

Andy B. Cavanaugh. FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA: 1865-1868. (Under the direction of Professor Emeritus Charles L. Price) Department of History, East Carolina University, January, 1987.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the municipality of Fayetteville during the final days of the Civil War and the immediate postwar years, 1865-1868. The citizens of the town continued to carry on their lives even while the war raged in their streets. Later they faced the realization of losing the war and various reconstruction policies that were implemented. Little has been written about North Carolina or its municipalities during this time period. Fayetteville has often been overlooked by historians, but because of its location up river from the port of Wilmington, and having an arsenal located within the town, Fayetteville played a key role in the Civil War. During and after the war the town was a trading hub for goods moving east and west in North Carolina. Because of these factors a scholarly study of Fayetteville during this time period is sorely needed. This thesis is designed to fill this particular void of scholarly writing.

The days following the war were very chaotic and traumatic for the townspeople of Fayetteville. General Sherman's army along with the retreating Confederate army had destroyed much in and around the town, leaving many people destitute. After the hostilities ceased, Fayetteville was a host to northerners who came south. These northerners basically belonged to two organizations, the American Missionary Association, and the Freedmen's Bureau. The American Missionary Association was a philanthropic organization whose objective was to

aid the newly freed slaves. Because of this organization, schools were established for the education of the freedmen. The Freedmen's Bureau was an organization established by the United States government to attend to lands and property confiscated by the army and to also make sure that the newly freed slaves were treated fairly. In Fayetteville there was a constant change of bureau agents. Many of these agents were palatable to the citizens of Fayetteville, but a few agents were not.

Immediately after the Civil War there was much violence in Fayetteville. Violence ranged from the harassment of blacks to murder. Violence appears to have been common in settling disputes. Crime such as robberies were also commonplace. However, there were citizens who hoped for a peaceful future. Some of the citizens commemorated the dead Confederate soldiers buried in Fayetteville with a monument. This project unified many of the citizens thus strengthening a hope and will for a better future.

Business and industry were in utter disarray when the war came to an end. Sherman's army had destroyed cotton mills, an arsenal, and newspaper offices. However, all businesses did not completely cease operation. During the months following the war business and industry cleaned up and secured what they had both in physical terms and economic terms. Municipal government functioned well throughout the final days of the war and the months following the war. Throughout all the different reconstruction policies the town government, no matter who held the offices, did not waiver from carrying out its administrative duties.

This thesis fills a gap in historical research and writing dealing with the traumatic transition period of Fayetteville's history. It

brings to the foreground important facts that contribute to Fayetteville's history as well as the history of North Carolina. A detailed study such as this gives a clearer understanding of this important transitional period in the history of Fayetteville.

FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA:

1865-1868

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of History

East Carolina University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts in History

by

Andy Cavanaugh

January 1987

FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA:

1865-1868

by

Andy Cavanaugh

APPROVED BY:

SUPERVISOR OF THESIS

Charles L Price

Charles L. Price

CHAIRMAN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Hugh W. Mason

DEAN OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

Joseph H. Boyette

Mary J. Bratten
W. E. Staley
W. Keata Sparrow

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people have been instrumental in helping me prepare this thesis. Thanks go to Dr. Charles L. Price, Professor Emeritus of East Carolina University. His patience, and guidance made the completion of this thesis possible. I also extend my gratitude to Dr. William N. Still, Dr. Mary Jo Bratton and Dr. Keats Sparrow who read the thesis and offered suggestions and corrections. I am very grateful to my parents, Frankie and R. C. Cavanaugh who along with my wife, Ava Anne Cavanaugh, endured, encouraged, and financed my work on this thesis. Without their support the thesis would not have been completed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. FAYETTEVILLE: THE FINAL DAYS OF THE WAR	1
II. INFLUX OF NORTHERN INFLUENCE	44
III. VIOLENCE AND HOPE	69
IV. INDUSTRY, BUSINESS, AND MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS	89
BIBLIOGRAPHY	113

CHAPTER I

FAYETTEVILLE:

THE FINAL DAYS OF THE CIVIL WAR

Fayetteville, North Carolina is built on natural terraces along the Cape Fear River approximately ninety-five miles up the river from Wilmington, North Carolina.¹ A town with a rich historical heritage, Fayetteville played an important role during the final days of the Civil War, January, 1865 through April, 1865.

The town's citizens were very staunch in their beliefs in the Confederate cause, and the town's newspapers, especially the Fayetteville Observer,² echoed these strong Confederate feelings. Fayetteville had more than just a strong Confederate spirit; it contained important industries which played an important role in support of the Confederacy. It had cotton factories, grain mills, and foundries such as the Anderson and Company Foundry which proclaimed itself to be a builder of fine quality railroad wheels.³ Another important industry was the Fayetteville arsenal and armory. This arsenal had been built in Fayetteville by the United States Government, but a force of local people captured it

1

John A. Oates, The Story of Fayetteville and the Upper Cape Fear (Charlotte: The Dowd Press, Inc., 1950), 332, hereinafter cited as Oates, The Story of Fayetteville.

2

The Fayetteville Observer was published on a weekly and semi-weekly basis. The semi-weekly publication was entitled the Fayetteville Observer Semi-Weekly while the weekly version was entitled the Fayetteville Observer.

3

Fayetteville Observer, Semi-Weekly, January 16, 1865, hereinafter cited as Fayetteville Observer, Semi-Weekly.

at the beginning of the Civil War in 1861.⁴ There were also a number of individuals who were self-employed, such as blacksmiths, gunsmiths, and coopers. A prime example of this type of individual industry was M. A. Baker. Baker was a gunsmith who built double-barrel and single-barrel⁵ shotguns, some rifles, and pistols.

Coupled with this industry were two sources of transportation which provided excellent means to ship goods. They were the Cape Fear River and the plank roads.⁶ As for medical facilities, Fayetteville had two hospitals in 1865 which were headed by B. F. Fessenden, a surgeon who

⁴
Machinery that was captured at Harper's Ferry was taken to the arsenal at Fayetteville in May of 1861 and, thus, greatly expanded the operation in Fayetteville. Bayonets, rifles, pistol carbines, cartridges, whitworth shells, and gun carriages were all produced at the arsenal. Local labor was used and even some ladies were hired as copyists in 1864. The problem with this labor was that the people in the surrounding area were not skilled enough to handle some of the complex tasks required in producing good, dependable firearms and shells. Much of the labor force, therefore, came from places other than the local community. The arsenal was of a fort-like construction and within its walls there were buildings for different tasks. There was an armorer's shop; gun carriage shop; a blacksmith's shop; a laboratory; a forging, filing, and casting shop; barracks; and officers' quarters. The arsenal occupied an area of land in the western section of Fayetteville. This arsenal was noted as being one of the most productive arsenals in the South during the Civil War. For this and other information see: Thomas Belton. "A History of the Fayetteville Arsenal and Armory" (unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, North Carolina State University, Raleigh, 1979), 40-64, hereinafter cited as Belton, "A History of the Fayetteville Arsenal and Armory"; Mrs. John Huske Anderson, "Confederate Arsenal at Fayetteville, N.C.," Confederate Veteran, XXVI (June, 1928), 222-223, 238, hereinafter cited as Anderson, "Confederate Arsenal at Fayetteville, N.C."

⁵
John Bivins, Jr., Longrifles of North Carolina (York, Pennsylvania: George Shumway, 1968), 144, hereinafter cited as Bivins, Longrifles.

⁶
Oates, The Story of Fayetteville, 373.

7
 came to Fayetteville in 1863. In January of 1865, Fayetteville was surely not the most prosperous town in the South, but it still had its spirit and was alive and well.

The weather in early January in the Fayetteville area encompassed rain and still more rain. This caused the Cape Fear River to swell to a height that was very rarely seen in the area. River water backed up in Cross and Blont Creeks to the very center of town. The flood waters passed over several mill dams and onto the mills' machinery causing extensive damage. The machinery at McLauchlin's saw mill and grist mill, and the Fayetteville Mills Cotton Factories, as well as other mills were submerged.⁸ The cotton mills which had been producing material for the Confederate cause, ceased production because of the flooding.⁹ Operations at the mills and factories resumed when the flooding finally receded.

While Fayetteville was experiencing the brunt of the flood, General William T. Sherman of the United States Army planned his course of action concerning North Carolina. In a letter to his wife, on January 15, 1865, he wrote that he would feign an attack on Augusta and Charleston, but then actually attack Columbia and Fayetteville. Sherman urged his wife not to utter a word of his plans because he felt that if the South had such foreknowledge of his plan that it would cost many

7

Walter Clark (ed.), Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-65 (Raleigh and Goldsboro: States of North Carolina, 5 Volumes, 1901), IV, 627, hereinafter cited as Clark, Histories of the North Carolina Regiments.

8

Fayetteville Observer, Semi-Weekly, January 19, 1865.

9

Fayetteville Observer, Semi-Weekly, January 19, 1865.

lives. Sherman, thus, set his sights on moving his army into North
 Carolina and Fayetteville was directly in his path.¹⁰

Fayetteville citizens were certainly unaware of what Sherman was
 planning for them. They were mostly concerned with local matters such
 as the flooding. Many Fayetteville citizens belonged to associations
 that gave aid to those in need during crisis such as the flood. Two
 associations were the Fayetteville Relief Association and the Cumberland
 Hospital Association.¹¹ Citizens of the town and the surrounding area
 contributed heavily to these organizations. In January of 1865 contri-
 butions were made to the Cumberland Hospital Association for the benefit
 of the troops at Fort Fisher who had repulsed the Yankees in December.¹²

Although the citizens of Fayetteville still hoped the South would
 win the war and no harm would come to the town and themselves because of
 the war, an undercurrent of uneasiness drifted throughout the town and
 its government. At a meeting of the town board of commissioners and the
 mayor on January 13, 1865, the police force was increased to ten men.

10

William T. Sherman to Mrs. Sherman, January 15, 1865, M. A. DeWolfe Howe (ed.), Home Letters of General Sherman (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), 327. It should also be noted that he mentioned New Bern as another place his army would go. His army did not march through New Bern. The Union had already gained control of it. New Bern did serve as a resupply base, however; the supplies were moved to Kinston and then to Goldsboro.

11

Fayetteville Observer, Semi-Weekly, January 9, 1865.

12

Fayetteville Observer, Semi-Weekly, January 9, 1865. Some of the contributions were: from Mrs. Duncan Murchison - 116 pairs of socks; Mrs. J. E. Murchison - one piece of sheeting, 50 pairs of socks, 2 pairs of gloves; Mrs. John Elliott - one suit of clothes, 2 pairs of socks, 1 piece of homespun, and \$50.00. Mrs. Robinson and Miss McDiarnid - \$30.00; Mrs. Childs and Mrs. Henderson - \$25.00. The Association also acknowledged \$500.00 from Mrs. E. J. Hale, \$50.00 from Mrs. Foulker, and 1 ham and piece of sheeting from Mr. James Kyle.

The salary of the town constable was increased to \$2,000.00 and that of
 the town guard was increased to \$5.00 per night.

Contributing to the people's uneasiness was the problem of inflation. Prices were unbelievable even compared to what we call the high prices of today. On January 16, 1865, the price of eggs was \$4.00 per dozen, apples were \$50.00 to \$80.00 per bushel, salt was \$75.00 to
 \$100.00 per bushel. In the latter days of the war there was also increasing concern on the part of some people in Fayetteville that the Confederate currency would not continue to be accepted as payment. In a letter to Edward J. Hale, the editor of the Fayetteville Observer, a man named P. W. Stanback informed Mr. Hale of a rumor that Mr. Hale would no longer accept Confederate money as payment. Mr. Stanback felt sure that this false rumor had been started by some Yankee sympathizer who was trying to stir up conflict among those who remained loyal to the Con-
 federate cause.

High prices were also to be found in the rates of goods shipped via

13

Meeting of Board of Commissioners and Mayor, entry for January 13, 1865, Town Hall, Fayetteville, North Carolina; City Council Docket, Vol. A, City of Fayetteville, North Carolina, January 9, 1847 - July 23, 1866, hereinafter cited as Fayetteville, City Council Docket, Vol. A. Note: The records did not show the period of time for which the constable was paid.

14

Fayetteville Observer, Semi-Weekly, January 16, 1865. Other prices on items in Fayetteville were \$4.50 for a pound of nails; soap was \$5.00 per pound; onions were \$34.00 per bushel; corn was \$40.00 per bushel; wheat was going for \$50.00 per bushel; and rye cost \$85.00 per bushel.

15

P. W. Stanback to Edward J. Hale, January 30, 1865, Edward J. Hale Papers, Archives, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Hale Papers.

16
 the river. Shipping rates were \$15.00 for a dozen of apples, \$5.00 per 100 pounds of loose bacon, \$15.00 per barrel of fish or pork, \$40.00 a barrel for peanut oil, and \$8.00 a bag for salt. 17 These exorbitant shipping rates resulted in higher prices for the items carried.

Inflation was not limited to the commodities market and transportation, but also affected the price of the printed word. The price of the Fayetteville Observer Semi-Weekly was \$20.00 for a six months' subscription. The price of the weekly Fayetteville Observer was \$15.00 for a six months' subscription. These subscriptions had to be paid in advance with no provision for subscribing and then paying later. 18 To those who felt that the Fayetteville Observer prices were too high, Edward Hale, the editor, demonstrated in an article how everything else had increased in price, also. He stated the following:

. . . Formerly we bought two bushels of corn for a year's subscription to the Weekly Observer. Now we can not buy one bushel with the increased price. Formerly three years' subscription would pay for a barrel of flour. Now a barrel will cost eighteen years' subscription. Formerly a year's subscription would pay for forty pounds of pork. Now it pays for five pounds. . . . 19

Nonetheless, the war overshadowed the high prices and monetary problems. It had been brought closer to home with the attack on Fort

16

At this time the only railroad was a little spurr line to the coal mines in Chatham county named "Little Egypt"; thus most of the goods were either shipped overland via roads or by ships navigating the river.

17

Fayetteville Observer, Semi-Weekly, January 23, 1865. Other shipping rates were: \$10.00 for a wheelbarrow and \$15.00 per one hundred pounds of soap. The shipping rates probably applied to goods shipped to and from Wilmington; however, the advertisement did not state the point of origin or destination of the goods.

18

Fayetteville Observer, Semi-Weekly, January 26, 1865.

19

Fayetteville Observer, Semi-Weekly, January 26, 1865.

Fisher in December, and on January 13, 1865, the fort was attacked again
 20
 by Union vessels.

A dispatch stating that Fort Fisher was under attack was received in Fayetteville at 3 p.m. on January 15. It was not known when the dispatch had been written, but within an hour of the dispatch's receipt, the Fayetteville home guard was mustered and left to aid in the fort's defense. An article in the Fayetteville Observer stated that it was not known when another paper could be printed because the junior editor had left the day before and another employee, the journeyman, would be leaving on that day. The article stressed that the commanding officer of the arsenal, Colonel Frederick Childs, had left enough men to withstand a Yankee cavalry attack. He added that additional protection could be provided by a company of senior citizens. The town and the
 21
 arsenal, according to the paper, was thus sufficiently guarded.

Fayetteville's contribution was to no avail because Fort Fisher had fallen before its men could arrive to help. After learning of the fall
 22
 of the fort, the men returned to Fayetteville. The fall of Fort Fisher marked another point in the downfall of the Confederacy. The fort had guarded the port city of Wilmington which was one of the last ports open to the Confederacy. The fall ensured a drastic reduction of

20

John G. Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press), 272, hereinafter cited as Barrett, Civil War in North Carolina.

21

Fayetteville Observer, Weekly, January 16, 1865, hereinafter cited as Fayetteville Observer.

22

Fayetteville Observer, January 23, 1865.

trade between the South and foreign countries via blockade runners. Even if things were getting gloomier for the South, the people of Fayetteville could rest assured they had done their part in trying to save the fort; but they did realize they were living in a dangerous time.

To increase the safety of the town, the board of commissioners and Mayor Archibald McLean met on January 30, 1865, and authorized the fire warden, A. H. Delany, to enroll all able-bodied male slaves into two fire companies.²³ A notice was placed in the semi-weekly Fayetteville Observer that urged the people to obey the fire code of the town. Every owner of a wooden house, brick house, or stone dwelling was requested to provide the building with a scuttle door through the roof of the dwelling.²⁴ The penalty for not providing such an escape was \$100.00. These measures were in the same vein as the earlier measures of the town board and mayor in that the laws were becoming stricter and more rigorously enforced. The town's mood was gradually becoming more tense and the town government of Fayetteville reflected this in the way they began to pass stricter laws and have them enforced.

The town's citizens had also heard, through newspaper accounts and probably word of mouth, of the destruction and distress that General Sherman left wherever he went. They also knew that their chances of becoming involved in some sort of military action had increased dramatically with the fall of Fort Fisher. They sensed the time was drawing

23

Fayetteville, City Council Docket, Vol. A, entry for January 30, 1865.

24

Fayetteville Observer, Semi-Weekly, January 30, 1865.

near for the war, however hellish, however destructive, to visit their town, their home. The people of Fayetteville, since the state's secession, had proclaimed the Confederate cause to be one of their deepest held beliefs. Early in the war, in a letter to her brother, a college student in New York, Miss Sarah Tillinghast of Fayetteville, made her feelings concerning Lincoln and the South absolutely clear. She wrote, "Subjugate the South, strike the South from the face of the earth, depopulate our country. You must catch your hare Mr. Lincoln before you decide how you will have him cooked, and in catching his hare he will realize that he has caught a gator."²⁵

In order to rally such spirit, a public meeting was arranged by Mayor McLean. Edward J. Hale was appointed president, John C. Smith and H. L. Myrover as vice presidents, and Duncan Shaw and Joseph A. Worth as secretaries. The meeting was held at the market house in the center of town on February 16 at 11 a.m. It was described by the Fayetteville Observer as being one of the "largest and most respectable meetings that has been held here during the war."²⁶ Men, women, and children from the town of Fayetteville and the surrounding area came to the meeting whose primary purpose was to demonstrate a response to Lincoln's rejection of the South's peace efforts. A committee of five drafted a preamble and resolutions which were read to those assembled. These resolutions and

25

Sarah A. Tillinghast to her brother, May 6, 1861, Tillinghast Family Papers, Correspondence: 1860 - 1865, Perkins Library, Manuscript Department, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, hereinafter cited as Tillinghast Correspondence: 1860 - 1865. The date of this letter is fourteen days before the formal secession of North Carolina on May 20, 1861.

26

Fayetteville Observer, February 20, 1865.

preamble essentially stated that the terms of unconditional surrender were not acceptable and that they would continue to stand behind the Confederate cause.²⁷ Patriotic and rhetorical speeches flowed freely throughout the meeting and the audience thoroughly enjoyed them.

The speeches were on different subjects or themes and covered a wide area of sensitive issues, but they all centered around the war. General A. D. McLean, after being sick for an extended period, took his health in his own hands when he made the trip from Harnett County to speak in Fayetteville. He expressed, in his speech, the desire to die if necessary for the defense and honor of his country. Just the presence of this man was an inspiration to the audience and they wildly applauded his speech.²⁸ The subject of "never bowing to the North" was presented in an eloquent speech by Judge J. G. Shepherd. He urged the audience to stand their ground and not submit to the temptation to surrender. Shepherd emphasized that to surrender would mean that they would be at the mercy, not of their own hands, but the hands of the enemy. He told the audience that there had been days in the early part of the war that had been cloudy, but they had pulled through. Judge Shepherd said,

. . .How often before has the country felt this depression and yet dusting it off has been roused up to the urgent demands of the hour? We remember it all in the dark days, when Roanoke Island, Newbern [sic], Fort Donelson, and areas passed in so short a time to the hands of our enemy. . . .²⁹

27

Fayetteville Observer, February 20, 1865. The committee included: Judge J. G. Shepherd, Major M. McLaughlin, Colonel John McRae, E. J. Lilly, and David Murphy.

28

Fayetteville Observer, February 20, 1865.

29

Fayetteville Observer, February 20, 1865.

He concluded his speech by telling the audience that the cause of the Confederacy was a just and right cause and that with the aid of God, they would be victorious.

Another subject addressed was the attempts to end the war in a peaceful manner. Colonel McKay, in his speech, emphasized the fact that much had been done to secure peace while maintaining respect and honor for the South. He pointed out that President Jefferson Davis had sent commissioners to Washington, D.C., to try to end the conflict, but that the commissioners did not succeed. McKay further added that Vice President Stephens had tried to negotiate with authorities of the United States, but was treated with contempt and not even given a hearing. According to McKay, the United States would not accept anything less than unconditional submission to their authority and that meant subjugation of the Southern people and the confiscation of their property. McKay bel-
lowed, "Is there any man within the sound of my voice so cowardly as to submit to this?"³⁰ He also urged the audience to face up to its Union foe, General Sherman, and drive him back in defeat. This highly dogmatic and rhetorical speech brought much applause from the crowd.

Other issues also deemed worthy of rhetorical hot air were the fate of a reconstructed union between the North and the South and the people's duty to resist the despotism and tyranny of Abraham Lincoln. Major Robert Strange told the audience that in his view a reconstructed union between the North and the South would surely mean subjugation for the South. In his mind there was no room for anything short of a total

30

Fayetteville Observer, February 20, 1865.

victory over the North. On the subject of General Sherman, he said, "I have reason to believe that plans have been and are now being made to check the progress of General Sherman and I hope and believe that we will yet bring disaster to his army."³¹ Captain Benjamin Robinson addressed the issue of Lincoln and despotism. It was his belief that it was the people's duty to resist the tyranny and despotism that he thought resided in Lincoln. In Robinson's eyes, Lincoln was the source of all evil and the devil himself.

