnston's surrender embraced the bulk of the Confederate army and ended the war, although some Confederate units in the Southwest, Trans-Mississippi, and Indian Territory did not surrender until May and June. Within three days after the final meeting at the Bennett farm, Sherman departed Raleigh for Washington, D.C. General John M. Schofield then became commander of the U.S. Army in North Carolina. With the war thus ended, the people of Raleigh faced an uncertain future.

CHAPTER FOUR
RECONSTRUCTION

When the Confederacy surrendered, the inhabitants of Raleigh found themselves a conquered people occupied by an army with which their state had been at war for four long years. What would their conquerors demand of them? Would they be punished for rebelling against the U.S. government? Would their state be allowed to rejoin the Union? Would their citizenship be restored? And what would be the relationship between whites and the newly liberated black slaves?

Answers soon came when President Andrew Johnson, who as vice president had succeeded Lincoln, announced his plan for Reconstruction throughout the former Confederate states. Johnson—a native of Raleigh who early in his life moved to Tennessee—granted amnesty to former Confederates who took an oath of allegiance to the U.S. Constitution. Some former Confederates were exempted, including high-ranking army officers, persons who had sworn an oath to uphold the Federal Constitution and then betrayed that oath by participating in the war against the United States, and men who had been worth \$20,000 or more in 1860. People in those categories had to apply to the president for special pardons, but Johnson granted such pardons liberally.

The president also specified that each Southern state had to call a convention to repeal its ordinance of secession, to acknowledge the abolition of slavery, and to repudiate the state debt. Once those steps had been accomplished, the state could hold elections for state and congressional offices and be readmitted to the Union. To oversee the carrying out of



Andrew Johnson.

his plan in North Carolina, Johnson appointed Raleigh's William W. Holden, editor of the *North Carolina Standard* and the peace candidate for governor in 1864. Holden had the mission of calling and supervising the required convention of delegates elected by white voters who had received amnesty or special pardon. The convention met in Raleigh at the Capitol in October 1865 with the mandate to enact the presidential requirements for reunion.

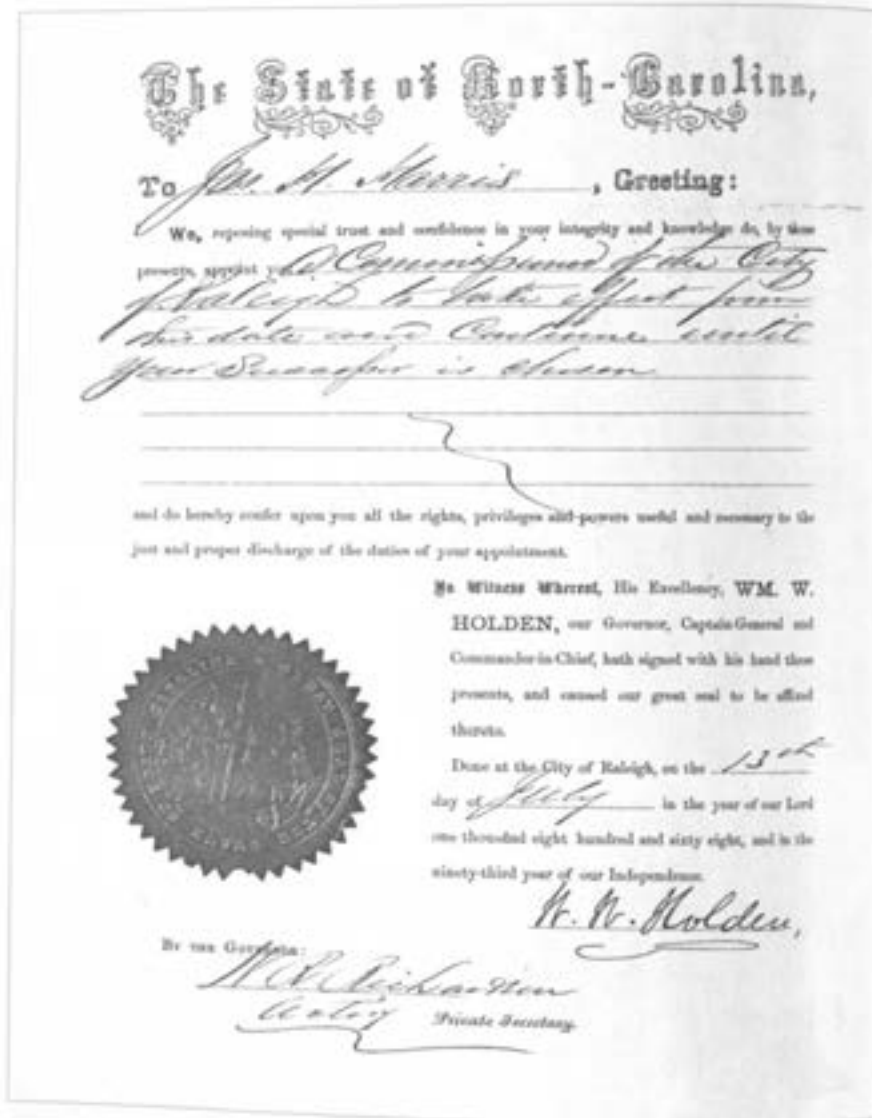
About the same time, a convention of black North Carolinians assembled in Raleigh. That meeting was the first statewide political gathering of freedmen—as former slaves were called—in North Carolina. It took place at St. Paul's AME Church on Edenton Street. Among the convention's leaders was Raleigh's James Henry Harris, a free black before the war who had learned the carpentry trade and started his own business in the town. He attended Oberlin College in Ohio for two years and traveled to Canada and Africa. During the Civil War, he helped recruit black troops into the U.S. Army. In June 1865, he returned to Raleigh as a teacher for the New England Freedmen's Aid Society. Before Reconstruction ended, Harris became a charter member of the state's Republican Party and one of the most active and prominent black politicians in North Carolina, serving in the state legislature. Appointed in 1868, he also served for many years as a Raleigh commissioner, or alderman. Other Raleigh African Americans who attended the freedmen's convention as delegates were Stewart Ellison, who later served in the legislature; James H. Jones, who subsequently became a Raleigh alderman; and the Reverend Alexander Barr.

The black convention held at St. Paul's aspired to influence the white convention meeting at the Capitol. In resolutions sent to their white counterparts, the African American delegates asked the state for government protection for former slaves, laws equal to those governing whites, and opportunities for education. They hoped that perhaps the state convention would consider voting rights for freedmen, but their resolutions did not ask



Andrew Johnson birthplace, past (below) and restored (left). Below image courtesy of North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh; left photograph by Paulette Mitchell.





Appointment of James H. Harris as a Raleigh commissioner.

for black suffrage. Previously, however, the recently formed Colored Men of Raleigh had issued a written call for voting rights for literate African Americans who were property owners of good standing in the community. The state convention did not address the freedmen's requests but merely decided that they should be referred to the new state legislature when it was elected.

In November 1865, statewide elections were held to choose a governor, state legislators, and U.S. congressmen. Holden anticipated that he would win the permanent office of governor, but opposing candidate Jonathan Worth, the state treasurer during the war, defeated him. The state legislature met and, as required for readmission, ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which abolished slavery throughout the nation, and elected two U.S. senators: John Pool and William A. Graham. With his requirements satisfied by North Carolina and the other Southern states, President Johnson considered that Reconstruction would be complete as soon as the Southern representatives and senators took their seats in Washington.

But when Congress convened in December 1865, it refused to approve Johnson's course for Reconstruction and declined to seat the congressmen and senators from the former Confederate states. The lawmakers in Washington questioned the loyalty of those men, some of whom, including Graham, had actually served in the Confederate government or held high rank in its army. Congress also had concerns about violence against the newly liberated freedmen in the South. It maintained that their rights and safety were being violated and that Johnson's plan did not provide for their protection. Congress expressed considerable concern about the Black Codes passed by North Carolina and the other Southern states that restored the freed people to slavery-like conditions.

To help protect the freedmen, Congress in February 1866 passed the Freedmen's Bureau Bill. That legislation extended the life of the Freedmen's Bureau (or Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands) and empowered the organization to try by U.S. military commissions cases in which freedmen had been mistreated by whites or deprived of their civil rights. The Freedmen's Bureau had been established in March 1865 to assist former slaves by providing them with food, clothing, and education and to help them in making labor contracts with white employers. The Freedmen's Bureau established its Raleigh headquarters in the Peace Institute building previously used as a Confederate hospital. It remained there until 1867, when it moved to the A.M. Lewis House and then, in the following year, to a house on Dawson Street owned by the Tucker family. By 1869, the agency had ceased its operations in Raleigh and the state.

Despite the efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau and the ever-diminishing number of Federal troops still occupying North Carolina, discrimination and violence against the freed people continued. Still concerned about protection for former slaves, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act in April 1866. That law temporarily bestowed full citizenship on African Americans

in the South. It would be declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in the 1880s.

President Johnson strongly opposed both the Freedmen's Bureau Act and the Civil Rights Act, and he vetoed them. He had no sympathy for African Americans in the South and maintained that those two laws violated the principle of states' rights. The Republican Congress, however, overrode his veto with a two-thirds majority vote of both houses. This disagreement contributed to a growing conflict between the president and Congress.

Continuing to show concern about protecting the civil rights of the freedmen and about the failure of presidential policies to ensure such protection, Congress drafted the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and sent it to the states for ratification. The amendment stipulated that African Americans were citizens and that states could not deny them equal protection under the law or deprive them of their freedom or property without due process of law. Congress declared that if the former Confederate states would ratify that amendment, then they would be readmitted to the Union. But all the secessionist states except Tennessee refused to ratify the amendment, primarily because President Johnson advised them to reject it. The amendment guaranteed the citizenship of former slaves but did not provide for voting rights for them. Their situation would soon change, however.

Incensed at Johnson for his lack of cooperation and at the South's rejection of the Fourteenth Amendment, Republicans in Congress in December 1866 supplanted the president's plan for Reconstruction with an entirely new one of their own. To carry out that plan, the Washington lawmakers passed the Congressional Reconstruction Acts of March 1867. Those laws placed all the former Confederate states except Tennessee under U.S. military rule and divided the South into five military districts. North Carolina was in the Second District. Under the jurisdiction of the Federal army, Raleigh's mayor and civil government remained in place but were subject to the authority and mandates of the military commanders. The Second District, with headquarters at Charleston, was commanded first by General Daniel E. Sickles and then by General Edwin R.S. Canby, who took charge in September 1867. Both visited Raleigh briefly during their tenures. Colonel James V. Bomford of the U.S. Eighth Regiment was the first commandant of the post at Raleigh. In general, the people of Raleigh respected him and welcomed his conciliatory policies. Bomford actually attended the first Confederate memorial service held in Raleigh and laid flowers on the graves of a number of Confederate soldiers. When

he departed for reassignment in May 1868, a crowd gathered at the train depot to see him and his family off and wish them well. Colonel H.B. Clitz of the Sixth Regiment became his successor.

The presidential plan proposed by Johnson had done little to alter Raleigh's municipal government. A special session of the state legislature in March 1866 had revised Raleigh's charter by removing sections regarding the regulation of slaves and making a few minor changes. Otherwise, town government continued to operate as before, with William D. Haywood serving as mayor. But with the Congressional Reconstruction Acts and the establishment of military rule, changes occurred. The regular election of town officials scheduled for January 1868 did not take place. The mayor and commissioners of the previous term continued to serve until they were replaced by men appointed by Holden after he was elected governor in April 1868. Holden selected three officials who had served before in the municipal government: William H. Harrison as mayor and W.R. Richardson and A.L. Lougee for the board of commissioners. But he also appointed two African Americans to the board, the first blacks to serve in Raleigh's municipal government. They were state legislator James H. Harris of the west ward and Handy Lockhart from the east ward. The commissioners reorganized the Raleigh police force by appointing W.H. Martin as chief and Bryan Lunn, an African American, as his assistant. The new force also included three black policemen: Wesley Hunter, Simon Craven, and Robert Clawson. Having black policemen on the streets of Raleigh outraged a number of whites.

In addition to imposing military rule, the Congressional Reconstruction Acts required each former Confederate state to draft a new constitution. Former slaves, enfranchised for the first time, could vote along with whites to elect delegates to a constitutional convention to meet in Raleigh and write the new document. The new state constitution had to guarantee voting rights for African Americans and be ratified by a popular vote. Under the new constitution, voters—now black as well as white—would elect state and county officers and representatives to Congress. The newly elected state legislature then had to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. Following the amendment's ratification and the election of U.S. senators by the legislature, North Carolina could rejoin the Union.

With the onset of Congressional Reconstruction, the Republican Party formed for the first time in North Carolina. Raleigh's own William W. Holden became the party's leader in the state. The party comprised three elements: former slaves, who supported the party because it had ended

slavery and worked for their rights; "carpetbaggers," northerners who came to North Carolina to help bring about Congressional Reconstruction; and "scalawags," native whites, many of them wealthy and influential, who accepted the reality of Congressional Reconstruction and wanted to change conditions in the South.

The Republicans formed an organization called the Union League to organize African Americans to register and vote. Holden served as president of the league. Vice-president was Raleigh's prominent African American political leader James H. Harris. The party that opposed the Republicans and Congressional Reconstruction policies was the Conservative Party, later called the Conservative-Democrats and eventually the Democrats. The protection provided by Federal troops enabled both black and white Republicans to go to the polls in April 1868 to approve the state constitution and elect new state and county officers and representatives to Congress.

The Congressional Reconstruction plan had been unfolding in North Carolina for only a few months when President Johnson paid a visit to the town of his birth. In May 1867, Mayor William Dallas Haywood extended an invitation to Johnson to attend the dedication of a marker at the grave of his father, Jacob Johnson, in the City Cemetery on June 4, 1867. Shortly after the president was inaugurated in 1865, Raleigh authorities had concluded that the time had come to honor his father, who since his death in 1812 had gone unheralded with only the inscription "J.X.J." on his obscure tombstone. The president and his Washington entourage, which included Secretary of State William H. Seward and Postmaster General A.W. Randall, arrived in Raleigh by train on June 3. They were greeted by Governor Jonathan Worth and former governors William A. Graham, David L. Swain, Charles Manly, and Thomas Bragg. Also among the welcoming party were General Sickles and a number of U.S. military officers from local units. The president's party moved to the Yarborough House, where Johnson addressed a crowd from the balcony and spent the night. The following morning, he received visitors and then attended the dedication ceremony. At the graveside, he spoke of restoration of the Union, sectional harmony, and reconciliation. The next morning, he left Raleigh for Chapel Hill and then went on to Washington, where his troubles with Congress continued and eventually led to his impeachment in 1868. In May of that year, the U.S. Senate by one vote acquitted Johnson of the charges brought against him by the House of Representatives. His attempts to prevent the success of the congressional plan for Reconstruction had failed to keep North Carolina from satisfying Congress's requirements and being readmitted to the Union in July 1868.

Republicans had dominated the state constitutional convention that convened in Raleigh from January to March 1868. The delegates included 77 scalawags, 18 carpetbaggers, and 15 newly enfranchised African Americans. Among the latter was Raleigh's James H. Harris, who played a large role in drafting the new constitution. It would serve as the basis for the government of North Carolina for the next hundred years. The new constitution was a more democratic instrument than the previous document. For example, it guaranteed voting rights for African American males and abolished property requirements for holding political office. It established a tax-supported public school system for blacks as well as whites. It extended the governor's term to four years and created the state offices of lieutenant governor, auditor, and superintendent of public works. It stipulated that superior court judges and solicitors be elected by the voters. It revised the county court system and eliminated the antebellum "courthouse rings," whereby justices of the peace, appointed by the legislature, ran the administrative affairs in the counties. To abolish the rings, it provided for the county commissioner system, under which the administrative officials in a county would be elected by local voters.

Along with the rest of Wake County and North Carolina, the majority of Raleigh voters cast their ballots in favor of ratification of the new constitution. The state then held elections for governor, congressmen, and state legislators. Holden was elected as North Carolina's first Republican governor, and James H. Harris was among the blacks who won seats in the state house of representatives.

Upon Holden's election, Governor Worth reluctantly relinquished his office. Citing his interpretation of the authority given him by the new state constitution, Holden set about removing Raleigh's mayor and commissioners from office and replacing them with his Republican appointees. Mayor William D. Haywood, however, refused to give up his office, and he had Raleigh's policemen guard the town hall to prevent his removal. Fights broke out between Conservatives and Republicans. In the scuffles, one policeman fired at a former slave, and the chief of police struck a Holden appointee with his nightstick. Two companies of U.S. troops finally restored order. In the end, Haywood remained mayor until 1869, when William H. Harrison took office.

Throughout North Carolina, the Conservatives denounced the new state constitution and a political voice for former slaves. The Raleigh *Sentinel* described the constitutional convention as "Ham Radicalism in Its Glory." The Conservatives turned to violence to overturn the effects of Republican

Reconstruction and restore white supremacy. They relied heavily on the Ku Klux Klan, an extremely violent and lawless terrorist organization made up largely of Confederate veterans, to help them regain political dominance. The Klan's mission consisted of using violence and intimidation to keep former slaves and their white Republican allies from registering and voting and thereby to thwart the Congressional Reconstruction plan and allow the Conservatives to secure control of state government. The Klan, which originated in Tennessee in 1867, first made its presence known in Raleigh in the spring of 1868, when this message mysteriously appeared on the town streets:

K.K.K.

Attention! First Hour! In the Mist!

At the Flash! Come. Come. Come!!!

Retribution is impatient! The grave yawns!

The spectre bones rattle!

Let the doomed quake!

In the Tar Heel State, the leader of the Klan was William L. Saunders, who later became a Raleigh newspaper publisher and North Carolina's secretary of state. The Raleigh *Sentinel* publicly disavowed any knowledge of the organization, but in reality editor Josiah Turner Jr. supported the Klansmen and their activities. In large part because of the Federal troops, the hooded night riders at first failed in their campaign to drive black and white Republicans from the polls and prevent them from drafting the new constitution. But the Klan persisted in its tactics, using whippings, beatings, and even murder to discourage political participation by the freedmen and white Republicans.

