

MANLY McCAULEY

1880-1898

Background on His Life in Orange County, North Carolina, and His Death by Lynch Mob just West of Chapel Hill

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for the Orange County Community Remembrance Coalition (OCCRC)
in Coordination with the Equal Justice Initiative (EJI)

Synopsis:

MANLY McCAULEY was a young black man and farmhand in the countryside west of Chapel Hill when he eloped with a married white woman just before the pivotal election of 1898. He was 18 and employed on her husband's farm; she was 27 and the mother of three. The couple retreated two counties south, but her husband formed a large posse to hunt for them. After four days together, Manly and the woman were captured. The posse took them back toward Chapel Hill, and on the night of Sunday, **October 30, 1898**, when they arrived home to their farming community, some of the men led Manly into the woods and hanged him. The lynching occurred in the vicinity of where the intersection of **Old Greensboro Road and Hatch Road** is in present-day Chapel Hill. Two weeks later, four men were arrested for murder and promptly acquitted. The affair between a black man and a married white woman immediately became fodder for propaganda as Election Day neared. Newspapers across North Carolina and beyond reported that the woman's husband and father both held progressive racial attitudes, and thus were to blame for the affair. Newspapers and politicians used this fact as one of many weapons to urge white men to vote Democratic, the "white man's ticket," rather than for Populists or Republicans. Democrats succeeded in flipping the balance of power in North Carolina by historic proportions. But in Wilmington, where they did not prevail, mass violence was employed instead: The Wilmington Massacre of 1898 occurred while Manly McCauley's body was still hanging from a tree 150 miles away.

As the author's research reveals, the people and land connected to Manly McCauley's lynching ended up being linked in some way through the years to a founding family of the University of North Carolina, two U.S. senators, a legendary basketball coach, and a world-famous musician.

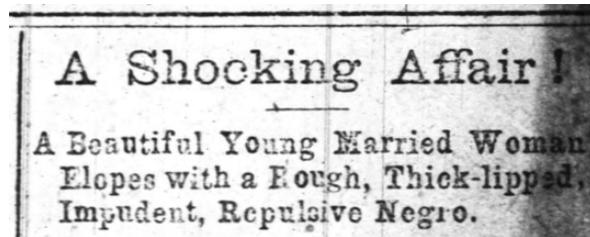
PART 1: HIS LYNCHING

The Racial Terror Lynching of Manly McCauley:

Manly McCauley was 18 when a mob murdered him in the fall of 1898 after he and Maggie Lloyd Brewer ran off together from the countryside just west of Chapel Hill. Manly reportedly had been working as a farmhand for the Brewers, a white couple, for about a year by then in Bingham Township. Then on October 26, 1898, Manly and Maggie eloped. The next week's edition of *The News* of Chapel Hill dedicated a quarter of its front page to the affair and the subsequent pursuit by a posse. Under the headline, "A Shocking Affair!: A Beautiful Young Woman Elopes with a Rough, Thick-lipped, Impudent, Repulsive Negro," a lengthy story appeared. News of the affair had already made newspapers around the state, but when Manly's hometown paper went to print, it was especially cruel. The first sentence called him "a black, repulsive, grossly-impertinent and reproachful negro." The story later referred to him as "this imp of the devil." The reported account of events was full of details (and propaganda) that if true must've come — directly or second-hand — from Maggie's family. Given the amount of personal detail sure

to cause embarrassment when published in the small community, it seems unlikely the newspaper made up the bulk of the account. Although it is fair to question, in that era's atmosphere, whether embellishment existed.

At the time, Maggie and Milton Brewer had three children (ages 10, 6, and 3, according to census and other data), but according to *The News*, their marriage was on the rocks. Since Manly had been working on their



farm, Maggie had repeatedly left her husband and sought refuge at the home of her parents, the Lloyds, close by. During the fateful Wednesday when she and Manly eloped, she was upset again and went to her parents' house in a "tantrum" over Milton. Her father tried to talk her down several times and said that she was to blame for the troubles in her marriage and she should go home to her husband. She replied: "I never expect to go back and I shall never spend another night under your roof."