This public meeting was nothing short of a flamboyant "fire and brimstone" revival meeting of Confederate souls. Looking from another perspective, the meeting was little more than morphine to ease the pain and fears of those clinging to a rapidly dying cause. The pain killer wore off quickly, though, and the reality of impending disaster and pain lurked all around. The town government, as we have seen, had long before sensed impending trouble and continued its preparation for it.

On February 22, 1865, there was another meeting of the Fayetteville mayor and the commissioners. At this meeting an act of the General Assembly of North Carolina that concerned the town of Fayetteville was read. As ratified by the General Assembly, the act essentially stated that for the preservation of order, the protection of property, the arrest of the enemy, the arrest of spies, and for other purposes, the whole male population of the town was to be organized into a special armed police force. The mayor of Fayetteville was authorized to enroll all able-bodied male citizens of Fayetteville who were not already

31

Fayetteville Observer, February 20, 1865.

subject to military duty. The mayor was also authorized to receive volunteers who resided outside the city limits into an organization. These men would be subject to the same rules as those recruits from
32
within the town.

It was also stipulated that the mayor was to use force and penalties if necessary to enroll the male citizens of Fayetteville who were not presently in military service. The mayor was also authorized to appoint a qualified person to take the responsibility of the job of chief of police. Authority was to be given to the chief of police to order out, at random occasions, the special force in any numbers that he felt was necessary and to authorize it to patrol and protect the property and citizens not only of Fayetteville, but the surrounding area of Fayetteville.

In implementing the act that the Assembly had passed, the mayor and the commissioners adopted a town ordinance that consisted of four sections. In the first section all able-bodied men not already in the military were ordered to join the force. In the second section, the mayor was empowered to appoint a chief of police and three assistants to conduct and control the organization of the special police force. Also, the chief of police was empowered to issue warrants in the name of the mayor and the commissioners of Fayetteville to those who were delinquent

32

Fayetteville, City Council Docket, Vol. A, entry for February 22, 1865. It should be noted that on February 21, 1865, a meeting between the mayor and the commissioners took place. At this meeting a committee was appointed to draw up the necessary ordinances to implement the law. However, it was not until February 22, 1865, that these ordinances were presented to the board and formerly ratified thus implementing the law passed by the General Assembly.

enlisting. Section three of the ordinance stated that if a person refused to attend any drill or did not obey any duty required by the officer in command, after he had enrolled in the force, he was liable to arrest and/or a fine of \$20.00 which was payable to the commanding officer. The fourth section of the ordinance stipulated that any nonresident could enroll in the special force and receive treatment on par with recruits from the town. This included equal duties as well as equal discipline. The town ordinance was passed by the mayor and the commissioners on February 22, 1865, and thus implemented the powers granted to the town government by the Assembly.

This town ordinance was an attempt to improve the policing of Fayetteville. There had been reports of crimes committed by deserters in neighboring areas, but at this time there were few reports of deserters within the Fayetteville area. There had been an increase in crimes such as arson, and the people of Fayetteville were encouraged to be on the lookout for the criminal element within the town; but by adding the new special police force, the town government was making an attempt to effectively maintain law and order in a town whose hopes of a Confederate victory remained high, even when reality pointed toward a disastrous fate for the Confederacy.

Ironically, the same day the mayor and commissioners passed the new policy ordinance, Wilmington fell to Union troops. The occupation of Wilmington by the Yankees made things more critical for the people of

33

Fayetteville, City Council Docket, Vol. A, entry for February 22, 1865.

34

Fayetteville Observer, February 27, 1865.

Fayetteville. On February 27, the two hospitals at Fayetteville, the General Hospital and the Sub-Hospital, had more than 200 sick and wounded soldiers of whom 135 had come from Wilmington. This influx of wounded put a large strain on the hospital operation which was based largely on volunteers and donations. Dr. B. F. Fessenden, the surgeon in charge of the hospitals, appealed through the Fayetteville Observer for provisions which were needed by the patients. He stated that if some people could not donate the needed items, then the hospitals would purchase them; thus, the influx of wounded not only put a burden on the hospitals, but on all people in the Fayetteville area.

The fall of Wilmington was proof that the Yankees were making more inroads into North Carolina and the Confederacy. The walls were closing in on Fayetteville and the South. As for Fayetteville, the barrels of the Union rifles now directly faced them from three different directions. To the southeast was Wilmington, a port on the mouth of the Cape Fear River; from this position the enemy could launch an attack on Fayetteville by sending troops and ships up the river. To the east was the coastal region which was taken by the Union forces earlier in the war and still remained in their control. Directly south lay South Carolina from which General Sherman was advancing northward. For the South, as a whole, the situation was just as critical if not more so. With Wilmington now in enemy hands, Robert E. Lee's army in Virginia was cut off from a vital supply line while General Sherman was within the interior of the South tearing at its heartland by allowing his troops to

forage for food, loot, and destroy as they marched along. The foraging aspect was part of Sherman's overall strategy. He wanted to march his army through the homeland of the Confederate soldiers so they would leave the army and return to their homes to protect them. The southern newspapers unwittingly advanced his goals. In publicizing Sherman's march in an effort to warn the population, they helped to demoralize the army and thus caused great harm to their own cause.

36

Foraging was not limited to the Union army because provisions were sorely lacking in the Confederate army during the final days of the war; thus, Confederate soldiers also foraged throughout the countryside. However, Fayetteville citizens did attempt to provide for the Confederate army. Small ads were placed in the Fayetteville Observer that encouraged the people to reach deep down and give some provisions to the Confederate army.

37

The idea was that if the people of the Confederacy

 36

Another similar problem that caused desertions in the Confederate army was the letters received by the soldiers from their homes. They would read letters that painted a bleak picture of their homes and families and they would return home to try to help improve the bad situation. This war came second to their homes and families. See James G. Randall and David Herbert Donald, The Civil War and Reconstruction, (Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, Second Edition, 1961), 516-517, hereinafter cited as Randall and Donald, The Civil War and Reconstruction.

37

Fayetteville Observer, Semi-Weekly, March 6, 1865; B. G. Worth to Jonathan Worth, February 1, 1865, Jonathan Worth Papers, Correspondence 1831-1865, Archives, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Worth Papers. The old saying that the Confederate army survived on "goober peas" may have some basis in fact. In a letter written by B. G. Worth of Fayetteville to Jonathan Worth in February of 1865, B. G. Worth stated that he had 4,000 bushels of peanuts and that he was going to send Jonathan some to roast. No evidence confirms the fact that Confederate troops were given some of Mr. Worth's peanuts, but there appears to be a strong probability that if Mr. Worth had 4,000 bushels of peanuts that he would have given some to the Confederate soldiers.

did not feed the army, they would be feeding the enemy in very short

38

order. The army was their only hope of saving the Confederacy and themselves from the Union troops. Other areas of the state may not have donated many provisions to the Confederate army, but throughout the war the people of Fayetteville did support the Confederate cause through

39

donations. During the final days of the Confederacy, the war was in the front yards of the citizens of Fayetteville. This was a very awakening and sobering fact for some.

In the latter part of February and the early part of March, Governor Zebulon Vance received letters concerning the safety, protection, and well-being of Fayetteville. One such letter was written by E. D. Hall of Fayetteville. Hall felt that he was a close enough friend to Vance that Vance would listen to his advice and take it into consideration. He stated in the letter that North Carolina was going to be the center of great events for the next thirty days and Vance should take a strong role in these events. Hall then outlined what he thought was going to happen from a military standpoint. He felt that Fayetteville was the most important city in North Carolina that was not under Union control, with Raleigh as a clear second. Hall emphasized that no matter where Sherman would concentrate his main thrust in North Carolina, part of his army would have to strike Fayetteville. To meet such an on-

40

38

Weekly Conservative (Raleigh), March 8, 1965, hereinafter cited as Weekly Conservative.

39

Daily Confederate (Raleigh), March 23, 1865, hereinafter cited as Daily Confederate.

40

E. D. Hall to Governor Zebulon B. Vance, March 3, 1865, Zebulon Vance Papers, P. C. 15.7, Vol. VII, Archives, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as the Z. B. Vance Papers, P. C. 15.7 Vol. VII.

slaught, Hall urged the governor to organize a militia of able-bodied men and send them to Fayetteville to protect the town. He surely felt that Fayetteville was the town in North Carolina that was the most
 41
 endangered.

Another interesting letter to Governor Vance from Fayetteville was written on March 4, 1865, by two ladies, Laura R. McDaniel and M. Joyner Kerr. This letter expressed deep concern for the town; but the ladies' perspectives were slightly different from Mr. Hall's. Their lack of a true conception of the size of General Sherman's army is very evident because they recommended that a home guard should be sent to Fayetteville for its protection. They even went so far as to specify a particular home guard, the Caswell Home Guard commanded by Captain Willie H. Patrillo.
 42
 Events were occurring faster and Sherman's army was moving closer. The citizens of Fayetteville were becoming more concerned about what was going to happen to their property, the town, and their whole world, the world they had occupied until that time. They appeared to sense a coming of change, a change that would never be reversed. The people of Fayetteville had never experienced any large military action before, but now it was waiting just outside their town.

At a meeting of the mayor and commissioners on March 1, 1865, a town ordinance was put into effect that closed all bar rooms and prohibited the sale and distribution of spirits and liquors within Fayette-

41

It should be noted that Mr. Hall was fairly correct in his predictions.

42

Laura R. McDaniel and M. Joyner Kerr to Zebulon Vance, March 4, 1865, Z. B. Vance Paper, P. C. 15.7, Vol. VII.

ville. It was further ordered that anyone found guilty of a violation of the ordinance was subject to a \$1,000.00 fine for each and every offense. According to the ordinance, the police or any other officer who found liquor within the town could confiscate and destroy it. In order to allow the merchants and shopkeepers time enough to remove their liquor supplies, twenty-four hours were allotted after the posting of the notice before the enforcement of the law began. This provision was not construed to allow any bar room open or stay open after the ordinance notice was issued. Bars could not reopen until they were allowed to do so by order of the town board of Fayetteville.⁴³ The town officials were surely not going to allow liquor within stores, or bars to remain open when they were expecting Confederate and quite possibly Union troops. They knew soldiers would present problems for the citizens of the town, but drunken soldiers would be ten times as bad. The town government did not want alcohol added to an already combustible situation. Preparation for an attack by the Union forces was, at this time, very important and this not only applied to the town government, but to the heart of military operations in Fayetteville which was the arsenal.

The commanding officer, Colonel Frederick L. Childs, was in constant communication with other officers of the Confederate army. On February 22, Colonel Childs sent a dispatch to General Braxton Bragg asking if the enemy would be opposed should he march on Fayetteville. Bragg replied, "The enemy's superior force will, I fear enable him to

43

Fayetteville, City Council Docket, Vol. A., entry for March 1, 1865.

send a detachment against you which can only be met by your resistance." ⁴⁴ On February 23, Colonel Childs sent a dispatch to the chief of the ordinance of the Confederacy which stated:

Do the authorities appreciate the importance of Fayetteville? Eight cotton factories here, machinery of navy ordnance works, coal and iron of Deep River country, besides what we have here.⁴⁵

As for preparing militarily, Childs did not sit idly by and do nothing, but without a very large force, his action was limited to setting up mounted pickets and obstructing the Cape Fear River.⁴⁶ It appears that, at this time, the general consensus at the arsenal was that the enemy was going to attack via the Cape Fear River from the Wilmington area, but the eventual occupation forces would come directly from the south via Cheraw, South Carolina.⁴⁷

44

General Braxton Bragg to Lieutenant Colonel Childs, February 22, 1865, R. N. Scott and others (eds.), The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington: Government Printing Office, 70 Volumes, 1880-1901), Series I Vol. XLVII, Pt. II, 1250, hereinafter cited as Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. General Braxton Bragg's position at this point in time was along the Northeast Cape Fear River. In a dispatch made the same day to General Baker in Goldsboro he stated that he and his troops had evacuated Wilmington that morning. General Braxton Bragg to General Baker, February 22, 1865, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. XLVII, pt. II, 1249.

45

Lieutenant Colonel Childs to General Gorgas, February 23, 1865, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. XLVII, pt. II, 1264.

46

Fayetteville Observer, Semi-Weekly, February 27, 1865; Lieutenant Colonel F. L. Childs to Colonel Archer Anderson, February 27, 1865, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. XLVII, pt. II, 1289. It should be noted that Lieutenant Samuel A. Ashe was sent to Elizabethtown to oversee the obstruction of the river.

47

At this time it appears the people of Fayetteville expected an attack from Wilmington because Wilmington had just fallen to Union forces.

After a brief skirmish at Phillips Cross Roads in South Carolina,
 Sherman moved his army of 60,000 troops towards Fayetteville.⁴⁸ The
 right wing crossed the Peedee River at Cheraw, South Carolina, the left
 wing and the calvary crossing at Sneedsborough. The calvary commanded
 by General James Kilpatrick was ordered to keep well to the left
 flank.⁴⁹ Sherman's army marched in a wing or "y" formation.⁵⁰ H. W.
 Slocum was the commander of the left wing while Oliver O. Howard was the
 commander of the right wing. Both right and left wings along with the
 calvary were under the overall command of General Sherman.⁵¹

Meanwhile, in Fayetteville, the citizens had no hard facts indi-
 cating that Sherman would attack Fayetteville; but with such a mass of
 troops moving from the south toward the north, out of South Carolina,
 they had to feel they would be Sherman's next victims. By March 6,
 1865, the hospitals in Fayetteville had been ordered to prepare for 400
 new patients. Articles in the Fayetteville Observer continued the plea
 for donations of eggs, flour, fruits, vegetables, butter, and anything
 else that would be useful to the sick and that could be spared. Contri-
 butions, according to the newspaper ads, were to be left with Mrs. B. F.
 Fessenden at the General Hospital or with Mrs. Jesse K. Kyle. The

48

John G. Barrett, The Civil War in North Carolina, 297.

49

Official Report of General William T. Sherman on the Campaign of
 the Carolinas, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,
 Series I, Vol. XLVII, pt. I, 18-27.

50

John G. Barrett, Sherman's March Through the Carolinas, 41.

51

Official Report of General William T. Sherman on the Campaign of
 the Carolinas, April 4, 1865, Official Records of the Union and
 Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. XLVII, pt. I, 18-27.

hospitals were under a terrible strain with patients from Wilmington; but with an expected influx of 400 more patients, the influx was nearly unbearable for such a volunteer unit.

52

As the hospitals prepared for a greater influx of wounded soldiers, Sherman's army marched steadily and persistently towards Fayetteville. The Union Army's Corp of Engineers, under the command of Colonel O. M. Poe, had to corduroy much of the roads because the rainy weather had made them very muddy and nearly impassable. Also, the army passed through swamps in which there was no choice except to corduroy the route by which the army marched. Corduroying was essentially the process of placing logs across the roadway so the troops could pass without getting bogged down.

53

The Union army was not the only army on the move. General William Hardee and his Confederate army arrived in Fayetteville on March 8, 1865. Before this army arrived in Fayetteville, an ad was placed in the Fayetteville Observer Semi-Weekly that stated:

Bring In The Tithes: The army of Hardee is in want of food. It is the army to which we have to look for protection and safety. Captain McGowan, post quarter master here, calls upon the farmers to

52

Fayetteville Observer, Semi-Weekly, March 6, 1865. In the newspapers there was much praise given to the hospitals in Fayetteville and the ladies that donated their time to them. Writing of the ladies, one person stated in a newspaper article that they were an indispensable necessity in aiding the sick and the wounded. The article was signed "Gratitude." (Fayetteville Observer, March 6, 1865). The ladies deserved much credit because they were the ones that really kept the hospitals going. They dispensed the limited medicines and food and many of the younger ladies helped the older ones in caring for the sick and wounded by reading to them or singing to them. The ladies who worked in the hospitals had real stamina to work and to endure. (Kyle, "Incidents of Hospital Life," 42).

53

John G. Barrett, Sherman's March Through the Carolinas, 35-36.

bring in their tithes at once. Who will not respond to this call?⁵⁴

Mrs. Josephine Bryan Worth described General Hardee's entry in Fayetteville. She wrote that the "galvanized" Yankees who carried axes, picks, and spades to build and repair roads for the Confederate army came into town first. These Yankee prisoners preferred serving as sappers and miners for the Confederates to staying in prison. After these men came the Confederate artillery and then the infantry. Mrs. Worth related in her account that she and her family kept their house open and a table spread for the soldiers who filled the house all day long, eating and getting small sewing jobs done. A party of calvarymen brought in their blankets to be altered in the manner of a Mexican serape. A hole was cut in the center of the blankets just large enough for the head of the calvarymen to slip their heads through. The edges were then bound with braid. Other ladies of the town helped the soldiers as they passed through Fayetteville. Mrs. Anne K. Kyle stated that her aunt and uncle and two servants were kept busy all day. She and three of her neighbors prepared bread and meat to feed the soldiers. She wrote that, "It was enough to make anybody's heart ache to see the ragged men." When night came, Mrs. Kyle said she "closed the door with a heavy heart."

54

Fayetteville Observer, Semi-Weekly, March 6, 1865.

55

Mrs. Josephine Bryan Worth, "Sherman's Raid," War Days in Fayetteville (Fayetteville: Highland Printers, Inc., reprint edition, 1967), 46-47, hereinafter cited as Worth, "Sherman's Raid."

56

Mrs. Anne K. Kyle, "Incidents of Hospital Life," War Days in Fayetteville (Fayetteville: Highland Printers, Inc., reprint edition, 1962), 41, hereinafter cited as Kyle, "Incidents of Hospital Life."

57

Kyle, "Incidents of Hospital Life," 42.

Throughout the night the soldiers who were rapidly losing a country to fight for passed through the town. The tragedies and horrors of war were evident among those men.

Warfare is the bloodiest, most wasteful activity that the human race has conceived of to settle disputes among its members. Out of these wasteful events may come some light, yes, even some comical situations; but these are not, and cannot be, too comical in the context of the horrors of war. One such comical event took place on March 10, 1865, and has sometimes been called the Fayetteville Road Fight; but is better known as the battle of Monroe's Crossroads. ⁵⁸ Hugh Judson Kilpatrick's Union calvary was camped, on this date, fifteen miles west of Fayetteville. The encampment was suddenly attacked at daybreak by Confederate calvary forces under the command of Wade Hampton. According to the report of General Kilpatrick, Hampton had marched his men all day and on the night of March 9 he rested his men close to Kilpatrick's camp. At daybreak, the Confederate calvary made a surprise charge with three divisions which, within a minute's time, drove back Kilpatrick's troops, took possession of his headquarters, and captured his artillery. Kilpatrick stated that a big portion of his staff, including himself, was nearly captured. He had to flee on foot to a calvary camp a few hundred yards to the rear of where he had been spending the night and there he found his men fighting the Confederates for the camp. The irony was that the Confederates did not follow up on their initial attack because they were too busy gathering up the booty. After the

58

John W. DuBose, "The Fayetteville Road Fight," Confederate Veteran, XX (February, 1912), 84-86.

Rebel forces drove the Union troops back five hundred yards to an impassable swamp, the Union troops rallied themselves and eventually took back the camp. The Union troops advanced on the Confederates who were endeavoring to harness the battery horses and plundering Kilpatrick's headquarters. They retook the artillery and turned it on the Rebels. According to Kilpatrick's official report, four Union officers were killed and seven were wounded, fifteen Union men were killed, and sixty-one were severely wounded, while one hundred and three Confederate men and officers were taken prisoner. Kilpatrick added that the Confederates left eighty men dead including many officers and a large number of wounded men. The Union forces also captured thirty prisoners and one hundred and fifty horses with equipment.

Another account of the action at Monroe's Crossroads was given by a Confederate private in Company D, 5th Tennessee, named W. S. Redderick. He stated that he was one of the first men to reach General Kilpatrick's quarters; but, by the time he got there, Kilpatrick had fled. In his haste Kilpatrick had left some important and interesting items such as his uniform, boots, sword, and a very pretty woman. This was surely embarrassing for General Kilpatrick and none of this was mentioned in his report.

59

Official Report of Brevet Major-General Judson Kilpatrick, U.S. Army, Commanding Third Cavalry Division, of operations January 28-March 24, 1865. Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. XLVII, pt. 1, 862.

60

W. G. Allen, "About the Fayetteville Road Fight," Confederate Veteran, XIX (September, 1911), 433-434.

61

The young woman was probably Mary Boozer formerly of Columbia, South Carolina. She had left Columbia with the Union army mainly because she had taken an interest in Union prisoners and, thus, had become an outcast in Columbia. John G. Barrett, Sherman's March Through the Carolinas, 93, 128.

This battle was comical to an extent, but it was significant to Fayetteville in that it allowed Wade Hampton's calvary to get to Fayetteville.⁶² By engaging Kilpatrick, Hampton had opened the road to Fayetteville which the Union camp had blocked.⁶³ These troops were needed to cover the retreat of Hardee's army through that area. The surprise attack literally caught Kilpatrick with his pants down, and were it not for the greed of the Confederate soldiers, he probably could have been soundly defeated, and possibly captured.