In an attempt to quell the violence of the Klan, Governor Holden called upon the state militia, commanded by Colonel George W. Kirk. The militia arrested and imprisoned a number of Klan suspects in what came to be called the Kirk-Holden War. In the process, martial law was imposed in some places and habeas corpus suspended. Those measures led to accusations that Kirk and Holden had exceeded their legal authority and violated civil liberties. Such charges turned some North Carolinians against Holden and the Republicans. That alienation grew further as a result of scandal over the unscrupulous sale of railroad bonds that involved a few Republican legislators. Holden and his party were also denounced for increasing taxes. For all those reasons, white voters increasingly turned to the Conservatives.

In the election of 1870, the Conservatives—with the help of the Klan, the railroad scandal, tax increases, and the unrelenting attacks on Holden by Conservative mouthpieces such as the *Sentinel*—won control of state government. When the new Conservative-dominated General Assembly convened in December, it immediately set about getting rid of Governor Holden, who had two more years to serve in his four-year term. By March 1871, the Conservatives had impeached Holden and convicted and removed him from office. He is the only North Carolina governor to be so dismissed.

By the time Reconstruction ended and Federal troops had withdrawn from the South in 1877, the Democratic Party (formerly the Conservative Party) held firm control of political and economic affairs in North Carolina. The Democrats overturned the progressive reforms enacted by the Republicans and manifested in the constitution of 1868. In the next three decades, the party asserted white supremacy and generally opposed government programs and funding that might have benefited Tar Heel society at large.

As to Raleigh's William W. Holden, he declined a U.S. ministerial appointment to South America and for a short time worked as political editor of the Washington *Daily Chronicle*. But he returned to Raleigh in February 1872 to become postmaster, a position he held until 1883. He resided in a two-story house that he had built in 1858 on the corner of McDowell and Hargett Streets. During his tenure as governor, he had lived in that residence, noted for its indoor bath facilities and garden, instead of at the Governor's Palace. Still suffering political disabilities because of his impeachment conviction, Holden nevertheless acted for a time as the unofficial head of the state Republican Party. But as the party grew more conservative in its policies regarding the South and other aspects of national politics, he ceased his support. He wrote for North Carolina newspapers, composed some poetry, and lectured. Holden died in 1892 and is buried in Oakwood Cemetery.

Fires continued to break out in Raleigh on a regular basis during Reconstruction. A conflagration destroyed several buildings on Fayetteville Street in the fall of 1865. Federal soldiers helped put out the blaze. More fires struck in November and December of 1868, destroying the town hall and market house, along with several other structures. Raleigh took only limited measures to improve its firefighting capabilities. As before the war, fighting fire remained the responsibility of volunteer companies, one of which was composed of black members. The Merchants' Independent Fire Company obtained enough money through donations to purchase Raleigh's first steam fire engine. The organization changed its name to Rescue Steam

Fire Engine Company No. 1 and leased from the county a lot on Salisbury Street, where it erected a building to house the engine. The facility remained for several decades. Raleigh would not have a professional fire department until after the turn of the century.

Business and commerce rebounded quickly in Reconstruction Raleigh. The Civil War had not been over long before Raleigh merchants and businessmen began reopening or restocking and expanding their operations in anticipation of better days ahead. Among those set up for commerce within a year's time were R.S. and W.H. Tucker's dry goods store, James McKimmon's dry goods store and soda fountain, and the grocery store of Jordan Womble, E.A. Whitaker, L.W. Peck, and W. Upchurch. Jeweler and silversmith Henry Mahler, who had established his shop in 1858, had reopened by the spring of 1865. Other businesses eventually included gunsmiths, blacksmiths, commission merchants, wholesalers, furniture makers, and tailors. The drugstores operated by P.F. Pescud and the firm of Williams and Haywood tended to the needs of Raleigh residents, and E.E. Wyatt—father of the founder of Job P. Wyatt Company—made saddles and harnesses. In 1867, Alfred Williams of Williams and Haywood opened a book and stationery store on the east side of Fayetteville Street, where from the first block and then the second it served customers well into the twentieth century.

Hardware stores included those of J.C.S. Lumsden and Julius Lewis, both of which opened on Fayetteville Street in 1869 and continued in business for a number of years. The most enduring such store was the hardware and general merchandise business started in August 1865 by Thomas H. Briggs and James Dodd. Dodd subsequently withdrew from the partnership, and in 1874 T.H. Briggs and Sons erected on Fayetteville Street a four-story building admired at the time, especially for its height. Rooms on the upper floors served office and other functions. For more than a century, the Briggs family operated its business at the site. Today, the Raleigh City Museum occupies the lower level of the building, which remains a downtown landmark.

In 1871, two printers, Cornelius Edwards and Needham Broughton, who worked for the Raleigh *Daily Progress*, purchased the printing equipment of the defunct *North Carolina Standard*. They began their own printing operation, Edwards Broughton and Company, in the former *Standard* building. Over the years, the printing company operated at several locations, including at one time the upper floor of the Williamson, Upchurch, and Thomas grocery on Fayetteville Street.



Briggs Hardware store.

Some northerners who came to Raleigh during Reconstruction launched into retail commerce, first as sutlers on Fayetteville Street. One of those was a new arrival named Wierner, who opened a grocery and confectionery on the street. He employed two brothers with interesting names, Arkansas Delaware Royster and Vermont Connecticut Royster. The brothers bought out Wierner and continued to manufacture and sell candy at the same facility. The building at 207 Fayetteville Street was a popular gathering locale for decades.

Businessmen in the capital formed the Raleigh Board of Trade in 1871 and invited merchants, manufacturers, mechanics, printers, and others involved in trade and commerce to join. The organization appointed a committee for arbitration to help settle disputes with customers and patrons. The board had disbanded by the 1880s, when it was succeeded by the Raleigh Chamber of Industry and Commerce.

The Raleigh hotels open for guests during Reconstruction were the Yarrowhouse House on Fayetteville Street, the National (previously named the Eagle and then the Guion) Hotel on Edenton Street across from the Capitol, the Exchange Hotel on the corner of Hillsborough and McDowell Streets, and Cook's Hotel at the corner of Wilmington and Davie Streets.

Farmers quickly rebounded from the hardships of the war and brought their produce for sale to the town market. Raleigh rented stalls for a small fee, and local merchants as well as farmers benefited from the customer traffic at the market. The facility burned down in late 1868, along with the town hall and auditorium. But the town quickly erected temporary stalls on Moore Square. In 1870, another municipal market space was completed as part of Raleigh's new Metropolitan Hall, which had town offices and an auditorium on the upper floors and a market and police and fire offices on the lower level. The new structure fronted Fayetteville Street between Market Place and Exchange Street.

A number of new banks opened in Raleigh shortly after the war ended. The Raleigh National Bank was established in September 1865 and began its operations on the corner of Fayetteville and Hargett Streets. It remained at that location for several decades, during which it became known as the National Bank of Raleigh and then the Raleigh Banking and Trust Company. In 1868, the State National Bank of Raleigh on Fayetteville Street replaced the prewar bank John G. Williams and Company. Williams was the principal owner and president of the new institution, which failed in 1888. The Bank of Raleigh opened its doors in 1870 and then changed its name to Citizens' National Bank, with a location at the corner of Fayetteville and Hargett



Metropolitan Hall with street-level market house.

Streets. A branch of the National Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company, chartered by Congress in 1865, began serving the freedmen of Raleigh and the surrounding area at the corner of Fayetteville and Hargett Streets. The Raleigh branch initially showed success, but the national institution had collapsed by 1875, and a number of the town's and county's African Americans lost savings and investments. Three other banks—the Raleigh Mechanics Building and Loan Association, the People's Building and Loan Association, and the Oak City Savings Bank—were chartered during Reconstruction, but none survived the era.

Reconstruction saw an increase in the number of professionals in the state capital. In 1866, about a dozen attorneys had practices in Raleigh. That number had increased threefold by 1877. The number of physicians grew from six to more than twice that many during the same period, and four dentists served the town.

Although the hardship and bad memories of the war still inhibited some activities, entertainment and social life slowly recovered. Commercial

entertainment returned fairly soon. In the spring of 1865, the touring company Gleason, Corbett, and Harrington's Minstrels gave nightly performances in the town hall, charging fifty cents for admission. The Raleigh population also attended concerts at the courthouse, and when the new Metropolitan Hall was completed in 1870, music and stage productions were featured in the auditorium. Before Metropolitan Hall opened, the auditorium at Tucker Hall was the scene of musical productions, plays, and lectures. The three-story building located on Fayetteville Street housed the dry goods store of W.H. and R.S. Tucker on the ground level.

Newspapers continued to circulate during the Civil War and Reconstruction. Holden's *North Carolina Standard* underwent a short wartime suspension but renewed publication for several years after the war under the direction first of carpetbagger Milton Littlefield and then of Holden's son Joseph. During the last two years of the conflict, the *Conservative* and the *Confederate* defended the policies of the state's political parties. The *Raleigh Register* ceased publication in 1863 but began anew in 1867. In that same year, publishers Seaton Gales and William Pell launched the *Sentinel*. A year later, Josiah Turner Jr. of Hillsborough purchased the paper, and he continued it until the 1870s. The *Daily Progress*, which had moved from New Bern to Raleigh when the invading Federal army occupied the coastal region, closed its operations in 1867. *Southern Field and Fireside* appeared from 1864 to 1867. The Republican Party printed two newspapers to promote its Reconstruction platform and inform the freedmen, but they lasted for only a few issues. A number of other short-lived periodicals, including the *North Carolinian*, came and went. The church publications closed during the war but published for various lengths of time during Reconstruction. Two Raleigh newspapers, the *News* and the *Observer*, started in the 1870s and would later combine.

Wartime bitterness and the resented presence of Federal troops led white Raleighites to give the traditional Fourth of July celebration only a lukewarm reception. Most of them declined to turn out for the national holiday, which would not regain a measure of its former popularity for some years. The African American population, however, gathered in large crowds to celebrate the nation's birthday. In the summer of 1865, for example, about three thousand freed persons marched to Peace Institute to hear speeches and picnic on the grounds. Raleigh's black citizens also celebrated Emancipation Day on January 1. The event usually included a commemoration of Lincoln, a parade down Fayetteville Street toward the governor's residence, and an assembly at the fairgrounds or the town hall to hear music and speakers.

Despite sectional resentments, socializing between U.S. troops and Raleigh residents sometimes occurred. In the spring of 1865, a contingent of soldiers invited the locals to a free minstrel show at the school for the deaf and blind on Caswell Square and subsequently to a picnic on the Neuse River, for which the quartermaster supplied ambulances as transportation. Teams formed by the occupying soldiers and by the town's local young men sometimes competed in games of baseball. That sport grew increasingly popular and led to the organization of the Raleigh Baseball Club in 1870. Horse racing in Raleigh and vicinity had resumed by late 1867. At least as early as 1869, public cockfights drew spectators betting high stakes.

In 1873, with subsidies from state government and the town of Raleigh, the North Carolina State Agricultural Society moved the state fairgrounds west of the Capitol off Hillsborough Street. The Raleigh Little Theatre stands on that site today. Horse racing, military bands and parades, and political speeches were part of the fair, along with the displays of livestock, agricultural equipment, and crop yields. The fairgrounds moved to the present location in west Raleigh in 1928.

Born of the battlefield casualties and continuing sectional and racial discord, new cemeteries appeared in Reconstruction Raleigh. During the war, Confederate soldiers had been buried in plots near the Fairgrounds and Pettigrew Hospitals on a site known as the rock quarry burial ground because of the nearby quarry that had supplied stone for the Capitol. In late 1866 and early 1867, the Wake County Memorial Association undertook the task of removing the buried soldiers from that area and other Wake County graves and reintering them on two and a quarter acres donated by Henry Mordecai northeast of the Capitol. Volunteers recruited by the association moved and reburied 538 Confederate soldiers. In later years, Confederate casualties from battlefields and other graves outside North Carolina would be buried in Raleigh's Confederate Cemetery, which managed to acquire additional land. Ultimately, more than 2,800 soldiers would be laid to rest there. In May 1867, the Wake County Memorial Association declared that thenceforth May 10 would be known as Memorial Day, an occasion to honor the state's Confederate war dead. In future years, ceremonies for that purpose were held at the cemetery.

The U.S. Army also honored its Civil War dead in Raleigh. While the Confederate bodies were being removed from the quarry burial ground, the Union military designated the tract, which also contained Federal graves, as the U.S. National Military Cemetery, Raleigh. Many soldiers interred there were casualties from the Battle of Bentonville. Union casualties from other

Southern battlefields were also subsequently brought there for interment. In May 1868, U.S. military authorities designated the last Saturday in that month as Decoration Day for the graves. On that occasion, a black U.S. Army band led a parade, which included many former slaves, from the Capitol to the National Cemetery to lay wreaths on the graves. May 30 later became the national Memorial Day to honor the fallen military personnel of the United States, and commemorative ceremonies continued to be held at Raleigh's National Cemetery on that day. The U.S. armed forces still bury veterans at the site.

On a tract of land adjoining the Confederate Cemetery and also acquired from Henry Mordecai, the Raleigh Cemetery Association, chartered in 1869, established Oakwood Cemetery. Some of the residents of Raleigh had the bodies of their family members removed from the City Cemetery and reburied at Oakwood. In 1870, several of Raleigh's leading Jewish citizens joined in forming the Hebrew Cemetery Company and created a Jewish cemetery between the Confederate and Oakwood tracts. A year later, Raleigh created a separate cemetery for its African American inhabitants. For the new graveyard, the town chose land south of the Governor's Palace beyond the end of Fayetteville Street. The cemetery was named Mount Hope, and it acquired additional space in the coming years.

A number of Raleigh tombstones bear the name of a stonemason and one of the best-known characters in North Carolina fiction—W.O. Wolfe, father of the famous novelist Thomas Wolfe. W.O. Wolfe owned and operated a stoneworks in partnership with John Clayton in the 1870s. The business stood at the corner of Blount and Morgan Streets. Wolfe subsequently moved to Asheville and became immortalized in his son's novel *Look Homeward, Angel*.

The first state prison originated in Raleigh during the Reconstruction era. The legislature declared that a site for a state penitentiary should be "at or near Raleigh" and purchased twenty-two acres from William Boylan for construction of the facility. In early 1870, the first prisoners were confined in a stockade on the property while the construction of the new Neo-Gothic facility, designed by Ohio architect Levi T. Scofield, got underway. Some cell blocks had been completed by the mid-1870s, but the prison would not be entirely finished until the 1880s. W.O. Wolfe was one of the stonemasons working on the project. William J. Hicks assisted Scofield as construction superintendent and then became warden. The institution would become known as Central Prison.

As Raleigh recovered from the Civil War, the U.S. government constructed one of North Carolina's first postwar federal buildings in the town. In 1878

and 1879, the U.S. Courtroom and Post Office began functioning at the corner of Fayetteville and Martin Streets. With its mansard roof and Second Empire architecture, the structure is similar in style to the Executive Office Building in Washington, D.C. When a new Federal Building rose on New Bern Avenue almost one hundred years later, the old building, remodeled in 1913 and 1938, became known as the Century Post Office.

Once in control of state government, the Conservatives, or Democrats, provided little state funding for public education, which remained extremely poor in Raleigh for some time. Illiteracy was high among both white and black children. Officially, the town had six school buildings, but three of them were rented out as family homes. In 1868, only 275 of Raleigh's 600 school-age children attended any type of school. The General Assembly had refused to grant the voters of Raleigh Township, which was part of the Wake County school system, the authority to raise local taxes for education.

In 1876, the town decided to combine its white schools to create the first postwar public graded school, known as the Centennial School. Then, the next year, Raleigh took advantage of recent authorization by the legislature to levy a municipal tax (approved by referendum) to support a new school system separate from the county's. In 1884, the aldermen purchased the old Governor's Palace from the state for use as Centennial School classrooms, but they decided instead to demolish the building and construct a new facility, which opened on the site the following year.

Private schools for whites fared slightly better than public ones. A number of private schools opened and closed during Reconstruction. D.L. Burchard opened a school on Moore Square and charged one dollar per month for tuition. In the summer of 1870, the Raleigh Academy on Burke Square resumed holding classes, and it continued instruction at that site until 1883, when it moved to make way for the construction of the new governor's residence. Churches assisted in the struggle to provide education for the town's postwar youth. Christ Episcopal Church began holding classes, taught by women of the congregation in the Sunday school rooms. The Baptists provided instruction for poor students in Raleigh's former bayonet factory. In 1870, they opened the Baptist Female Seminary in the former Polk-Rayner House at Blount and North Streets. William Royall of Wake Forest College became president of the new institution and later moved it farther north on Blount Street.

Peace Institute, which had served as a Confederate hospital and then Freedmen's Bureau headquarters, opened as a school for young women in 1872. Its chief benefactor, William Peace, did not live to see it fulfill its



Centennial School.

purpose as a Presbyterian school for females. Standing on an eight-acre plot, the renovated main building included dormitory rooms, recitation rooms, music rooms, offices, a dining hall, a chapel, and a combination art studio and gymnasium. Wealthy Raleigh businessman and philanthropist Richard Stanhope Pullen held the mortgage on the property, but he donated most of the stock to the Presbyterians. The Reverend Robert Burwell and his son, John B. Burwell, leased and operated the school from 1872 until the 1890s. It ultimately became Peace College.

The U.S. government and Northern missionary societies made a considerable effort to provide schooling for former slaves in Raleigh. The Freedmen's Bureau built a classroom structure on the grounds of St. Paul's AME Church on Edenton Street. In 1869, five teachers taught there at four levels: primary, intermediate, advanced, and normal (teacher training). The American Missionary Association of New York, through the efforts of the Reverend Fisk P. Brewer, purchased property on South Street between McDowell and Manly Streets. From that tract, Brewer sold some lots to freedmen as sites for private residences, and he built a school, completed in 1867, known as the Washington School. Initially, a few impoverished white children attended the freedmen's school. Brewer and his sister, Adele, taught classes. In 1869, Brewer left the school to accept a position as librarian and

professor of Greek at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. He was succeeded as principal by Esther A. Hayes of Limerick, Maine. The American Missionary Association directed the Washington School until 1877. The City of Raleigh purchased the school three years later and continued to operate it for blacks as part of the township system.

Three other schools for blacks opened and functioned for a time during Reconstruction under the auspices of the Freedmen's Bureau, the New England Freedmen's Commission, and the Freedmen's Aid Society. They were the Lincoln Day School in the old Guion, or National, Hotel; the Miles School (named for General Nelson A. Miles, head of the Freedmen's Bureau in North Carolina) on Salisbury Street; and the Oberlin School, located in the black community of Oberlin. The Miles and Oberlin Schools were subsequently absorbed into the public school system.