It was corn harvest season in 1898 when Maggie went to her father that day. One report stated that while Milton was away that afternoon to be at a neighbors' cornshucking, he believed Manly was also absent from the farm, for another cornshucking. This detail indicated that Milton had reason to worry about leaving his wife and employee together at home. As Maggie complained to her father, Manly wandered over to the Lloyd farm several times that day too, for no work-related purpose, and lingered. He looked concerned as an upset Maggie talked with her father. At one point, her father saw Maggie and Manly talking to each other in "close conversation at the door." Manly must have lived with the Brewers, because at the end of the day he said he was going back to the Brewers' to go to bed. It was at this point, either in the late afternoon or around dusk, that Maggie left her kids with her parents and she and Manly took off.

The news of such an elopement — before a posse even went in pursuit — made the front page of the *Durham Daily Sun* under the headline: "Eloped With A Negro Man." The tale was deemed so scandalous that the first report omitted the Brewers' names for discretion, but called Maggie's lover as "black as the ace of spades." It also acknowledged that in the political climate of the moment, the story sounded like fictional propaganda, but swore it was true. Shortly after the posse captured the couple, the story of the affair made the *Charlotte Daily Observer* 120 miles away with a headline that humiliated Maggie's husband by name: "The Wife of Milton Brewer Runs Away but is Overtaken. The Black Man Also Captured but Disappears."

The tale of the elopement, capture, and suspected lynching made newspapers across North Carolina, and even as far away as Texas. According to dozens of news reports, this is what happened after Manly and Maggie fled the farm on that Wednesday, 13 days before the election:

In the daylight of the next morning, Thursday, neighbors worked to track the couple's exit. Contemporary news reports placed the Brewer farm about 4 miles west of Chapel Hill and the site of Manly's lynching about 3 miles west. In modern times, the old Brewer farm is a little off of what is now Old Greensboro Road. It is still in Bingham Township, but the neighborhood has Chapel Hill mailing addresses. The Brewer farm was adjacent to Maggie's parents, the Lloyds, their homes about 400 yards apart. In 2019, a Lloyd Farm Road spurs off of Old Greensboro Road about 500 yards from Ivey Road, where the old Brewer farm had been in 1898. (In 2019, there is also a McCauley Lane in the area, which was known to be home to black McCauleys in the 21st century.) Measured more precisely today, Ivey Road is 5.1 miles from the edge of downtown Chapel Hill, and the approximate site of Manly's lynching is 2.7 miles.



As neighbors looked for signs of Manly's and Maggie's path, they traced the couple as having skipped the neighborhood through a field toward the Pittsboro Road. Supposedly, according to the Chapel Hill newspaper, Manly's people lived in Jonesboro, south of Pittsboro. A search party hunted the neighborhood until Milton Brewer got together a posse of as many as 30 men who went off in pursuit on Friday. The posse eventually caught up to Manly and Maggie on Sunday morning in Lemon Springs, about 40 miles south, just past Jonesboro and across a stream that in 2019 is named Mulatto Branch. Manly and Maggie were found at a house (perhaps his parents' according to one report, but there is no other evidence to back up that claim), where they'd arrived only 20

minutes before. The posse captured the two and hired a carriage for Maggie. Manly was “tied and marched out of town.”

When the posse passed through Pittsboro on Sunday afternoon heading north back toward Chapel Hill, seven armed men trailed behind the carriage. At first, reports were vague and unclear about what might’ve happened from there. Members of the posse said that Manly “disappeared” before or about when they got back home. Maggie was taken to her father’s home. One newspaper stated: “The woman is still alive thanks to the leniency of an outraged husband.”