Meanwhile back in Fayetteville, Colonel Childs, now strongly believing that Fayetteville would be attacked, ordered that most of the arsenal machinery be loaded and shipped by rail to Egypt which was a coal mining operation in Chatham County. The railroad, at this time, was only a small open line from Fayetteville to the coal mines, but it was sufficient to transport the arsenal machinery so it could be hidden in the shafts of the coal mines.⁶⁴

62

The day Wade Hampton charged Kilpatrick's camp, a reporter for the New York Herald was at General Carlin's headquarters. While he was there a member of the 9th Michigan Calvary came in with a Confederate prisoner. The Federal soldier, who was Dutch, told General Carlin that he had gotten separated from the rest of the troops and had lost his horse and gun. He then said that he saw a "johnnie" and hid behind a tree to grab him, but the Rebel did not come close enough and so the Union soldier jumped from behind the tree and ordered the Rebel to surrender. According to the Union soldier, they shook hands and made a deal. The deal was that if the two were to hit Union lines, the Southerner would be a prisoner; however, if they were to hit Confederate lines, the Union soldier would become the prisoner. General Carlin did not believe that at first, but the Confederate soldier told him that it was true. He became a prisoner because they struck Union lines first. The New York Herald, March 19, 1865, hereinafter cited as the New York Herald.

63

Joseph E. Johnston, Narrative of Military Operations (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959), 381.

64

Anderson, "Confederate Arsenal at Fayetteville, N.C.," 222-223, 238; Oates The Story of Fayetteville, 438.

Sherman's army was closing in fast, but the newspapers in the Fayetteville area during this time were usually a day or two behind in reporting the news. What one can see is that the majority of the town folk would know the movements of Sherman before the papers printed it. There was a definite lag on printing Sherman's whereabouts in the papers. The editors of The Daily Telegraph of Fayetteville announced that they had encouraging information that led them to believe that Sherman would not march on Fayetteville immediately, if at all. According to the newspaper article, Sherman would form a junction with the commander of the Department of North Carolina, General John M. Schofield, and march northward by a coastal route. The article also stated that Sherman's army was in failing strength and that it would also need to stop and rest. ⁶⁵ The newspaper was badly mistaken because the Union army of approximately 60,000 troops was rapidly moving toward ⁶⁶ the town of Fayetteville which had only 3,000 inhabitants.

The town government of Fayetteville fully recognized the town's dilemma. At a meeting of the mayor and commissioners on March 10, 1865, it was agreed that the mayor and the board meet the enemy and surrender ⁶⁷ the town as soon as the Confederate army had evacuated it. This

65

The Daily Telegraph, (Fayetteville), March 9, 1865, hereinafter cited as The Daily Telegraph. No mention was made in the article as to where General Sherman was to join General Schofield.

66

Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Cumberland County, North Carolina, Population Schedule, 73-157, microfilm of National Archives manuscript copy, State Archives, Division of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as the Eighth Census, 1860.

67

Fayetteville, City Council Docket, Vol. A, entry for March 10, 1865.

action was in the right direction, but it was too late because the Union army came into Fayetteville the next day.

On March 11, General Oliver O. Howard, the commander of the right wing, ordered Captain William Duncan to take mounted men and scout toward Fayetteville. These soldiers entered the town, but were soon routed from it by General Hampton's Calvary.⁶⁸ One Union soldier came around Wade Hampton's blind side while he was sitting on his horse at the Market House. The Union soldier fired at Hampton at point blank range, but missed him. Hampton, still mounted on his horse, leveled his revolver at the soldier and fired, killing his opponent.⁶⁹ There was only limited action between Sherman's army and Hampton's calvary. The Confederate forces retreated from town as rapidly as they could. According to a member of Joe Wheeler's Confederate Calvary, T. E. Lipscomb, he and Wheeler were the last persons to cross the Clarendon bridge that spanned the Cape Fear River at Fayetteville.⁷⁰ Lipscomb had been out scouting and came back into Fayetteville to find his commander, General Joe Wheeler, at the bridge firing at Union troops. According to Lipscomb, Wheeler emptied both of his revolvers and asked to use Lipscomb's, but Lipscomb replied that he would shoot his own weapon. At this point, Wheeler ordered Lipscomb across the bridge as he set fire to

68

Official Report of O. O. Howard, April 1, 1865, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. XLVII, pt. 1, 203. Duncan was captured by the Confederates, but escaped after being stripped of all valuables.

69

Oates, The Story of Fayetteville, 418.

70

T. E. Lipscomb, "Lipscomb's Account," Scrapbook of Fayetteville and Cumberland County (collected by Mrs. John H. Anderson, at the North Carolina Collection, U.N.C.), 75, hereinafter cited as Lipscomb, "Lipscomb's Account," Scrapbook.

it. Thus these two men were the last to cross the bridge before it
⁷¹
 burned.

R. K. Bryan was just a boy when the Union army entered Fayetteville. He and his family lived about four miles west of Fayetteville on
⁷²
 what was known as the Western Plank Road. On the morning of March 11, 1865, R. K. and his father went to Fayetteville. R. K. rode on horseback, his father drove a horse and buggy, and a Negro driver drove a wagon loaded with bacon, corn, and a variety of other things. When the small caravan reached the Market House, they saw a blaze that was destroying the Clarendon Bridge. The burning bridge kept part of Wheeler's calvary from crossing the Cape Fear River to join the rest of the calvary on the other side. These men were sandwiched between the river on the east side and the Union troops on the west side. There was only one avenue of escape open to them: to go up the river road in the general direction of Lillington and Raleigh to McNeil's ferry which was twenty-five miles away. Here, they could cross the river and rejoin their unit and, hopefully, make good their escape. This same route was chosen by R. K. Bryan and his father. As they moved along the road, they could hear shooting between the trapped Confederate calvary and the Union calvary. The Confederate calvary soon passed the small caravan at breakneck speed and they were throwing off everything that was not essential to life and limb at that particular time. The road was

71

Lipscomb, "Lipscomb's Account," Scrapbook.

72

R. K. Bryan, "Sherman's Army in Fayetteville," Scrapbook of Fayetteville and Cumberland County (collected by Mrs. John H. Anderson, at the North Carolina Collection, U.N.C.), 127, hereinafter cited as Bryan, "Sherman's Army in Fayetteville," Scrapbook.

littered with oil cloths, overcoats, blankets, haversacks, and many other personal effects. According to R. K. Bryan, most of these Confederate calvarymen made good their escape; but this was not the case for the small caravan he was riding in. By the time they were five miles north of Fayetteville, they were overtaken by the Union calvary. R. K.'s horse was taken from him and ridden off by a fat, Union soldier. The buggy and loaded wagon were also taken by the Union soldiers. This left the Bryans and the black driver stranded, but soon they were picked up by Union soldiers who took them to General Kilpatrick's headquarters where they received a pass to return to their home.

On this same day, March 11, the mayor of Fayetteville, Archibald McClean, surrendered the town to the Union forces. According to the diary of W. C. Johnson, a member of Company F, 89th Infantry, 1st Brigade of the Union army, the 92nd Infantry had the honor of tearing down the Confederate flag that flew over the Market House and replacing it with the "stars and stripes." Johnson described Fayetteville as being a nice little town that had plenty of forage. He also remarked that the troops were in good spirits and had plenty to eat.

On March 11, 1865, General Sherman occupied the arsenal and made it his headquarters. The arsenal had been evacuated by Colonel Childs and

73

Bryan, "Sherman's Army in Fayetteville," Scrapbook.

74

Official Report of O. O. Howard, April 1, 1865, Official Record of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. XLVII, pt. 1, 204. The mayor surrendered to Lieutenant Colonel W. E. Strong of Howard's staff.

75

Diary of W. C. Johnson, March 11, 1865, Typescript, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., hereinafter cited as Johnson Diary, Eighty-ninth Ohio Volunteer Infantry.

others the night before, and on the 11th the arsenal was back in the hands of the United States Government. ⁷⁶ From the perspective of the citizens of Fayetteville, the worst nightmares had come true; the occupation was a reality. Their fate lay in the hands of the enemy and to them it seemed that the devil, himself, had taken up residence in the arsenal to implant hell on earth and to send out his demons in the form of the "bummers."

The "bummers" were usually Union soldiers separated from their companies who pillaged for profit. The "bummers" caused much disturbance and distress among the citizens of Fayetteville. Guards had been stationed within the town, but the "bummers" arrived before they could be established and, thus, had the town to themselves to loot. The "bummer" in the eyes of many southerners, was usually a ragged type of individual whose face was blackened by the smoke of pine knot fires. He usually rode a scrawny mule or anything rideable, carried a rifle, and probably a stolen butcher knife. ⁷⁷ The "bummer's" main objective was to steal anything he could from the civilian and it did not matter if the victims were rich or poor, black or white. Since they operated for the most part away from the bulk of the Union army, the commanders had little control over them.

Nellie Worth, who lived near Fayetteville, had a very shocking experience when she first saw the Union troops who turned out to be

76

William T. Sherman, Memoirs of General William T. Sherman (2 vols.; New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1875), 295. The Confederate officer in charge of the arsenal, Frederick Childs, was the son of Sherman's first commanding officer under whom he served after he graduated from West Point.

77

The Daily Confederate (Raleigh), March 31, 1865, hereinafter cited as The Daily Confederate.

"bummers." She was startled because she did not think they were within fifty miles of her home. Her father ran to the swamp as soon as he saw them and the soldiers were very upset when they found out that he had fled. They went to the woods to look for him and said that if they found him, they would kill him. They did not find him, however, and they proceeded into the house and began to strip it of all objects of any value except for watches and jewelry which they could not find. Nellie's father had hidden the valuable watches and jewelry, but Nellie did not know where. The "bummers" began to question Nellie about the jewelry and watches and she told them that she did not know where the watches were. At this point, one of the "bummers" drew a pistol and put it to her head and swore that he would kill her if she did not tell him where the valuable watches and jewelry were hidden. Miss Worth held firm and told them she didn't know and if she did, she wouldn't tell them. The "bummer" then removed the pistol from her head and stormed off, cursing. The others continued to plunder and steal what they wanted. They carried off a great many clothes, both men and women's. There was not left one blanket in the house, but the "bummers" did neglect to steal six quilts. Every "darkie," as Miss Worth called them, ran off with these "bummers" and Nellie and her mother had to do all of the washing and ironing. The house was left in complete shambles and was filthy. Nellie said that she hated even the term "Yankee" and hoped that powers in Heaven and earth would combine to destroy such thieving hordes.

Another very nerve-racking experience at the hands of the "bummers" was remembered by Sarah Tillinghast who lived in Fayetteville. The "bummers" had gotten into some alcoholic spirits in previous plunderings in other homes and when they reached the Tillinghast home, they were fairly well intoxicated which frightened the Tillinghasts even more. The family ran into a room and locked the door, but the "bummers" started to break it down so the family let them in. At this point, a "bummer" opened Sarah's writing desk and began to read personal letters, but a guard came into the house and ran the men out. Sarah wrote, "If she lived for a million years she would not forget March 11, 1865."⁷⁹

A Miss McMillian, of the Fayetteville area, was another of the many who were intruded upon by the "bummers." They turned her trunks over and spread the contents on the floor and took what they wanted. They took ladies' clothes as well as men's. The "bummers" opened Miss McMillian's letters and stole all of the little keepsakes she had saved. A Negro boy by the name of Bryant told the "bummers" that Miss McMillian's uncle had buried a large box of money. Even though this was not true, the scavengers nearly killed her uncle in an attempt to locate the money. Miss McMillian wrote, "I have lost all of my jewelry and the Union troops have not even left us a blanket."⁸⁰

Other scattered incidents of pillaging occurred in and around Fayetteville. In order to learn where people had hidden their valuables, it was a common practice for the "bummers" to hang people

79

Sarah Tillinghast to Her Brother, March 12, 1865, Tillinghast Correspondence: 1860-1865.

80

Mrs. John Anderson, Scrapbook of Fayetteville and Cumberland County, 76.

until they were nearly dead. In Fayetteville and the immediate area, several men were treated in this manner. There was but one murder, that of Colonel John Waddill. Most of the violence was of a less serious nature. John M. Rose was literally stripped of his hat, coat, and pants. Troops also made J. W. Sanford pull off his pants at his home. One man, whose name is unknown, was left standing in his underwear in
81
the street.

Sherman's army spent the eleventh through the fourteenth of March in Fayetteville, and it was here that Sherman decided to solve his refugee problem which had plagued him along his march. These former slaves had been gathering within the columns of the army since it had left Columbia, South Carolina. Sherman felt that the refugees, 20 to 30,000 in number, had hindered and slowed the movement of the army along with cutting into the armies' limited supplies. While at Fayetteville, Sherman had a wagon train of refugees formed and ordered it to go to Wilmington. This rid him of the vast numbers of refugees that seemed to
82
grow with every day of his march.

The white population of Fayetteville dreaded and feared the invasion of the Union troops, but the Negroes looked upon the Union soldiers as saviors. This idealized expectation was not always the reality. Charles Wills, a Union soldier encamped at Fayetteville during this time, wrote in his diary that he had seen another Union soldier approach

81

The Daily Confederate, April 11, 1865.

82

W. T. Sherman to Major-General Alfred Terry, March 12, 1865, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. XLVII, pt. II, 803.

a Negro man one night and, with one slash of a bowie knife, cut the
 Negro's head approximately one third of the way off, killing him.⁸³

This case was exceptional, however. Even though the Union troops failed to treat the blacks as equal, the arrival of Sherman's army brought a chance for freedom for the slaves, and many joined the growing horde of refugees following Sherman's troops.

During Sherman's stay in Fayetteville, The Daily Telegraph, the Fayetteville Observer, and the North Carolina Presbyterian were destroyed by the Union army. These newspapers were a vital link of communication to the outside world, but no longer would there be a Confederate point of view or any point of view expounded by these presses. Also destroyed were two iron foundries, four cotton factories, several grist mills, and the railroad property; but the most important loss to the Confederate cause and spirit was the destruction of the
 84
 arsenal.

General Sherman ordered Colonel Orlando M. Poe, commander of the Corps of Engineers, to destroy the arsenal. The Michigan Engineers were put to work battering down the walls with iron railroad rails. Poe and the engineers devised a plan by which the railroad rails were hung by chains from timbers so as the rails would crisscross each other forming an "x" formation. Rams, put together in this manner, were used to knock

83

Charles W. Wills, Army Life of an Illinois Soldier (Washington, D.C.: Globe Printing Company, 1906), 361-362, hereinafter cited as Wills, Army Life of an Illinois Soldier.

84

Report of Brevet Major-General Absalom Baird, U.S. Army, Command Third Division, of operations, January 20-March 24, 1865, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. XLVII, pt. I, 551.

85

down the walls of the arsenal buildings. Some machinery the Confederates had not taken with them was destroyed. After the structures had been sufficiently battered down, the debris was burned and some shells that had been hidden by the Confederates exploded. The explosion bewildered and frightened the citizens of Fayetteville. The destruction of the arsenal was not just the destruction of an industry, but of a landmark that the town of Fayetteville had taken pride in.

86

87

On March 15, 1865, General Sherman and his army crossed the Cape Fear River, leaving Fayetteville. They had to cross the river over two pontoon bridges constructed to replace the Clarendon bridge that had been burned by the retreating Confederates. These pontoon bridges were taken up by the Union forces after the army crossed over them. While the Union army occupied the town, all the grist mills had been allowed to continue in operation; but when the forces left, all but one was destroyed. The food situation became acute immediately after

88

85

John G. Barrett, Sherman's March Through the Carolinas, 142. Josephine B. Worth, "Sherman's Raid," War Days in Fayetteville, 51-52. According to Josephine Worth, the Union band would strike up and the Union troops would cheer every time a roof and the walls of a building within the arsenal complex would cave in.

86

Anderson, "Confederate Arsenal at Fayetteville," 238.

87

Within the town and around the arsenal complex, the Union forces captured 5,028 muskets; 2 ten-inch columbiads; and 4 eight-inch columbiad cannons. There were also other kinds of cannons captured to make a total of 26 cannons captured. Also captured were 1,239 rounds of ammunition. Inventory of Ordnance Captured at Fayetteville, March 1865: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. XLVII, pt. I, 183.

88

Special Field Orders, No. 28, General William T. Sherman, March 11, 1865, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. XLVII, pt. II, 779.

Sherman's army left the town, but all the blame cannot be placed on the Union army; the Confederates confiscated many provisions while re-
 89
 treating through Fayetteville. Both the Union and Confederate forces had put a tremendous strain on the provisions in Fayetteville, but it was the army of the North that burned the grist mills. A gentleman of Fayetteville wrote, "There will not be left more than fifty head of four-footed beasts in the country and not enough provisions to last ten days. Many, very many, families have not a mouthful to eat. We have meal and meat to last two weeks by eating two meals a day." 90 While Sherman and his army marched toward his engagement with the Confederate army at Bentonville, the citizens of Fayetteville were in utter desolation.

Since the newspapers had been destroyed. Fayetteville's plight
 91
 could not and did not receive much publicity. One of the few newspapers that did recognize the plight of the town and tried to aid it through informative articles was the Daily Confederate of Raleigh. One article stated the following:

89

The food situation did become acute after Sherman's army left, but the fact is that many provisions and supplies had been taken by the retreating Confederate troops before Sherman's army arrived and so all of the blame can not be placed on Sherman's army for the food shortage. The destroying of the grist mills by Union troops did increase the food shortage. Indeed, Sarah Tillinghast requested permission and received it from the occupying Union troops to keep her milk cow. So the Union army was not the blatant scavengers as they may have first appeared. As for the "bummers," there was no mercy whatsoever on their part. Sarah Tillinghast to Her Brother, March 12, 1865, Tillinghast Correspondence: 1860-1865.

90

Hillsborough Recorder, March 22, 1865.

91

At this time, everything was happening so quickly that Fayetteville's distress was caught in the shuffle between the fall of Wilmington and the battle of Bentonville.

Fayetteville has been to the cause, as true as steel. She has given her sons and her substance with unstinted hand. Her charity and benevolence have been open. . . and shall her people suffer? Now is the time of her need. . . we are sure that the generous hand will be outstretched to share with her suffering people.⁹²

The provisions had been taken, the crops had not been planted, and there were hardly any horses or mules left that were fit to pull a plow. The people of Fayetteville could not depend on outsiders for help in these troubled times, but had to organize to help themselves. There were many meetings of the Committee of Council held. ⁹³ The first held after Sherman's departure was on March 16, 1865, in the mayor's office. At this meeting, C. B. Mallett was authorized to appoint as many persons as necessary to procure provisions at Egypt and elsewhere. D. A. Ray and S. Hawley were appointed as a committee to ascertain how much cotton could be procured to be exchanged for provisions at the rate of pound for pound or to try to get provisions with the stipulation that they would be paid for after the war. A Mr. Johnson and a Mr. Tillinghast were appointed to oversee the issuance of provisions and to keep a record of the disbursement of the provisions. R. Orell and K. A. Black were appointed as a ⁹⁴ committee to ascertain the amount of provisions then on hand.

Important and relevant issues were brought to the foreground at these Committee of Council meetings. On March 17, 1865, the issue of

⁹²

The Daily Confederate (Raleigh), March 23, 1865.

⁹³

It appears that the Committee of Council was a committee made up of concerned citizens who took the situation in their own hands and guided Fayetteville through this crisis. On March 22, 1865, it was ordered by the mayor and commissioners that the acts and proceedings of the Committee of Council be ratified and made legal.

⁹⁴

Fayetteville, City Council Docket, Vol. A, entry for March 16, 1865.

rightful ownership of property was brought up. Some people, evidently, had taken other people's property during the Union army's occupation of the town. The Committee of Council requested that the mayor give the commissioners of each ward, a police force to search and take possession of all property that did not legally belong to the party in whose possession the property was found. According to the committee, all such property was to be put in a common depot, and the citizens would be able to come forward to claim their property.

Before it departed the Union army did not totally turn its back on the people of Fayetteville to let them starve. They did give the town meat to distribute among the needy. Tickets worth three and five pounds each were distributed to the people in need of the beef. It was also ordered that the 442 pounds of bacon and 6-1/2 bushels of corn, that had been borrowed from E. P. Moore be sold or distributed to the people depending on their financial status G. W. Williams was authorized by the Committee of Council on March 18, 1865, to collect supplies for those made destitute by the enemy. Williams was also authorized to borrow money on the faith of the town up to the sum of \$50,000. This money was to be used to buy supplies.

95

Fayetteville, City Council Docket, Vol. A, entry for March 17, 1865.

96

Fayetteville, City Council Docket, Vol. A, entry for March 17, 1865.

97

Fayetteville, City Council Docket, Vol. A, entry for March 17, 1865.

98

Fayetteville, City Council Docket, Vol. A, entry for March 18, 1865.

Concerned citizens were trying to ease Fayetteville out of the crisis it was going through. On March 20, the Committee of Council met again and two members, T. J. Curtis and G. W. Williams, were appointed as a committee to whom all applications for relief were made. The committee also discussed the condition of the county and urged the mayor to request to the chairman of the county court to call an extra session of the county court to take into consideration the bad condition of the county.

The county, as well as the town, was having problems with Negroes who had no place to go after they had left their masters. They roamed through Fayetteville and the surrounding countryside, causing great alarm among the white folk. This problem was addressed by the special court session of the Cumberland County Court of Pleas which met in Fayetteville on March 30, 1865. The court's answer to the Negro problem was a patrol. The court appointed twelve patrol committees who, in turn, appointed members to patrols. There was one patrol for each district of the county. These patrols were formed according to chapter eighty-three of the county code and the duties of the patrol were also in accordance with the county code. One of the duties of the patrol was:

99

Fayetteville, City Council Docket, Vol. A, entry for March 18, 1865. At a meeting of the mayor and the commissioners on March 22, 1865, it was ordered that the acts and proceedings of the Committee of Council be ratified and were ordered to be written into the town records and made orders of Fayetteville. Fayetteville, City Council Docket, Vol. A, entry for March 22, 1865.

100

This session was held at the request of the mayor of Fayetteville who had been urged by the Committee of Council to request the special court session. This request was also in accordance with an order of the mayor and the commissioners. Fayetteville, City Council Docket, Vol. A, entry for March 22, 1865.

