

# **Maverick Republican in the Old North State**

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A Political Biography of  
**Daniel L. Russell**

JEFFREY J. CROW and ROBERT F. DURDEN

# Maverick Republican In The Old North State

**Gregory P. Downs**



## **Maverick Republican In The Old North State:**

**Maverick Republican in the Old North State** Jeffrey J. Crow, Robert F. Durden, 1999-03-01 Daniel Russell is a good example of what Carl Degler has termed the other South The son of an aristocratic eastern North Carolina family of staunch Whig Unionists he entered politics when the Republican party first appeared in the state after the Civil War For more than forty years thereafter he fought the solid South mentality of the Bourbon Democrats first as a Radical Republican judge then as a Greenbacker congressman and finally as a Republican governor with Populist sympathies the only chief executive of his party that North Carolina had between Reconstruction and the 1970s The basic themes of Russell s political life were racial and economic in nature As a judge on the state superior court he ruled in the Wilmington opera house case of 1873 that blacks could not be denied accommodations on the account of their race As a congressman he embraced the cause of currency reform and the regulation of corporate enterprise Elected governor in 1896 by an uneasy coalition of Populists and Republicans an alliance that Crow and Durden fully examine he pushed reforms designed to bring nonresident corporations under stricter state supervision and challenged the ninety nine year lease of the state owned North Carolina Railroad to J P Morgan s Southern Railway Company The Democrats triumphant white supremacy campaigns of 1898 and 1900 and the resulting disfranchisement of black voters however crushed these progressive initiatives and afterward the complex and sometimes irascible Russell kept a low profile until his term ended in 1901 His final years were taken up by a famous interstate lawsuit that he initiated to force North Carolina to pay certain Reconstruction debts it had repudiated The reasons for Russell s political failure while southern Progressives of the period generally succeeded shed much new light on the reform movement in the South between 1890 and 1910 Although the reforms that he took up were no more radical than those called for by his contemporaries Crow and Durden find in this first full account of his career that in the last analysis Russell s unique blend of Old South paternalism toward blacks with New South radicalism concerning currency and railway reform challenged too many taboos of race class and party *The North Carolina Railroad, 1849-1871, and the Modernization of North Carolina* Allen W. Trelease, 2018-07-25 In telling the story of the North Carolina Railroad s independent years 1849-71 Trelease covers all aspects of the company and its development including its construction and rolling stock its management labor force and labor policies its passenger and freight operations and its role in the Civil War He also assesses the impact of the railroad on the economic and social development of North Carolina Originally published in 1991 A UNC Press Enduring Edition UNC Press Enduring Editions use the latest in digital technology to make available again books from our distinguished backlist that were previously out of print These editions are published unaltered from the original and are presented in affordable paperback formats bringing readers both historical and cultural value

**Redistricting and Gerrymandering in North Carolina** J. Michael Bitzer, 2021-09-14 This book gives a historical and contemporary overview of the redistricting process using North Carolina for the different political electoral and legal issues

and debates over the practice of drawing legislative district boundaries Redistricting has been characterized as the most political activity in America and North Carolina has often been at the heart of recent controversies over this particular activity In fact the Tar Heel state was once described as long notorious for its outrageous reapportionment Through legislative construction to significant legal challenges the Tar Heel state has been a noted case study for the past thirty years From the contentious issues of redistricting principles to the matters of gerrymandering based on race and politics North Carolina s past three decades have seen major U S Supreme Court cases deal with redistricting controversies By exploring this state s dealings with gerrymandering and redistricting readers will have a better sense of the dynamics facing the nation as it confronts the 2020 Census and the subsequent redistricting efforts in 2021 Jule Carr Mena Webb,2017-11-01 A UNC Press Enduring Edition UNC Press Enduring Editions use the latest in digital technology to make available again books from our distinguished backlist that were previously out of print These editions are published unaltered from the original and are presented in affordable paperback formats bringing readers both historical and cultural value **Many Excellent People** Paul D. Escott,2012-12-30 Many Excellent People examines the nature of North Carolina s social system particularly race and class relations power and inequality during the last half of the nineteenth century Paul Escott portrays North Carolina s major social groups focusing on the elite the ordinary white farmers or workers and the blacks and analyzes their attitudes social structure and power relationships Quoting frequently from a remarkable array of letters journals diaries and other primary sources he shows vividly the impact of the Civil War Emancipation Reconstruction Populism and the rise of the New South industrialism on southern society Working within the new social history and using detailed analyses of five representative counties wartime violence Ku Klux Klan membership stock law legislation and textile mill records Escott reaches telling conclusions on the interplay of race class and politics Despite fundamental political and economic reforms Escott argues North Carolina s social system remained as hierarchical and undemocratic in 1900 as it had been in 1850