African American education received a further boost after the black former members of Christ Episcopal Church established their own church, first named St. Augustine's, and held services in a chapel at the corner of Lane and Dawson Streets. The congregation soon changed its name to St. Ambrose to avoid confusion with another African American Episcopal institution being formed at the time. With the assistance of \$5,000 from the Freedmen's Bureau, St. Ambrose began providing classes for black children. The school later suffered financial troubles that forced it to close, although it reopened for a time in the 1890s.

In January 1869, the North Carolina Institution for the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind created the first such school for blacks in the nation, located in the Washington School building. The Reverend Fisk P. Brewer served as the first principal, and James H. Harris succeeded him. Other principals followed, and in 1874 the school moved to new quarters on a one-acre lot bordered by Bloodworth, South, East, and Lenoir Streets.

Reconstruction provided Raleigh's African American population with its first opportunity for higher education. Henry Martin Tupper, a white Massachusetts missionary and Federal army chaplain, came to Raleigh soon after the war to form a new Baptist church for blacks. In the process, he began instruction for training black ministers, holding his classes in the old Guion Hotel. From that beginning, Tupper established Raleigh Institute in a two-story building at Blount and Cabarrus Streets. The New England Freedmen's Aid Society supplied a number of teachers, and the instruction included teacher education and industrial training. To accommodate several hundred students, the institute in 1870 acquired a large tract for a campus facing South Street. Using brick that they made from local clay, students

constructed the building known as Shaw Hall. The school was then designated Shaw Collegiate Institute to honor Elijah Shaw of Massachusetts, who made the first large gift, \$8,000. In 1874, work began on the construction of a dormitory for women. The four-story building was named Estey Hall for Jacob Estey and Company of Vermont, who made a large financial contribution toward its completion. In 1875, the state approved a charter for the collegiate institute as Shaw University. The university subsequently included a law department and Leonard Medical School, but both of those programs had ended by 1918.

For the training of black teachers and young men as ministers, the Episcopal Church established St. Augustine's Normal School and Collegiate Institute in the summer of 1867. The school began classes in former army barracks on the old fairgrounds. The trustees then purchased property in east Raleigh that once had belonged to the prominent state politician and jurist Henry Seawall. At one time, the tract also had been the residence of Willie Jones, prominent Revolutionary War and political leader. The first building was completed and opened in January 1869. Additional structures succumbed to fire in 1883, but a rebuilding process took place between that year and the 1890s. The institute, eventually known as St. Augustine's College, continued to grow and provide higher education for African American men and women.



Estey Hall.

One of St. Augustine's outstanding students was Anna Julia Haywood Cooper, who began her formal education there during Reconstruction. Born in 1858 as a slave to Raleigh's Haywood family, Anna Julia Haywood somehow managed to learn to read and write. When St. Augustine's Normal School and Collegiate Institute opened, she enrolled, declaring, "I am going to be a teacher." Displaying a remarkable capacity for learning, she became a "pupil teacher" at the school and graduated in 1877, the same year that she married George A.C. Cooper, a ministerial student from the British West Indies. He died two years later, and she entered Oberlin College. At that Ohio institution, Cooper enrolled in the "Gentleman's" program rather than pursuing the "Ladies' Literary" degree, having displayed a proficiency in Greek, Latin, and advanced mathematics. After graduating in 1884, she taught at Wilberforce University before returning to Raleigh to teach at St. Augustine's. She purchased a lot in the neighborhood and began building a house, but she soon left Raleigh to accept a position teaching Latin at the Preparatory School for Colored Youth in Washington, D.C. (later known as the M Street School and the Paul Laurence Dunbar High School). Cooper became principal there in 1887. She also helped charter several black women's organizations and took part in a number of conferences, including the first National Conference of Colored Women in Boston in 1895 and the Pan-African Conference in London in 1900. At the latter meeting, she shared the podium with the famous black intellectual W.E.B. DuBois and delivered a major address. Cooper became the sole woman among the forty original members of the American Negro Academy, established in 1897. She continued her career in education in Washington, pursuing graduate studies at Columbia University and the Sorbonne during the summers. At the age of 65, she received a doctorate in philosophy from the Sorbonne. Cooper died in February 1964 at age 105. A funeral service was held at St. Augustine's Chapel, and she was buried beside her husband in Raleigh's City Cemetery.

In post-Civil War Raleigh, most African Americans separated from their prewar integrated churches and formed their own congregations. Black members of the First Baptist Church at Salisbury and Edenton Streets left to establish the First Colored Baptist Church on North Salisbury Street between Johnson and North Streets. In 1904, the congregation built a new First Baptist Church at the intersection of Wilmington and Morgan Streets, which remains there today. African American Baptists also joined Henry Tupper Memorial Baptist Church on the Shaw Collegiate Institute campus. Others formed the Martin Street Baptist Church, located on the south side of



Anna Julia Haywood Cooper.

Martin Street. The black Episcopalians who left Christ Church and founded St. Ambrose moved their chapel to South Wilmington Street about 1905, where it remained until it was demolished in 1965. The altar and other elements were incorporated into a new church constructed on Darby Street in Rochester Heights in southeast Raleigh. Black members withdrew from

the First Presbyterian Church at the intersection of Salisbury and Morgan Streets and began holding their own services in the Washington School. The congregation adopted the name First Presbyterian Church, Colored, and moved to a building on the corner of Davie and Haywood Streets. The church then moved farther west on Davie Street and became the Davie Street Presbyterian Church.

Raleigh's white First Baptist Church underwent a further schism in 1874 when ten members left and established the Second Baptist Church on Swain Street. With an expanded congregation seven years later, Second Baptist moved to the corner of Hargett and Person Streets, overlooking Moore Square. The church would change its name to Tabernacle Baptist Church in 1910. The present-day congregation relocated to new buildings on Leesville Road in 2001.

The Raleigh YMCA, which had been weakened but survived the war, renewed its charitable work after the conflict and was commended for its efforts by the state organization. St. Paul's AME Church organized a YMCA for former slaves that held lectures and raised funds for black education. Fraternal organizations such as the Masons and Odd Fellows also experienced a resurgence. The Masons met in various rental rooms on Fayetteville Street until the early twentieth century. The Odd Fellows leased space in the new Williamson Building on the corner of Fayetteville and Martin Streets. They and the Knights of Pythias met there for a number of years. Raleigh's African American men formed their own Masonic lodge in 1867, which three years later helped organize the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of North Carolina. Other fraternal, literary, temperance, and charitable groups were active in the state capital by the 1870s.

Raleigh's population grew during both the Civil War and Reconstruction. The number of inhabitants increased from 4,780 in 1860 to 7,790 in 1870 and 9,265 in 1880. With the influx of blacks and whites, wartime refugees, native North Carolinians, and immigrants from the North, new neighborhoods began to appear in undeveloped areas near the town limits.

In the 1870s, town authorities purchased land on both sides of New Bern Avenue and extended Edenton, Martin, and Cabarrus Streets eastward. They also opened Swain Street. New development then took place in and around the old fairgrounds.

The neighborhood that became known as Oakwood arose in the 1870s when investors, developers, and landowners Jonathan McGee Heck, William Stanhope Pullen, and the Mordecai family purchased and sold tracts east and northeast of the Capitol and Blount Street. About the same time, the



Heck-Andrews House. *Photograph by Paulette Mitchell.*

Raleigh commissioners lengthened Peace Street eastward to join with Person Street, which the Mordecai family had extended through their property. The houses in Oakwood and along northward-extending Blount Street that were built during the 1870s and the next three decades were of a size and sophistication that reflected improving economic conditions, as well as an expanding population.

Reflective of the new wealth and entrepreneurial spirit and drive arising in the 1870s was the ornate Second Empire residence of businessman and developer Jonathan McGee Heck (now known as the Heck-Andrews House). Constructed on North Blount Street in 1869–70, it was the first large house built following the war. According to Bishir and Southern, it “stunned old Raleigh but set the tone” for future residential development among the growing financial upper class. Built on the same side of the street about 1875, the house of railroad magnate Alexander Boyd Andrews (now named the Andrews-Duncan House) also displayed the wealth of the growing class of successful industrialists, financiers, and businessmen. On the opposite side of the street in the early 1880s, the prominent physician, railroad executive, and bank president William J. Hawkins supervised construction of an elaborate residence (now called the Hawkins-Hartness House) for his brother Alexander.



Andrews-Duncan House. *Photograph by Paulette Mitchell.*



Hawkins-Hartness House. *Photograph by Paulette Mitchell.*

Slavery having ended, African Americans began establishing their own communities and neighborhoods in Raleigh and the vicinity. Freedmen bought lots near Raleigh's western boundary in the new community of Oberlin, apparently named for Oberlin, Ohio, and its college of the same name, known before the war for support of the rights and education of African Americans. A number of white landowners sold the lots to former slaves, who obtained loans from the National Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company and a few Raleigh lending institutions. The residents of Oberlin set about establishing their own churches and other organizations. These included Oberlin Baptist Church and Wilson Temple United Methodist Church, originally called Wilson Chapel Methodist. The neighborhood's first school initially held classes in the Methodist church. By the end of Reconstruction, 750 blacks lived in Oberlin, which soon acquired its own post office. The road connecting the neighborhood to Hillsborough Street has the name Oberlin Road.

Another African American neighborhood began to form in south Raleigh when Washington School and Shaw University were established in that part of town. The area south of the business district and the Governor's Palace had been largely rural prior to the Civil War. But in 1866, the Reverend Fisk Brewer began selling lots near Washington School to former slaves for small down payments. As more blacks obtained or rented property, the area became known as Hayti. In the 1870s, Moses A. Bledsoe—a former state legislator, director of the state mental hospital, and state and Confederate official during the war—sold portions of his plantation for lots in the area. Shaw University occupied tracts purchased from Daniel M. Barringer, a prominent lawyer, U.S. congressman, minister to Spain, trustee of the state university, and director of the North Carolina Railroad. Whites in the vicinity gradually moved away, and eventually African American families almost exclusively occupied the neighborhood, which came to be called Southside and included for many years a street known as Hayti Alley. A black community, part of which was known as Hungry Neck, also evolved around the campus of St. Augustine's.

Southwest of Raleigh, freedmen secured land and founded a community across Hillsborough Street from what is now Meredith College. The settlement was originally named Mason's Village after one of its founders, Lewis M. Mason. In their new community, the inhabitants established churches, stores, and the one-room school that ultimately became the Berry O'Kelly Training School, named after a prominent black Raleigh businessman, banker, educator, and philanthropist. In 1890, the U.S. Post

Office renamed the community Method when it established a post office there and appointed O'Kelly the first postmaster.

As Reconstruction ended in 1877, Raleigh's African Americans realized that all their expectations for a better life after slavery had not been realized. When the Democratic Party, with its policies of white supremacy, regained control of state government, blacks saw many of the rights and privileges they had gained during Reconstruction slip away. Nevertheless, for the time being at least, they had the ballot and modest civil rights. Most white Raleighites, however, rejoiced that Federal occupation and domination had ended. Both races in Raleigh looked forward to the future with anticipation and hope.

CHAPTER FIVE

A CITY IN THE NEW SOUTH

The end of Reconstruction marked the beginning of a partial but nonetheless significant transformation in the former Confederate states in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. That transformation has generally been characterized as the rise of the New South. *New* implied a South that left slavery and old customs behind, that adopted modern agriculture and embraced industrialization, urbanization, and progressive ideas. As a major center of economic, social, and political life in North Carolina, Raleigh added its voice to the swelling chorus of commercial and industrial boosterism and the calls for urban expansion and prosperity. That trend continued well into the twentieth century, only to be slowed by the Great Depression of the 1930s.

As did the rest of the entrepreneurial class coming to the forefront in the post-Reconstruction South, the town's business and political leaders realized that future progress depended to a large extent upon industrial development. Textile, tobacco, and furniture factories were beginning to dot the Tar Heel countryside. Along with industrialization came a surge in the population and wealth of towns and cities as an urban middle class of businessmen, physicians, lawyers, and teachers expanded alongside a factory workforce needing goods and services. Manufacturing towns such as Durham, Charlotte, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem grew significantly. Raleigh, too, wanted to catch the rising wave of the new brand of progress.

To help promote a broad market for local and state products, to encourage industrialization and new technology, and to attract investors, Raleigh hosted

North Carolina's Industrial Exposition in 1884. The event was reminiscent of the International Cotton Exposition held in Atlanta in 1881 for the same purpose region-wide. The Raleigh exposition took place in buildings erected near what later became the campus of North Carolina State University. A railroad line that ran directly into the main building made it convenient to unload heavy machinery for display. Various mechanical devices and agricultural and domestic innovations and products also went on exhibit. Raleigh created an office to help visitors find lodging. The exposition proved to be a financial and promotional success, and Raleigh looked toward a future of economic potential.

Textile mills—such as those in Charlotte and Greensboro—led the way in the new industrialization arising in the South, and Raleigh moved to acquire some of its own. Advocates began calling for a Raleigh cotton mill in the mid-1870s, but a serious effort did not get underway until early 1888, when Mayor Alfred A. Thompson declared that “the establishment of a cotton mill here would be of such great advantage to the growth of Raleigh.” The mayor further noted, “If the large amount of capital now invested by our citizens in bonds and mortgages could be devoted to the establishment of cotton mills...the real estate of the city would rapidly increase in value, and hundreds of employees would earn a living who now find it very difficult to find employment.” The *Raleigh State Chronicle* echoed the mayor's point, adding that workers employed in the mills would boost the local economy by spending their wages in the community. Many businessmen worried that Raleigh's retail commerce was in decline and thought the establishment of a textile mill would bring a revival and help ensure future profits. For some time, Raleigh had been a premier market for the sale and shipment of cotton, much of which came from Wake and surrounding counties.

To promote the establishment of a mill and other business, Raleigh formed its Chamber of Industry and Commerce in August 1888. The Chamber of Commerce, as it came to be known, led efforts to promote the town's industrial, commercial, and financial growth. In October 1900, a similar organization called the Merchants Association formed also with the mission of supporting merchants and other businesses in Raleigh. The two organizations frequently cooperated and had their offices in the Holleman Building on Fayetteville Street.

Under the chamber's leadership, investors formed the Raleigh Cotton Mill and chose directors. They purchased six acres in northwest Raleigh beside the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad (later Seaboard Air Line Railway) and sold bonds to complete the project. The mill opened in August 1890



Raleigh Cotton Mill.

with six thousand looms operating eleven hours per day. It dispatched its first shipment of 1,500 pounds of spun yarn to Philadelphia the following month. The Raleigh Cotton Mill continued to manufacture textile products until the 1930s. The building now houses condominiums and is visible from Capital Boulevard near where it crosses Peace Street.

Shortly after the Raleigh Cotton Mill opened, two other major textile factories appeared. In 1892, at a site south of town near Lake Wheeler Road, the Caraleigh Cotton Mill began manufacturing dress gingham and employed 250 workers. The mill ceased operations at the end of the twentieth century, and the buildings now house condominiums and town houses. The Pilot Cotton Mill north of Peace Street began operations in 1893 with 175 workers. By the early twentieth century, the mill was producing more than one million yards of cotton fabric annually. It closed all production in 1982. The mill's 1903 building has been converted into condominiums, and a 1910 structure houses a charter high school. The surrounding neighborhood now features new housing in various price ranges. A number of smaller knitting and hosiery mills were established in the 1890s and early 1900s. A worker in one of those—Melrose Knitting Mill (1891)—recalled that when she left the countryside to work in the Raleigh plant, she earned three dollars per week. Half her wages went for room and board. Workers in the cotton mills usually lived in company housing in the vicinity.



Pilot Cotton Mill.

In addition to textiles, a number of other industries, some of them relatively small, began operations in Raleigh in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They included the North Carolina Wagon Company, Greystone Granite and Construction Company, the Cider and Vinegar Manufactory, Raleigh Paper Company, Barbee and Pope's candy factory, Carolina Washboard Company, and Wetmore Shoe and Leather Company. The Raleigh Gaslight Company continued in operation until the end of the nineteenth century, when Standard Gas and Electric Company took its place. The Raleigh Ice Factory could make tons of ice daily by 1890. At the turn of the century, the first refrigerated railway car departed Raleigh with a load of fresh produce. Raleigh Oil Mill and Fertilizer Company was constructed at the corner of Harrington and Davie Streets in 1884 and expanded three years later, producing cottonseed oil and guano. Caraleigh Phosphate and Fertilizer Company began producing chemical fertilizer at about the same time that Caraleigh Cotton Mill opened. Soft drink companies started bottling their products in Raleigh in the first decade of the twentieth century. Cel-I-Ko turned out its nonalcoholic beverage for about five years before closing. The Coca-Cola Company opened a bottling plant on South Wilmington

Street in 1903, and Pepsi-Cola followed three years later with a facility at the corner of Salisbury and Davie Streets.

Rail transportation facilitated Raleigh's industrial development. The Raleigh and Gaston Railroad became part of the Seaboard Air Line in the late nineteenth century. Also in the post-Civil War period, the North Carolina Railroad, with its new western extension, consolidated with other lines to form the Southern Railway system, which held a lease from the State of North Carolina. A series of mergers in later decades resulted in the Norfolk Southern, whose freight cars still traverse Raleigh. From the 1870s, repairs and construction of cars and locomotives took place at the Raleigh and Gaston's series of roundhouses located adjacent to the tracks. Those shops had work stalls, pits, and foundries and employed workers who lived nearby. The railroad companies built a new passenger depot at the corner of Cabarrus and Harrington Streets in 1870. It was supplanted in 1892 by Union Station, at the corner of Dawson and Martin. In 1941, the Seaboard Air Line constructed a passenger depot on Semart Drive. A garden center and café currently occupy that building. The Norfolk Southern built a station on Cabarrus Street in 1950. The railroad subsequently vacated that facility, and Amtrak now operates its passenger service there.

In addition to the problem of low wages, employees in Raleigh's textile factories and other industries often faced hazardous working conditions and long hours. Children made up a sizable portion of the workforce. Employers generally ignored the requests or demands of laborers, although a strike in the 1870s resulted in a reduction in the workday from eleven to ten hours for some workers. National labor organizations, including the Knights of Labor, did organize in Raleigh in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but they had little impact.