Enforce all Negro slaves now at large, to return immediately to their respected owners and it is hereby made the duty of the said patrol committee and the patrol by them appointed to see that the several sections of chapter 107 entitled "Slaves and Free Negroes," revised code be strictly enforced and any slave disobeying the order of said patrol by not returning to their owners shall be subject to such punishment as said patrol may deem necessary. . . .¹⁰¹

The patrol members were also empowered to inform the many vagabond free Negroes either to go to work or leave the county. It was ordered by this special session of court that the patrol could escort the non-working, free Negroes out of the county if they refused to work or leave. This special session of the Cumberland County Court of Pleas helped much in establishing order both within the county and within Fayetteville, but it did not settle the problem of the shortage of provisions.

At a meeting of the mayor and commissioners on March 31, 1865, the mayor read a communique from Governor Vance informing the mayor that he, Governor Vance, had sent by a Mr. Utley 3,000 pounds of bacon and 3,000 pounds of corn for use by the suffering citizens who lived in the town and the country. These provisions were received and placed with the Committee of Relief who sold the supplies to those who could pay and gave them to those who could not. The cost was \$30.00 per bushel for the corn and \$6.00 per pound for the bacon. ¹⁰² Mayor Archibald McLean wrote that because of the lack of means of communication, the conditions of Fayetteville had not been fully made known. Mayor McLean wrote, "No

101

Cumberland County Court Minutes, 1860-1865, Special Court Session, March 30, 1865, Archives, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Cumberland County Court Minutes.

102

Fayetteville, City Council Docket, Vol. A, entry for March 31, 1865.

picture of the most extravagant imagination can afford an idea of the
 103
 ruin and destruction inflicted."

Other provisions were acquired from Wilmington. The town board
 appointed three men to go to Wilmington to take 50 bales of cotton to
 exchange for provisions. This was done and provisions were brought back
 104
 to Fayetteville. The board thanked the men for a job well done.
 These were bad times but the town slowly and steadily began to alleviate
 the worst of the suffering. The citizens of the town appear to have
 pulled together in order that they, and the town, might survive.

Some faithful souls could not believe, even after the Union occupa-
 tion of Fayetteville, that the South could lose the war. One of these
 patriotic souls was Miss Eliza Tillinghast. She told, in an account,
 that she had seen Confederate soldiers returning to Fayetteville in
 April of 1865 and had inquired of them about the war. She was quickly
 told that General Robert E. Lee had surrendered. Miss Tillinghast was
 extremely shocked and begged the soldiers to return and fight for the
 Southern cause. One of the soldiers, General Holmes, told her that it

103

Archibald McLean to Governor Zebulon Vance, March 30, 1865, Z.
 B. Vance Papers, P. C. 15.7, Vol. VII.

In a small article concerning the desolation of Fayetteville
 printed on March 15, 1865, the The Daily Confederate it was written:

Bad as the case is we are glad to find the spirit rallying from the
 despondency which seemed ready to overwhelm them. . . . Many
 seemed to faint under the stress, but a few days of repining were
 enough and now their energies are being aroused and their purpose
 to resist death becomes the watchword.

104

The men were: E. S. Teuburton, J. R. Lee, and R. M. Orell.
 There was no mention of how many provisions were acquired by trading the
 50 bales of cotton.

was all over and that Fayetteville had done her duty and if all of the
105
people had done as well, it might have been different.

From January to April 1865, Fayetteville experienced trials and tribulations that the citizens of the town would not forget. These final days of the war were trying and harsh, but the years immediately following the war were a challenge that tested the stamina of the town and its citizens.

CHAPTER II

INFLUX OF NORTHERN INFLUENCE

The loss of the Civil War was tragic for the South but this defeat marked a turning point and a new and totally different era. Gone were the days of magnolia and mint julip romanticism, gone were the ideas of an undefeatable South, and gone was the wealth of the South. On the ashes of the fallen South came the military occupational forces, the philanthropic societies, and the Freedmen's Bureau. Fayetteville faced a new and different era with new and different people who spoke an alien language in regards to social structure and human relationships.

After the surrender of the South, Fayetteville was occupied by a small military force that aided the town's government to establish and maintain order. The occupation of Fayetteville by these troops had mixed reviews. When the troops left in July of 1865, the town's mayor and board of commissioners addressed the following letter to the commanding officer.

Fayetteville, N.C., July 5, 1865

Col. M. Kerwin, Comdg. Post Fayetteville, NC

Colonel: On behalf of the citizens of Fayetteville, the mayor and commissioners desire to express the most decided appreciation of your administration of affairs when in command of this Post.

It is not forgotten that when you came among us we were in the midst of confusion - our condition was peculiar and anomalous--the art of the civil power was too weak to give protection to the citizen even had we then enjoyed comparative tranquillity. As it was we were almost on the verge of anarchy - very near that point where brute forces became the only arbiter. Besides this the waves of passion produced by the terrible hour of war which had raged for four years had not then subsided, and the Government whose officer you are was by many regarded as cruelly inimical to us and our interest.

To restore order by the exercise of just so much force as was necessary to repress lawlessness and at the same time to so temper your rule as to make the people feel and know that you would protect and not oppress them, was the task before you. This was a most difficult and a most delicate task - but you have performed it - the results proves the work.

Your administration has been characterized by a happy blending of gentleness and firmness; by gentleness you have won the hearts of our people, by firmness you have secured respect for legitimate authority. The work of reconstruction will be easy in this community, and nothing we assure you has been more conducive to this end than the manner in which you have discharged your duties. Today the people of this community are capable of self government, ready to do all that is required of good citizens and it is felt that to your instrumentality in great measure is this to be attributed.

Allow us in conclusion, Colonel, to tender to you and to the officers and men under your command, the sincere thanks of our people for your successful efforts to promote our welfare and to assure you that you carry with you the kind wishes of all for your health, prosperity and well being.

With sentiments of profound regard, we remain Colonel

Very truly, your friends

¹
(Signed by all the Board)

There were those who did not think the commander and his troops deserved such praise and they held such opinions for good reasons. In a letter to one Donald McRae, W. G. McRae described how he was robbed by Union soldiers who were stationed at Fayetteville. Mr. McRae stated that he was walking out from Fayetteville going to his uncle's place when he met four soldiers. There were three privates and one corporal. He paid little attention to the men until the corporal crossed over the road and said, "Halt you dam son-of-a-bitch."² At this point McRae hit

¹
The town board of Fayetteville to Colonel M. Kerwin, entry for July 5, 1865, Fayetteville Municipal Records, Fayetteville City Council, 1847-1902, microfilm copy, Archives, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Fayetteville City Council Minutes.

²
W. G. McRae to Don McRae, July 13, 1865, Hugh MacRae Papers, Perkins Library, Manuscript Department, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, hereinafter cited as Hugh MacRae Papers.

the corporal sending him to the ground and then he attempted to stomp the corporal's head, but was struck from behind by one of the privates. McRae stated that the next thing he remembered was that he was lying on the ground very confused. When he brought himself to his feet he discovered that his watch, money, and even his ring had been stolen. McRae speculated that the soldiers were not very far from the scene of the crime because the woods were very thick along the road so they could have been close by and still would have been well hidden.

Upon arrival back in Fayetteville, Mr. McRae informed several gentlemen of what had happened to him. They advised him to see the colonel in command of the troops. McRae did this and was told by the commander that the articles probably could not be recovered, but that he would try to locate the culprits. A few days later McRae visited the commander again and was told by him that he had had no luck in finding the articles or the men who took them. McRae then offered to go with the colonel to the soldier's camp in an attempt to identify the men, but the commander would not agree and put McRae off until the next day. The following day McRae repeated his request but was again denied. The commanding colonel told McRae that two men had been arrested and sent to Raleigh, but that he did not know what the charges were against them and that they could possibly be implicated in his robbery. McRae stated in the letter that he had been given the "run around" treatment mainly because the men were to leave town in the very near future and the commander seemed contented to let the men off.

According to McRae his case was not the only one that involved the occupation troops in robbery. A Dr. Martin of Fayetteville was knocked

down in a Fayetteville street by two soldiers who robbed him of his watch and chain. The men were immediately arrested and taken to the commanding colonel. The two soldiers cursed the colonel to his face, acknowledged the crime and even boasted of it. The watch was recovered, but the chain was not. There was also a man from Wilmington who was robbed in Fayetteville by the troops. He was also knocked down in the street and robbed of a watch along with one or two hundred dollars. McRae stated that he had heard that it was a matter of daily occurrence for soldiers to steal horses and mules belonging to countrymen visiting town. According to McRae, homes were not immune to robbery by occupation troops stationed in Fayetteville. W. G. McRae stated that they broke into a Mr. Cook's home³ and robbed it very extensively.

The soldiers no doubt were involved in robberies and some looting, but the presence of a military force was an aid in establishing order. Without such a force, drifters and renegades from both Confederate and Union armies would have had a field day in the town that had already experienced a tremendous drain of supplies and materials by both armies. The occupation troops' check on crime outweighed the crime that it generated.

After troops left Fayetteville in July 1865, troops were not stationed in Fayetteville again until the early part of 1867 when military⁴ reconstruction was implemented. It was at this time that a provost

3

W. G. McRae to Don McRae, July 13, 1865, Hugh MacRae Papers.

4

J. G. DeRoulhac Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina (Gloucester: Columbia University Press, 1964), 216, 222, hereinafter cited as Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina. It was necessary for the state to be divided into eleven military posts when military reconstruction was implemented. They were: Morganton, Salisbury, Charlotte, Greensboro, Raleigh, Fayetteville, Goldsboro, Wilmington, Plymouth, New Bern and Fort Macon. As a whole, North Carolina and South Carolina formed military district number two under the command of General Daniel Sickles and later General Edwin Canby.

court was established in the city. By special orders No. 55, dated May 27, 1867, General Daniel Sickles established this court and it was to service the following five counties: Cumberland, Harnett, Moore, Montgomery, and Richmond.⁵ This court was presided over by W. H. Porter, Chief Justice, John D. Minor and M. A. Baker. None of the men had ever studied or practiced law. The jurisdiction of this court extended to any case, civil or criminal, except murder, manslaughter, rape, and arson. Upon application to the post commander anyone sued or prosecuted in any of the five counties could have his case transferred to the provost court which sat only at Fayetteville. When there was a fine that exceeded \$100.00 or there was a sentence that affected the liberty of a person the sentence could not be executed until it was approved by the commanding general. In all cases the proceedings of the court were forwarded to the post commander for review. In appeals to headquarters, cases were not considered unless accompanied by printed papers and arguments of the parties or their counsel. The judge for this court received \$4.00 per day and their clerk \$3.00. These and other expenses of the court were paid by fines and court costs paid by the parties involved in court action held within the provost court.⁶

The provost court being held as another court aside from the civil court operating in the county was looked upon by many as unnecessary,

5

Jonathan Worth to Andrew Johnson, December 31, 1867, Elizabeth Gregory McPherson (ed.), "Letters from North Carolina to Andrew Johnson," North Carolina Historical Review, XXIX (July, 1952), 424-426, hereinafter cited as McPherson (ed.), "Letters from North Carolina to Andrew Johnson."

6

Jonathan Worth to Andrew Johnson, December 31, 1867, McPherson (ed.), "Letter from North Carolina to Andrew Johnson."

unqualified, and strictly a money-making operation. Governor Jonathan Worth appealed to General Canby to revoke the order that established the court, but the general did not do so. In a letter to President Johnson, Worth stated, "If this court had existed before Cervante's day, his account of the judicial career of Sancho Panza would have received some laughable embellishments."⁷

Upon ratification of the fourteenth amendment by the North Carolina legislature on July 2, 1868 the commander of the Second Military District, General Canby, ordered military interference with civil functions to cease. The military played a key role in Fayetteville's town life in the days immediately following the war and during military reconstruction. The influence of the troops and the military in general, which was used at first as a means to establish order and later as an enforcer of radical reconstruction, left deep scars of disdain toward northern control and interference.

Another northern influx into Fayetteville was the philanthropic societies. These societies were financed by northerners' contributions. In Fayetteville there were primarily two philanthropic societies at work: the most influential, the American Missionary Association, most commonly known as the A.M.A.; and the Boston Fund which did not have as much impact, but nevertheless played a prominent role. Both societies were effective in helping the needy of Fayetteville.

7

Jonathan Worth to Andrew Johnson, December 31, 1867, McPherson (ed.), "Letters from North Carolina to Andrew Johnson."

The Boston Fund was financed by donations given by Boston citizens. The fund was only to be used where supplies offered by the government failed to provide the proper nourishment for the sick, aged, infirm, and delicate children.⁹ Fayetteville during the month of July 1867, for example, received \$300.00 from the Boston Fund. This money was used by the Freedmen's Bureau agent, Colonel Milton Cogswell, to buy supplies. These supplies were then distributed by a group of ladies organized for that purpose. The name of this organization was simply "Committee for Fayetteville" and the supplies obtained and distributed with this particular \$300.00 were: four barrels of flour at \$17.00 a barrel, two bags of coffee equaling 254 pounds at \$.28-1/2 a pound, two barrels of sugar equaling 45 pounds at \$.14 a pound, five hundred yards of sheeting at \$.15 a yard,¹⁰ and one bar of soap at \$.15. Other donations were received from the Boston Fund and supplies obtained with them were distributed in a similar manner.

The American Missionary Association more directly participated in helping the freed slaves. A teacher, David Dickson, was the first representative of this organization to arrive in Fayetteville. This was in

8

Colonel Jacob F. Chur to Colonel M. Cogswell, June 28, 1867, Records Relating to the Boston Fund, Records of the Assistant Commissioner for North Carolina, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, RG 105, National Archives, Washington, D.C., M. 843, Roll 19, hereinafter cited as Records Relating to the Boston Fund, Records of the Assistant Commissioner, RG 105 (NC), NA.

9

Boston Fund Regulations, May 30, 1867, Records Relating to the Boston Fund, Records of the Assistant Commissioner, RG 105 (NC), NA, M843, Roll 19.

10

Abstract of Purchases, July 1867, Records Relating to the Boston Fund, Records of the Assistant Commissioner, RG 105 (NC), NA.

11

December of 1865. In a letter to the Reverend Sam Hunt shortly after he arrived Dickson described Fayetteville as being very promising in regards to schools for the freedmen. He said, "The prospect here for schools among the Freedmen is good."¹² He also described the warm reception that he had received from both the blacks and whites of the town. This included the Freedmen's Bureau agent taking him by the mayor's office for an introduction. Mr. Dickson stated that he found encouragement from all sides to help the blacks. The freedmen were very friendly toward Mr. Dickson and he estimated that several thousand freedmen lived in and around the town of Fayetteville. The freedmen's leaders soon after his arrival urged him to preach for them. He described it in the following manner:

I cheerfully agreed - they had only a few hours to inform their members about it and yet the church was full, some even sitting in the aisles on benches. I had proposed to hold a public meeting to inform them [of] my mission They paid every attention and at the close of our service they gathered around my wife and me, many shedding tears of joy as they shook us warmly by the hand. . . .¹³

Dickson thus was received well and had every reason to be optimistic about the work that could be accomplished among the freedmen. Near the end of the letter he wrote, "We have a good prospect for doing good here

11

David Dickson to Sam Hunt, December 21, 1865, American Missionary Association Archives and Manuscripts, Roll 2, hereinafter cited as American Missionary Association Archives and Manuscripts. David Dickson was married and his wife arrived in Fayetteville with him. Her support and work was a big asset to her husband as well as the American Missionary Association. Her name, however, is not noted in any of the letters or records.

12

David Dickson to Sam Hunt, December 21, 1865, American Missionary Association Archives and Manuscripts, Roll 2.

13

David Dickson to Sam Hunt, December 21, 1865, American Missionary Association Archives and Manuscripts, Roll 2.

and I trust that we will be enabled to do all we can for the cause of
 14
 God among the freedmen."

The educational system of the A.M.A. was established in Fayetteville by the end of December 1865. It consisted of one school with a total enrollment of seventy-five pupils. These seventy-five consisted of 10 female adults, 5 male adults, 35 female children, and 25 male children. This enrollment was a good start in the education of the
 15
 freedmen in Fayetteville. In contrast, the A.M.A. in Wilmington had seven schools and 833 pupils enrolled in its school system, but one must consider Wilmington's larger size and that its system had been in operation
 16
 much longer.

On New Year's Day of 1866, many freedmen flocked into Fayetteville and assembled at the black Methodist church. Later many marched by the auction block on which they had been sold and/or hired out. Many
 17
 uttered the words, "But bless the Lord, now we are free." This day was a happy time for all the freedmen and it appears that the spirit of freedom had really soaked into the minds and hearts of these former slaves who gathered in the town. So in the beginning of 1866 one finds

14

David Dickson to Sam Hunt, December 21, 1865, American Missionary Association Archives and Manuscripts, Roll 2.

15

Report of Schools for Freedmen in Southern District of North Carolina for the Month Ending December 1865 by S. S. Ashley, American Missionary Association Archives and Manuscripts, Roll 2.

16

Reports of Schools for Freedmen in Southern District of North Carolina for the Month Ending December 1865 by S. S. Ashley, American Missionary Association Archives and Manuscripts, Roll 2. Wilmington's enrollment consisted of 78 male adults, 107 female adults, 315 male children, 333 female children, a total enrollment of 833 pupils.

17

David Dickson to Samuel Hunt, January 26, 1865, American Missionary Association Archives and Manuscripts, Roll 2.

the freedman in Fayetteville in high spirits. Thus the A.M.A. had a willing and eager group with which to work.

The A.M.A. did more than set up schools for the freedmen of Fayetteville. It also helped the freedmen by distributing supplies to those in need. Reverend Samuel S. Ashley, the Superintendent of the Southern District of North Carolina for the A.M.A., sent the supplies to Fayetteville upon the request of Mr. Dickson. In a letter to Samuel Hunt, Dickson described the issuing of clothing to the poor. He wrote:

Rev. Ashley sent us recently 2 boxes and a barrel of clothing from Wilmington, and we have been extra busy distributing to the poor and afflicted. Hundreds have been assisted in the time of distress and suffering, it was charity indeed. I wish those kind friends in the North who sent them could have been here when we were distributing so that they might have seen the joy manifested and heard the oft respected "God bless you. . . ."18

Dickson and his wife also started sabbath schools in addition to the regular academic schools. Supplies for these were limited and consisted mainly of religious papers, testaments and Bibles. These were distributed as they were donated or received through A.M.A. channels.

By February of 1866 the optimism that had existed was dimmed somewhat by the true reality of the situation that manifested itself before the eyes of Mr. and Mrs. Dickson. One problem was that of discipline among the students. Mr. Dickson felt that good behavior was essential; however, many of the boys were hard to govern and a female teacher could not control them. The students causing the problems were sent to Mr. Dickson for discipline. In a letter Dickson commented, "They do not like it but we must have order." The other problem concerned the

18

David Dickson to Samuel Hunt, January 26, 1866, American Missionary Association Archives and Manuscripts, Roll 2.

19

David Dickson to Samuel Hunt, February 26, 1866, American Missionary Association Archives and Manuscripts, Roll 2.

local whites who recently had displayed a dislike for the Dicksons because of the feelings of hatred they had for northerners. Dickson related an incident he had heard of that occurred during the summer of 1865. Some teachers came up to Fayetteville from Wilmington on a boat. They were to teach the blacks, but the whites of the town would not let the boat dock. Another frightening incident occurred while the Dicksons had lived in Fayetteville. A man, a former Fayetteville native, returned home after spending some years in the service. According to Mr. Dickson, this man was hurried out of town by a party of individuals that paid a visit to his home. By February of 1866 Mr. Dickson had started a night school. To the Reverend Samuel Hunt he also commented, "The night school I have started but it is not considered safe for me to go out at night. Mrs. Dickson will have charge of it and we have a young colored man who has promised to assist free for a month with the paid assistants²⁰ and they will be able to teach all that they have and more." The issue of safety became so urgent that the mayor told Dickson that he should have the black schools in different parts of town because some of the pupils had previously had fights with the whites. Dickson replied by informing the mayor that if there were buildings that he could supply²¹ them with in other areas of town they would gladly move there.

20

David Dickson to Samuel Hunt, February 26, 1866, American Missionary Association Archives and Manuscripts, Roll 2. The term "service" was not clarified in the letter; however, one can only speculate that it was the Union military. Also, the term "safe" as used by Dickson in this letter could relate to his declining health as opposed to referring to the possible use of violence by whites against himself. It was not clear which meaning he intended. Within the context of the letter the word "safe" should relate to violence by the whites; but the question then arises as why Dickson would send his wife out to the school when it wasn't safe.

21

David Dickson to Samuel Hunt, February 26, 1866, American Missionary Association Archives and Manuscripts, Roll 2.

Not all the white citizens of Fayetteville were hostile toward the work the A.M.A. representatives were trying to accomplish among the freedmen. One lady said that at first she did not like to see the freedmen being taught, but that she had gradually grown acquainted with the teachers and had changed her mind. She felt that the teachers were doing much good for the Negroes, but she feared that they would like the North better than the South because of their newly acquired education. ²²

In March of 1866 the hostility of many of the town's white residents toward the Dicksons increased because the Freedmen Bureau agent had left. According to Dickson, however, the better class of people did not object to the education of the blacks. The hostility did not stop the educational process nor dampen the enthusiasm of the freedmen for education. The pupils' parents helped with the expenses of the school system the best they could. For example, they helped pay the salaries for assistants who worked with the Dicksons and paid some money for firewood to heat the schools.