**The Paradox of Tar Heel Politics** Rob Christensen,2010-10-04 How can a state be represented by Jesse Helms and John Edwards at the same time Journalist Rob Christensen answers that question and navigates a century of political history in North Carolina one of the most politically vibrant and competitive southern states where neither conservatives nor liberals Democrats nor Republicans have been able to rest easy It is this climate of competition and challenge Christensen argues that enabled North Carolina to rise from poverty in the nineteenth century to become a leader in research education and banking in the twentieth In this new paperback edition Christensen provides updated coverage of recent changes in North Carolina s political landscape including the scandals surrounding John Edwards and Mike Easley the defeat of U S senator Elizabeth Dole the election of the state s first woman governor and voters approval of an African American candidate for president The book provides an overview of the run up to the 2010 elections and explains how North Carolina has become arguably the most politically competitive state in the South **North Carolina Through Four Centuries** William Stevens

Powell,1989 A history of North Carolina covers the social economic and political forces that shaped it *Race and Politics in North Carolina, 1872-1901* Eric Anderson,1980-12-01 Eric Anderson studies one of the most remarkable centers of black political influence in the late nineteenth century North Carolina s second congressional district From its creation in 1872 as a result of gerrymandering to its collapse in the extremism of 1900 the black second produced increasingly effective black leaders in public office from postmasters to prosecuting attorneys and congressmen *Race and Politics in North Carolina* illuminates the complex effects upon whites of the rise of black leadership both within the Republican party and in the larger community Although many white Republicans found it difficult to accept an increasing role for blacks they worked in acceptable if awkward partnership with Negro Republicans By 1900 strident appeals for white solidarity had cracked the fragile biracial unit of the Republican second district With the emergence of such Democratic leaders as Furnifold Simmons Josephus Daniels Charles B Aycock and Claude Kitchin second district men all a restrictive notion of the Negro s place in society had triumphed in North Carolina and the nation Eric Anderson s study examines regional and national history His record clarifies a confusing uneven period of promise from the emancipation to the disfranchisement of black Americans

Schooling the New South James L. Leloudis,2000-11-09 Schooling the New South deftly combines social and political history gender studies and African American history into a story of educational reform James Leloudis recreates North Carolina s classrooms as they existed at the turn of the century and explores the wide ranging social and psychological implications of the transition from old fashioned common schools to modern graded schools He argues that this critical change in methods of instruction both reflected and guided the transformation of the American South According to Leloudis architects of the New South embraced the public school as an institution capable of remodeling their world according to the principles of free labor and market exchange By altering habits of learning they hoped to instill in students a vision of life that valued individual ambition and enterprise above the familiar relations of family church and community Their efforts eventually created both a social and a pedagogical revolution says Leloudis Public schools became what they are today the primary institution responsible for the socialization of children and therefore the principal battleground for society s conflicts over race class and gender *Southern History Education North Carolina* **Gender and Jim Crow** Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore,2013-04-01 Glenda Gilmore recovers the rich nuances of southern political history by placing black women at its center She explores the pivotal and interconnected roles played by gender and race in North Carolina politics from the period immediately preceding the disfranchisement of black men in 1900 to the time black and white women gained the vote in 1920 *Gender and Jim Crow* argues that the ideology of white supremacy embodied in the Jim Crow laws of the turn of the century profoundly reordered society and that within this environment black women crafted an enduring tradition of political activism According to Gilmore a generation of educated African American women emerged in the 1890s to become in effect diplomats to the white community after the disfranchisement of their husbands brothers and fathers Using the lives of

African American women to tell the larger story Gilmore chronicles black women's political strategies their feminism and their efforts to forge political ties with white women Her analysis highlights the active role played by women of both races in the political process and in the emergence of southern progressivism In addition Gilmore illuminates the manipulation of concepts of gender by white supremacists and shows how this rhetoric changed once women black and white gained the vote