As the twentieth century progressed, retail and mercantile businesses expanded and grew in number. Raleigh's first department store appeared about 1903 when Crinkley's Cash Department Store opened on Fayetteville Street. Jacob Kline and Goodman Lazarus launched their business on Wilmington Street about ten years later. Boylan-Pearce Company, Hunter-Rand Company, and the Raleigh Department Store followed with their retail stores on Fayetteville Street. Boylan-Pearce started as a dry goods concern in 1899 but continued to expand the variety of its merchandise, even creating a mail-order service. It survived for many years as a leading Raleigh department store. In 1915, the Hudson brothers—Karl, Will, and Grier—started Hudson Department Store on East Martin Street. After the Yarbrough House fire, the business expanded onto that site in partnership

with the Belk company, and in 1940 Hudson Belk Department Store opened in the 300 block of Fayetteville Street. The downtown store closed in 1995.

African American businesses settled on Wilmington Street and especially on East Hargett Street. That location attracted black professionals, insurance companies, undertakers, retail stores, tailors, beauticians, fraternal and social clubs, and other middle-class ventures. In 1921, leading black entrepreneur Calvin E. Lightner built the Lightner Arcade on Hargett. The building housed offices on the upper level and a restaurant, drugstore, barbershop, and black newspaper office on the ground floor. It also contained a hotel known as one of the best accommodations for African Americans on the East Coast. Among the distinguished black professionals who had offices on East Hargett Street was lawyer Roger Demosthenes O'Kelly, a graduate of Shaw University and Yale University Law School. Despite his inability to speak and hear, he ran a successful practice serving white as well as black clients, particularly in real estate, domestic relations, and corporate issues.

The Chamber of Commerce continued to work hard to attract new business and customers to the state capital. The Merchants Association soon had more than one hundred members, promoting special events in Raleigh and cooperating with the chamber in supporting commercial and civic projects. The two organizations ultimately merged.

Banking expanded along with commerce and industry. The Commercial and Farmer's Bank, chartered by the state in 1891, moved into offices in the Adams Building on the corner of Wilmington and Martin Streets. Its vault and other modern banking features attracted depositors. In 1908, it became a national bank and changed its name to the Commercial National Bank. Four years later, the bank constructed a "skyscraper" on East Martin Street. North Carolina's first steel edifice, the building had a roof garden and was Raleigh's tallest until a slightly taller Citizens' National Bank was erected on Fayetteville Street in 1913. The Raleigh National Bank received a new charter as the National Bank of Raleigh in 1885 and another in 1905 as the Raleigh Banking and Trust Company. The circular steps of its building at the corner of Fayetteville and Hargett Streets made a popular gathering place for pedestrians and sometimes served as a stage for public events.

Insurance agents were doing a large business in Raleigh by the turn of the century, although most of them represented companies from out of state. But by 1910, the North Carolina Home Insurance Company, founded in Raleigh in 1868, had become the state's largest fire insurer. With the strong support of the Chamber of Commerce, the Jefferson Standard Insurance



Lightner Arcade and Hotel.

Company began its career in the state capital in 1907. Its seven employees originally operated out of an office on the second floor of the Masonic Building (later the Alexander Building), constructed on Fayetteville Street in the same year. The company expanded rapidly, and in 1912 it merged with the Greensboro Life Insurance Company and moved its headquarters to Greensboro, a change that disappointed many of Raleigh's boosters.

The Durham Life Insurance Company formed in Durham in 1906 and moved its corporate headquarters to Raleigh in 1920. The company purchased the Pullen Building on the northwest corner of Fayetteville and Davie Streets. On that site in 1942, the company built the Durham Life Insurance Building, an Art Deco skyscraper that featured an ornate lobby and one of Carrier's first three high-velocity air-conditioning systems for tall structures. Wake County offices now occupy the building.

As Raleigh sought industrial growth in the second half of the nineteenth century, the municipal government supported a Tobacco Exchange in hopes of achieving success with that product. But Raleigh was not destined to become a major tobacco center like Durham and Winston-Salem. Its first tobacco warehouse, the Pioneer, opened at the corner of Wilmington and Davie Streets in 1884. The Capital Warehouse at Davie and Blount and the Farmers' Warehouse at Bloodworth and Davie soon followed. In the late 1880s, those markets were joined by the warehouse of Latta and Myatt at Blount and Martin Streets and that of Julius Lewis and Company on Wilmington and Cabarrus Streets.

A number of post-Civil War manufactories attempted to make and sell cigars and plug and chewing tobacco, beginning in the 1870s with Samuel A. Parham's shop in the former bayonet factory near the Raleigh and Gaston rail line. About the same time, O.H. Millham started producing cigars. George Ziegler and Frank Gruendler purchased Millham's business and for a time sold his cigar, the Raleigh Favorite, in the Yarborough House lobby. The brands of plug and chewing tobacco made in Raleigh included Pogue's Premium, Imperial, Old Reb, and Nickel Plate. None of the companies that tried to manufacture cigars or smoking and chewing tobacco lasted long, however. Raleigh inventor Clement Coleridge Clawson developed a machine for processing smoking tobacco, and it enjoyed some limited use. But the Bonsack cigarette-rolling machine would be the technological invention of the age for the tobacco industry. Along with mass-market advertising, that device gave the Duke family of Durham a virtual monopoly for a time and revolutionized cigarette manufacturing. The cigarette factories that brought huge profits in Durham and Winston-Salem never materialized in Raleigh, and any vision that its leaders held for the capital as a major center for tobacco sales and production faded away.

Raleigh prospered as a major cotton market in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. The town's Cotton Exchange, established in 1868, did much to promote and facilitate the sale and shipment of the southern staple. As an important railroad junction, Raleigh had connections to the

textile factories of the North Carolina Piedmont and to industrial sites and ports to the north. The comings and goings of brokers and buyers and the buying and selling of cotton stimulated the rise and profits of other businesses. But overproduction by farmers and a decline in demand caused the price of cotton to plummet by the turn of the century. Only four cotton buyers remained in Raleigh in 1914, and the town's heyday as a thriving cotton market had ended by 1920.

As Raleigh moved toward city status in a transforming South, it adopted modern municipal facilities and services. In 1907, the town extended its limits a half mile in each direction, which more than tripled its size. Among the institutions and neighborhoods absorbed in the annexation were St. Mary's School, Peace Institute, the State Penitentiary, Dix Hill, part of St. Augustine's campus, Washington School, the Methodist Orphanage (opened in 1900), and Boylan Heights.

To facilitate local government, Raleigh constructed a new Municipal Building at the corner of Fayetteville and Davie Streets in 1911. Municipal offices occupied one portion of the structure and faced Fayetteville Street. A civic auditorium took up the space on the other side, and a fire wall separated the two segments. Wake County government also received a boost when a new county courthouse was completed on the site of the old building in 1915.

As the seat of state and county governments as well as industry and commerce, Raleigh always had need of hotels. Between the 1880s and the 1930s, a number of them arose in the city. The old Yarborough House remained a popular gathering place and residence for legislators, lobbyists, government officials, and businesspeople. But the new Hotel Sir Walter was constructed across Fayetteville Street in 1924 and soon supplanted the Yarborough, which burned four years later. As late as the 1960s, the Sir Walter was known as the "third house of the General Assembly," and many legislative deals occurred there. Civic club meetings and the state's annual debutante balls took place in the hotel, noted for its lobby and Virginia Dare Ballroom. Over the years, Will Rogers, Harry S. Truman, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Maria von Trapp stayed at the Sir Walter. The Georgian Revival building has been converted into housing for senior citizens.

Another well-known hotel was the Park Hotel, constructed in 1894 by Allison Francis (Frank) Page across from Nash Square at the corner of McDowell and Martin Streets. Because it had year-round residents, it has been called Raleigh's first apartment house. The name changed to the Raleigh Hotel about 1905 and then to the Park Central Hotel about 1960. The building was razed in 1975.

As Raleigh's economy and physical development grew, so too did racial inequity. In the aftermath of the Civil War—having gained the power of the vote guaranteed to them by the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution—African Americans initially had a significant voice in Raleigh's municipal government. Virtually all southern blacks joined the Republican Party because of its antislavery stand and support for their rights during Reconstruction. Blacks outnumbered whites in Raleigh during the 1870s and 1880s. They held political majorities in two of the town's three wards under the commissioner system. As a result, they elected a number of African Americans to positions in the municipal government. Blacks also secured jobs as policemen and maintained two volunteer firefighting companies. By the turn of the century, however, African Americans had lost most of their influence.

When the Democratic Party, with its policy of white supremacy, regained control of the General Assembly and amended the state constitution in 1875, it set about diminishing the voting power and political participation of Raleigh's African American population by revising the town's charter. The revisions installed a municipal government system composed of a board of aldermen and increased the number of wards to five to limit the political power of the two black-majority wards to less than half the total. The new charter also specified that the aldermen (the majority of them white) rather than the voters would select the mayor.

Republicans opposed the new charter and, in the courts, sought to keep the old municipal system that allowed blacks significant political participation. But the North Carolina Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Democrats, who retained a large majority on the board of aldermen. They soon dismissed all of Raleigh's black policemen. Whites attempted to inhibit black political power further in the 1890s with additional charter revisions that provided for such questionable election practices as separate registration and "monitoring" of blacks at the polls and also created an additional alderman seat for two white wards.

Despite the triumph of white supremacy and the Democrats' efforts to exclude them from positions in Raleigh government, the town's African Americans, with the support of the Republican Party, managed to elect at least two black aldermen every election year. Among those who served were Stewart Ellison, a successful black builder who also held a seat as member of the state house of representatives from Wake County, and James H. Jones, a town fireman, brick mason, plasterer, and antebellum free black who had been a servant of President Jefferson Davis during the Civil War. The

prominent African American political leader James H. Harris served for a number of years before his death in 1891. Vastly outnumbered by white members of the board, however, the black aldermen had little impact in the decision-making process.

The situation temporarily improved with the rise of the Fusionist movement in the 1890s. The Fusionists created a statewide political coalition of black and white Republicans and members of the new Populist (or People's) Party. By joining forces, the Republicans and Populists managed to win the elections of 1894 and 1896 and gain control of state government. Then they set about enacting long-desired reforms beneficial to African Americans and working-class whites, including a large contingent of small farmers. Among the reforms sought by the Fusionists were honest and fair elections, equitable taxes, limitations on bank interest rates, state funding for public education, ten-hour workdays for factory workers, local control over county and municipal elections, and an end to corruption and favoritism in state government. The Democrats, with the backing of the state's large businessmen, bankers, mill owners, and railroad executives, opposed such reforms.

When the Fusionists gained control of the legislature, state representative James H. Young—one of Raleigh's leading African American political activists and editor of the black-owned newspaper the *Raleigh Gazette*—introduced a bill to amend the town's charter to permit the popular election of the mayor and the admittance of more blacks to service in town government. He succeeded in obtaining the election of the mayor by the voters but failed in his efforts to push through legislation for the popular election of all municipal officers.

The power that the Fusionists gained in state, county, and municipal governments depended in large measure on the African American vote, and it proved to be short-lived. In the election of 1898, the Democratic Party launched an all-out white supremacy campaign of violence and intimidation to minimize the black vote and break up the Republican and Populist coalition. Led by Furnifold M. Simmons, chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee, the Democrats formed violent organizations such as the notorious Red Shirts to keep blacks away from the polls. Raleigh's Democratic newspaper, the *News and Observer*, owned and edited by Josephus Daniels, stirred up racial hatred by portraying African Americans as unintelligent savages who wanted to prey upon whites, especially women. The Red Shirts and other bands of armed, lawless white men disrupted Fusionist meetings and black church gatherings, and they assaulted African Americans and drove them from polling places.

In September, the intimidating presence of a white regiment of the state militia in Raleigh led to the outbreak of violence on the town streets between the soldiers and local African Americans. Not surprisingly, the white supremacist *News and Observer* blamed the trouble on the "insolence" of the black population. The white troops first clashed with blacks in two street fights. During a third altercation on East Martin Street, the militiamen fired into a crowd of African Americans, incredibly wounding only one before the local authorities and more troops restored order.

By violence, intimidation, and election fraud, the Democrats won a large majority in the 1898 election and regained control of state government. In Raleigh, the white population joined other North Carolinians who arrived in the state capital in large numbers to celebrate the victory. A parade led by chief marshal John Stronach and a bandwagon of musicians marched down Fayetteville Street. The crowd cheered the Red Shirt William E. Gibson as he rode by, and many in the procession carried brooms and pitchforks, symbolizing sweeping and pitching the Fusionists from power. The celebration included speeches and evening fireworks.

After the election and the Democrats' landslide success, white supremacists rioted in the coastal town of Wilmington to overthrow that city's Republican government, which included several African Americans. The white mob killed an undetermined number of blacks and installed its own Democratic politicians. Fortunately, Raleigh did not have a race riot on the scale of the Wilmington incident, although many of its white citizens supported the attack on blacks and their removal from political power in the coastal city. Smaller clashes between whites and African Americans did occur. With the Democratic Party again in control of state government, white Raleighites endorsed the party's dismantling of the progressive reforms enacted by the Fusionists.

Among the changes that the Democrats made were ending local control over county and municipal governments and repealing the public school law. The Democratic legislature also passed the first of the state's "Jim Crow" laws. These statutes legitimized a policy of racial segregation. The landmark U.S. Supreme Court case *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896 declared such laws to be legal. The court ruled that as long as public accommodations were equal, segregation was not discriminatory and did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment's requirement for equal protection under the law. North Carolina's first segregation act passed in 1899 and required railroad companies operating in the state to provide separate cars for white and black passengers. As did all of North Carolina, Raleigh then embraced and

enforced further legislation mandating racial segregation in neighborhoods, streetcars, hotels, restaurants, and other public places and facilities.

To ensure its continued political dominance in North Carolina, the Democratic Party moved to eliminate the black vote permanently and thereby prevent another political uprising like that of the Fusionists. The Democrats worked toward that end by calling for a vote in the election of 1900 for a state constitutional amendment that would disenfranchise most African Americans. When voters went to the polls to cast their ballots for political leaders, they also would vote for or against the so-called Suffrage Amendment. The amendment stipulated that all registered voters must pay a poll tax and prove that they were literate. But the literacy test would have disenfranchised illiterate whites as well as African Americans. So an additional provision of the amendment allowed illiterate persons to register if their ancestors had voted before 1867. That provision, known as the Grandfather Clause, in effect exempted illiterate whites from the literacy requirement of the Suffrage Amendment but denied voting registration to nearly all blacks because their ancestors, as slaves, had possessed no voting rights before 1867.

In the election of 1900, violence by the Red Shirts and other white supremacy organizations kept blacks away from the polls. Election fraud also discounted black and white Republican votes. In Raleigh, only a few African Americans managed to register. The Democrats won the election, and the Suffrage Amendment passed.

Thus, the political power of African Americans in North Carolina was ended by intimidation, violence, and extralegal measures that violated the rights and privileges of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution. After 1901, when blacks in the South no longer had the vote, the Republican Party abandoned its efforts to advance the interest of African Americans. From that point until the 1970s, the Democratic Party would retain political control in North Carolina, known then as a one-party state. A majority of Raleigh's aldermen, or councilmen, and mayors have been Democrats until the present day.

For many years after the passage of the Suffrage Amendment, neither party in the South attempted to reinstate the right of suffrage for the African American population. When blacks in the region became politically active again, they mostly sought out the Democratic Party of Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose platform and New Deal programs offered them new hope. African Americans would not hold municipal office again in Raleigh until the 1960s. In 1919, the prominent black physician Manassa Thomas Pope, an early

graduate of Leonard Medical School at Shaw University, ran for mayor but received only a small number of votes. So too did Calvin E. Lightner, running at that time for commissioner of public works. Dr. Pope's residence on South Wilmington Street currently is undergoing restoration for use as a house museum reflecting the African American experience in the early twentieth century.

At times, Raleigh's African American population resisted the restrictions of Jim Crow, as in 1903, when several black passengers declined to give their seats to white women on a streetcar at the fairgrounds. But, opposed by the power of state law and the threat of lynching and other violence by white supremacists, organized resistance to segregation had little chance of success until the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

The white supremacy policy of North Carolina's Democratic Party did not change appreciably for several decades. But at the beginning of the twentieth century, a Progressive wing of the party began to address other ills of society. The old conservative faction of the party continued to oppose reforms, equitable tax laws, and public education and to support big business, limited government, and the status quo for the poor. But the Progressives arising in the party wanted government to play a larger role in the social welfare of the state's citizens. These "new" Democrats included such men as Raleigh editor Josephus Daniels, Chief Justice Walter Clark, and Governors Charles B. Aycock, Robert B. Glenn, William W. Kitchin, and Thomas W. Bickett.

Their agenda for reform did not, however, include desegregation and voting rights for African Americans. They even turned a blind eye to lynching, a horror that occurred throughout the South in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Nevertheless—with the caveat that they were not progressive on the issue of race—the Progressives did enact a significant program of government support for reforms beneficial to the public at large. Among the causes they championed were public education, child labor laws, prison reform, and limitations on the power of large corporations and monopolies.

Conditions in Raleigh reflected that new progressivism. The town early embraced the Progressives' emphasis on public education. When Edward P. Moses became Raleigh's first superintendent of schools, he oversaw the completion of the new Centennial School in 1885 and the Murphey School two years later. Those two white elementary schools were joined by the Calvin H. Wiley School in 1900. In the interim, Raleigh voted to increase local taxes to support more schools. For the children of industrial workers,

a number of new schools were constructed in the early twentieth century: Barbee School at Pilot Mill in 1903; Brooklyn (or Lewis) School, also in 1903; and Caraleigh School (later Eliza Pool School) at Caraleigh Mill in 1904. When Raleigh High School was established in 1905, it was one of the first such institutions in the state. It was subsequently replaced by Needham B. Broughton High School, constructed in 1929 at the corner of St. Mary's and Peace Streets and named for a prominent Raleigh printer, churchman, state senator, and proponent of education. The original Broughton school building, designed by Raleigh architect William H. Deitrick, features an award-winning Lombard Gothic style. Under the leadership of Superintendent Moses, Raleigh Township mandated compulsory school attendance in 1905. Two years later, compulsory education for children until the age of sixteen became law statewide, and Thompson School opened. The existing Thompson School building on East Hargett Street was built in 1923. In 1924, Hugh Morson High School (later a junior high and now demolished) opened east of the Capitol. It was named for a longtime educator and Raleigh superintendent of public schools.