Whether they were members of the original posse or the posse was intercepted as it arrived triumphantly back to their farming community, what seems clear is that a handful of men — neighbors of Milton, Maggie, and Manly; and likely including Milton — took Manly and broke off from the larger group. The men went into some “open woods” off the road they were traveling, which reportedly continued north toward Cedar Grove, to kill Manly McCauley about three miles west of Chapel Hill.

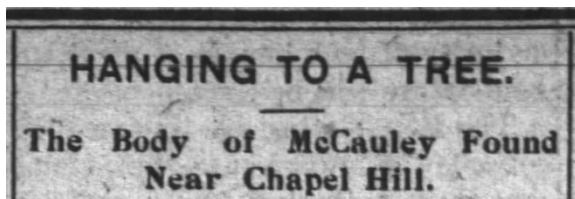
[Here it is worth noting two things regarding the time and place of Manly’s lynching. The Equal Justice Initiative monument for Orange County gives the date as October 28, 1898. While the posse left in pursuit on October 28, news accounts and geography show that date to be imprecise. Manly wasn’t lynched until the posse returned to the neighborhood, having traveled at least 80 miles roundtrip, a journey that would take 26 hours on foot today. Further, the Pittsboro newspaper reported that they passed through that town with Manly alive on Sunday afternoon, October 30, on the way back toward Chapel Hill. They still had 16 miles to go from there, 5.5 hours on foot. With horses and a cart, the trip would’ve gone a little more quickly. But they wouldn’t have gotten home until that evening or night, likely placing the date of Manly’s lynching as Sunday, October 30, 1898. As for their route: The Pittsboro Road from their neighborhood is present-day Sesame Road. This is based on contemporary news accounts; the modern map; examination of the 1891 “Tate Map” of Orange County with Mark Chilton, Register of Deeds and an expert of local historical maps; and a neighborhood historian. Where Sesame Road today ends as it reaches Old Greensboro Road, it seems that in the 1890s that road (by another name) went on and curved north-by-northeast to Calvander, where the route continued north. According to the neighborhood historian, who is a descendant of one of the lynchers, lore says that the lynching occurred roughly where in 2019 that Old Greensboro Road and Hatch Road intersect, less than a mile east of Sesame Road. Another rumor places the site a little farther north up Hatch Road, west of the modern road, not far from St. John Holy Church.]

As these armed men took Manly into the woods off the road, shooting him apparently wouldn’t have sufficed as punishment. Nor would have a routine hanging. It was common in racial terror lynchings for white perpetrators to inflict torturous violence upon the victim, both before his or her death and afterward to the body. This included acts such as severe beatings, burning victims alive, poking eyes out with red-hot irons, castration, severing ears, dismemberment, and collecting body parts as souvenirs. As far as we know, what Manly’s lynchers did to him was not as extreme, but we have no knowledge of the moments just prior to his hanging. What we do know happened next did go beyond a desire to make an example of him with an execution from a sturdy branch. The men came upon a dogwood tree. They secured a rope around Manly’s neck. They bent a branch of the dogwood toward the ground. They tied the rope’s other end to the tree. And they let go of the branch, jerking Manly into the air, snapping his neck.

An Attempt For Justice:

Exactly one week later, on the evening of Sunday, November 6, two days before the election, a farmer named Thomas Myrick was walking on a path through those woods when he discovered Manly McCauley’s body “swinging from the limb of a tree, with the dead man’s toes just touching the ground.” The small tree was about 200 yards from the public road. Outrage was the mood of the press, not over the extrajudicial killing but that an attractive, married white woman with an upstanding reputation would leave her husband for a black man. One newspaper said of the lynchers’ methods that “the work was skillfully done.”

Manly’s body had already been hanging for seven days and nights, and was left there for at least another three. It was reportedly still there as of 6 p.m. on Wednesday, November 9, the day after the election. The rope



holding Manly's body was not cut until the coroner could get there from 24 miles away. In total, Manly's body hung from the dogwood for 10 or more days.