By May of 1866 the A.M.A.'s situation in Fayetteville was not very good. Mr. Dickson had become very sick from fever followed by diarrhea. A Fayetteville doctor, K. A. Black, felt that the warm weather and the water was the cause of Mr. Dickson's illness. Dr. Black recommended that Mr. Dickson must get away from Fayetteville in order to regain his health. ²³ At this time Dickson described Fayetteville as a very sickly place. The boarding house where he and his wife stayed had three or

22

David Dickson to Samuel Hunt, February 26, 1866, American Missionary Association Archives and Manuscripts, Roll 2.

23

David Dickson to Samuel Hunt, May 28, 1866, American Missionary Association Archives and Manuscripts, Roll 2.

four sick much of the time. The Dicksons eventually left Fayetteville to go to Baltimore, Maryland, via a steamer from Wilmington. The freedmen of Fayetteville hated to see their white friends leave, and it was the last time they ever saw the Dicksons because shortly afterwards Mr. Dickson passed away.

In August of 1866 a freedman by the name of John Leary of Fayetteville wrote to Samuel Hunt. In the letter he discussed Mr. Dickson's death and the problem of education for the freedmen of Fayetteville. In a previous letter Mr. Hunt had informed Mr. Leary of the possibility of sending two black teachers to Fayetteville. Leary wrote:

. . . first that there will be no trouble to get a house to teach in and I would furthermore state that we would be able to pay the rent. Second the Colored people are very poor and it would be entirely out of the question for them to pay the board of these two teachers. . . . You will please pardon my presumption but I will here offer a suggestion to you which if it is acquiesced in will save considerable to the Society and do as much good as if all the teachers are supplied from abroad. We have here several Colored Ladys & gentlemen who are competent to teach all the rudiments of an English Education of Good Standing and Character whose hearts are in the work of educating their race and have been all the time with scarcely any pay. Couldn't you Send one of these gentlemen you spoke of down here with the power to employ me or more teachers, and to be paid by the society the same as you do those that you Send. . . .²⁴

Mr. Leary also suggested that the society could empower him to hire²⁵ teachers and act as superintendent of education for Fayetteville.

Leary's suggestions were never actually implemented by the A.M.A. In a letter to the Reverend Samuel Hunt, F. A. Fiske, the Superintendent of Education for the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands,

24

John S. Leary to Samuel Hunt, August 22, 1866, American Missionary Association Archives and Manuscripts, Roll 2.

25

John S. Leary to Samuel Hunt, August 22, 1866, American Missionary Association Archives and Manuscripts, Roll 2.

stated, "Fayetteville is an important place and I hope you will be able to send a full supply of teachers there. For the present I am confident that Northern teachers should be our main dependence for conducting the schools as there are very few here [North Carolina] that are properly qualified to do so."²⁶ The A.M.A. did send additional teachers to Fayetteville to continue the work started by Mr. David Dickson. On October 23, 1866, two black teachers, Cicero and Robert Harris, left Wilmington for Fayetteville.²⁷ The brothers were not only to continue Mr. Dickson's work but were to contribute to the educational system's expansion and improvement.

Soon after the Harris's arrival in Fayetteville a small problem arose concerning payment for renovations to a school building in Fayetteville. This problem illustrates how close the A.M.A. and the Freedmen's Bureau worked together. In fact, the Reverend Samuel S. Ashley held the position of superintendent of schools for the Wilmington district of the A.M.A. and superintendent of education for the Southern District in the Freedmen's Bureau.²⁸ In response to a letter from the Reverend Samuel Hunt, Superintendent of Education for the A.M.A., in which Hunt had stated that the A.M.A. would pay for the renovation of the Fayetteville school house, Mr. Ashley replied:

26

F. A. Fiske to Samuel Hunt, October 20, 1866, American Missionary Association Archives and Manuscripts, Roll 2.

27

Samuel S. Ashley to Samuel Hunt, October 24, 1866, American Missionary Association Archives and Manuscripts, Roll 2.

28

Marion Nolan O'Quinn, "Carpetbaggers Samuel S. Ashley and His Role in North Carolina Education, 1865-1871" (unpublished masters thesis, North Carolina State University, Raleigh, 1975), hereinafter cited as O'Quinn, "Carpetbagger Samuel S. Ashley."

. . .As Bureau Superintendent for the Southern District of N.C. I had already authorized him [Robert Harris] to repair - I think I can pay these expenses without troubling the association at all. I perceive no necessity of sending such bills to you. I propose to pay rent at Lumberton in the same way also the repairs and rent of the Baptist meeting house in this place [Wilmington]. . . .²⁹

Despite the slight mix-up as to who was to bear the cost of the renovations, the renovations were done and the Harris brothers continued to make progress in education among the freedmen of Fayetteville.

The Fayetteville school system for the freedmen was divided into two day schools at the time the Harris brothers became the teachers. Robert Harris was the Superintendent as well as the teacher of the Summer Intermediate School. Cicero Harris was the teacher of the Phillips Primary School. Also, there was one night school in operation at this time and one female teacher whose identity is unknown. Contrary to what many scholars may believe, the blacks did help to support financially the school system in Fayetteville. For example, the Superintendent's Monthly Report for November of 1866 completed by Robert Harris shows that \$27.85 was received from blacks to aid the Phillip Primary School and \$14.25 to aid the Summer Intermediate School. ³⁰ The blacks of Fayetteville were eager for knowledge and were willing to help pay for it.

As we have seen, the people of the North, through the philanthropic organizations, aided in supplying the physical and educational needs of the freedmen. What should not be overlooked is the fact that the freed-

29

Samuel S. Ashley to Samuel Hunt, November 15, 1866, American Missionary Association Manuscripts and Archives, Roll 2.

30

Superintendent's Monthly Report of Schools, November 1866, American Missionary Association Manuscripts and Archives, Roll 2.

man had a basic desire to better himself and without that desire the money and teachers supplied by the philanthropic organizations would have been useless. In Fayetteville this strong desire manifested itself in participation in the freedmen's school, financial support of the school system, and a strong will of independence that led the freedmen of this town to take the initiative on their own to purchase land on which a school was built. That school, known as the Howard School, evolved into what is known today as Fayetteville State University.

The freedmen of Fayetteville raised \$136.00 and appointed seven freedmen as trustees for the Howard School, the school being named for General Oliver O. Howard, head of the Freedmen's Bureau. The money was used to purchase land on which the Howard School was built. On November 29, 1867, the land was transferred to the freedmen. The trustees were: David A. Bryant, Nelson Carter, Andrew Jackson Chestnutt, George Grainger, Matthew N. Leary, Jr., Thomas Lanesk, and Robert H. Simmons. 31

The land which was purchased was described in the deed as follows:

. . .those two lots on the west side of Gillespie Street in the Town of Fayetteville known as lots No. 5 and No. 6 in the Mallett Survey, and describes as follows: Beginning at the South East corner of E. S. Poinbertou's lot, and runs with this line South 15-1/4 West one hundred and twenty feet to Gillespie Street; thence with said Street North 15-1/4 East one hundred and twenty feet to the beginning; each lot being 60 feet front by 420 feet deep. . . .³²

After the purchase of the land the school house was soon under construction. With the purchasing of the land and the construction of the

31

Robert Simmons to Howard School, November 29, 1867, Cumberland County Records of Deeds, Vol. 57, p. 267, microfilm copy, Archives Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Cumberland County Deeds.

32

Robert Simmons to Howard School, November 29, 1867, Cumberland County Deeds, Vol. 57, p. 267.

school house, the freedmen's school system of Fayetteville was moving toward what S. S. Ashley called a free school system; however, the school house was built with Freedmen Bureau funds and was not transferred from the Bureau to the local freedmen of Fayetteville until 1870. The school building was erected at a cost of \$3,800.00 and furnished for an additional \$400.00. Also, the people of Fayetteville contributed \$200.00 for additional improvements.

The structure itself was described as being a frame building of thirty-five by seventy feet. The building of the structure was accomplished without much delay; however, furnishing the school caused much delay. In the fall of 1868 Robert and Cicero Harris after being away on summer break arrived back in Fayetteville to find that the school building needed to be furnished. Robert Harris wrote the A.M.A. headquarters informing them of the situation adding that the local money was used to pay for the lot on which the school was built. It was not until the early part of 1869 that the new school house was occupied. The building of this school was not only significant in that it was later to evolve into today's Fayetteville State University, but also in that the collaboration between the A.M.A., the Freedmen's Bureau and the highly

33

Ella Louise Murphy, "Origin and Development of Fayetteville State Teachers College, 1867-1959 - A Chapter in the History of the Education of Negroes in North Carolina" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1960), 86, hereinafter cited as Murphy, "Origin and Development of Fayetteville State."

34

Murphy, "Origin and Development of Fayetteville State," 86.

35

Robert Harris to E. P. Smith, February 2, 1869, American Missionary Association Manuscript Archives, Roll 4.

36

Robert Harris to E. P. Smith, April 3, 1869, American Missionary Association Manuscripts and Archives, Roll 5.

motivated local freedmen actually worked to create and sustain the school.

As can be seen by their aid to the freedmen's school system in Fayetteville, the Freedmen's Bureau, formally known as the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, was very influential in Fayetteville during the years immediately following the Civil War. The Bureau was established in the War Department through legislation passed by Congress on March 3, 1865. Congress assigned to the Bureau responsibilities that had previously been shared by military commanders and by agents of the Treasury Department. The duties of the Bureau included the supervision of the affairs of refugees, freedmen, and custodians of abandoned land and property. Initial legislation stated that the Bureau was to be terminated one year after the close of the Civil War. The Freedmen's Bureau, however, was given new life on two separate occasions after the termination date. The extensions were provided by legislation passed by Congress on July 16, 1866, and again on July 16, 1868. On July 25, 1868, the Bureau's functions were limited to education and payment of claims to veterans. This limitation went into effect on January 1, 1869. In April 1869 the Bureau was phased out of North Carolina and the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands ceased to exist in 1872.

37

Wilmington Journal (weekly) December 4, 1868.

38

Circular Letter of General Oliver O. Howard, April 13, 1869. Records Issued by the Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1872, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, RG 105, National Archives, Washington D.C., M 742, Roll 5, hereinafter cited as Records Issued by the Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1872.

39

George R. Bentley, A History of the Freedmen's Bureau (New York: Octagon Books, 1970), 212, hereinafter cited as Bentley, History of the Freedmen's Bureau.

The strata of the Freedmen's Bureau hierarchical command was complex. On the national level there was the commissioner who headed the Bureau. Oliver O. Howard, who was chosen by President Lincoln, was the commissioner for the life of the Freedmen's Bureau. Next in the chain of command was the assistant commissioner who headed the Bureau at the state level. North Carolina's first assistant commissioner was Colonel Eliphalet Whittlesey. Whittlesey divided North Carolina into four districts, each with its own headquarters. There were headquarters in: New Bern, Raleigh, Salisbury, and Wilmington. These four districts were then divided into subdistricts. The person in charge of districts was designated a superintendent while those in charge of subdistricts were called assistant superintendents. On July 1, 1867, a change took place that established the subdistrict as the basic unit of division of the Freedmen's Bureau Territory of North Carolina. Eleven subdistricts were established within which there could exist two to four subdivisions. The title of the persons in charge of the subdistrict was subassistant commissioner while those in charge of the subdivision of the subdistrict were designated assistant subassistant commissioners. Another change took place in March of 1868. At this time North Carolina was divided into four subdistricts with headquarters at Wilmington, Goldsboro, Morganton, and Raleigh. There were also provisions for subdivisions of each of the subdistricts. This arrangement was very similar to the first plan of division that was implemented by the Bureau in 1865.

Introduction to Microfilm Records (M 843), Records of the Assistant Commissioner for North Carolina, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, RG 105, National Archives, Washington, D.C., M 843, Roll 1, hereinafter cited as Introduction to M843, Records of the Asst. Comr., RG 105 (NC), NA.

The constant state of change within the Freedmen's Bureau on the national and state level resulted in instability on the local level as well. In Fayetteville the change of Bureau agents was as commonplace as the sun rising in the east and setting in the west. From the fall of 1865 until the winter of 1868 there were nine different agents rotated through the offices in Fayetteville. They were: Lt. O. B. Todd, Lt. N. Yager, Henry C. Lawrence, Duncan G. MacRae, Lt. E. B. Northamp, Justin Hodge, Manchester Weld, Sub. Asst. Commissioner Milton Cogswell, and Richard Dillon. Add to the constant change of agents the constant change of Bureau districts in which Fayetteville was placed and one can see the constant state of flux affecting the Freedmen's Bureau's office in Fayetteville. Fayetteville started out in 1865 in the Bureau's Southern District which had its headquarters in Wilmington. Next the town and the surrounding area was considered a district itself with Fayetteville as its headquarters. Finally the town came under the jurisdiction of the Bureau's Central District which had its headquarters in Raleigh.

All these changes surely did not make the task of the Freedmen's Bureau agent in Fayetteville any easier, but the changes did not seem to cause any great setback in their work. Generally speaking transitions from one agent to another went smoothly, but in some cases the citizens of the town favored one agent over another. One agent, Bvt. Major Henry C. Lawrence, was very highly respected by the citizens of Fayetteville. On one occasion Bvt. Major Lawrence took the side of the citizens of

42

Fayetteville against the collection and sale of government livestock. Captain A. M. Garoutte who had held a sale of government stock in Fayetteville on January 16, 1866, wrote a letter of complaint of Bvt. Major Lawrence's actions. This letter was sent to Captain Garoutte's superiors and eventually was referred to Colonel Whittlesey, the assistant commissioner. The letter stated:

A. L. M. Offices
Raleigh, N.C., Jan. 21, 1866

Col.

I have the honor to report to you that on the morning of the 16 . . . just before commencing my sale a Fayetteville, N.C. Bvt. Maj. Lawrence on duty at that place as Agent in the Freedmen's Bureau came up to me in the presence of a large crowd and in severe terms denounced the orders from the War Department in reference to the collection of Government stock as being a downright swindle upon the citizens of North Carolina, stating at the same time that when they borrowed and picked up the Government stock it was in low condition and worth comparatively nothing and after they have worked it all summer and . . . now to take it from them and sell, without paying them anything for keeping it is a swindle upon the part of the Government. I would therefore ask if such assertions are not disloyal or to say the least of it, unbecoming an officer and a Gentleman I find that it is going to interfere . . . with the collection of any stock in that locality.

Bvt. Col.
M. C. Garber
Chief Q. M.

I am Colonel
Very Respectfully
your Obt. Servant
A. M. Garoutte
Capt. and A. Q. M.⁴³

42

Henry C. Lawrence to Col. Eliphalet Whittlesey, January 11, 1866, Letters Received by the Assistant Commissioner for North Carolina, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, RG 105, National Archives, Washington, D.C., M843, Roll 8, hereinafter cited as LR by Asst. Comr., RG105(NC), NA; H. C. Lawrence to Col. Eliphalet Whittlesey, January 27, 1866, LR by Asst. Comr., RG 105 (NC), NA, M843, Roll 7.

43

A. M. Garoutte to Col. M. C. Garber, January 21, 1866, LR by Asst. Comr., RG 105 (NC), NA, M843, Roll 7.

Col. Whittlesey informed Lawrence of the complaint and Lawrence responded to it in a letter to Col. Whittlesey. As for the collection of animals by the government Lawrence stated: "That many freedmen, as well as poor white people, had these animals, who if deprived of them would become a burden upon the charity of the Government and community at a greater expense probably than the amount which would be realized from the sales."⁴⁴ Lawrence also stated, "I think a large majority of the animals were in the hands of land-less persons, white and black. Some were in possession of women, having no husbands -- both families of children. A poor old horse or mule made to many such, all the difference in the future, between wealth and poverty, between comfort and want."⁴⁵ Lawrence added that he did not feel that sympathy with those in poverty could be considered unbecoming an officer and a gentleman. Lawrence responded to the accusation of disloyalty by relating the following:

I kept also a list of persons in whose possession I learned them [government animals] to be, and gave the list to Capt. G. on the morning of the day of sale. One of the men on the list brought to me during the day an unbranded picked up horse. I went with the man to take the horse to Capt. G. who in reply to the man's inquiries said he claimed all animals that had been in our or the Confederate armies, branded or not that not half the animals in our army were branded, and that it was enough if it had been picked up in the rear of the army. He of course took the horse and sold it. I make this recital to show that any disloyalty had not prevented my aiding so far as I could to carry out what

44

Henry C. Lawrence to Col. Eliphalet Whittlesey, January 27, 1866, LR by Asst. Comr., RG 105 (NC), NA, M843, Roll 7.

45

Henry C. Lawrence to Col. Eliphalet Whittlesey, January 27, 1866, LR by Asst. Comr., RG 105 (NC), NA, M843, Roll 7.

I then supposed the orders of the Government. I did not then know of the existence of the order of Gen. Ruger (or perhaps Gen. Boyd) of January 12 (I think) ordering the reclamation of branded animals only. . . .⁴⁶

After Lawrence's reply to Colonel Whittlesey the matter of disloyalty appears to have been dropped, so no formal charges were brought against Bvt. Major Lawrence.

Agent Lawrence seems to have worked well with the freedmen as well as the whites of Fayetteville and the immediate area. Indeed the whites treated him well and he was even asked to join in a partnership with Elias Carr in a farming venture. Lawrence accepted the proposition, having forwarded his request for retirement to Bureau headquarters. This venture appears not to have materialized. Lawrence did leave Fayetteville, but it was for a congressional hearing in Washington, D.C., not a farm.⁴⁷

After the Civil War and the ascendance of Andrew Johnson to the presidency of the United States, Congress came to stand at odds with the president's reconstruction program. Newly elected representatives from the South were not allowed to be seated in Congress and, thus, the Southern States were not readmitted to the Union. Eventually Congress passed a resolution to form a joint committee of both houses to take testimony in order to determine the conditions of the states that were in insurrection. This so called "Reconstruction Committee" was divided

46

Henry C. Lawrence to Col. Eliphalet Whittlesey, January 27, 1866, LR by Asst. Comr., RG 105 (NC), NA, M843, Roll 7.

47

Henry C. Lawrence to Elias Carr Esq., January 28, 1866, Elias Carr Papers, East Carolina Manuscript Collection, J. Y. Joyner Library, East Carolina University, hereinafter cited as Carr Papers.

into sub-committees to take testimony from the different states. There were twelve witnesses that were interviewed by the sub-committee for North Carolina. One of those was then retired Bvt. Major Henry C. Lawrence.

Lawrence's testimony was quite positive, and in stark contrast to the negative testimony that prevailed throughout the hearings. Lawrence stated that it was his personal belief that the people of North Carolina generally had accepted the results of the war and were not as hostile as many had portrayed them. In his testimony he stated, "I confess that I am tired out and half worn out with annoyances of my position and need rest, and am so far from having any sympathy with the view that seem to prevail in Congress that I am unwilling to be a humble instrument in carrying them out."⁴⁸ Lawrence surely did not hesitate to express his opinion of North Carolina, which was basically formed while he was the Bureau's agent at Fayetteville. Although Lawrence was well respected by the people of Fayetteville, other less able Bureau agents were not.

One of the least desirable agents was Mr. Manchester Weld. He was accused of having a drinking problem and had an unsavory reputation among the citizens of Fayetteville. Once Weld was accused of assaulting a person while intoxicated; however, the civil authorities released Weld⁴⁹ when Sub. Asst. Commissioner Cogswell asked that he be transferred. Weld was eventually reassigned to Jonesboro, N.C. Such persons left a

48

Testimony of Major Henry C. Lawrence, House Reports, No. 30, Part 2, 39th Congress, 1st Session.

49

Colonel Milton Cogswell to the Assistant Commissioner, May 23, 1867, LR by Asst. Comr., RG 105 (NC), NA, M843, Roll 10. Milton Cogswell to the Assistant Commissioner, June 8, 1867, LR by Asst. Comr., RG 105 (NC), NA, M843, Roll 10.

bad impression of the Bureau, but the good agents far outweighed the bad in Fayetteville.

The agent's duties were basically to look after and care for the freedmen. Together with the philanthropic organizations, they aided in the education of the freedmen. The agents also arranged contracts between the freedmen and employers. Disputes that pertained to any freedmen were brought before the agent. For this the Freedmen's Bureau agent in Fayetteville was paid approximately \$125.00 per month. The clerk who worked with the agent and helped handle the paperwork of the Fayetteville office of the Bureau earned approximately \$100.00 per
50
month. The work was hard and long hours were commonplace for the agent, but in Fayetteville the work was done and done well.

The influx of northerners to work as agents and teachers can be seen as part of a new and very different era for Fayetteville. Fayetteville had surely been changed by the war and its aftermath. The postwar years were difficult and very trying ones for Fayetteville.

CHAPTER III
VIOLENCE AND HOPE

The months following the Civil War were traumatic ones for the citizens of Fayetteville. They faced the chore of rebuilding their lives as well as the damaged areas of their town. Although the citizens clung to a strong sense of pride and hope for a better, brighter future, those months were to be characterized by violence.

One of the most controversial criminal cases tried in North Carolina during this time stemmed from an alleged attempted rape of a white Fayetteville girl by a Negro named Archibald Beebee. The case involved not only Fayetteville citizens, but the governor of the state, Jonathan Worth, and eventually President Andrew Johnson himself. The alleged attempted rape took place on Sunday, February 10, 1867, when the girl was returning to her home after attending church. Upon being attacked by the Negro, the girl let out a scream which an elderly Negro woman heard and responded to by scurrying to help the girl. The would be rapist ran off before completing the act. That night Beebee was arrested and was identified by the girl and the Negro woman as being the attacker. Such lurid circumstances drew a large crowd of people from the surrounding area to the preliminary trial. During the trial the neck of the young lady was exposed in order to confirm her statement that the Negro had choked her to suppress her cries. Beebee was ordered back to jail and with two policemen and a sheriff as escorts he walked down the stairs of the market house. As he stepped down from the last step of the stairs, he struggled to get free, a shot rang out, and a

bullet passed through the hair of the sheriff who was directly behind Beebee. The bullet lodged near the left ear of Beebee killing him¹ instantly.