The private Ravenscroft School derived from an 1860s parochial school operated by Christ Church with funds from the will of Josiah Ogden West. That school closed in 1891. With West's bequest, Christ Church opened Ravenscroft School on Tucker Street in 1937 and named it for John Stark Ravenscroft, the first rector of Christ Church and the first bishop of North Carolina's Episcopal diocese. The school expanded its number of grades, but because of internal financial difficulties, Christ Church relinquished control of the institution to a group of friends and financial backers in the 1960s. The board of trustees soon decided to move the school to its present site on Falls of the Neuse Road north of Raleigh. With upper and lower schools and modern facilities and amenities, Ravenscroft has become a renowned and exclusive school with a strong college preparatory program. The old buildings now serve as offices for the Raleigh Housing Authority. Adjacent stands Glenwood Towers, a high-rise subsidized housing complex for seniors.

Education for African Americans received a limited measure of support by Raleigh taxpayers. The town acquired the private Washington, Crosby, and Garfield schools, as well as the Oberlin School. Crosby and Garfield merged in 1920. The present-day Crosby-Garfield School structure, designed by architect William H. Deitrick in a "modernist" style, was constructed on East Lenoir Street in 1938. In southeast Raleigh, the short-lived Chavis School, devoted to industrial training, offered instruction from



O'Kelly High School.

1903 until 1907. Black students did not have a high school in Raleigh until a new Washington School—now a middle school—was constructed in 1924 at 1000 Fayetteville Street. In the meantime, St. Augustine's provided some secondary courses. The O'Kelly High School in Method became North Carolina's first accredited rural high school for African Americans in 1920. In 1953, under the restraints of segregation, Ligon High School (now a magnet middle school) opened on East Lenoir Street to provide secondary instruction for Raleigh's black students.

The growth in business and financial institutions resulted in a need for trained office workers. King's Business College established itself in Raleigh to provide instruction in bookkeeping, typing, shorthand, and secretarial and banking skills. The school opened in 1894 in the Pullen Building on the northwest corner of Fayetteville and Davie Streets. It would eventually move to Hillsborough Street. Before its demolition in 1942, the Pullen Building housed a variety of stores and offices, as well as WPTF Radio and the S&W Cafeteria, a popular dining site for downtown shoppers.

Raleigh became the locale for several institutions of higher learning. The North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, later known as North Carolina State College and now North Carolina State University, was founded in 1887 as a federal land grant school. It opened in 1889 on property donated by Richard Stanhope Pullen. Its original main building was three-story Holladay Hall, still a campus landmark.

In 1899, the Baptist Female University began classes in its new facility at the corner of Blount and Edenton Streets. The school changed its name to the Baptist University for Women in 1905, and four years later it was renamed Meredith College for Baptist leader Thomas Meredith. It moved to the present campus on Hillsborough Street in 1926. The Mansion Park Hotel then occupied its old downtown building until the State of North Carolina purchased it in 1956 and used it for offices before demolishing it in 1967.

St. Augustine's Normal School and Collegiate Institute continued to receive support from the Episcopal Church. It became a four-year college in 1928. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, one of its students, Henry Delany, stayed on to become vice-principal and the nation's first black Episcopal bishop. He married another St. Augustine's student, Nanny Logan, who also remained at the college as a teacher and matron. The Delany Building on the campus is named in her honor. The couple's daughters Sarah Louise (Sadie) Delany and Elizabeth (Bessie) Delany both lived for more than a century and had professional careers that were exceptional for African American women from the South at the time. After



Holladay Hall.

attending St. Augustine's and teaching school, they traveled to New York City, where Sarah earned a master's degree at Columbia University and launched a long career as a much respected educator. Elizabeth graduated from dental school and became the second African American to practice dentistry as a profession in New York City. The Delany sisters' distinguished lives were recounted in a 1993 book, *Having Our Say: The Delany Sisters' First Hundred Years*, and in a subsequent Broadway play and television movie. Dr. Elizabeth Delany died at age 104 in New York. Two years later, in 1999, Sarah Delany died at 109. A funeral service for her was held in St. Augustine's Chapel (built in 1896), and she is buried in Raleigh's Mount Hope Cemetery.

A number of North Carolina Progressives, most notably Clark, Daniels, and Bickett, supported voting rights for women. North Carolina women had been campaigning for the right to vote for some years. Their movement became organized statewide with the formation of the North Carolina Equal Suffrage Association in 1894, but it failed to get a women's suffrage bill passed by the legislature. The movement persisted and received new energy in 1913 with the establishment of the North Carolina Equal Suffrage League, led by Gertrude Weil of Goldsboro as president. In Raleigh, the group had fifty female and three male members by 1915. The organization, which evolved into the North Carolina League of Women Voters, worked tirelessly throughout the state to secure the General Assembly's ratification of a federal constitutional amendment giving women the right to vote. The Raleigh chapter set up an office in the Yarborough House, where the members had easy access to the public and to politicians who came and went. The group also established its main operations in a building next door to the hotel. The Raleigh League raised funds, organized public meetings and demonstrations, and pressured the legislature in support of suffrage. Martha Haywood, writing for the *News and Observer*, called for support in her columns.

Despite such efforts and pleas by President Woodrow Wilson and Governor Bickett, the General Assembly declined to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. Many of the members who opposed ratification argued that giving women the right to vote would weaken family life and states' rights and diminish the power of white supremacy. Even a few women in Raleigh spoke against ratification. They formed a branch of the Southern Rejection League and lobbied against the amendment. Although most of North Carolina's lawmakers could not bring themselves to support the vote for women, enough states—three-fourths, with Tennessee casting the deciding vote—did ratify the Nineteenth Amendment for it to become the law of the



Headquarters of the North Carolina Equal Suffrage League, showing President Gertrude Weil at far left.

land. Women in Raleigh voted for the first time in a school bond referendum in October 1920 and then in the general election the following month.

Two notable women who rose to positions of community and state leadership were Raleigh natives Jane Simpson McKimmon and Nell Battle Lewis. McKimmon graduated from Peace Institute and became a home demonstration agent for the North Carolina Agricultural Extension Service in 1911, traveling and speaking throughout the state in the home demonstration cause. She was the first woman to graduate from North Carolina State College, receiving a bachelor of science degree at age fifty-nine. She became vice-chairman of the state's Rural Electrification Authority and served on the board of directors of the Farmers Cooperative Exchange, as a member of the State Council for National Defense, and on the Committee on Hospital and Medical Care for Rural People. She also helped found the National Home Economics Association and served as its president. McKimmon died in Raleigh in 1957 and is buried in Oakwood Cemetery. McKimmon Center at North Carolina State University is named for her.

Nell Battle Lewis attended Raleigh public schools and briefly St. Mary's College before graduating Phi Beta Kappa from Smith College in

Massachusetts in 1917. In 1920, she launched a long career as a columnist and editor for the *News and Observer*, writing about such issues as political and educational rights for women, mental health, child labor, prison reform, working conditions for textile workers, academic freedom, and public education. An outspoken suffragist and feminist, she called for changes in state law regarding the legal status of women and was active in the League of Women Voters, serving as director of publicity for that group and also for the State Federation of Women's Clubs and North Carolina's Board of Charities and Public Welfare. Lewis was admitted to the State Bar in 1929 and later served as associate editor for the *Raleigh Times*. About midcentury, she grew much more conservative and opposed civil rights and certain social reforms. Lewis died in 1956 and is buried in Oakwood Cemetery.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century and reaching a crescendo in the 1920s, Raleigh became caught up in the nationwide campaign against alcoholic drink, a cause backed by many of the Progressives, Josephus Daniels in particular. Women attributed many family problems to drunkenness and stood at the forefront of the prohibition movement. In the 1880s, Raleigh women formed a chapter of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) to work actively to close saloons and barrooms and halt the traffic in alcoholic beverages. In 1907, the hatchet-wielding Carrie Nation, a flamboyant national temperance figure, spoke to large crowds in Raleigh about the evils of liquor and tobacco. North Carolina enacted statewide prohibition the following year, but the law was soon revoked.

The members of the WCTU continued their crusade, and their efforts broadened into campaigns for suffrage and other causes such as divorce and the rescue of prostitutes and disadvantaged women. In 1915, Raleigh's T. Adelaide Goodno, president of the state WCTU, called upon women to look to the ballot to correct social ills. National Prohibition took effect when the Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was ratified in 1919. Prohibition failed, however, as bootleggers, moonshiners, rumrunners, and gangsters flourished, and the Twenty-first Amendment repealed it in 1933. During the debate over ratification, a sizable number of Raleigh women answered the call of Frances Renfrow Doak, a strong women's suffrage and temperance advocate in the city, to oppose the repeal of the Prohibition Amendment.

The statewide emphasis on a New South progressivism led Raleigh's government to develop a greater interest in the welfare of the city's citizens and to raise and direct more public funds toward improving municipal services. With support from civic leaders, as well as improvements in



Hook and Ladder Fire Station No. 3, circa 1911-12.

equipment and the water supply, Raleigh's firefighting companies had grown more efficient since Reconstruction. In 1890, the Raleigh Capital Hose Company won the gold medal in a state firefighting contest held in Charlotte. Proficiency advanced further when Raleigh established its first full-time, paid fire department in 1912. The new force had sixteen firemen and soon acquired two motorized fire trucks and a new alarm system and



Police in front of the Municipal Building, circa 1920s.

pumps. Prior to taking up his task, fire chief Sherwood Brockwell traveled to New York for training with that city's department.

Around the turn of the century, the police force had ten patrolmen and two sergeants. The chief was elected every year, and as time went on his duties expanded, as did the size of the force. For a time, the mayor's court, which had existed since Raleigh's early days, continued to hear cases involving minor crimes and violations of town ordinances. The police justice court assumed that jurisdiction after the General Assembly revised the city's charter in 1895. While the police headquarters remained in the old Metropolitan Hall, the town jail in the unventilated basement stayed in substandard condition and once was referred to as the Black Hole of Calcutta. Conditions improved when the new Municipal Building, which included City Hall and an auditorium, opened in 1911. The 1895 revisions to the charter returned the election of the mayor, aldermen, and new police "justice" or "judge" to the voters and provided for a city clerk and a tax collector.

In 1913, Raleigh reorganized its government again, replacing the old alderman system with a board made up of three commissioners, one of whom was the mayor, serving as chief executive and overseeing finances. Another member functioned as the commissioner of public safety, with responsibility for the oversight of police, firemen, the market house, and public health. The third became commissioner of public works, which included streets, parks, cemeteries, and the water system. The voters elected those officials.

For a long time, Raleigh streets had been dusty or muddy thoroughfares that had many ruts and holes and flooded in heavy rains. In 1884, the state legislature in jest passed a bill that called for the charter of a ferry to transport passengers on Fayetteville Street. A year later, the town paved some of its main streets with Belgian blocks, and in 1890 it macadamized a number of other streets, assessing property owners for the cost, and laid the first paved sidewalks, using granite, in front of the post office. Also in that year, the aldermen approved the purchase of a street sweeper. After the turn of the century, Raleigh started paving its streets with asphalt. By the end of the 1920s, many thoroughfares—mostly in the business district and established neighborhoods—had pavement, although the city still contained forty-two miles of dirt streets.

Raleighites had desired efficient water and sewer systems for many years. Improvements came in the late 1880s, when the city laid new pipes and built a water tower. In 1887, Raleigh erected an eighty-five-foot tower on West Morgan Street. Constructed of large stone blocks, the tower contained a 100,000-gallon iron tank to supply the new water system. A brick office building fronted the tower. In 1889, the aldermen contracted with the Raleigh Water Company, which had been supplying water to public sites, to lay pipe to houses on streets where enough residents requested the service. As late as 1920, however, a number of residents still had wells. The city removed the water tank and abandoned the tower in 1924. In 1938, Raleigh architect William H. Deitrick acquired the structure and used it for his firm's offices. In 1963, he transferred it to the North Carolina chapter of the American Institute of Architects to serve as its headquarters. The tower remains at its original location today.

Sanitation had been a significant problem since Raleigh's early days. Outdoor privies, open sewer ditches, and garbage thrown into the streets created odors, potential for the spread of disease, and generally unhealthy conditions. In an effort to improve sanitation, the town employed a sanitary worker to clean out privies and transport the refuse away, charging each



Above: Cart on Edenton Street in front of the National Hotel, circa 1900.

Left: Old Water Tower. Courtesy of North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh, and Raleigh News and Observer.

property owner ten cents per privy. Residents received citations and fines for emptying privies inside the town limits or throwing garbage into the streets or public wells. In 1889, the voters approved a bond issue to lay sewer pipe. The pipe had been laid within six months, and most households hooked on to the system. The pipe system dumped the sewage into Walnut and Crabtree Creeks, which was judged at the time to be an efficient and safe way of disposal. In the 1890s, Raleigh started a municipal garbage-removal system and required privies to be connected to the sewer network.

Healthcare improved significantly with advances in medicine as well as increased numbers of physicians and the development of hospitals in Raleigh. The origins of Rex Hospital date back to 1839 and the will of philanthropist John Rex. In 1893, the Rex Fund trustees purchased the Episcopal St. John's Hospital, located in the house of former governor Charles Manly on South Street. Rex Hospital made repairs and expanded the building, adding a two-story annex for black patients. The hospital opened in May 1894. Head nurse Mary Lewis Wyche, a graduate of the Philadelphia General Hospital, soon began a nursing school at Rex. Three of the first four graduates were from Raleigh. In 1908, the trustees decided to demolish most of the existing facilities and build a new hospital. Patients were placed in temporary quarters while construction went on, and the new buildings opened in October 1909. At that time, the trustees leased the annex building to the City of Raleigh for use as a free dispensary. Rex began to send its black patients to Leonard Hospital at Shaw University and St. Agnes Hospital at St. Augustine's Collegiate Institute. Half of the \$2,000 that Raleigh gave to support Rex then went to those institutions. In future decades, Rex Hospital would move to a new site at the corner of Wade Avenue and St. Mary's Street and then to its present location on Lake Boone Trail.

The hospital for African Americans at St. Augustine's Collegiate Institute soon followed the opening of Rex. Through the efforts of Sarah Hunter, wife of the school's principal, and with the assistance of a small grant from the Episcopal Church and an anonymous gift, St. Agnes Hospital opened in the Sutton House, the former home of the principal. Sarah Hunter served as superintendent and head of the nurse training program from 1896 to 1920. Dr. Lawson A. Scruggs, a graduate of Leonard Medical School and one of Raleigh's first African American medical doctors, became the attending physician. Dr. Hubert A. Royster assumed control of services in 1899 and was among the earliest doctors in the area to use X-rays. A female physician, Dr. Catherine Hayden, joined the staff about

1900. After fire struck the old building, St. Augustine's students constructed a new four-story facility using stone quarried on campus. The new hospital admitted its first patients in 1909.

Amid some controversy, Mary Elizabeth Hospital opened in a rented house on the corner of Peace and Halifax Streets in 1914. At that time, Dr. Harold Glascock joined his friend and former classmate Dr. A.R. Tucker in a plan for establishing a hospital with a holistic approach to the treatment of patients. In addition to being accredited medical doctors and graduates of the Chicago College of Medicine, Glascock and Tucker were trained in osteopathy, considered quackery by some of Raleigh's more traditional physicians, who opposed their setting up a hospital. Nevertheless, Glascock and Tucker managed to open their hospital with operating and anesthesia rooms and a nurse training program. The hospital could accommodate fifteen patients and was named for the mothers of the doctors and their wives. Mary Elizabeth Warner was the first baby born there. Dr. Ann J. Ellington and Dr. Ivan M. Proctor, an early specialist in obstetrics and gynecology, joined the staff after World War I. At that time, efforts were underway to complete a new hospital building on Blount Street. Shortly after the new building opened in 1920, however, Tucker left the hospital because its board had forbidden the practice of osteopathy. Mary Elizabeth was the first Raleigh hospital to administer penicillin and to utilize radiation therapy to treat gynecological cancer. In 1978, the hospital became Raleigh Community Hospital (now Duke Raleigh Hospital) on Wake Forest Road. The 1920 building remains at the corner of Glascock and Blount Streets and houses offices.

Electricity gradually replaced gas lighting in Raleigh's streets and structures. The town authorities awarded a three-year contract in 1885 to Thomson-Houston Electric Light Company of Boston. That company formed a local partnership and began installing electric lights for subscribers and in a few municipal buildings. However, the contract for gas lighting for the streets did not expire until 1888. At that time, the aldermen signed a contract with the Raleigh Heating and Power Company to illuminate some major intersections with electric lights. The company used a gas engine to produce the power. But the lighting left much to be desired in terms of consistency and brightness, and citizens and town officers complained. A combination of gas and electric lights continued to illuminate Raleigh until well after the turn of the century. Nevertheless, the state capital had earned the distinction of being the first North Carolina town to introduce permanent electric lighting. The use of electricity slowly spread from the



Streetcars on Fayetteville Street.

streets to private residences as more and more Raleigh inhabitants turned to that power source to light their homes.

Electricity also transformed public transportation in Raleigh. In 1886, the Raleigh Street Railway Company introduced four streetcars pulled by mules over a four-mile route downtown. Horses soon replaced the more temperamental mules, and within a few years the company's electric streetcar system began transporting the public. The first car traveled down Hillsborough Street to the Capitol and around the square, then down Fayetteville Street to Cabarrus Street and the train depot. It continued on to Brookside Park, northeast of Oakwood Cemetery, before circling back to Hillsborough Street. From that beginning, other routes opened to serve the new neighborhoods arising in Raleigh. By 1908, Raleigh had fourteen miles of electric streetcar lines along which ran fourteen trolley cars.

The new communities served by the streetcar included Boylan Heights, established in 1907 a short distance south of Hillsborough Street. The large new houses lining Boylan Avenue reflected the growing and prosperous middle class, and the side streets of the curved thoroughfare plan featured smaller dwellings for the less affluent residents. The neighborhood was named for William Montford Boylan.

On a tract west of Boylan Heights and adjoining the trolley line, investors developed Cameron Park, a middle-class suburb of Colonial Revival, Dutch Colonial, and bungalow houses built from about 1910 through the 1920s. The community took its name from the prominent and wealthy Cameron family, on part of whose land the dwellings were constructed.