Before Manly was found, one newspaper forebodingly reported that "the blacks are making threats as to what they will do if he is not produced." One newspaper alleged that the men who lynched him were not part of the posse and had taken Manly from the original group. Another newspaper speculated that the lynchers were not even from Chapel Hill. There's not much, if anything, to back up those claims. And four men from the neighborhood were arrested for murder when Manly's family pressed the issue.

A warrant was sworn out following the affidavit of Manly's uncle, Stephen Alston. He was the younger brother of Manly's mother. The warrants were issued on Saturday, November 12, by 'Squire E.L. Cooley of Hillsboro, the county seat, for Milton Brewer, Jesse King, Reldue Lloyd, and Walter Neville, all of Chapel Hill. On Monday, November 14, the equivalent of a coroner's inquest took place in Hillsboro before a jury. 'Squire John Kirkland presided over the trial. Kirkland was a Justice of the Peace, and leading up to the election was selected as a delegate to the Judicial Convention for the North Carolina Democrats.

The jury summoned by the coroner, Dr. D.C. Parrish, to investigate the nature of the death was comprised of six jurors, all from Chapel Hill. Four were white men (A.J. McDade, W.T. Hearne, W.W. Pickard, and L.G. Sykes), and two were black (George Trice and Haywood Purefoy). This coroner was a different man than whom the newspaper reported was coming to cut down Manly. It's possible that Manly's body had been intentionally left hanging for days after its discovery as a message.

The jurors determined that Manly died from hanging by parties unknown, so evidently the four arrested men went on trial at once. No record of this case exists in the minutes for the Orange County Superior Court term of November 1898, a logical court to have heard a murder case. This fact, and news accounts, indicate that the trial transpired in a lower court immediately after the coroner's inquest. The four accused men then faced a speedy trial, perhaps a bench trial or a grand jury trial, on November 14. It also occurred before a justice of the peace rather than a judge. The charges they faced were murder and assault and battery with a deadly weapon. More than 100 years later, a relative of one of the lynchers not arrested interviewed a man who said his father had been on a grand jury for the case. The man said that two of the lynchers visited his father, Johnny Whitfield, at his home to compel him to influence the jury not to stir up trouble with their decision.

At the 2 p.m. trial, the defendants were "promptly" acquitted of all charges. One newspaper indicated that Jesse King had been acting as an officer of the law and in charge of Manly, but was supposedly overpowered by a mob of the actual lynchers, men unknown. It also said King was alone in custody of Manly, his "prisoner," when he was met by masked men. This version of events seems likely to have been the story told in court by the accused.

The attorney for the prosecution was Chester D. Turner of Hillsboro. The defense attorneys were J. Crawford Biggs of Chapel Hill and Major John W. Graham of Hillsboro. "Nothing has been accomplished by the arrest of the men mentioned above," one newspaper stated. "It is doubtful whether it will ever be known who did hang McCauley."

The Politics Surrounding McCauley's Lynching:

Manly's murder occurred within days of one of the most pivotal and volatile moments in North Carolina's history. Two decades after the end of Reconstruction, Fusion politics had gained momentum across the nation as the United States struggled to proceed while integrating a formerly enslaved population into its societal fabric. Populist parties fused with other political parties during the 1890s, and in North Carolina the Populists, founded to protect the interests of white farmers, combined forces with Republicans, still very much the party of Lincoln and attentive to African Americans' interests. Southern Democrats had fought hard to undo any gains black people had made during Reconstruction. But the alliance between Populists and Republicans in 1890s North Carolina had nearly swept Democrats from power, threatening to relegate the "party of white supremacy" for the foreseeable future. As a result, 1898 saw a surge in hateful, scaremongering propaganda aimed at splitting that alliance by turning struggling white people against their black neighbors. The campaign vigorously pushed the black-beast-rapist trope and portrayed black men as menacing monsters who left unchecked (and with Republicans in power) would terrorize the land. It was no coincidence that this period in Southern history saw towns segregate into fully distinct black and white neighborhoods.