Charles N. Hunter and Race Relations in North Carolina John H. Haley, 2014-07-02 Charles N Hunter one of North Carolina's outstanding black reformers was born a slave in Raleigh around 1851 and he lived there until his death in 1931 As public school teacher journalist and historian Hunter devoted his long life to improving opportunities for blacks A political activist but never a radical he skillfully used his journalistic abilities and his personal contacts with whites to publicize the problems and progress of his race He urged blacks to ally themselves with the best of the white leaders and he constantly reminded whites that their treatment of his race ran counter to their professed religious beliefs and the basic tenets of the American liberal tradition By carefully balancing his efforts Hunter helped to establish a spirit of passive protest against racial injustice John Haley's compelling book largely based on Hunter's voluminous papers affords a unique opportunity to view race relations in North Carolina through the eyes of a black man It also provides the first continuous survey of the black experience in the state from the end of the Civil War to the Great Depression an account that critiques the belief that race relations were better in North Carolina than in other southern states

**Revolt of the Tar Heels** James M. Beeby, 2008 During the 1890s North Carolina witnessed a political revolution as the newly formed Populist Party joined with the Republicans to throw out do nothing conservative Democrats Focusing on political transformation electoral reform and new economic policies to aid poor and struggling farmers the Populists and their coalition partners took power at all levels in the only southern state where Populists gained statewide office For a brief four years the Populists and Republicans gave an object lesson in progressive politics in which whites and African Americans worked together for the betterment of the state and the lives of the people James M Beeby examines the complex history of the rise and fall of the Populist Party in the late nineteenth century His book explores the causes behind the political insurgency of small farmers in the state It offers the first comprehensive and in depth study of the movement focusing on local activists as well as state leadership It also elucidates the relationship between Populists and African Americans the nature of cooperation between Republicans and Populists and local dynamics and political campaigning in the Gilded Age In a last gasp attempt to return to power the Democrats focused on the Populists weak point race The book closes with an analysis of the virulent campaign of white supremacy engineered by threatened Democrats and the ultimate downfall of already quarreling Populists and Republicans With the defeat of the Populist ticket North Carolina joined other southern states by entering an era of segregation and systematic disfranchisement James M Beeby is an assistant professor of history at Indiana University Southeast

**North Carolina** William A. Link, 2018-01-16 Did You Know This book is available as a Wiley E Text The Wiley E Text is a complete

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Black Wilmington and the North Carolina Way John L. Godwin, 2000 In this gripping narrative of the development of the Civil Rights movement in North Carolina Dr John L Godwin brings to life the infamous case of the Wilmington Ten and the subsequent allegations of conspiracy Through extensive research and interviews he seeks to uncover some of the truth behind the actual events of the 1972 trial while at the same time drawing readers in with the compelling details of the movement s origins in North Carolina and its ultimate outcome in one community Dr Godwin underscores his effort with a comprehensive exploration of the Civil Rights movement through the eyes of the locality comparing it incisively to the earlier protests of the 1960s His portrait joins that of scholars who have sought to describe the transformation brought about by black leadership on the local and state level recounting both its victories and the frustrated hopes of local activists in addition to how the new conservatism ultimately succeeded in co-opting the movement For Wilmington this is set against the background of North Carolina politics and civic culture highlighting the role of Benjamin Chavis and his rise to national prominence Filled with pictures that personalize this troubled era of American history Dr Godwin s book is an essential resource not only to historians but also to students of public policy

*Marion Butler and American Populism* James Logan Hunt, 2003 This first full biography of North Carolina s leading Populist Marion Butler 1863 1938 details his leadership and explores his connections to the history of the Farmers Alliance Populism and progressivism

**Threatening Property** Elizabeth A. Herbin-Triant, 2019-05-28 White supremacists determined what African Americans could do and where they could go in the Jim Crow South but they were less successful in deciding where black people could live because different groups of white supremacists did not agree on the question of residential segregation In *Threatening Property* Elizabeth A Herbin Triant investigates early twentieth century campaigns for residential segregation laws in North Carolina to show how the version of white supremacy supported by middle class white people differed from that supported by the elites Class divides prevented Jim Crow from expanding to the extent that it would require separate neighborhoods for black and white southerners as in apartheid South Africa Herbin Triant details the backlash against the economic successes of African Americans among middle class whites who claimed that they wished to protect property values and so campaigned for residential segregation laws both in the city and the countryside where their actions were modeled on South Africa s Natives Land Act White elites blocked these efforts primarily because it was against their financial interest to remove the black workers that they employed in their homes farms and factories Herbin Triant explores what the split over residential