In 1907, developer James Pou launched the community of Glenwood along both sides of the trolley track known as Glenwood Avenue that ran north from Peace Street. The development blended into the Brooklyn neighborhood, which arose in the 1880s northwest of Peace Street. Brooklyn took shape as a mixed neighborhood of blacks and working-class whites. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, new construction continued down Glenwood Avenue beyond Wade Avenue to the Five Points intersection and included the Roanoke Park and Bloomsbury neighborhoods. By 1911, a streetcar line extended northward as far as the present-day Carolina Country Club, an area then just outside the city limits. West of Glenwood and the streetcar line, construction started about 1917 on the large residences in the Hayes Barton neighborhood, named for Sir Walter Raleigh's home in Devon in England. Those houses, built on sizable lots in the 1920s and 1930s, reflected the wealth of the rising upper middle class and remain some of Raleigh's most notable examples of the revival architecture of the period.

To encourage the people of Raleigh to ride its streetcars, Carolina Power and Light Company, which had absorbed most of the electricity and trolley interests in the state capital, created Bloomsbury Park at the end of the Glenwood Avenue track in 1912. The park featured a roller coaster, a boat pond, a penny arcade, a dance pavilion, and a carousel. On weekends and holidays, the residents of Raleigh and surrounding communities rode, and sometimes chartered, the streetcar to Bloomsbury. By 1920, however, the park had effectively ceased to function as an amusement and recreation site.

Before Bloomsbury Park and electric-powered trolleys existed, the Raleigh Street Railway Company, with its horse-drawn cars, had opened Brookside Park (now Lions Park) northeast of Oakwood. The park offered a carousel, a boating lake, a baseball field, a bowling alley, riding horses, picnic grounds, and swings. Transportation service improved with the advent of electricity, and in 1893 the company ran a track to Pullen Park, established on sixty-four acres provided by Richard Stanhope Pullen. Located just east of present-day North Carolina State University, the park offered a "bathing pool," a pavilion, a goldfish pond, and other recreational facilities. When Bloomsbury



Shelter for streetcar passengers on Glenwood Avenue. *Photograph by Paulette Mitchell.*



Carousel at Bloomsbury Park.

Park closed in the 1920s, the city purchased its carousel and moved it to Pullen Park. With that attraction, as well as its swimming pool, children's train, lake, and other amenities, the park remains a popular amusement site for the public.

In all probability, the automobile made its appearance in Raleigh in 1902. Accounts vary as to who actually introduced the motor vehicle. One testimony asserts that Albert Carroll of Baltimore drove the first car to the North Carolina capital to appear as best man at a wedding. Another credits local pharmacist Henry King's peculiar "fuss car" with being the first. Still other versions maintain that Arthur Zachary or K.W. Yates can claim that distinction. Regardless of who might have debuted the automobile in Raleigh, 1902 seems to have been the year. The police had a motor patrol wagon by 1914 and motorcycles by 1920. Motorized trucks were not long in following passenger cars. The Raleigh Fire Department and the Raleigh Sanitation Department received their first trucks in 1914. A motorized bus transit service replaced the streetcar system in 1933.

In 1909, businessman John A. Park's Hudson became the first car in Raleigh to be registered with the state according to law. Ten years later, Raleigh could boast twenty-nine repair shops and ten auto dealerships. Parking had already become a problem, as the police complained of autos parking at odd angles and blocking traffic on Fayetteville Street. The city passed laws prohibiting parking on some streets and limiting hours on others. Violators had to pay fines. Raleigh's first two gasoline stations began dispensing fuel at the intersection of Fayetteville and Cabarrus Streets in 1919. Within three years, the city had about twenty service stations.

Interest in establishing an airport in Raleigh arose after World War I. In 1920, the Chamber of Commerce leased a field off New Bern Avenue in the hope that the site would become a stop on the national airmail route. But commercial air service did not start in the capital until 1931, when Eastern Air Transport (later Eastern Airlines) began flights, largely for airmail, at Curtis Field (later Raleigh Municipal Airport) south of town. Seven years later, Eastern Airlines, under the leadership of its president, the famed World War I pilot Eddie Rickenbacker, called for a major commercial airport in the Raleigh area. Encouraged further by the Civil Aeronautics Administration, the State of North Carolina purchased about 890 acres northwest of Raleigh. Ground had just been broken when the United States entered World War II. The War Department then used the site, named the Raleigh-Durham Army Air Field, for the training of military aviators. The facility had three runways, barracks, and a control tower. The army



Fayetteville Street looking north toward the Capitol, circa 1920s.

made only limited use of the airfield, however, and the Raleigh-Durham Aeronautical Authority (later the Raleigh-Durham Airport Authority) obtained permission from the federal government to make the site available to commercial flights. Eastern Airlines constructed a terminal in exchange for operating rent-free. In 1948, the federal government turned over the air base to the Raleigh-Durham Airport Authority, which obtained investment by local governments to establish and enlarge the facility now known as the Raleigh-Durham International Airport.

A variety of new technological devices made their appearances in Raleigh in the late nineteenth century. The Edison Telephone Company installed the first phone system in 1879. Two years later, the Bell Telephone Company took over the service after a court battle about the telephone patent and began erecting poles and wires, paying the town eighty cents per telephone annually. In 1890, 177 customers had telephones in Raleigh. In that year, Raleigh residents heard the town's first hand-cranked phonograph, on display at Briggs Hardware. Four years earlier, the first cash register, manufactured by the National Cash Register Company, had rung up sales at the Stronach store. With the availability of household electricity, radios and new household appliances had begun showing up in many homes by the 1920s.

As Raleigh entered a new century, entertainment and social life expanded along with the population, municipal services, and technology. Musical and theatrical productions ranked high among preferred entertainment. The public attended plays, concerts, operas, and minstrel shows. Such performances originally took place in Tucker Hall and Metropolitan Hall and then moved to the Academy of Music, which rose at the corner of Salisbury and Martin Streets in 1893. National touring companies visited the North Carolina capital to perform. Circuses, including the famous Barnum and Bailey's Greatest Show on Earth, set up their tents first at Cameron Field (before the Cameron Park neighborhood developed) and then at Gatlin Field on New Bern Avenue. Eventually, the circus moved to the state fairgrounds.

Motion pictures appeared just after the turn of the century. The first short films were projected in stores and shops. Other showings followed in Metropolitan Hall, where in 1905 the first movie theater, the Gem, began screenings. A subsequent theater opened in a tent on Fayetteville Street and supplemented the film with dancing girls. The Revelry movie house soon replaced the tent. New owners changed the name to the Almo in 1911, and it showed movies until it burned in 1925. Another theater called the Grand opened on Fayetteville Street in 1910. When the State Theater was completed on Salisbury Street in 1924, it featured live performances as well as films. African Americans attended the Royal Theater on Hargett Street or the Lincoln Theater on East Cabarrus Street. The number of movie theaters continued to increase along with the public's growing appetite for the glamour and escape of Hollywood productions. By the 1950s, downtown Raleigh had, in addition to the State Theater, the Ambassador and the Wake on Fayetteville Street and the Capitol on West Martin Street. The Ambassador, built in 1938, hosted live performances as well as showing films. African Americans sat in the balcony apart from whites. The Colony Theater (now the Rialto) stood on Glenwood Avenue at Five Points, and the Varsity Theater was located on Hillsborough Street across from North Carolina State College.

The State Fair remained a source of entertainment and a boost to local businesses because of out-of-town visitors until the North Carolina State Agricultural Society suffered financial collapse in the 1920s. The State of North Carolina then took control of the fair, and in 1928 the Department of Agriculture selected the present-day site for the fairgrounds at Hillsborough Street and Blue Ridge Road. At that time, the distinctive Spanish Mission-style exhibition buildings facing Hillsborough Street were constructed. Midway attractions had become features of the fair by the

turn of the century. The J.S. Dorton Arena, world renowned for its design by Polish architect Matthew Nowicki and Raleigh's William Deitrick, was built in 1950-52.

For entertainment, all classes of people embraced sports in Raleigh in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth. Generally, golf and tennis were sports of the wealthier residents, and both were played at the Carolina Country Club, founded in 1912. Football and basketball developed as the provinces of high schools and colleges, ultimately becoming big business for the state's universities after World War II. But originally it was baseball that attracted the largest public turnouts in the state capital. The sport drew fans from all social and economic classes—mill and railroad workers, bankers, and judges.

By the 1890s, baseball was being played at the University of North Carolina and at Raleigh's College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. Even earlier, Raleigh's inhabitants had attended games between amateur clubs or teams. The state's first formal league was the North Carolina Baseball Association, created in 1900. Teams from six Tar Heel cities, including Raleigh, constituted the organization. Some league players received pay; others did not. The association lasted for only a few games before evolving into the Virginia North Carolina League, in which Raleigh and Wilmington fielded the only two teams from North Carolina. When that league dissolved in the summer of 1901, the Raleigh team, having defeated Wilmington in a series of games, proclaimed itself champion.

Although the early baseball organizations did not survive long, enthusiasm for the sport had taken hold in Raleigh and other cities. Promoters throughout the state began to show considerable interest in forming a new league. R.C. Rivers, president of the Raleigh Athletic Association, campaigned for a new organization. In March 1902, such efforts resulted in the establishment of a Class D association known as the State League and affiliated with the National Association of Professional Baseball Leagues, founded in 1901 to serve the interests of minor league baseball. The State League's representatives convened at Raleigh's Park Hotel to draw up bylaws, elect officials, and prepare schedules. Perrin Busbee, an attorney in Raleigh, became president of the league. A strong athlete, he had been captain of the baseball team at the University of North Carolina and did much to popularize the sport at that school. His professional standing and social position in Raleigh lent an element of respectability to baseball. The Raleigh Red Birds took the field as the capital city's first team in the new league. They played at the state fairgrounds.

The State League folded after only a ten-week season. But it had established minor league baseball in Raleigh, becoming the precursor of more lasting organizations such as the Piedmont League and the Carolina League. For decades, fans would turn out to see their team, the Raleigh Capitals, play. The sport reached its pinnacle with the building of Devereux Meadow Baseball Park on the west side of present-day Capital Boulevard in 1939. Television, with its Major League broadcasts, would dampen the public's enthusiasm for minor league games, and the Capitals would eventually end their play in Raleigh. Probably the most famous player on the Raleigh team was Carl Yastrzemski, who gave a superb performance for the Caps in 1959 before going on to become an outstanding player for the Boston Red Sox in the 1960s and 1970s. Even after the Capitals left the city, Devereux Meadow continued in use for a time for school and other team contests. The park was dismantled in 1979 and now serves as a facility for the Department of Sanitation. A recent resurgence of interest in minor league baseball has led to the arrival of the Carolina Mudcats, who play at Five County Stadium east of Raleigh.

Closely allied with Raleigh's economic growth through paid advertising and promotion of private, state, and municipal projects, newspapers came and went in the state capital between the 1880s and the 1930s. The various papers, including some religious ones, adopted different political views, supporting the Democratic, Republican, and Populist Parties. The newspaper that ultimately emerged with the largest readership and political and social impact was the *News and Observer*. It was born in 1880 when Raleigh attorney Samuel A. Ashe and John Gatlin purchased two failed newspapers—the *News* and the *Observer*—and began publishing a new paper. Ashe bought out Gatlin four years later. At that time, the paper, in both daily morning and weekly evening editions, had the largest circulation in the state. The publication fell on hard times in 1893, however, and Josephus Daniels, then the editor of the rival *State Chronicle*, purchased it. Under his direction, the *News and Observer* prospered as a morning daily, having a circulation of more than ten thousand shortly after the turn of the century. Daniels's paper was joined by the long-lasting afternoon paper the *Raleigh Times*. That newspaper originated in 1878 when investors launched the *Evening Visitor*. The *Visitor* was later bought by a series of other papers that evolved into the *Raleigh Times* about 1900. It floundered for a while until purchased by John A. Park in 1911. The *News and Observer* and the *Raleigh Times* thrived, although they were rivals for subscribers, news, and advertising. After Josephus Daniels died in 1948, his son, Jonathan Worth Daniels, took over editorship of the

family newspaper. He retired in 1970 and died in 1981. He is remembered in North Carolina, like his father, for his writing and public service, but also for his support of desegregation and social equality. In 1955, the *News and Observer* purchased the *Raleigh Times* and continued it as an afternoon paper until the *Times* published its last edition in November 1989. Ultimately sold by the Daniels family, the *News and Observer* remains in circulation today.

Raleigh's first black newspaper was the *African Expositor*, published in 1877 by Henry M. Tupper. The *North Carolina Gazette* appeared in 1885. Its founder, John H. Williamson, published the paper until James H. Young acquired it in 1893. The *Gazette* ended publication five years later. The *Raleigh Independent*, edited by L.M. Cheek, ran from 1917 to 1926. The *Carolina Tribune* began after World War I, and the name changed to the *Carolinian* in 1940, when P.R. Jervay took over as owner and editor. Jervay rented space in the Lightner Arcade and printed the *Carolinian* on Hargett Street. The paper is still published twice a week.

Raleigh acquired a public library when Richard Beverly Raney, a local insurance agent and owner of the Yarbrough House, donated a large sum of money in 1899 to establish a library as a memorial to his recently deceased wife, Olivia. The Olivia Raney Library, the first in the Wake County system, opened in 1901 in a building at the corner of Hillsborough and Salisbury Streets. In 1960, the library sold that building to the state and moved to the Kress Building (circa 1910, now the Raney Building) on the corner of Fayetteville and Morgan Streets. The present-day Olivia Raney Local History Library is located on Cary Drive in east Raleigh.

Raleigh gained a "public library for negroes" in 1935 when the Richard B. Harrison Library opened in the Delany Building on Hargett Street. The B. Harrison Library was named in memory of Richard Berry Harrison, a nationally known lecturer and actor who starred in the New York and touring productions of the play *The Green Pastures* and taught at the Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina (now North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University) in Greensboro. He died in 1935. The Richard B. Harrison Library moved to a new location on South Blount Street in 1948 and then, in 1968, to its present location on New Bern Avenue, where it continues as a branch of the Wake County system. Among the services that the library provided for the African American community in the segregation era were a bookmobile and branch facilities.

Radio broadcasts began in North Carolina in 1922 when Charlotte station WBT went on the air. Raleigh's first broadcast came from the campus of North Carolina State College in 1922, when some engineering professors



The Richard B. Harrison Library, established for African Americans, provided bookmobile services.

and students pioneered a station that lasted less than a year. Two years later, the capital city's WFBQ began broadcasting. In 1927, the Durham Life Insurance Company purchased the station and changed its call letters to WPTF, for "We Protect the Family." North Carolina's first commercial television stations appeared in 1949, when Jefferson Standard Life Insurance Company's WBTV in Charlotte and WFMY in Greensboro went on the air. In 1956, WRAL-TV, owned by Capital Broadcasting Company, began transmitting from Raleigh as an NBC affiliate (now a CBS station).

War had a significant impact in New South Raleigh. The outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898 generated much excitement and support. War fever in the state capital soared when news reached the inhabitants that one of their own, Trubie Finch, had been killed when the battleship *Maine* exploded in Havana harbor. When the United States declared war on Spain, Raleigh's unit of the North Carolina State Guard (successor of the militia and precursor of the National Guard, formed in 1903) responded to President William McKinley's call for troops. Raleigh's company, known as the Governor's Guard, and troops from throughout

the state trained at Camp Bryan Grimes, located on Cameron family land between Oberlin Road and St. Mary's School. After just a few weeks of training, the newly formed regiment embarked for Florida, where it joined regiments from other states and then shipped to Havana for garrison duty. A second regiment formed shortly after the first, and it trained at the state fairgrounds in a camp named Camp Dan Russell, in honor of current governor Daniel L. Russell. Measles and typhoid sent sixty-five of the camp's soldiers to the hospital, and seven of them died. In July 1898, six companies of the regiment departed Raleigh for garrison duty at various locations in the South and were soon mustered out.

African Americans came to Raleigh to enlist in a third North Carolina regiment. Josephus Daniels, owner and editor of the *News and Observer*, at first applauded the use of black troops, arguing that they could withstand the hot climate of Cuba better than white soldiers. But Daniels quickly reversed his opinion when he learned that the troops would have black officers and that Republican governor Russell had appointed James H. Young, a prominent African American leader in Raleigh, as colonel of the new regiment. Having blacks as leaders flew in the face of Daniels's white supremacist views. Nevertheless, two companies formed in Raleigh. The black druggist James E. Hamlin commanded one, and Andrew J. Haywood led the other. The units held meetings in the Odd Fellows Hall until they received word to embark by rail to Fort Macon in Carteret County to train with other companies of the regiment. A large crowd from Raleigh's African American community turned out on Nash Square to cheer the two hundred black soldiers as they prepared to leave for the coast. Later, a third company, organized by Raleigh's black mail carrier Rufus H. Hackney, left for Fort Macon. From there, the regiment transferred to a camp in Knoxville, Tennessee, and then Macon, Georgia, before being disbanded in February 1899. During their tour of duty, the soldiers endured much racial condemnation by the *News and Observer* and other white southern newspapers. To vindicate the performance of all black troops in the war, Raleigh attorney Edward A. Johnson wrote a book titled *History of the Negro Soldiers in the Spanish American War*, published in June 1899.

It was during the Spanish-American War that Raleigh acquired its city flag. When Admiral George Dewey and the U.S. fleet attacked the Spanish flag in Manila harbor in May 1898, a cruiser named *Raleigh* after the state capital in Manila harbor in May 1898, a cruiser named *Raleigh* after the state capital took part in the victory. Raleigh's Mrs. Alfred W. Haywood had acted as sponsor when the vessel was commissioned four years earlier. After the Manila Bay battle, the crew of the *Raleigh* sent a captured Spanish naval

gun to the city as a memento. The gun now resides on Capitol Square. In exchange for the gift of the gun, Raleigh enlisted Kate Denson (later Mrs. Richard B. Raney) to make a flag to fly aboard the *Raleigh* in 1899, in which year the ship was decommissioned. The city seal appears on one side of the flag, with a portion of Sir Walter Raleigh's coat of arms on the reverse. Back in the city's possession, the original flag disappeared for decades until it was found in 1960 when the City Hall moved to a new Municipal Building. Since that time, the flag has been preserved, replicated, and approved as the city's official standard.