A coroner's inquest was held shortly thereafter and many witnesses were examined. Some witnesses stated that Captain William J. Tolar had² shot Beebee while others stated that Tolar did not fire the weapon. It was also determined that other individuals had displayed weapons on the occasion. This added to the confusion as to who had actually fired the fatal shot and so the jury at this coroner's inquest reported that they could not decide who had committed the homicide. Bvt. Brigadier General Robert Avery, inspector for the Freedmen's Bureau, wrote Manchester Weld, the Freedmen's Bureau agent stationed in Fayetteville, informing him that the verdict of the jury was in direct conflict with the facts presented to the jury. Avery ordered Weld to keep Captain Tolar and the other men who had been implicated in the murder under surveillance. Weld was also instructed to forward to Avery's office affidavits taken³ from parties who witnessed the shooting. The sentiments of the citizens of Fayetteville as a whole were best expressed in a newspaper article entitled "Outrage and Vengeance." The editor wrote: "We deplore the result and hold that it is better, in all cases, to wait for

¹
Governor Jonathan Worth to President Andrew Johnson, December 31, 1867, McPherson (ed.), "Letters from North Carolina to Andrew Johnson," 421-422. North Carolina Presbyterian (Fayetteville), February 13, 1867, hereinafter cited as North Carolina Presbyterian.

²
The rank "Captain" came from his rank as a Confederate soldier.

³
Bvt. Brigadier General Robert Avery to Manchester Weld, February 1867, LR by Asst. Comr., RG 105 (NC), NA, Roll 1.

the law to take its proper course with offenders of every grade, but it is impossible to express for this act that strong condemnation which every right minded man must feel for the outrage which provoked such terrible retribution."⁴

A civilian court came into session in Fayetteville on May 13, 1867. A few days before the sitting of the court, General Avery contacted General Daniel Sickles, the commander of the Second Military District, and applied for an order to arrest Captain William Tolar, Thomas Powers, Samuel Phillips, David Watkins, and Duncan G. McRae. Sickles so ordered the arrest, and the men were to be tried by a military court. Before the military carried off the prisoners, however, the Grand Jury of Cumberland County indicted William Tolar for murder and issued a *capias*. The military refused to honor the *capias* and release Tolar to the civilian authorities. Indictments for the other men were not handed down because there was not enough credible evidence. The arrest of these men by the military thus removed the fate of the men from the hands of the civilians and placed it in the hands of the military.⁵

One of these prisoners, Duncan G. McRae, is of special interest in that he was the magistrate who presided over Beebee's preliminary trial. McRae was a man of very high character, having served as a member of the State Convention of 1865, as magistrate, and, ironically enough, as a temporary agent for the Freedmen's Bureau. McRae had even been

4

North Carolina Presbyterian, February 13, 1867.

5

Governor Jonathan Worth to President Andrew Johnson, December 31, 1867, McPherson (ed.), "Letters from North Carolina to Andrew Johnson," 422.

commended for his service as agent by Colonel Eliphalet Whittlesey,⁶ assistant commissioner for the Bureau in North Carolina. McRae and the other prisoners were confined at the military prison at Fort Macon which was approximately two hundred miles from their homes. While en route to the prison McRae had a friend send a telegram to General Sickles inquiring for what cause and by whose orders he had been arrested; the possibility of bail was also raised. General Sickles declined to allow bail and referred inquiries about the charges to General Nelson Miles who was then the assistant commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau for North Carolina and also the military commander of the state. By this time McRae and the other prisoners had arrived at Fort Macon and McRae had established correspondence with his friends at home in Fayetteville and elsewhere.

From May 15, 1867, until the day they were moved to Raleigh to attend trial on July 10, 1867, the prisoners were held at Fort Macon. There was much activity to obtain their release during this time. One of McRae's friends was Governor Jonathan Worth who tried to help McRae as best he could. Governor Worth contacted General Miles concerning the arrests and General Miles informed him that the men had been arrested by an order of General Sickles. Miles stated that he did not have the power to release McRae upon bail and that General Sickles was the only one who had that power. Miles added that General Avery was not in his

6

Eliphalet Whittlesey to Duncan McRae, March 29, 1866, Letters Sent, Assistant Commissioner for North Carolina, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, RG 105, National Archives, Washington, D.C., M843, Roll 1, hereinafter cited as LS, Records of the Asst. Commissioner, RG 105 (NC), NA.

office at that time, but that he would ask him to go by Governor Worth's office. General Avery soon called on the governor and explained that the charges against the four men would be written out and sent to headquarters. Avery informed Governor Worth in general terms that the charge was murder and that McRae was considered an accessory before the fact. The governor also learned that the basis for the arrest of McRae was an affidavit by a person whom Worth considered a "weak minded base woman."⁷ The affidavit had been obtained by General Avery probably with the help of Manchester Weld, the Freedmen's Bureau agent in Fayetteville. The woman, Eliza Elliott, stated in the affidavit that McRae, after ordering the commitment of Beebee at the preliminary trial, stepped out onto a platform or to a window and called out to the crowd that the prisoner should be shot. Immediately following this Beebee was killed.

According to Governor Worth, the friends and supporters of McRae countered this affidavit with affidavits that they had obtained. One was from Beebee's own uncle and another from Beebee's attorney who had represented him at the preliminary trial. Other affidavits were from several witnesses both black and white who were at the preliminary trial. All these witnesses swore that they were present and knew that Duncan G. McRae had not risen from his seat from the time he ordered Beebee committed to jail until after the shot was fired. These witnesses also swore that when McRae heard the Negro had been killed, he expressed his regret. Governor Worth obtained these affidavits and sent

7

Governor Jonathan Worth to President Andrew Johnson, December 31, 1867, McPherson (ed.), "Letters from North Carolina to Andrew Johnson," 423.

them to General Sickles asking him if McRae could be released on bail and if all the prisoners connected with the Beebee murder might be turned over to civil authorities for trial. By this time Governor Worth had learned the military commission would be held in Raleigh. Worth informed General Sickles that if he would not turn the prisoners over to the civil authorities the military commission should be held in either Fayetteville or Wilmington rather than Raleigh because the witnesses could not afford the transportation costs and the defendants surely could not afford the travel costs of the witnesses either. At this time, even though Raleigh was only sixty miles from Fayetteville, there was no transportation lines such as a railroad connecting the two towns. One had to go to Wilmington then to Goldsboro and then on to Raleigh. This route was a long two hundred miles. General Sickles replied that the prisoners would be tried by a military commission in Raleigh and that the Judge Advocate would be directed to summon the witnesses for the defense. The Judge Advocate was also responsible for their transportation to and from Raleigh.

The prisoners were confined at Fort Macon until they were transferred to Raleigh to stand trial. It was surely a trying time for all concerned. Many letters were written to friends and relatives and they responded with heart-warming supportive replies such as the following written to Duncan G. McRae:

8

Governor Jonathan Worth to President Andrew Johnson, December 31, 1867, McPherson (ed.), "Letters from North Carolina to Andrew Johnson," 422-423.

Fayetteville, N.C.
1867

Dear Major,

Your letters have all been received all have been glad to see that you have kept in good spirits and that you are under such gentlemanly and kind officers. Col. Cogswell asks after you every time he sees any of us and seems anxious to do anything he can for your release. Major Byrne has just sent one of the strongest petitions I ever read in your behalf, his endorsement alone ought to release you. He endorsed on it that he had known you since the month hostilities ceased and that you had been uniformly kind to all Union officers and a strong friend to the country ever ready to carry out the requirements of the Government When you get back you cannot say who did the most for you Yankees, Negroes, republicans or democrats, all have united to do what they could for you in their way, and all have one end, and that is "your release."

Everybody sends love & regards
Yours & C
F.A.P . . . 9

On July 10, 1867, the prisoners were taken from Fort Macon to Raleigh for the trial. According to McRae, who wrote an account of what transpired, upon arrival at Raleigh at about 4 o'clock on the afternoon of July 10th they were taken to the quarters of General Avery. Avery ordered that they be confined at the Fair Grounds. The cells in which the men were placed were approximately fourteen feet wide and six or seven feet long. The hot July weather combined with the poor ventilation of the cells made the confinement nearly unbearable. McRae stated he had to endure these conditions for eighteen hours without food or water. The conditions of the prison surely lived up to its nickname of the "bull pen."

The following morning at 10 o'clock the prisoners were taken to the court only to find the court had adjourned before their arrival. It was at this time that McRae met Colonel James V. Bomford who was the president of the military commission. McRae complained to Colonel Bomford about the treatment he was receiving while confined. Colonel Bomford promptly placed McRae in the county jail which was much better than the "bull pen." He also allowed McRae, accompanied by military escort, to take his meals at the hotel. The other prisoners were not mentioned in McRae's account as being moved to the county jail.¹⁰

The trial was postponed from day to day until it finally commenced on Monday, July 22, 1867.¹¹ According to McRae, it was not until July 29 that any witnesses appeared against him. On that day the judge advocate introduced a woman, Eliza Elliott, as a witness. Ms. Elliott's affidavit had led to McRae's arrest and formed the foundation of the case against McRae. Her testimony was weak in that she excessively perjured herself, and so her testimony was withdrawn. This led to General Avery, the judge advocate, to enter a nolle prosequi in the case of Duncan G. McRae, so he was discharged.¹² McRae had served more than ten weeks in prison.

¹⁰

Duncan G. McRae to Governor Jonathan Worth, December 20, 1867, Duncan Grainger McRae Papers.

¹¹

All the men were charged with murder. General Orders No. 118, Headquarters, Second Military District, November 15, 1867, Records of the Assistant Commissioner for North Carolina, Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees and Abandoned Lands, RG 105, National Archives, Washington, D.C., M843, Roll 20, hereinafter cited as Records of the Asst. Comr., RG 105 (NC), NA.

¹²

Governor Jonathan Worth to President Andrew Johnson, December 31, 1867, McPherson (ed.), "Letters from North Carolina to Andrew Johnson," 424. General Orders No. 118, Headquarters, Second Military District, November 15, 1867, Records of the Asst. Comr., RG 105 (NC), Roll 20. It is not known if Elliott was black or white.

The trial of the other prisoners continued. Later, Samuel Phillips also received a nolle prosequi in his case. According to Governor Worth, Phillips turned state's evidence to gain his release. He testified that William Tolar shot Archibald Beebee. Other witnesses also testified the same; but still others testified that Phillips himself had shot Beebee. So the guilt or innocence of Tolar hinged on the credibility of witnesses who, according to Jonathan Worth, could have been better judged by an impartial jury of civilians rather than a military commission. Nevertheless, William Tolar, Thomas Powers, and David Watkins were convicted of murder and received the death penalty which was mitigated by Bvt. Major General Edwin R. S. Canby. The sentence was
13
commuted to fifteen years imprisonment at hard labor at Fort Macon. According to Governor Worth, there was no evidence against Powers and
14
Watkins that warranted a conviction on a charge of murder.

The trial of these men was a drawn-out affair. It took two months with the end of the trial coming in September of 1867. The citizens of Fayetteville did not forget those who were convicted in the military trials. Petitions for their pardon were circulated throughout the town and eventually in the early part of September of 1868 the men arrived
15
home in Fayetteville after being pardoned by President Johnson.

The significance of this trial was not the terrible tragedy of the crime itself. Such a crime could have taken place during any period;

13

General Order No. 118, Headquarters Second Military District, November 15, 1867, Records of the Asst. Comr., RG 105 (NC), Roll 20.

14

Governor Jonathan Worth to President Andrew Johnson, December 31, 1867, McPherson (ed.), "Letters from North Carolina to Andrew Johnson," 424.

15

North Carolina Presbyterian, September 9, 1868.

but the murder of a black man for his alleged attempted rape of a white girl during the Reconstruction era causes the case to have a heightened importance in history. The trial accurately reflected the tension of a very volatile situation that existed during this time in Fayetteville and indeed the whole South. The military attempted to bring about justice for the murdered black by stepping in and overriding local authorities. This brought about conflict between the locals and the military who was charged with the duty to see that justice was carried out for the newly freed slaves. The murder trial that took Fayetteville citizens to a military court in Raleigh epitomized the struggle between local authority and military authority.

Violent crime also manifested itself in the form of harassment of Negroes. During the years following the war several Negro churches were fired upon by unknown individuals. On some occasions the freedmen would be at prayer when the shootings occurred. Several of the church goers were injured and the freedmen were thoroughly frightened. In a letter from the Freedmen's Bureau agent of Fayetteville, Richard Dillon, to Colonel Jacob F. Chur, Acting Assistant Adjutant General, a description of this type of violence can be found. Dillon stated:

. . . 3 cases of Outrages have been made on the colored people by parties (supposed to be whites) firing into their places of worship whilst at prayer wounding persons in each case. I have directed the colored people to quietly try and ascertain who the parties were. they are at presently unknown. From these outrages great disquietude exists in the minds of the colored people - in many cases whilst at prayer they have to place guards outside their churches, this they consider a great hardship. Many whites condemn these outrages, but if

the well disposed Whites would but frown down such rascally proceedings they [would] soon stop. . . .¹⁶

No deaths occurred but injuries were sustained by the Negro worshippers. Some of the injuries were as follows: Robert Parker was shot through the back of the hips, Anna Ray was shot through the lower jaw and shoulder, and Alexander Maxwell was shot in the arm.

In the Fayetteville Freedmen's Bureau Agent Semi-Monthly Reports of Outrages by blacks against whites and whites against blacks, one can see that many disagreements and disputes led to the use of violence. In some cases the violence was extreme. For example, Sandy McLean, a black man, was accused of assaulting with intent to kill David McDonald. In another case David Watkins, who had recently been pardoned in the Beebee murder case, was accused of shooting a black named John McKay. McKay was shot three times with a revolver because he cheered for the election of General Grant.

16

Richard Dillon to Jacob Chur, September 26, 1868, Reports of Operations, Records of the Assistant Commissioner for North Carolina, Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees and Abandoned Lands, RG 105, National Archives, Washington, D.C., M843, Roll 22, hereinafter cited as Reports of Operations, Records of the Asst. Comr., RG 105 (NC), NA.

17

Semi-Monthly Report of Outrages by Whites Against Blacks, September 26, 1868, Reports of Outrages: June 1866 - December 1868, Records of the Assistant Commissioner for North Carolina, Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees and Abandoned Lands, RG 105, National Archives, Washington, D.C., M843, Roll 33, hereinafter cited as Reports of Outrages: June 1866 - December 1868, Record of the Asst. Comr., RG105 (NC), NA.

18

Semi-Monthly Report of Outrages by Whites Against Blacks, November 11, 1868, Reports of Outrages: June 1866 - December 1868, Records of the Asst. Comr., RG105 (NC), NA, M843, Roll 33.

19

Semi-Monthly Report of Outrages by Whites Against Blacks, November 11, 1868, Reports of Outrages: June 1866 - December 1868, Records of the Asst. Comr., RG105 (NC), NA, M843, Roll 33.

Violence appears to have been an outward expression of inner turmoil that was experienced by many people of Fayetteville. The chaotic, traumatic situation after the Civil War was an environment for violence. Many whites had strong bitter feelings against the freed slaves. The blacks were anxious to implement their newly won freedom, though, some were not as bold as others in doing so. This combination of bitter whites and freed blacks made for a very explosive situation and when disputes did occur they were usually resolved by violent means. Violence was, thus, a part of life for many who lived in Fayetteville during this time. Violence was not the only evil Fayetteville citizens needed to battle. One major problem chipping away at the core of Fayetteville society, as indeed it was all over the South during the immediate postwar era, was economic and social despair. Newspapers and schools had to be brought back into operation. Transportation modes such as shipping and railroads had to be improved and expanded. In general, there was much rebuilding, revamping, and tidying up of loose ends that needed to be done throughout the town of Fayetteville.

Publishers of Fayetteville newspapers had ceased operation when General Sherman occupied the town. In the months after the war, however, the Fayetteville News, as well as other papers, resumed publication covering local, national, and international news. On January 10, 1866, the North Carolina Presbyterian resumed publication after silence of almost ten months. William McKay was the new owner of this denominational paper, which carried church related and religious articles

as well as local news concerning Fayetteville citizens. Another newspaper, The Eagle, was also published during this time. This paper was similar in format to the Fayetteville News in that it was non-denominational and carried within its pages local news as well as national and international news. The Fayetteville Observer did not resume publication during this period. Edward J. Hale, the publisher of the paper, left Fayetteville after the war; but Hale was not the only publisher and with all the newspapers resuming and commencing publication the people of Fayetteville were not at a loss as to what was transpiring in this community and indeed the whole world.

21

Schools for whites began to reopen in early 1866. There were schools for young men and schools for young women. These schools were different from the schools of the American Missionary Association not just in that they admitted only whites; rather than being funded by the American Missionary Association and the Federal government they were strictly private. Many of these schools competed for students and frequently advertised in Fayetteville newspapers. J. H. Myrove operated a school in the Fayetteville area where rates were \$8.00 tuition for Spelling, Reading and Penmanship; \$10.00 for History, Algebra, Geometry and Chemistry.

On Monday, February 24, 1868, Mrs. Walter Huske opened her school on Hay Street on the premises of Mr. Gurden Deming. Her charges were \$6.00 to \$8.00 per quarter. There was also the Fayette-

22

23

21

John Oates, The Story of Fayetteville, 322-323.

22

North Carolina Presbyterian, May 23, 1866.

23

North Carolina Presbyterian, February 19, 1868.

ville Female High School whose teachers were Mrs. F. H. Lanneau, Mrs. J. H. McNeil, and Professor F. H. Hahr. The costs per twenty week session were: English branches, \$25.00; music, \$25.00; Latin and French, \$10.00 each; Drawing, \$10.00; and Painting, \$15.00. A school established by R. H. Brown charged for instruction \$.15 a day for the beginner, \$.20 a day for the Advanced English Branches, and \$.30 a day for the Advanced Mathematics and Languages.

Responsibility for the education of the children of poor white families was assumed by St. John's Church of Fayetteville. In order to raise money to finance the school the Benevolent Society of St. John's arranged concerts. The choir of St. John's, assisted by others, performed at these concerts which had an admission of \$.50 for adults and \$.25 for children. St. John's church thus provided the children of poor white families with an opportunity to obtain an education that would have otherwise been impossible.

Another area that had to be addressed at this time was transportation. Years before, the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road Company built a system of plank roads with Fayetteville as the terminal. A plank road consisted of parallel rows of heavy timbers with thick planks laid close together crosswise over the timbers. The roads of the system

24

North Carolina Presbyterian, September 19, 1866.

25

North Carolina Presbyterian, July 18, 1866.

26

A May 15, 1867, article in the North Carolina Presbyterian stated that philanthropy had taken a turn for the black race and had nearly excluded the white race.

27

North Carolina Presbyterian, February 12, 1868.

ran to the south, west, and northwest. The most famous of these roads ran from Fayetteville through Salem to Bethania in Forsyth County. The total distance was 129 miles which made this plank road the longest ever constructed in the world. Plank roads had one big drawback in that they rotted. By 1860 most roads of the system were not useable because the wood had deteriorated. However, it was not until May of 1866 that the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road Company closed its operation.

Railroads to Fayetteville were limited at this time to one small line, the Western Railroad, which ran from Fayetteville to the coal fields of Egypt in Chatham County. In December 1866, the North Carolina legislature passed a law allowing the Western Railroad Company to extend its railroad from the coal mines in Chatham County to some point on the North Carolina Railroad. Numerous stockholder meetings were held concerning the extension of the railroad, and it was eventually decided that the railroad would intercept the North Carolina Railroad

28

Hugh T. Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, North Carolina: The History of a Southern State (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 362, hereinafter cited as Lefler and Newsome, North Carolina: The History of a Southern State, 1963 edition.

29

North Carolina Presbyterian, May 16, 1866.

30

In September of 1869 the commissioners directed the town to subscribe \$75,000 to the Fayetteville and Florence Railroad. This road was to extend from Fayetteville to Maxton in Robeson County at which point it would tap the railroad running from Wilmington to Charlotte. Apparently this project did not go beyond the road bed building stage because in 1881 the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railway Company entered into a contract with the directors of the Fayetteville and Florence Railroad Company to extend its rail service over Fayetteville and Florence's graded road bed to Maxton. The Cape Fear and Yadkin Railway Company had been formed in 1879 out of a merger of the Western Railroad Company and the Mt. Airy Railroad Company. This company eventually expanded its lines so that there was rail service that extended from Greensboro, N.C. to Bennettsville, S.C. Journal of the Senate of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, 1866-67, 126-127, 158-159, hereinafter cited as N.C. Senate Journal, 1866-67; John Oates, The Story of Fayetteville, 277-278, 438.

31

at High Point. The company, however, was unable to raise the large amount of capital needed for the extension. Fayetteville thus did not become a railroad town, but remained a river town in the era of the iron horse.

Water transportation was vital to postwar prosperity. The link to Wilmington via the Cape Fear River was very important both before and after the war. New steamships were built after the war for travel on the Cape Fear. One new ship that began its service in 1867 was named the Marion. It was owned by Charles B. Mallett and it was unique in that its lower deck had berths for the accommodation of blacks.