White people were doing the terrorizing, however. With the help of the Red Shirts, who performed voter suppression by intimidating black people at political events and at the polls, Democrats succeeded at the ballot box. Newspapers containing accounts of Manly McCauley also included stories about the activities of the Red Shirts, akin to the Ku Klux Klan. The first edition of the state's biggest newspaper, *The News and Observer* in Raleigh, printed after Manly's lynching featured this political cartoon [below] at the top-center of its front page.

The next day's *News and Observer* ran in the same spot a letter from Chapel Hill by sitting U.S. congressman William Franklin Strowd. Rep. Strowd was a Populist but he implored white men not to vote for the current Fusionists. About men he saw as having been fooled by "unholy" Fusion, he wrote: "THEY ARE SIMPLY VOTING THE REPUBLICAN TICKET IN DISGUISE. Thousands already see it, and have come out for White Supremacy."



Thanks to racist scare tactics and violence, the state's political pendulum swung from one extreme to the other. Orange County went Democratic, as did the precincts in and around Chapel Hill, including Republican strongholds and one in the farming community where the Brewers lived. The Fusion movement in North Carolina died.

Manly saw up close and personal in the eyes of his executioners the violent nature of this turning point, even if he didn't live to see its long-term implications. Nor did he live to know of the bloody coup d'état that took place in Wilmington as his body was cut down from a dogwood tree. He was lynched on October 30, his body was found on November 6, Election Day was Nov. 8, and his body was probably taken by the coroner on November 10, the day of the Wilmington Massacre.

Next to the lengthy front-page story about Manly McCauley and the Brewers in *The News* of Chapel Hill was an item urging white men to only hire white labor. On another page, an item read: "Vote for the protection of your wives and daughters!" A lawyer running to be a prosecutor gave a stump speech in Chapel Hill and referenced the body still hanging three miles west of the crowd, using Manly's affair with Maggie, rather than his extralegal murder, as a rhetorical prop. A story paraphrasing his speech stated: "That a white woman could stoop so low as to elope with a negro seems impossible. But the woman was born of a family who winked at social equality.... She married a man who entertained the same views."



"Reaped What He Sowed" that accused Milton of "mixing up with negroes, counselling and advising with them in their hellish designs against white people and especially pure and innocent young women."

Maggie was described as a “pretty brunette,” intelligent, possessing an excellent reputation, coming from an upstanding family, and married to a substantial farmer of similar repute. But the Chapel Hill paper also shamed at length Maggie’s father for his politics, saying he had been “mixing with negroes for years, and has always appeared to be painfully apprehensive that the negro’s rights would be taken from him.” It also claimed that “at public meetings and elections he could always be found with the sable hued elements of his party.” According to the paper, Maggie’s “hideous” affair proved that all the fearmongering Democrats had done were not lies. “Isn’t this a dose of ‘Nigger’ ... right in a nest of Republicanism?” it said. Elsewhere in the state, a mob abducted from jail a black man accused of two attempted rapes and “swung him to the nearest tree” the day before the election.

Three days later, the horrors of white mob violence erupted in Wilmington. There, propaganda and Red Shirts hadn’t produced the desired political result, due to a strong black population. So in the morning, hundreds of outraged white men, led by an ex-congressman, waged war in the streets. They burned down the black newspaper’s building, murdered dozens of people, and overthrew the newly elected local government. It was the only successful coup d’état in American history.

The Republican and Fusionist governor, Daniel L. Russell — who as a young student had left UNC at the outset of the Civil War to organize a Confederate company despite vigorously opposing secession — would be out of power soon. The newly elected Democrats saw to it by disenfranchising African Americans for generations. But during this volatile month in his state, Gov. Russell received a request for comment from *The World* newspaper in New York City. In his papers, now housed at the State Archives, is the telegram Gov. Russell sent in reply. “I have nothing to say at this time about the race troubles in this state,” he wrote.