The only naval officer killed in the Spanish-American War came from Raleigh. Worth Bagley was born into a prominent family in the town in 1874. He graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy and received a commission as ensign. During the war, he was serving aboard the USS *Winslow* when it engaged the Spanish in a battle in the harbor of Cardenas, Cuba. He and two sailors from the *Winslow* died in the action. His family had his body brought to Raleigh, where it lay in state in the Capitol prior to a funeral service on Capitol Square. Bagley was then buried in Oakwood Cemetery, and the state erected a statue in his honor on Capitol Square in 1907.

The population of Raleigh shared in the nation's patriotic fervor as well as the lasting pain and the changes brought by World War I. The United States entered the war (begun in Europe in 1914) in April 1917. Raleigh immediately organized in support of the American effort to fight a war projected "to end all wars." The North Carolina National Guard mobilized in the capital before shipping out for federal service. Hundreds of recruits and draftees flocked to the city for physical examinations and to sign up for duty. To bolster the martial spirit of the local young men, army recruiters rolled an artillery piece in front of Boylan-Pearce department store. In addition to the many Raleigh men who served in the ground forces, three—Phillip Woolcott, Polk Denmark, and John C.S. Lumsden—joined the army's air corps. Lumsden was killed over Château-Thierry in July 1918, and the French government awarded him the Croix de Guerre posthumously. James H. Higgs served in the balloon corps in France and was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for heroism.

At home, residents bought liberty bonds, endured rationing, and planted thrift gardens. The Raleigh Woman's Club canned vegetables for the poor, held fundraisers for soldiers and their families, and rolled bandages. The students at Peace and St. Mary's raised money to assist the troops, grew gardens, canned vegetables, and knitted clothing for the men in service. The Raleigh Iron Works Company at Hargett and West Streets manufactured



The Red Cross started a chapter in Raleigh to serve troops passing through during World War I.

artillery shells. The American Red Cross established a chapter in Raleigh to provide assistance to the many soldiers passing through, and its canteen near the Seaboard train station served thousands of sandwiches and cups of coffee. A bathhouse close by could handle two hundred doughboys.

The army established a tank-training base named Camp Polk near Method, and hundreds of civilian laborers found work building the facility. Training took place at the state fairgrounds while the camp was under construction. It remained open for a time after the war ended. The Army Reserve Officers' Training Corps began training young men for leadership at North Carolina State College in 1917. During the conflict, Raleigh's Josephus Daniels of the *News and Observer* served as secretary of the navy. The educational reformer, publisher, and author Walter Hines Page, who had relinquished Raleigh's *State Chronicle* to Daniels, was ambassador to Great Britain.

While the war raged in Europe, a devastating worldwide influenza pandemic struck Raleigh with terrible effect. By October 1918, 238 residents had died of the disease. Emergency hospitals were set up. The public schools,

Peace, and St. Mary's closed. The city urged people to stay off the streets and passed laws against crowding on streetcars. Tabernacle Baptist Church at Hargett and Person Streets served two thousand white and black people from an emergency soup kitchen during the epidemic. Members delivered food to persons too sick to come to the kitchen.

The influenza pandemic led the county public health service to require the use of pasteurized milk for Camp Polk and in Raleigh hotels and restaurants. In response to this mandate, Benjamin W. Kilgore of North Carolina State College established the first pasteurization plant at the Agricultural Experiment Station. In 1919, he founded Pine State Creamery, which served Raleigh for many years with milk and other pasteurized dairy products. Kilgore is remembered for promoting cooperation among farmers as well as for his service as the first director of the Agricultural Extension Service (1914-25), dean of the School of Agriculture at North Carolina State, and editor of the *Progressive Farmer* (1923-33). Kilgore Hall on the campus of North Carolina State University is named for him.

The Pine State Creamery building located on Glenwood Avenue was built in 1928. The creamery is no longer operating, and the building houses a restaurant and other businesses. It is a landmark in Glenwood South, now a popular area for dining and nightlife. The vicinity was once a blue-collar neighborhood for railroad and industrial workers known as Smokey Hollow.

When the First World War ended with the signing of the armistice in November 1918, Raleigh celebrated with a large parade down Fayetteville Street. For several years after the war, the city continued to commemorate Armistice Day with parades, speeches, and barbecues. Still, a sadness prevailed in the memories of the city's young men who had died in the conflict.

Despite the injustice of white supremacy and the Jim Crow laws, a number of Raleigh's African American men had volunteered to serve their nation in the war to make the world "safe for democracy." Among them was Lieutenant James William Alston, who commanded a company at the front in France, where he was wounded. He later observed that the famous quotation attributed to Civil War general William T. Sherman was not accurate. War actually was "worse than hell," Alston declared. In 1919, a group of black veterans formed a post of the Americans in Foreign Wars Legion that they named for Charles Norwood Jr., one of their fallen comrades.

During Raleigh's relative boom period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, new construction changed the city's streetscapes and



The Executive Mansion, completed in 1891, continues to serve as the residence of North Carolina governors.

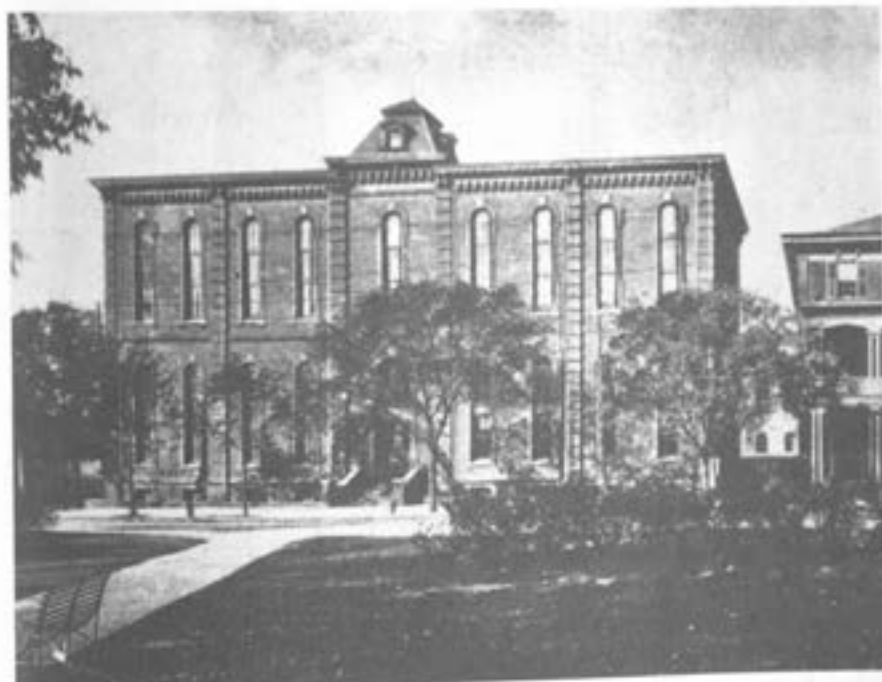
the face of its institutions. Three architects in particular brought new designs and left their imprint on the city. Philadelphia architect Samuel Sloan was in Raleigh in 1883, along with his assistant and draftsman Adolphus Gustavus Bauer. They were joined by local builder William J. Hicks, architect and warden of the State Penitentiary. Sloan's partnership designed buildings for the North Carolina Exposition and received contracts for a number of projects planned for Raleigh, including a new Executive (or Governor's) Mansion and a renovation of the National Hotel for use as state government offices. Sloan, especially noted for his design of mental hospitals, also had other commissions in North Carolina, and as his chief draftsman, Bauer would have prepared the plans for those structures. Their building that is perhaps most noted by visitors to the state capital today is the Executive Mansion on Blount Street, which continues to serve as the residence for North Carolina governors. Sloan died in 1884, before the mansion was finished. Bauer and Hicks then supervised its construction, completing it in 1891.

Bauer went on to become an accomplished architect in his own right, and numerous Raleigh buildings exemplified his work. Among them were the remodeled National Hotel (1883; demolished 1922), the North Carolina Exposition buildings (1884; demolished 1922), the Centennial School (1885; demolished 1925), the Supreme Court and State Library Building (1888; now the Labor Building), the Dix Hill infirmary and additions (1891; destroyed by fire 1926), the Academy of Music (1892; demolished 1960), the Park Hotel (1892; demolished 1975), Tabernacle Baptist Church (1893; remodeled 1914), the renovated City Market (1893; demolished 1921), the Pullen Building (1894; demolished 1942), First Presbyterian Church (1894), the Baptist Female University (1895; demolished 1967), the Raleigh Fire Department headquarters (1895; demolished 1941), the Colored Deaf, Dumb, and Blind School (1897; partially extant), and the William H. Robbins Building (1897; demolished 1964). In addition, Bauer designed a number of private residences. Representative of their style is one of his last works, the Lucy Catherine Capehart House, originally located on North Wilmington Street but later moved to North Blount Street. Bauer built in the dramatic Queen Anne style of the period. His ornate creations featured towers, turrets, balconies, porches, and gables. They fitted the image of a New South city on the move. To many people, they expressed civic pride and provided the proper ornamentation for a modern state capital.

Another architect who left his mark on Raleigh streets was P. Thornton Marye of Atlanta, who designed the 1911 Municipal Building, the Commercial National Bank in 1912, the Citizens' National Bank in 1913, state government's Administration Building (Ruffin Building) on Morgan Street in 1913, and the Wake County Courthouse in 1915.

As the 1920s drew to a close, Raleigh could look back on the past few decades as years of relative prosperity and growth. Commerce had expanded, municipal services and living conditions had improved, new neighborhoods had developed, technology and transportation had surged ahead, and the population had more than doubled. For the first time, Raleigh could truly call itself a city. But then disaster struck with the onset of the Great Depression in 1929.

Several factors contributed to the outbreak of the worldwide Depression of the 1930s. Among them were overproduction of farm crops and consumer goods, a decline in international trade, a weak banking system, and a poorly regulated stock market. When the New York Stock Market crashed, people in the United States made a run on banks to rescue their savings. But many banks did not have enough funds to meet the demands of their



The original Supreme Court and State Library Building now houses the Department of Labor.

depositors because the federal government had not passed laws to protect the deposits of bank customers. As a result of the economic plunge, banks and businesses failed, industry lost profits, agricultural prices plummeted, and unemployment rose to alarming levels. Poverty, hunger, and despair fell on many Americans. In Raleigh, as elsewhere in the state and nation, people were thrown out of work and unemployment continued to rise, leaving numerous inhabitants faced with poverty. Citizens who had money in the city's banks rushed to Fayetteville Street to withdraw their deposits before they lost them. As the Depression continued, no recovery seemed possible, and gloom settled on the capital city.

In 1932, Americans elected Franklin D. Roosevelt as president by an overwhelming vote. In an effort to alleviate the country's suffering, Roosevelt inaugurated a recovery program known as the New Deal. Under his leadership, Congress passed laws that it hoped would provide relief, bring about economic recovery, and generally improve life for Americans stricken by hard times. Roosevelt first ordered all banks closed until the government



With the outbreak of the Great Depression, depositors rushed to withdraw their money from banks, including the Raleigh Banking and Trust Company.

could determine which ones were still solvent. Those that proved viable quickly reopened.

The New Deal agencies brought help and hope to the entire nation. The Emergency Relief Administration (ERA), for example, provided jobs, food, clothing, and shelter for the destitute. North Carolina received \$40 million from the ERA, and a number of Raleigh's residents benefited from its programs. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), supervised by the U.S. Army, put many young men to work in conservation and forestry projects. In the Raleigh area, the CCC worked to create William B. Umstead State Park (originally called Crabtree Park) northwest of town. The Works Progress Administration (WPA) gave jobs to thousands of North Carolina citizens who constructed buildings, roads, and other facilities. The WPA also found work for unemployed artists, writers, and musicians. In Raleigh, workers employed by the WPA constructed Memorial Auditorium downtown and the Raleigh Little Theatre north of Hillsborough Street on the old fairgrounds tract. Under the authority of the Housing Act of 1937, the WPA built Chavis Heights, a public housing complex for African Americans in southeast Raleigh, and Halifax Court north of Peace Street for low-income whites. The apartments were intended to eliminate slum conditions. In May 1938,



The New Deal's Works Progress Administration built Chavis Heights, a public housing complex for African Americans. Shown here is the children's nursery.



Policeman and Western Union courier on Fayetteville Street, 1936.



Above: Fayetteville Street looking south from the Capitol, circa 1944.

Below: Hillsborough Street, January 1945.



This booth in Boylan-Pearce department store sold war bonds during World War II.

Chavis Memorial Park adjacent to Chavis Heights was dedicated. Out of the New Deal programs came lasting federal agencies that continue to serve American citizens. The Social Security Administration provides retirement benefits to seniors, and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation protects Americans' bank deposits.

Despite the assistance and hope provided by the New Deal, Roosevelt's innovative programs did not bring the Great Depression to a conclusion. It remained for World War II in the 1940s to achieve that end. Wartime



Troops marched down Fayetteville Street in a victory parade at the end of World War II.

production stimulated the economy and virtually ended unemployment. Raleighites joined or were drafted into the armed forces or found work in the industries and offices created to meet the demands of a nation at war. Among the local industries contributing to war production was the Peden Steel Company, which manufactured steel barges. The folks at home threw

themselves into the war effort. They endured rationing, volunteered for the Red Cross, helped entertain the troops through United Service Organizations activities and other sponsored events, participated in scrap and tire drives, identified aircraft passing overhead, and planted "victory gardens." In the last year of the war, Raleigh had four thousand victory gardens. Even before the United States entered the conflict, the people of Raleigh turned out to entertain five hundred British officers and sailors of the vessel *Formidable* when they put into port at Norfolk, Virginia, and had a five-week holiday at Crabtree (now Umstead) Park in October 1941. The city's patriotic citizens bought war bonds in large numbers. One booth for buying bonds stood in the Boylan-Pearce department store on Fayetteville Street.

The war ended in Europe in May 1945 and in the Pacific in August. Raleigh celebrated with a victory parade on Fayetteville Street and other public events. Bringing almost full employment and massive industrial production, the war left the United States poised for major economic and social transformation in the second half of the twentieth century. For Raleigh, as for the entire state and nation, the decades following World War II would be ones of unprecedented change.

CHAPTER SIX

RALEIGH COMES OF AGE

Since the conclusion of World War II, Raleigh has undergone the largest and fastest growth in its history. The population in 2009 is more than eight times what it was in 1940, and the city now encompasses 140 square miles. By 2004, Raleigh and Charlotte had become the largest metropolitan centers in North Carolina, and their surrounding counties had grown more than twice as fast as the state overall. In the years immediately following the war, urbanization swept the state as more and more people moved into towns and cities. The building and construction industries boomed, especially as returning veterans took advantage of the federal government's GI Bill of Rights to secure guaranteed loans to construct new homes in urban centers such as Raleigh, Charlotte, Greensboro, Durham, and Winston-Salem.

By the 1950s, life in the suburbs was well on its way as new neighborhoods appeared on the edges of Raleigh. In the next two decades, the tendency among much of the population was to settle in the suburbs or move there from the inner city, which began to deteriorate. As suburban Raleigh swelled, shopping centers and malls proliferated. Cameron Village, developed by J.W. York and R.A. Bryan and opened in 1949, was North Carolina's first shopping center and was emblematic of Raleigh's expansion westward. Its village concept included nearby apartments and houses that allowed residents to live and shop in the same area. In 1954, Cameron Village had forty stores, thirty-eight offices, a movie theater, and parking space for 1,500 automobiles on its thirty-six acres. By the 1960s, it had added more retail businesses and a grocery store. In that decade, the enclosed North Hills Mall

appeared, soon to be followed by Crabtree Valley Mall, both featuring large national chain stores and multilevel parking decks. Since then, the number and size of suburban shopping centers and malls have continued to expand along with the population and borders of Raleigh.

The city made a concerted effort in the 1970s to halt the deterioration of downtown as more and more businesses and their customers sought out the suburban shopping areas. Following the urban trend of the time, Raleigh converted Fayetteville Street into a pedestrian mall in hopes of keeping businesses and patrons there and luring new ones. That measure failed to produce the desired results, however, and in 2006 Fayetteville Street was revived, improved, and reopened to vehicle traffic. A Civic Center built at the south end of the Fayetteville Street Mall in the 1970s to host conventions, meetings, entertainment, and other events proved inadequate as time went by. It was razed and replaced by the Raleigh Convention Center on Salisbury Street, which opened in 2008. The destruction of the old center revealed once again the vista along Fayetteville Street from the Capitol to Memorial Auditorium. The auditorium, renovated in the 1990s, is now part of the Progress Energy Center for the Performing Arts (known for a time as the BTI Center). The Progress Energy Center encompasses Memorial Auditorium, Meymandi Hall, the Fletcher Opera Theater, the Kennedy Theatre, and Lichten Plaza. Musical theater, opera, ballet, and concerts, including those by the North Carolina Symphony, are performed there.

Live entertainment in Raleigh includes musical concerts at the Walnut Creek Amphitheatre east of downtown and the stage productions of the Raleigh Little Theatre and Theatre in the Park at Pullen Park. A large number of cinemas offer the latest motion pictures. Eight television and twenty-three radio stations in the area provide information and entertainment to residents. For newspaper readers, the *News and Observer* appears daily. The weekly *Triangle Business Journal* and *Independent* and the semiweekly *Carolinian* are other newspapers distributed locally.

Big-time college basketball and football began drawing large crowds and revenue in the 1950s. Reynolds Coliseum was completed on the campus of North Carolina State College in 1949. The school's Atlantic Coast Conference male basketball team now plays in the RBC Center in west Raleigh, which also hosts the games of the Carolina Hurricanes professional ice hockey team. For North Carolina State University football, Carter-Finley Stadium replaced the 1907 Riddick Stadium in the 1960s. An expanded Carter-Finley now offers seating for more than fifty-five thousand spectators.

fifty-one luxury suites, and the Wendell H. Murphy Football Center, a state-of-the-art complex for players, coaches, and support staff.