segregation laws reveals about competing versions of white supremacy and about the position of middling whites in a region dominated by elite planters and businessmen An illuminating work of social and political history Threatening Property puts class front and center in explaining conflict over the expansion of segregation laws into private property The Life and Death of the Solid South Dewey W. Grantham, 2021-10-21 Southern style politics was one of those peculiar institutions that differentiated the South from other American regions This system long referred to as the Solid South embodied a distinctive regional culture and was perpetuated through an undemocratic distribution of power and a structure based on disfranchisement malapportioned legislatures and one party politics It was the mechanism that determined who would govern in the states and localities and in national politics it was the means through which the South's politicians defended their region's special interests and political autonomy The history of this remarkable institution can be traced in the gradual rise long persistence and ultimate decline of the Democratic Party dominance in the land below the Potomac and the Ohio This is the story that Dewey W Grantham tells in his fresh and authoritative account of the South's modern political experience The distillation of many years of research and reflection is both a synthesis of the extensive literature on politics in the recent South and a challenging reinterpretation of the region's political history **Declarations of Dependence** Gregory P. Downs, 2011-02-14 In this highly original study Gregory Downs argues that the most American of wars the Civil War created a seemingly un American popular politics rooted not in independence but in voluntary claims of dependence Through an examination of the pleas and petitions of ordinary North Carolinians Declarations of Dependence contends that the Civil War redirected not destroyed claims of dependence by exposing North Carolinians to the expansive but unsystematic power of Union and Confederate governments and by loosening the legal ties that bound them to husbands fathers and masters Faced with anarchy during the long reconstruction of government authority people turned fervently to the government for protection and sustenance pleading in fantastic intimate ways for attention This personalistic or what Downs calls patronal politics allowed for appeals from subordinate groups like freed blacks and poor whites and also bound people emotionally to newly expanding postwar states Downs's argument rewrites the history of the relationship between Americans and their governments showing the deep roots of dependence the complex impact of the Civil War upon popular politics and the powerful role of Progressivism and segregation in submerging a politics of dependence that in new form rose again in the New Deal and persists today **The Forest City Lynching of 1900** J. Timothy Cole, 2016-04-05 Politics in Rutherford County were heated a century ago the developing textile industry the growing population an agricultural crisis and race relations inflamed everyone Mills Higgins Flack a leader of the Farmers Alliance and the county's first Populist in the state House was allegedly murdered on August 28 1900 by Avery Mills an African American This book documents the murder and the lynching of Avery Mills The author Flack's great great grandson considers the phenomena of racial lynching the Populist movement in the county the white supremacy movement of the state's Democratic party and the county's KKK



activities      **Forgotten Legacy** Benjamin R. Justesen, 2020-12-16 In *Forgotten Legacy* Benjamin R Justesen reveals a previously unexamined facet of William McKinley's presidency: an ongoing dedication to the advancement of African Americans including their appointment to significant roles in the federal government and the safeguarding of their rights as U S citizens. During the first two years of his administration, McKinley named nearly as many African Americans to federal office as all his predecessors combined. He also acted on many fronts to stiffen federal penalties for participation in lynch mobs and to support measures promoting racial tolerance. Indeed, Justesen's work suggests that McKinley might well be considered the first civil rights president, especially when compared to his next five successors in office. Nonetheless, historians have long minimized, trivialized, or overlooked McKinley's cooperative relationships with prominent African American leaders, including George Henry White, the nation's only black congressman between 1897 and 1901. Justesen contends that this conventional, one-sided portrait of McKinley is at best incomplete and misleading, and often severely distorts the historical record. A Civil War veteran and the child of abolitionist parents, the twenty-fifth president committed himself to advocating for equity for America's black citizens. Justesen uses White's parallel efforts in and outside of Congress as the primary lens through which to view the McKinley administration's accomplishments in racial advancement. He focuses on McKinley's regular meetings with a small and mostly unheralded group of African American advisers and his enduring relationship with leaders of the new National Afro American Council. His nomination of black U S postmasters, consuls, midlevel agency appointees, military officers, and some high-level officials, including U S ministers to Haiti and Liberia, serves as perhaps the most visible example of the president's work in this area. Only months before his assassination in 1901, McKinley toured the South, visiting African American colleges to praise black achievements and encourage a spirit of optimism among his audiences. Although McKinley succumbed to political pressure and failed to promote equality and civil rights as much as he had initially hoped, Justesen shows that his efforts proved far more significant than previously thought and were halted only by his untimely death.

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