**TWO LYNCHINGS
IN TWO WEEKS**

A Negro Rapist and a Negro
Seducer, Hanged.

THE GOVERNOR NOTIFIED

OFFICER TRIED AND ACQUITTED
AT HILLSBORO.

MASKED MOB TOOK HIS PRISONER AWAY

Commissioner of Macon County Wrote the
Governor that “Under the Circum-
stances” a Special Term of
Court is Unnecessary.

TELEGRAM
POSTAL TELEGRAPH-CABLE COMPANY.
This Company transmits and delivers messages subject to the terms and conditions printed on the back of this blank.
JOHN O. STEVENS, Secretary. ALBERT B. CHANDLER, President and General Manager.

| COUNTER NUMBER. | TIME FILED. | CHECK. |
|-----------------|-------------|--------|
| | | M. |

Send the following message, without repeating, subject to the terms and conditions printed on the back hereof, which are hereby agreed to.

To The World Nov. 22 1898
New York City

I have nothing to say at this time about the race troubles in this state. May give you some account of them later.

D. L. Russell
Governor

Collected

PART 2: HIS LIFE

Manly J. McCauley:

Manly McCauley was born at the dawn of spring, in March of 1880, joining his parents and three older sisters in their home in Bingham Township in southern Orange County. We know this from the only existing U.S. census in which Manly appears, the 1880 census, by luck of his month of birth. On June 18, Manly J. McCauley was recorded as 2 months old and residing with his family just west of Chapel Hill. Baby Manly had likely just learned to smile. The census taker noted that Manly had been born in March, and since Manly was not yet 3 months old, we can narrow his birth date to a 13-day span, March 19 to March 31, 1880. This confirms his age as 18 years old when he was lynched in the same part of the county where he was born. (A couple of newspaper accounts of the lynching reported that Manly was new to the area. One in the western part of the state claimed he was from Chatham County. But numerous documents show that Manly's family had long roots around Chapel Hill.)

In 1880, Manly's parents were listed as David, age 30, and Luvina, 26, placing their births several years before the Civil War and emancipation. His father's occupation was farming, and Luvina's was listed as keeping house; both were recorded as unable to read or write. At this time, David and Luvina also had three daughters, older sisters to Manly: Ann C., age 5; Artelia F., 3; and A. Susan, 1. Ann and Susan were named after their grandmothers.

No other black McCauleys lived in Bingham Township in 1880, but the households on the same page of the census as Manly were a mixture of white and black families. Like elsewhere in the South, strict racial segregation in housing did not cement locally until closer to the turn of the century, in the era of Manly's lynching.

| | | | | |
|----------------|---|---|------|-----------|
| McCauley David | B | M | 30 | |
| Luvina | B | F | 26 | Wife |
| Ann C. | B | F | 5 | daughter |
| Artelia F. | B | F | 3 | daughter |
| A. Susan | B | F | 1 | daughter |
| Manly J. | B | M | 2/12 | Manly Son |

The most current census data on Manly would've appeared when he was 10, however the 1890 census was largely destroyed by fire and lost to history. By 1900, Manly's sisters would've been in their twenties and likely listed under different last names if married. But a 22-year-old black woman named Susan McCauley, surely Manly's sister, was living in 1900 Chapel Hill as an unmarried boarder and farm laborer. However, no one else in 1900 named McCauley in Orange or adjacent counties looks likely to be Manly's parents or other sisters. Manly's parents do not seem to show up in the entire state of North Carolina in 1900, two years after their son's death. (They don't appear in census searches for anywhere else either.) In the coming decades, millions of African Americans fled the South in the Great Migration that was propelled by racial terror. It's possible they were early participants.