Along with the revitalization of Fayetteville Street, Raleigh's downtown skyline is providing a new view with the construction of skyscrapers such as the Wachovia Capital Center, the BB&T Building at Two Hannover Square, and the newest and tallest structure, the RBC Building. The city has joined with business and development interests in a concerted effort to attract residents to live, work, and seek entertainment in central Raleigh. High-rise condominium complexes are going up near downtown, and the areas around the revitalized 1914 City Market across Martin Street from Moore Square and along South Glenwood Avenue draw customers to shops, art studios and galleries, restaurants, and nightlife. New hotels have appeared and existing ones have been renovated in anticipation of providing rooms and services for conventions. In recent years, with the help of federal funds, the Raleigh Housing Authority has replaced the dilapidated Halifax Court with modern low-income housing. Along with the adjacent and more upscale Village at Pilot Mill, constructed by private developers, the old site now stands as a mixed-income community known as Capital Park. Chavis Heights's low-income housing has also been demolished and replaced with mixed-use structures. Walnut Terrace—a low-income public housing project in south Raleigh—awaits federal funding for demolition and reconstruction.

From its inception, state government has left its imprint on the streets of Raleigh, particularly around Capitol Square. The Capitol sufficed for office space until the late nineteenth century, when a growth in state government coincided with North Carolina's economic surge. The Supreme Court and State Library Building (built in 1888 and now the Labor Building) on Edenton Street was the first office building constructed off the square. The Ruffin, or Administration, Building followed in 1913 on Morgan Street, and then the Agriculture Building on Edenton Street in 1922–23. The Revenue Building appeared on Salisbury Street in 1927 and the Education Building on Edenton Street in 1938. The Law and Justice Building was constructed on Morgan Street in 1939–40 and the Highway Building on Wilmington Street in 1951. All of these office buildings faced Capitol Square.

The present Legislative Building was constructed on Jones Street in 1962–63 in the middle of what was once Halifax Street and facing the Capitol. The plaza between the Legislative Building and the Capitol provides pedestrian access to the recently constructed Museum of Natural Sciences and the Museum of History. In the past few decades, more state government buildings have gone up north of the Capitol. An open plaza extends northward from

the Legislative Building to the tall Archdale Building overlooking Pear Street and Peace College. The chambers of the Capitol have been restored, and the building is open to tour groups. It still houses the office of North Carolina's governor.

Raleigh's system of government underwent further change in 1947 when the city adopted the present council-manager system. The council has eight members, one of whom is the mayor. They are elected every two years. Three, including the mayor, are at-large members, and the others are elected from five districts. The council sets city policy, passes ordinances, and approves the budget. It employs a city manager to administer municipal operations and oversee the day-to-day functioning of the various departments.

Since Andrew Johnson's visit during Reconstruction, eight U.S. presidents have traveled to Raleigh during their tenures. Republican Theodore Roosevelt came to the capital in 1905 and spoke at the State Fair. Democrat Harry S. Truman arrived in 1948 and also delivered a speech at the fair. Gerald R. Ford, a Republican, likewise addressed a crowd at the fair when he visited Raleigh in 1976. Republican Ronald Reagan holds the distinction of having visited Raleigh the most times while in office: in 1982, 1985, 1986, and 1988. George H.W. Bush campaigned for Republican candidates and platforms in Raleigh in 1990 and 1992, and Bill Clinton did the same for Democrats in 1996 and 1997. Republican George W. Bush came to the city in 2004, followed by Democrat Barack Obama in 2009.

Despite the strictures of segregation and disenfranchisement, circumstances gradually improved for Raleigh's African Americans after World War II. In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education* that school segregation was illegal, and the federal government called for the states to develop plans for school integration. North Carolina attempted to circumvent *Brown* and avoid mixing of the races in public schools by enacting the so-called Pearsall Plan. According to the plan, local school boards would be responsible for pupil assignments, and they could close schools if parents objected to integration. The scheme also provided for grants of state money to individuals to enroll their children in private schools to avoid having them attend desegregated schools. In 1966, a federal court declared the Pearsall Plan, which had become a state constitutional amendment, to be unconstitutional. In the meantime, the Raleigh School Board had refused to integrate its schools. A black student did not enter the city's public schools until 1960, when William Campbell enrolled at Murphey School. Still, white resistance persisted, and segregation continued to prevail. To further combat integration, the Ku Klux Klan became active again. To resist desegregation

through economic reprisals, middle-class white businessmen formed the White Citizens Council, known as the uptown KKK.

But events were unfolding that would overwhelm the racial practices of the past as African American organizations worked to overturn segregation and discrimination. The largest of these groups, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), had been active since the early twentieth century. In the 1950s, the civil rights movement arose under the charismatic leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Dr. King spoke out nationwide for social and political equality for blacks. In Raleigh in 1958, he addressed a capacity audience of whites and blacks at a public meeting of the Institute of Religion in the auditorium of Broughton High School.

Turning his words and ideas into action, Dr. King led the SCLC in major nonviolent demonstrations throughout the South, including the protest movement in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963 and the march on Selma in 1965. During those demonstrations, many African American participants were beaten and jailed by police or attacked by white mobs. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), begun in Chicago in 1942, and the national Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), founded on the campus of Shaw University in Raleigh in 1960, participated in "freedom rides" in the South to protest segregation and help register African American voters.

The protest against segregation in public places came to the forefront in North Carolina on February 1, 1960, when four African American students from the Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina (now North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University) sat at an F.W. Woolworth lunch counter in Greensboro and asked for service. Such "sit-ins" quickly spread throughout the state and led to the picketing of stores, restaurants, and theaters. In Raleigh, African Americans staged sit-ins at lunch counters on Fayetteville Street and held protest marches and demonstrations. On February 12, Raleigh police officers arrested forty-one black students for participating in demonstrations. They were some of the first Americans to be arrested and charged during the civil rights movement, and their efforts brought results as the cause gained momentum.

Because of the swelling cry for racial equality, Congress in 1964 passed the Civil Rights Act. That law prohibited segregation in all public accommodations and guaranteed federal enforcement of its provisions. Therefore, Raleigh businesses, hotels, restaurants, and other public facilities could no longer legally deny access to African Americans. Title VI of the act



African Americans held sit-ins and demonstrations on Fayetteville Street in 1960 to protest state segregation laws. Courtesy of North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh, and Raleigh News and Observer.



stated that no one could be—on the basis of race, color, creed, or national origin—excluded from any activity that received federal funds. Public school systems consequently could lose their federal funding if they failed to admit African Americans. The act established the federal Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) to ensure compliance with Title VI. At that point, unable to operate adequately without federal funds, the Raleigh public school system was compelled to integrate.

Some white North Carolinians made a final attempt to avoid school integration in 1965 when the state legislature enacted a freedom-of-choice plan that allowed parents to choose a specific school for their children. But a federal court ruled that freedom of choice to avoid integration was unconstitutional. Desegregation of North Carolina's public schools was finally completed in the 1970s. In the first year of that decade, in the case *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, a federal court ordered the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education to begin crosstown busing. The court mandated the establishment of "attendance zones" and the "pairing of schools" to accomplish desegregation. In Raleigh, school buses rolled from one neighborhood to another to achieve racial balance in the public schools. In 1976, the Raleigh school system merged with the county system to form the Wake County Public School System.

The city's African American population began to vote again with the passage of the federal Voting Rights Act of 1965. That law empowered the federal government to bring legal action against local election boards if the boards attempted by arbitrary regulations, such as bogus literacy tests, to disqualify blacks from registering to vote. It provided for federal examiners to register African American voters in jurisdictions where they had been denied registration by local authorities. The U.S. Supreme Court declared the Grandfather Clause to be unconstitutional, and the Twenty-fourth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution outlawed poll taxes. When Clarence Lightner won election to the city council in 1967, he was the first African American to serve on Raleigh's governing board for many years. He became the city's first African American mayor and held that office from 1973 to 1975. To date, Raleigh has had only one female mayor, Isabella W. Cannon, who served from 1977 to 1979. In recent years, African Americans and women have held seats on the city council.

Today, Raleigh's municipal services are extensive. The city's budget for 2007–08 was \$644,755,290, with a per capita expenditure of \$1,723. About 3,000 employees work for the city government. Seven police stations serve the city with 2.07 sworn officers per 1,000 inhabitants. Twenty-eight fire stations

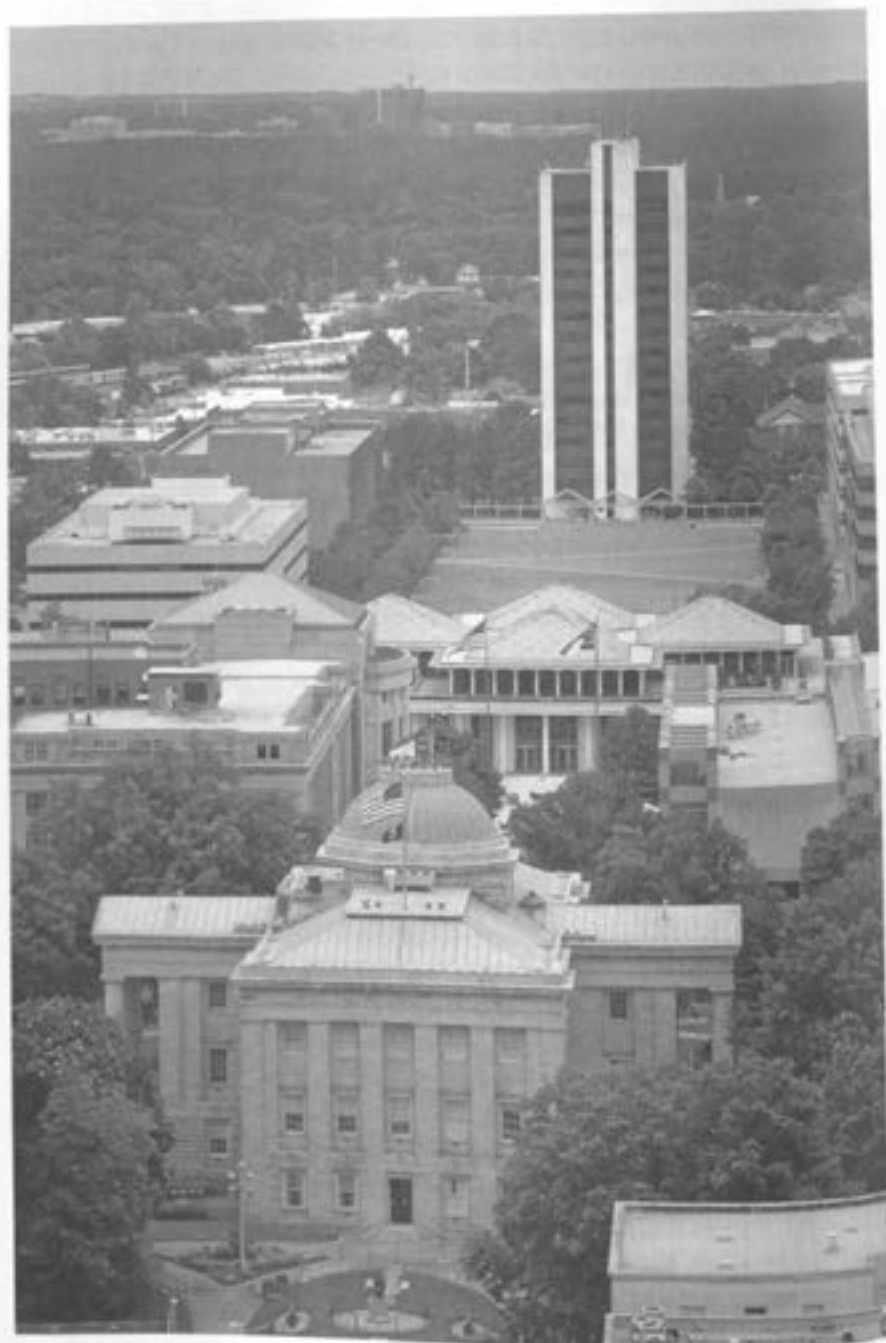


provide fire protection and 1.4 firefighters per 1,000 population. Raleighites can enjoy the pleasures of 120 city parks (with 22 staffed centers), 2 art centers, 112 tennis courts, 8 swimming pools, and 58½ miles of greenways. The parks and greenways cover 8,855 acres. The municipal water and sewer system serves 134,139 customers. Progress Energy (formerly Carolina Power and Light Company) furnishes the city's electric power, and PSNC Energy supplies natural gas.

Raleigh's economy presently rests on a foundation of government, manufacturing, shipping, and service. The largest employers are state government, the Research Triangle Park, the Wake County Public School System, North Carolina State University, WakeMed Health and Hospitals, and various service enterprises that include retail and wholesale businesses. With the boom in commercial, institutional, and residential construction in the past two decades, the building industry has also been a large



The city has seen historic preservation and restoration in the past several decades, as evidenced in these photographs of the Briggs Hardware building in the 1950s (opposite) and 2009. Opposite image courtesy of North Carolina Office of Archives and History, Raleigh; above photograph by Paulette Mitchell.



Aerial view from Fayetteville Street looking north past the Capitol to state government's tall Archdale Building. *Photograph by Paulette Mitchell.*

Road congestion will continue to worsen as the area's bedroom communities and the technology industries in RTP and the rest of the Triangle expand and the number of commuters continues to increase. It will not be possible to build highways fast enough to prevent traffic slowdowns. So far, no serious effort has been made to establish a mass transit system that might help alleviate the problem.

Raleigh also remains under the threat of water shortages. Falls Lake is the city's major source of water. According to a state report, in 2002 Raleigh used an average of fifty-one million gallons of water per day from Falls Lake, which has the capacity to provide sixty-seven million per day. A subsequent drought led to conservation measures that cut the average usage to about thirty-eight million gallons per day. But as the population and demand grow and droughts occur, Raleigh could face serious water shortages. Indeed, maintaining all municipal services—police, fire, sanitation, water, sewer, street maintenance, etc.—will challenge city leaders in the future, and increases in taxes and fees will be necessary and inevitable.

Raleigh must, of course, endure many of the difficulties that affect all of North Carolina. Poverty, illiteracy, and unemployment are not as high in the Triangle as in some other areas of the state. But despite access to some of the best medical care in the world, Raleighites have the same health problems—many preventable through healthy lifestyles—that afflict the entire state and nation. They suffer from obesity, diabetes, heart disease, and smoking-related illnesses such as hypertension and cancer. The poor air quality contributes to respiratory problems. As the population grows, so too will the number of persons without health insurance, especially among laborers and others in low-paying jobs that provide no health coverage. About 13 percent of the city's population is without health insurance now, as compared to about 17 percent for the state as a whole. Urban sprawl, congested highways and beltways, and long commutes are taking a toll on family life and personal fulfillment. The Raleigh police stretch their resources to deal with traffic violations, crime, and other aspects of law enforcement and public safety. Although the overall crime rate declined in the state by more than 2 percent in 2008, it was up by 4 percent in Raleigh. In that year, the city had thirty-four homicides and 1,025 reported robberies, the most ever for both crimes. In some neighborhoods, city officials have shown a high tolerance for slums and substandard housing, much of it rental property. Involuntary annexation has frequently resulted in heated objection by property owners who do not want to be drawn inside the city limits.



Fayetteville Street looking south to Memorial Auditorium. Photograph by Paulette Mitchell.

In the coming decades, Raleigh will face these and other challenges. But since it was first established in 1792, the capital of the Old North State has confronted and overcome many obstacles as it evolved from a small crossroads village to a major metropolitan center. The city's history bears witness that positive change is achievable if the citizens of Raleigh and their leaders will commit themselves to establishing and maintaining the best life possible for all the inhabitants.

APPENDIX A

MAYORS OF RALEIGH

(CALLED INTENDANTS OF POLICE UNTIL 1857)

John Haywood (probably)	1795-1803
William White	1803-1805
Joseph Ross	1805-1806
Calvin Jones	1807-1809
John Marshall	1809-1811
John S. Raboteau	1812-1813
Sterling Yancey	1813-1814
Alexander Lucas	1814-1816
Thomas Henderson	1816-1817
Mark Cooke	1817-1819
Joseph Gales	1819-1826
John Bell	1826-1827
Joseph Gales	1827-1833
Thomas Cobbs	1833-1834
Weston Raleigh Gales	1835-1837
Thomas Cobbs	1837-1838
Thomas Cobbs	1838-1839
William C.G. Carrington	1839-1840
Thomas Cobbs	1840-1841
Joseph Gales	1841-1842
William F. Clark	1842-1843
Thomas Loring	1843-1847
Weston Raleigh Gales	1843-1847
William Dallas Haywood	1847-1858

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William H. Harrison.....	1858-1861
Charles B. Root.....	1861-1862
William H. Harrison.....	1862-1867
William Dallas Haywood.....	1867-1869
William H. Harrison.....	1869-1872
Wesley Whitaker Jr.....	1872-1874
Joseph William Holden.....	1874-1875
Joseph Separk.....	1875 (May-August)
Basil C. Manly.....	1875-1882
W.H. Dodd.....	1882-1887
Alfred A. Thompson.....	1887-1891
Thomas Badger.....	1891-1895
William M. Russ.....	1895-1898
A.M. Powell.....	1898-1905
James I. Johnson.....	1905-1909
J.S. Wynne.....	1909-1911
James I. Johnson.....	1911-1919
T.B. Eldridge.....	1919-1923
E.E. Culbreth.....	1923-1931
George A. Isley.....	1931-1939
Graham B. Andrews.....	1939-1947
P.D. Snipes.....	1947-1951
J.E. Briggs.....	1951-1953
Fred B. Wheeler.....	1953-1957
William G. Enloe.....	1957-1963
James W. Reid.....	1963-1965
Travis H. Tomlinson.....	1965-1969
Seby B. Jones.....	1969-1971
Thomas W. Bradshaw.....	1971-1973
Clarence Lightner.....	1973-1975
Jyles J. Coggins.....	1975-1977
Isabella Cannon.....	1977-1979
G. Smedes York.....	1979-1983
Avery C. Upchurch.....	1983-1993
Tom Fetzer.....	1993-1999
Paul Coble.....	1999-2001
Charles Mecker.....	2001-present

APPENDIX B

POPULATION OF RALEIGH

1800.....	669
1810.....	976
1820.....	2,674
1830.....	1,700
1840.....	2,244
1850.....	4,518
1860.....	4,780
1870.....	7,790
1880.....	9,265
1890.....	12,678
1900.....	13,643
1910.....	19,218
1920.....	24,418
1930.....	37,379
1940.....	46,879
1950.....	65,679
1960.....	93,931
1970.....	122,830
1980.....	150,255
1990.....	212,092
2000.....	276,093
2007.....	367,995
2009.....	389,000 (estimate)

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