32

Before this steamer was constructed the blacks had been entirely without this particular comfort. Another steamship constructed in the months after the war was the Halcyon. It was owned by R. M. Orrell and it started operating in 1868. Its principal purpose was to carry both freight and passengers to and from Wilmington.

33

Strongly related to river transportation was the transportation of goods to and from the river. The town government of Fayetteville established rates for wagon and dray owners to charge. Some of the rates for hauling up from the river were as follows: 3 bushel sack of salt, \$.15; 4 horse load of dry goods, \$2.00; 2 horse load of dry goods, \$1.50; 1

31

North Carolina Presbyterian, April 9, 1868.

32

Weekly News (Fayetteville) March 12, 1867, hereinafter cited as Weekly News. It should be noted that this is the same paper as the Fayetteville News. The name was changed to the Weekly News in the early part of 1867 and then in the mid part of April it was again titled the Fayetteville News.

33

North Carolina Presbyterian, January 8, 1868.

horse load of dry goods, \$1.00; cotton was \$.30 per bale. Some of the rates for hauling down to the river were as follows: cotton, \$.25 per bale; flour, \$.12 per barrel; tobacco, \$.10 per box; rosin, \$.15 per barrel. For the hauling of dry goods the rates were the same as they were for hauling items up from the river. The wagon and dray operators also had to pay \$5.00 in an annual tax to the town government of Fayetteville in order to continue to operate.

34

If the end of the war necessitated the restoration of newspapers, the establishment of schools, and improvement of transportation, it also brought about the need of a general tidying up and repair throughout town. One of the chief points of interest of the town at this time was the arsenal complex. Indeed, bricks and curbing were taken from the arsenal for improvement of the town's streets, sidewalks, and sewers. As far as the grounds of the arsenal complex were concerned, permission was obtained by W. C. Troy to cultivate a garden spot on them. Later the arsenal ruins were sold. There were 3,500,000 bricks that were bought by the town at a rate of \$1.25 per thousand. The rest of the property was bought by individuals who were from abroad. Nine boilers were sold along with a quantity of fold iron in the form of fencing. Shot and broken ordnance of every description was also sold, as was the

35

36

 34

Fayetteville City Council Minutes, entry for July 7, 1865.

35

Mayor Archibald McLean, "Copy of Report to Captain Myers, Chief Ordnance Officer, November 25, 1865," City of Fayetteville, N.C. Miscellaneous Records, 1769-1917, Archives, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as McLean's Report to Captain Myers.

36

Fred Belcher to W. C. Troy, March 24, 1866, Endorsements Sent, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, RG 105, National Archives, Washington, D.C., M843, Roll 3, hereinafter cited as Endorsement Sent, Records of the Asst. Comr., RG 105 (NC), NA.

stone foundations of the arsenal's building. Lieutenant Lakers, ordnance officer in charge of the sale, stated that the proceeds of the sale amounted to \$12,354.07³⁷

Other repair interest included the replacement of the Clarendon Bridge which had spanned the Cape Fear River until it was burned by the retreating Confederates during the final days of the war. A town-controlled ferry had been used in lieu of the bridge, but in February of 1866 the owners of the burned bridge contracted for the rebuilding of the structure.³⁸ The specifications of the new bridge included 210 feet of trestle work with 100 feet of main bridge.³⁹ This bridge, as was the previous one, was a covered wooden bridge, and since it was privately owned it was also a toll bridge.⁴⁰

Another matter that was addressed shortly after the war ended was the honoring of the Confederate soldiers who had died in or near Fayetteville. In the fall of 1865 some ladies of the town had all of these soldiers, who had been buried at various locations, interred at Cross Creek Cemetery. After this was done the ladies felt a monument to honor these soldiers should be erected. Many plans were discussed as to how funds for such a project were to be raised; but it was Miss Maria Spear's suggestion of raffling off a handmade silk quilt that was eventually carried out by the ladies. Every Friday afternoon the ladies met at the residence of Mr. Charles B. Mallett, where Miss Spear was a

37

North Carolina Presbyterian, January 17, 1866.

38

John Oates, The Story of Fayetteville, 353.

39

North Carolina Presbyterian, February 21, 1866.

40

John Oates, The Story of Fayetteville, 353.

teacher and part of the household. Miss Spear designed and drew the pattern for embroidery on every square with no two being alike. There were 3,000 squares, a handsome centerpiece and a border. The ladies of the town donated bits of silk of every hue and style which were perfectly blended to make the quilt. When completed the quilt was a lovely piece of workmanship and was put on display at the store of Colonel J. H. Anderson in Wilmington. Miss Maggie Mallett and Miss Maggie Anderson were appointed as a committee to take overall charge of the quilt and the raffling of it. These two ladies were aided in getting contributions by Mrs. Armand J. DeRossett and other Wilmington ladies. The shares were \$1.00 each and the quilt was eventually raffled off raising \$300.00. The quilt was won by a Mr. Lewis of Tarboro, N.C., who in turn presented the quilt to ex-Confederate President Jefferson Davis. The \$300.00 was used to purchase a marble monument from George Lauder of Fayetteville. Although there is no date inscribed on the monument it has been determined that it was probably on December 30, 1868, that the monument was erected.

Fayetteville citizens were gradually rebuilding their lives and with the general repairs to the town there were general repairs to the hearts which manifested themselves in the acts such as remembering and honoring the dead soldiers. The Confederate dead, although killed in a lost cause, would not be forgotten by the people of Fayetteville, owing to the efforts of a few hard-working women. Although Fayetteville had to face a new and different era of the New South, the citizens had hope

and confidence in the future which was coupled with the strength and determination of a town that had been nurtured in the Old South.

CHAPTER IV

INDUSTRY, BUSINESS, AND MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS

The times immediately after the Civil War were ones of great change on the industrial, governmental, and political fronts in Fayetteville. Fayetteville government was in a constant state of turmoil and change. The industrial segment of Fayetteville was in utter disarray. The arsenal had been destroyed by Sherman's army and the textile industry which had just bloomed shortly before the war had also been destroyed by Sherman's army. This textile industry had been one of Fayetteville's stronger assets.

The first attempt to establish a cotton factory in Fayetteville took place in 1824 when a local merchant, William McNeill, constructed a frame building to house the factory. Because of financial difficulty the factory was not completed and the building was soon sold to Henry A. Donaldson who moved some old machinery from the Falls of the Neuse. Donaldson used slave labor in this factory; however, this venture also failed. It was left to Charles P. Mallett to be the first to open a successful cotton mill in the Fayetteville area. In 1836, Mallett changed his Merchant's Mills on Blont Creek into a cotton factory. This venture became successful and he soon persuaded investors to join him in the construction of a large establishment on Rockfish Creek, six miles from Fayetteville. By 1852 there were, in Fayetteville and the surrounding area, seven factories that manufactured cotton fabrics. These seven mills employed about 475 operatives.

1

General Sherman brought destruction to the cotton industry during the closing months of the Civil War. His army destroyed the state's largest cotton manufacturing center at Fayetteville and in Cumberland County, burning nearly all of the textile facilities located there.² Along with the destruction of industry came the total obliteration of the value of Confederate money. Couple this with the fact that the Confederacy, as well as the state of North Carolina, repudiated their war debts and one can see a grim economic picture for Fayetteville and the whole South. Capital to operate factories was scarce in the months following the Civil War; however, a few industrious people did ultimately raise the capital necessary for industrial reconstruction.

During this grim postwar period, cotton factories in the South had some leverage in overcoming their financial difficulties. The managers of cotton factories had begun to build up a cash reserve during the war by establishing a two-price system which was composed of payment for their goods either in Confederate currency or in gold. This helped cotton factories in the South on the whole, but it is not known if this double-price system existed for the Fayetteville factories. It was not until the spring of 1867 that one of the mills that had been destroyed³ was reopened. This reopening was covered in the Fayetteville and Wilmington newspapers. Indeed, newspapers urged men to again employ the

2

Richard W. Griffin, "Reconstruction of the North Carolina Textile Industry, 1865-1885," North Carolina Historical Review, XLI (Winter, 1964), 34, hereinafter cited as Griffin, "Reconstruction of the N.C. Textile Industry, 1865-1885."

3

The Daily Journal (Wilmington), June 22, 1867, hereinafter cited as The Daily Journal. This factory belonged to Duncan Murchison.

water power which had operated the mills in the town. Fayetteville was portrayed as the most inviting place for the investment of capital. Being one of the larger towns in the state, Fayetteville was also portrayed in the papers as being an excellent market for any article that was manufactured there.⁴

Another Fayetteville mill that was opened during the months following the war was the Beaver Creek Mill, a plant that had not been destroyed by Sherman's army. It had been set afire, but the squad of Union soldiers left in haste after hearing rumors that Wheeler's calvary was approaching. The fire was quickly extinguished by workers who were present. This mill was cited in the newspapers as the only mill in operation until the spring of 1867. In May of 1867 the Beaver Creek Mill operated sixty looms which produced 70,000 yards of sheeting and 9,700 pounds of yarn. The mill used 81 bales of cotton in the process.⁵

In comparison with other areas in the state, Fayetteville began early to recover its status as one of North Carolina's leading textile manufacturing centers. Within eight years of Sherman's destruction four mills were in operation and were making profits of twelve percent and more.⁶ Two of these mills, as previously shown, came back into operation in the months immediately following the war. This recovery is surely a testament to the strength of the textile industry in Fayetteville.

4

The Daily Journal, August 14, 1867.

5

The Daily Journal, June 8, 1867.

6

Griffin, "Reconstruction of the N.C. Textile Industry, 1865-1885," 48.

The Fayetteville Gas Light Company was formed in May of 1859 as a joint stock company, and was another business that survived the war. The company's business was to supply gas lighting to subscribers in Fayetteville.⁷ The company contracted with the firm of Waterhouse and Bowes to erect gas works in Fayetteville and in June of 1859, the president of the company, Archibald McLean, was authorized to purchase a lot from the Western Railroad Company on which to build the gas works.⁸ The gas works were completed shortly before the commencement of the Civil War and continued in operation throughout the war. In 1864 the gas works were leased to Waterhouse and Bowes with the provisions that the gas light company would receive one percent per month of the capital stock and five dollars per thousand on all gas sold by meter. It was also stipulated that either party was at liberty to annul the agreement by giving the other party thirty days notice.⁹ Luckily the gas works were not destroyed by Sherman's troops. At the directors meeting held on April 7, 1865, however, the directors were informed that Waterhouse and Bowes had given notice that in consequence of the difficulty of obtaining rosin, they had to relinquish the lease of the gas works at once. A. H. Delany, the superintendent of the gas works who had worked for Waterhouse and Bowes, agreed to work for the Fayetteville Gas Light Company in the same capacity.¹⁰

⁷ Minutes of the Fayetteville Gas Light Company, May 30, 1859, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library at Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Fayetteville Gas Light Company Minutes.

⁸ Fayetteville Gas Light Company Minutes, June 9, 1859.

⁹ Fayetteville Gas Light Company Minutes, December 20, 1864.

¹⁰ Fayetteville Gas Light Company Minutes, April 7, 1865. Rosin was used in the process of making gas during this time period.

With the operation of the company totally back in their own hands, the directors on April 24, 1865, set the price of gas at five dollars per thousand feet which was to be paid after this date in specie or its equivalent in cotton goods or provisions. It was also resolved at this particular meeting that the superintendent of the works would each month pay over to the treasurer of the company the collections made by him for gas consumption.¹¹

The officials of the company continued to operate the company themselves until the spring of 1866. Upon the resignation of their superintendent in February, 1866,¹² the board reassessed its position and in May, the gas light company was leased to W. N. Tillinghast who previously was secretary of the company. The provision was that the lease was on a yearly basis. Tillinghast agreed to pay four percent per annum on the capital stock of \$27,500 which was payable semi-annually and to supply consumers with gas at a rate not exceeding ten dollars per 1000 feet. He was also to relinquish to the company the works and tools at the expiration of his lease. These items were to be returned in the same order as Tillinghast had received them. He was also to pay all expenses, taxes, and repairs. However, the company was to pay the state, county, and town taxes. This arrangement with Tillinghast re-¹³ mained in effect during this postwar period of Fayetteville's history.

11

Fayetteville Gas Light Company Minutes, April 24, 1865.

12

Fayetteville Gas Light Company Minutes, February 13, 1866.

13

Fayetteville Gas Light Company Minutes, May 5, 1866.

During the Civil War and early postwar period, the businessmen of Fayetteville were forced to show great ingenuity and to assume much risk. A typical example of such businessmen was Charles Beatty Mallett. His father, Charles P. Mallett, was instrumental in the development of the textile industry in Fayetteville and his brother was head of conscription for the Confederacy in North Carolina. Charles B. Mallett was involved primarily in the shipping of goods from Fayetteville to Wilmington. No mild-mannered businessman, Mallett was willing to take a risk in order to make a profit and during the Civil War he was gambling with very high stakes.

During the war, Mallett joined in partnership with James Browne of Charleston, South Carolina. They contracted with the Confederate government to operate the Egypt Coal Mine of Deep River. The coal mine was near the point where the present Lee, Moore, and Chatham counties converge. They also engaged in transportation of the coal and other freight between the Egypt Coal Mine, Fayetteville, and Wilmington. Browne was stationed in the Wilmington office and Mallett was stationed in the Fayetteville office. The Egypt Coal Mine was owned by the Governor's Creek Steam Transportation and Mining Company, whose home office was in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. At the outbreak of the war, however, Mallett saw his opportunity to capitalize on the war by taking over the mine and contracting with the Confederacy to supply coal for the Rebel cause.

When the war came to an end, Mallett and Browne had done considerable business with the Confederate government and in fact the government owed them \$304,850.00. On April 20, 1865, the debt was paid by the

Confederacy by turning over machinery and related material of the
 arsenal and armory to Mallett and Browne. ¹⁴ The items were as follows:
 one box containing twenty pounds of gum shellac, one piece of gum belt-
 ing, one mallet, five planing irons, one barrel containing approximately
 thirty gallons of spirits of turpentine, one barrel of emory, one block
 regular antimony, twelve bars of steel, a lot of loose cartridges and
 sand paper, all the steam boilers on the arsenal grounds, one steam
 engine at the railroad depot, a steam saw mill with a lot of lumber and
 timber in Bladen County, and about one hundred tons of iron at the Egypt
 depot. ¹⁵

Later in June of 1865, Mallett and Browne notified the commander of
 the post at Fayetteville, Colonel Kerwin, that they had in their posses-
 sion some of the items assigned to them, but not all. They did not get
 any of the steam boilers on the arsenal grounds, any of the lot of
 lumber or the steam saw mill that was in Bladen County. They also did
 not receive the steam engine or the one hundred tons of iron that was at
 the railroad depot at the Egypt Coal Mine. Mallett and Browne claimed
 that an armed mob forcibly took the iron from the railroad depot on
 Monday, April 24. Besides the articles they had received in payment of

14

Enumerated list of items of the Fayetteville arsenal assigned to
 Mallett and Browne by order of Captain C. P. Bolles, C.S.A., April 20,
 1865, Charles Beatty Mallett Papers, Southern Historical Collection,
 University of North Carolina Library at Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited
 as Charles B. Mallett Papers. Much of the arsenal machinery was moved
 from the complex before Union troops arrived there, saving it from
 destruction and keeping it in Confederate hands. It was not until April
 26, 1865 that the war came to an end in North Carolina. On this date
 General Joseph E. Johnston surrendered to William T. Sherman at the
 Bennett house near Durham.

15

Enumerated list of items of the Fayetteville arsenal assigned to
 Mallett and Browne by order of Captain C. P. Bolles, C.S.A. April 20,
 1865, Charles B. Mallett Papers.

the debt owed by the Confederate government, Mallett and Browne also had in their possession a small steam engine, two slide lathes, a planing machine, a drill, a lot of pipes, nine kegs of nails, and a box containing belting. ¹⁶ They also had four or five boat loads of machinery they had brought from Wilmington and were holding for freight charges to be paid. ¹⁷

Aside from Mallett and Browne not obtaining their total payment from the Confederate government, they were also in debt themselves. The Governor's Creek Steamship and Transportation Company of North Carolina issued a claim against Mallett and Browne for coal that was mined during the Civil War. According to the company's claim, there were 38,924 tons of coal mined and with the coal's price at \$1.50 per ton, Mallett and Browne owed \$58,386. Other items that were enumerated in the claim varied from tools to a large quantity of apples shipped to Fayetteville in 1864 apparently for Mallett and Browne to transport to other locations. There were approximately 2,200 bushels which were worth \$3,300. ¹⁸ These claims

16

Mallett and Browne to Colonel M. Kerwin, June 19, 1865, Charles B. Mallett Papers.

17

Mallett and Browne to Colonel M. Kerwin, June 19, 1865, Charles B. Mallett Papers. It is likely that this machinery also came from the arsenal. In the letter it was stated, "And as all machinery of that kind in this neighborhood was destroyed and believing that a careful use of it would be a benefit rather than an injury and at the same time a benefit to the public we have agreed that some of it may be put in operation. Should our claim for freight not be allowed we will deliver the machinery in better order than when we took charge of it."

18

Robert Paton, Superintendent to Mallett and Browne, November 25, 1865, Charles B. Mallett Papers. Other items that the company made a claim for were: saw mill frame and saw, damages to houses, damages to fences, stack of saw mill boilers, claim for damage to boiler, tools out of blacksmith shop, a set of tap and dies, a pair of large block and tackle, 50 brasses, 1000 castings, 14 inch cast pump pipes damaged, an uncertain amount of ironstone sent to Fayetteville, and a claim for 2 mules killed in the mine. The mules were valued at \$175.00 a piece.

were made in November of 1865 and by the spring of 1866 the debt still was not paid, but the company was still employing Mallett and Browne to transport coal. In a letter to Charles Mallett dated May 20, 1866, the superintendent of the Egypt Coal Mine informed Mallett that he should pay the debt as quickly as possible in that the company was expecting full compensation; but he also stated, "My object in writing at present is to know if you can take another flat load or two of coal down to Wilmington for us - if so, I suppose the price will be same as last time, viz \$2 per ton. Please let me know what quantity to send - and when to send it." ¹⁹

Compensation for the coal and missing or damaged goods was a high priority; but transportation of the coal was just as high a priority as collecting the debt in the mind of the superintendent.

Fayetteville industries and companies survived the aftermath of the war, but if they were not physically destroyed by Sherman's troops they were in financial distress. Although deep in debt, many businessmen, such as Charles B. Mallett, continued to operate their companies. Even to tread water and stay afloat seems to have been a tremendous task for those who did survive. The uncertainty of the times was surely not a good environment for any type of business to grow and prosper. Instability and uncertainty were not only characteristics that infected the industrial and business world of Fayetteville; but they also manifested themselves in the government of the town itself. Uncertainty and instability were greatly fueled by the different and changing policies of reconstruction that were implemented by the government of the United States.

19

Robert Paton to C. B. Mallett, May 20, 1866, Charles B. Mallett Papers.

The South was defeated on the battlefield; yet the spirit of the cause lived on for many people. Change was a reality no matter how much the people did not want to admit it or submit to it. For the North, the problem was how to handle the defeated South in regards to readmitting the states into the Union. There were two basic ideologies concerning the readmission of these states. One policy that was implemented by Lincoln and later carried out by Andrew Johnson based its origin on the rationale that the states had never seceded, but rather had been in rebellion. Therefore, these states should be brought back into the fold as soon as possible. Another policy that was expounded by the Radical Republicans of Congress conceded that the states had actually separated from the Union and had set up an independent government. The Radical Republicans thus perceived the South as a conquered province that was in need of a strict form of reconstruction. In 1867 congressional policy superseded Presidential Reconstruction. The municipal government of Fayetteville not only had to cope with chaotic local affairs, but with these reconstruction policies implemented by the United States government. Instability and uncertainty were the only constant factors in Fayetteville's municipal government during the months immediately following the war.

The town government of Fayetteville basically consisted of a mayor and a board of commissioners. The town was divided into wards which resembled our present day voting districts. Each ward's voters elected

20

Kenneth M. Stamp, The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1965), 27, hereinafter cited as Stamp, The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877.

a commissioner to represent them. After Sherman departed from the town leaving behind much destruction and destitution, the mayor and commissioners had meetings that primarily concerned the problem of lack of food and supplies for the townspeople. After the war was over the United States 13th Pennsylvania Cavalry Regiment was stationed at Fayetteville in order to maintain some sort of order and stability

21

within the town. There is no recorded evidence that the town government specifically requested this unit, but it is known that the townspeople were afraid of an uprising of the freedmen. Freedmen were even denied a permit to parade on July 4, 1865. The intent of the denial was to eliminate the possibility that the gathering could turn into what many whites feared, an uprising accompanied by mob violence aimed at them.

22

North Carolina's state government also suffered from chaos and upheaval at the close of the war. Raleigh was captured by Union troops in April, 1865, and Governor Vance was arrested at his home in Buncombe County. This put the state government in disarray and left the governor's office vacant. President Lincoln's successor, Andrew Johnson, filled this vacancy on May 29, 1865, when he proclaimed William W. Holden as provisional governor. This appointment marked the be-

21

The town board of Fayetteville to Col. M. Kerwin, entry for July 5, 1865, Fayetteville City Council Minutes.

22

Roberta Sue Alexander, North Carolina Faces the Freedmen, Race Relations During Presidential Reconstruction, 1865-67 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985), 52, hereinafter cited as Alexander, North Carolina Faces the Freedmen.

23

Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina, 101.

ginning of Presidential Reconstruction for North Carolina, a reconstruction that many hoped would be quick and painless.

William W. Holden was not very popular in North Carolina. His unpopularity was largely due to his pro-Union stance and his reputation for getting ahead in politics no matter what the cost. On June 12, he issued a proclamation outlining his policy. He stated that a call would be made for a convention of the people which would provide for the election of a governor and legislature. The legislature would then elect two United States senators while the congressmen would be elected by the voting public. Holden also announced that he would appoint justices of the peace to administer amnesty oaths, to hold county courts, and he would also appoint sheriffs and clerks. Other officers would also be named by the governor as deemed necessary and they were to serve on a temporary basis until a formal election was held.

24

For Fayetteville, Holden appointed the mayor and the commissioners of the town. On July 5, 1865, a meeting of the acting mayor and commissioners was called by Ralph P. Buxton. Buxton had been appointed by Holden to call the meeting to inform the present town government of the governor's appointees for mayor and for the board of commissioners. They were as follows: Archibald McLean, mayor; A. G. Thornton, M. McKinnon, E. S. Pemberton, R. M. Orrell, K. A. Black, J. C. Poe, and J. R. Lee, commissioners.

25

The mayor and commissioners appointed were the same men who had controlled the offices during the latter part of the war. They had been

 24

Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina, 111.

25

Fayetteville City Council Minutes, entry for July 5, 1865.

elected on January 2, 1865, in a town election. After the swearing in of the mayor and the commissioners, a constable and a clerk were appointed. The board of commissioners also recognized the following men as being the town guards: Henry McDonald, captain; Thomas Stephens,
26
Samuel Faircloth, William McDonald, and James A. Hearn.

Shortly after the appointees were sworn in, the Union cavalry regiment that had been stationed there to help in maintaining order, left
27
the area. The departure of the troops completed the restoration of complete control by the civil government. The control of the town government still remained in the hands of those who had held the offices during the war and though the South had lost the war, the political power that had instigated and promoted the war had not really been broken. This was true throughout the South as well as in Fayetteville. The significance of this was that though the blacks were free, the white conservatives could still legally confine and restrict them through legislation. For example, in Fayetteville, the town council decreed that blacks could not meet unless a white was present and it was also decreed that they could not carry weapons, even so much as a
28
cane.

The state convention was held in Raleigh during the fall of 1865. The delegates had previously been elected to represent their respective

26

Fayetteville City Council Minutes, entry for July 10, 1865.

27

Fayetteville City Council Minutes, entry for July 10, 1865. According to the commanding officer, Colonel Kerwin, he and his men were going to Raleigh and there they were to be mustered out of service.

28

Alexander, North Carolina Faces the Freedman, 52.

counties at this convention. This convention passed an ordinance repealing the ordinance of secession, an ordinance prohibiting slavery, and an ordinance repudiating the war debts. The ordinances concerning secession and slavery were to be voted on in the forthcoming election of the governor, state representatives, and congressmen. The convention also divided the state into seven congressional districts for this²⁹ election.

The election of 1865 pitted William W. Holden, the provisional governor, against Jonathan Worth for the office of governor. Worth defeated Holden by a majority of 5,937 votes out of a total vote of nearly 60,000.³⁰ The congressional election was relatively uneventful except that only one of the seven could take the "iron clad" oath; this should not really be considered significant because there were just not many people who could swear that they had not voluntarily aided in the Confederate war effort. William Holden himself could not take the "iron clad" oath and was not even required to do so when he became the pro-³¹visional governor of North Carolina. As far as the vote on the ordinance repealing the ordinance of secession, and the ordinance prohibiting slavery, they both were passed by the voters. The Worth victory was significant because the people of the North perceived him as a true "died in the wool" Southern conservative. Worth had only reluctantly followed North Carolina out of the Union and his views were similar to

29

Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina, 120-133.

30

Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina, 139.

31

Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina, 110.

those of Holden. Both men supported President Johnson and his Reconstruction policy, both opposed black suffrage, and both had good Unionist records. Since Worth received most of his votes from the ultra-secessionist counties, many northerners considered his election a victory for the die-hard conservative Confederates. This election sent a message to the North that North Carolina had not reformed its opinions. The northerners perceived North Carolina as being defeated in battle, but a state whose philosophy still remained the same as before the war.

With newly elected representatives, the North Carolina General Assembly met on November 27, 1865. Much emphasis was placed on ratifying the Thirteenth Amendment which abolished slavery in the United States. The Thirteenth Amendment was ratified; and other business, such as filling various offices that had been declared vacant, was taken care of. William A. Graham and John Pool were elected by the General Assembly to represent North Carolina in the United States Senate. Senators and congressmen now were elected and ready to represent North Carolina in Washington D.C., but it would not be that easy for North Carolina, as well as the other states that had been in the Confederacy, to be readmitted to the Union.

For some time, many members of Congress thought that Congress should control reconstruction of the South. They felt Presidential Reconstruction was too lenient and the South had not been reconstructed

32

Alexander, North Carolina Faces the Freedmen, 37.

33

Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina, 142-147.

to the extent that it should have been. The elections of former Confederate soldiers as representatives to the United States government

34

added weight to their arguments. Congress refused to let the representatives from those states which had seceded from the Union take their seats at the beginning of the congressional session in December of 1865. Instead, a joint committee of both houses was established to investigate the conditions of these states. In North Carolina, Jonathan Worth took his seat as governor on December 28, 1865, and in Fayetteville the town government functioned in its normal manner. However, changes were to come both at the state level and at the local level in Fayetteville.

35

The Joint Committee on Reconstruction's final opinion was that the states which had been involved in the rebellion were still loyal to the Confederacy and its leaders. According to the committee, these states had become disorganized communities and Congress could not recognize representatives from them. The committee had interviewed many people who had lived and/or worked in the South. In all, twelve witnesses were examined from North Carolina.

36

Besides developing a committee on reconstruction, the Radicals pushed through Congress in 1866 the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Basically the amendment made the freed blacks citizens of the United States. Another section withheld from the president the power to

34

Stamp, The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877, 67-68.

35

Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina, 142-147, 208.

36

Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina, 211-212. One of those interviewed was Major Henry C. Lawrence who had been an agent of the Freedmen's Bureau and stationed at Fayetteville for a period of time. He dissented from the majority view that the South was unsafe and not totally loyal to the Union. Lawrence stated that the people of the South had accepted the results of the war and that a northerner was safe in the South.

restore, by presidential pardon, political rights to former Confederate leaders. Also, persons who had held federal or state offices before the rebellion and then supported the rebellion could not hold public office until they were pardoned by a two-thirds vote of the Congress. Another section stated that when a state did not allow adult males the right to vote they would have their representation in Congress cut proportionally. The amendment also stated that a former Confederate state could not pay its war debt.³⁷

None of the seceded states except Tennessee ratified the Fourteenth Amendment. Consequently, Congress brought about a more stern approach to reconstruction for the South. The election of 1866 increased the strength of the Radicals in Congress and thus gave them power to override any presidential veto that their program might incur. The Radicals of Congress thus had wrestled the power of reconstruction away from the President. It was now their turn to form a reconstruction policy.

The first Reconstruction Act, on March 2, 1867, divided the South into five military districts with each district having a military governor. This act also provided that the people of any of the southern states would be entitled to representation in Congress when they constructed a state constitution that conformed to the United States Constitution. The state constitution should also contain the provision that all persons to whom this act of Congress gave electoral power should retain that franchise. The state constitution must be approved by Congress and when representatives were allowed to take their seats, the military governments would be abolished.

37

Stamp, The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877, 135-145.

A supplementary Reconstruction Act was passed on March 23. This act stipulated that the district commander would carry out a registration of the male citizens who could take the oath as to their qualifications as electors. These electors then would vote on delegates to the state constitutional convention. Unless a majority of these electors participated in the election, there would be no convention. Also, after the convention had framed a constitution, a majority of electors had to take part in the ratification process or the constitution would not be valid. In July the Congress passed another supplementary act. This act gave the district commanders full power to make any removals from office that they saw fit. The district commanders and the boards of registration were also relieved from having to act in accordance with the opinion of any civil officer. As in all the other reconstruction acts that Congress had passed, the President vetoed it, but the act was
 38
 passed over his veto.

North Carolina was placed in the second military district along with the state of South Carolina. On May 27, 1867, the commander of this district, General Daniel E. Sickles, removed the mayor and the commissioners of Fayetteville with General Order No. 55 which read in part as follows:

VI. The following removals and appointments of Civil Officers in the Town of Fayetteville and in the County of Cumberland, N.C. are hereby announced:

1 For inefficiency in discharge of his duties, the Mayor of Fayetteville, N.C. Thomas Curtis, is hereby removed from Office

3 In order that a more efficient government for the Town of Fayetteville may be organized the following named civil officers are hereby removed from office, viz

Town Commissioners

D. S. Mautsby	Hector McKethan
Murdock M. Kinnon	John K. Robinson
John C. Haigh	Walter Draughan
A. G. Thornton	

4 The following appointments are hereby announced for the Town of Fayetteville, N.C. viz

Mayor

J. R. Lee

Board of Town Commissioners

John W. Hopkins	J. W. Seth
John Reilly	J. C. Poor
Edward S. Pemberton	Wm. A. Porter ³⁹

The town officials who were removed had been elected on January 7, 1867; thus, they served only approximately five months before being removed. ⁴⁰

No specific charge beside "inefficiency in discharge of his duties" and "in order that a more efficient government for the town of Fayetteville may be organized," was leveled against the town government. ⁴¹ However, it would be safe to assume that those who were removed were considered hostile to Radical Reconstruction policies while those empowered as mayor and commissioners would be in better harmony with the military government. The citizens of Fayetteville could only hope that North Carolina would be readmitted to the Union so that their own elected representatives could govern the town. The process of restoration was, however, a complex and tricky one.

39

Fayetteville City Council Minutes, entry for May 27, 1867. General Sickles took on the power of removal before it was specifically granted to the commanders of the districts by Congress in July of 1867. He felt that reconstruction of the South would not work without the power of removal. Section 2 was deleted in the original Council Minutes.

40

Fayetteville City Council Minutes, entry for January 11, 1867.

41

Fayetteville City Council Minutes, "entry for May."

General Edwin Canby, the successor to General Daniel Sickles as military governor, called a state constitutional convention to meet in Raleigh. The delegates had been elected on November 19 and 20 of 1867. The convention began its work on January 14, 1868, framing a whole new state constitution for North Carolina. On that day only thirteen conservatives were seated with 107 Republicans, which included eighteen carpetbaggers, fifteen blacks, and seventy-four native whites. The new constitution provided for many modern and progressive changes. Some of the most prominent were: the abolition of slavery; a provision for universal manhood suffrage; the elimination of all property and religious qualifications for voting and holding public office; popular election of state and county officials; and the adoption of the township county commission form of local government. Four new elective state administrative offices were created: lieutenant governor, auditor, superintendent of public works, and superintendent of public instruction. The constitution was thus a very innovative and progressive document, though many conservatives felt that the \$100,000 that was expended for the convention was a waste.

42

Because the new constitution had to be ratified by the voters and offices filled, an election was held on April 21-23. The election was composed of a governor's race, and elections for state representatives and congressmen, as well as the ratification vote for the new constitution. There was a strong battle for the office of governor between the

42

Hugh Talmadge Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, North Carolina: The History of a Southern State (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 460-461, hereinafter cited as Lefler and Newsome, North Carolina: The History of a Southern State, 1954 edition.

conservative candidate, Thomas Ashe, and the newly formed Republican party candidate, William W. Holden. Holden won his election as did many other Republican candidates. Along with the election of state officials, the new state constitution was ratified by the voters. On July 1, 1868, General Canby formally ordered Jonathan Worth to step down from the office of governor, thus allowing Holden to take the oath of office the following day.⁴³ The election was significant in that the "old guard" conservatives were defeated and were no longer in power in North Carolina.

The United States Congress declared that North Carolina's and five other southern states' representatives could be seated providing that the states complied with certain guidelines, one of which was the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment. The state legislature met on July 2, 1868, and ratified the Fourteenth Amendment. On July 11, a proclamation by President Johnson announced that North Carolina had met all the requirements of Congress. By July 20, 1868, all representatives from North Carolina had been sworn in and had taken their place in Congress. North Carolina was thus restored to the Union, but reconstruction was not yet completed in Fayetteville.⁴⁴

On July 15, 1868, a public meeting of Fayetteville citizens was held. The object of the meeting was to consider the question of the municipal authorities since North Carolina had been readmitted to the Union and military rule had ceased. A committee of five was appointed

43

Lefler and Newsome, North Carolina: The History of a Southern State, 1963 edition, 462.

44

Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina, 292-293.

to investigate the matter. On July 16 it made its report, stating that the terms of those officials who were appointed by the military commander had expired and that the mayor and the commissioners elected in January of 1867 could resume their respective offices in the town government.⁴⁵ This did not last long, however, because on August 5, 1868, Governor Holden replaced the mayor and the board of commissioners with the following men: as mayor, W. H. Porter; as commissioners, J. W. Hopkins, Thomas Lomax, James Bowman, A. J. Chestnutt, and A. G. Thornton.⁴⁶ After receiving a letter from W. H. Porter demanding that the mayor and the board of commissioners surrender their positions in the town government, Mayor Curtis replied that they would surrender their positions, but that it was their opinion that the voters of the town should elect their representatives in town government.⁴⁷ The power of appointing such officials,⁴⁸ however, had been granted to the governor by the legislature. In Fayetteville he apparently placed in office those who were more in line with his philosophy and removed the "old guard" conservatives who had been elected before black suffrage was mandated.

On December 31, 1868, the Holden-appointed mayor and board of commissioners met and announced that an election would be held on January 4, 1869. This election came at the normal time, two years after

45

North Carolina Presbyterian, July 22, 1868.

46

Fayetteville City Council Minutes, entry for August 24, 1868.

47

North Carolina Presbyterian, August 26, 1868.

48

Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina, 352. On July 25, 1868 the legislature declared all municipal offices in the state that had been filled by the former state government vacant. The governor was empowered to fill these vacancies.

the last election. However, this election was very different in that blacks could vote. Even with the right to vote, the blacks were segregated from whites while voting. It was ordered that there would be two ballot boxes. One box was for the black voters and the second was for the whites.⁴⁹ So the "separate but equal" philosophy that the South has become infamous for was in place in Fayetteville even from the first municipal election that the blacks could participate in. Those elected in January of 1869 were all Radicals according to the North Carolina Presbyterian.⁵⁰ The new government of Fayetteville was thus one that was opposed by the "old guard" conservatives. The government may have been reconstructed, but the hearts and minds of many of the citizens of Fayetteville were not and probably never would be.

During the months following the war Fayetteville found itself trying to pick up the pieces and assemble them into some type of society. Sherman's wrath inflicted a deep wound upon the town and its citizens, a wound that did not heal for many years. The Freedmen's Bureau and the American Missionary Association played important roles, but many whites were hostile toward them. If not hostile in a physical sense they were hostile on the philosophical level. Some violence occurred throughout the town during this time, but not as much took place as in other areas. Limited violence was due in part to the temporary presence of the military, but it was also due to the municipal government that, though constantly in a state of flux, continued to

49

Fayetteville City Council Minutes, entry for December 31, 1868.

50

North Carolina Presbyterian, January 6, 1869.

carry out the day-to-day administrative affairs of the town. Business did not come to a complete standstill during this time, and though this was not a time of rampant growth in the business and industrial sector it was a time that the business and industrial sector rebuilt and strengthened its foundations. It is a testament to the town of Fayetteville that the people were able to recover not only from the sojourn of Union and Confederate armies; but also the drain of a four-year war that sapped men and women both physically and mentally. The citizens of Fayetteville did pick up the pieces and form the rudiments of Fayetteville society in what scholars have termed the "New South."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PRIMARY SOURCES

A. Manuscript Sources

1. Private Papers

American Missionary Association Archives and Manuscripts, Microfilm Collection, Joyner Library, East Carolina University, Greenville, North Carolina.

Elias Carr Papers, East Carolina Manuscript Collection, Joyner Library, East Carolina University, Greenville, North Carolina.

Minutes of the Fayetteville Gas Light Company, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Edward J. Hale Papers, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

Diary of W. C. Johnson, typescript copy, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Charles Beatty Mallett Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Hugh MacRae Papers, Manuscript Department, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

Duncan G. McRae Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Tillinghast Family Papers, Manuscript Department, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

Zebulon Vance Papers, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

Jonathan Worth Papers, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

2. Official Records

Records of the Assistant Commissioner for North Carolina, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, Record Group 105, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Records Issued by the Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands 1865-1872, Records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, Record Group 105, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Cumberland County Records of Deeds, Vol. 57, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

Fayetteville, North Carolina, City Council Docket, Vol. A, January 9, 1847 - July 23, 1866, Town Hall, Fayetteville.

Fayetteville City Council Minutes, 1847 - 1902, Vols. A - C, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

B. Printed Documents and Official Records

1. United States Government Documents

U. S. Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census of the United States: 1860. Population, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864.

"Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction," House Reports, 39th Congress, 1st Session, No. 30.

The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 103 vols. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901.

2. North Carolina State Documents

Journal of the Senate of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, 1866-67.

C. Memoirs, Recollections, Correspondence, and Contemporary Accounts

Allen, W. G. "About the Fayetteville Road Fight," Confederate Veteran, XIX (September, 1911), 433-434.

- Anderson, Mrs. John Huske. "Confederate Arsenal at Fayetteville, N.C.," Confederate Veteran, XXXVI (June, 1928), 222.
- Bryan, R. K. "Sherman's Army in Fayetteville," Scrapbook of Fayetteville and Cumberland County (collected by Mrs. John H. Anderson, at North Carolina Collection, U.N.C.).
- DuBose, John W. "The Fayetteville Road Fight," Confederate Veteran, XX (February, 1912), 84-86.
- Hale, Carrie Mallett. "The Monument at Cross Creek, 1868," War Days in Fayetteville, Fayetteville: Highland Printers, Inc., 1902, 57-58.
- Howe, M. A. DeWolfe, ed. Home Letters of General Sherman. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.
- Johnston, Joseph E. Narrative of Military Operations. Bloomington Indiana University Press, 1959.
- Kyle, Mrs. Anne K. "Incidents of Hospital Life," War Days in Fayetteville, Fayetteville: Highland Printers, Inc., 1902, 35-45.
- Lipscomb, T. E. "Lipscomb's Account," Scrapbook of Fayetteville and Cumberland County (collected by Mrs. John H. Anderson, at North Carolina Collection, U.N.C.).
- McPherson, Elizabeth Gregory, ed. "Letters from North Carolina to Andrew Johnson," North Carolina Historical Review, XXIX (July 1952), 400-431.
- Stinson, Mrs. Eliza Tillinghast. "Taking of the Arsenal," War Days in Fayetteville, Fayetteville: Highland Printers, Inc., 1902, 7-27.
- Wills, Charles W. Army Life of an Illinois Soldier. Washington, D.C.: Globe Printing Company, 1906.

D. Newspapers

- The Daily Confederate (Raleigh), 1865.
- The Daily Journal (Wilmington), 1867.
- The Daily Telegraph (Fayetteville), 1865.
- Fayetteville Observer, 1865.
- Fayetteville Observer, Semi-Weekly, 1865.

The News (Fayetteville), 1865-1867.

The New York Herald, March 19, 1865.

North Carolina Presbyterian (Fayetteville), 1865-1868.

Weekly Conservative (Raleigh), 1865.

Wilmington Journal, 1868.

II. SECONDARY SOURCES

A. Theses and Dissertations

Belton, Thomas. "A History of the Fayetteville Arsenal and Armory." Unpublished M. A. Thesis, North Carolina State University, 1979.

Harrigan, Donald W. "The Role of the United States Army in North Carolina Civil Disturbances, 1865-1872." Unpublished M. A. Thesis, East Carolina University, 1977.

Linthicum, Nancy Smith. "The American Missionary Association and North Carolina Freedmen, 1863-1868." Unpublished M. A. thesis, North Carolina State University, 1977.

Murphy, Ella Louise. "Origin and Development of Fayetteville State Teacher's College, 1867-1959 - A Chapter in the History of the Education of Negroes in North Carolina." Unpublished PhD. dissertation, New York University, 1960.

O'Quinn, Marion Nolan. "Carpetbagger Samuel S. Ashley and His Role in North Carolina Education, 1865-1871." Unpublished M. A. thesis, North Carolina State University, 1975.

St. Clair, Kenneth Edson. "The Administration of Justice in North Carolina During Reconstruction, 1865-1876." Unpublished dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1939.

B. General Works

Lefler, Hugh Talmadge and Albert Ray Newsome. North Carolina: The History of a Southern State. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954, 1963.

C. Monographs, Articles, and Special Studies

- Alexander, Roberta Sue. North Carolina Faces the Freedmen: Race Relations During Presidential Reconstruction, 1865-67. Durham: Duke University Press, 1985.
- Barrett, John Gilchrist. Sherman's March Through the Carolinas. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954.
- _____. The Civil War in North Carolina. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963.
- Bentley, George R. A History of the Freedmen's Bureau. New York: Octagon Books, 1970.
- Bivins, John, Jr. Longrifles of North Carolina. York: George Shumway, 1968.
- Clark, Walter, ed. Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-65. Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1901.
- Evans, William McKee. Ballots and Fence Rails; Reconstruction on the Lower Cape Fear. Chapel Hill: University of Chapel Hill Press, 1967.
- Griffin, Richard W. "Reconstruction of the North Carolina Textile Industry, 1865-1885," North Carolina Historical Review, XLI (Winter, 1964), 34-53.
- Hamilton, J. G. DeRoulhac. Reconstruction in North Carolina. Columbia University Press, 1914.
- Oates, John A. The Story of Fayetteville and the Upper Cape Fear. Charlotte: The Dowd Press, Inc., 1950.
- Stampf, Kenneth M. The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965.