We know from newspaper accounts that in 1898 Manly was a farm laborer who lived and worked on the substantial farm of Milton and Maggie Brewer. The Brewers, like the McCauleys, were also from that countryside just west of Chapel Hill, and a year and a half after Manly's lynching, they appeared in the 1900 census still in Bingham Township. This proximity and geography is essential to the story of Manly's life and death.

In 1898, Maggie and Manly evidently fell in love while Manly worked on the farm. Although Manly had been born just a generation removed from slavery, and after Reconstruction had given way to Redemption, he must've possessed an optimism about the possibilities for his life unwarranted by the broader racial landscape of the time. This could've been due to youthful naiveté and the love-clouded judgment of an 18-year-old. But it's also likely that exposure to more ostensibly open-minded white people like the Brewers shaped his worldview. Supposedly, Maggie's father had even interfered once in a potential lynching.

As Manly labored on the Brewer farm, perhaps Maggie shared with him that story about her father. Perhaps Manly knew of it already, as the case was notorious and occurred only two years prior. Perhaps she was simply looking for an escape from her husband. We can only guess how they bonded. Either way, two weeks after Maggie's 27th birthday, they convinced themselves that they could run away together and live anew in peace. So

on a Wednesday in late October, after she left her children with her parents, Maggie and Manly fled the farm while her husband was at a neighbor's cornshucking party. The couple headed south, but their elopement didn't last long, nor did Manly's life.

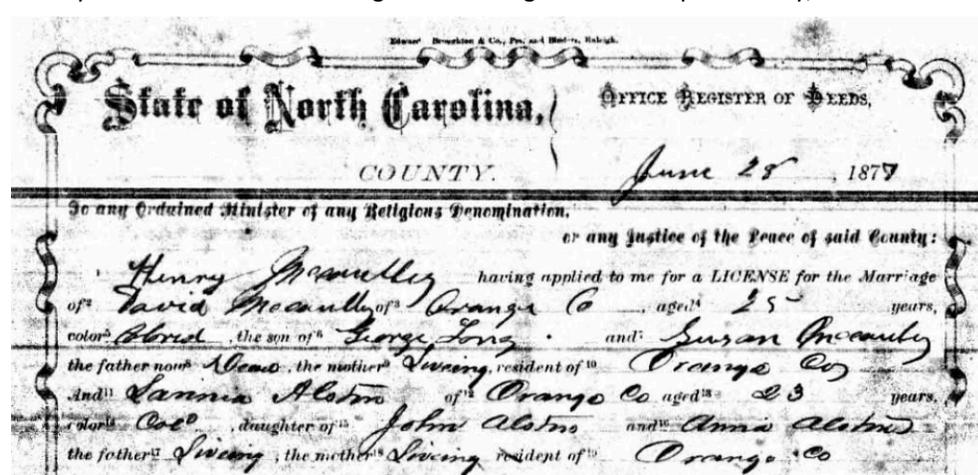
Manly McCauley's Parents:

The lives of Manly McCauley's parents overlapped with both slavery and emancipation. Yet in freedom, there was plenty to remind them that liberty was relative and conditional. In September of 1865, in the months after the Civil War's end when **David McCauley** and **Luvina Alston** (her maiden name) were adolescents, UNC students caught wind one night of a political meeting among a group of 20 African Americans in Chapel Hill. Students marched in an angry mob toward the building and attacked with rocks and sticks. The targeted group had gathered to elect delegates to the upcoming Convention of Freedmen in Raleigh. When they fought off the students in a bloody confrontation, the students trapped them on the second floor of the building. Yells of "fire to it!" came from the mob. The African Americans, threatened with being burned alive, leapt from the second floor to escape a mass lynching. Then in 1870, a nonviolent coup in Chapel Hill took place with the same white supremacist motives as the Wilmington Massacre. This Reconstruction-era coup overthrew the Chapel Hill government via a phony election. It was not bloody, but it took place against a backdrop of fervent Ku Klux Klan activity in the village and region. The illegal conservative government lasted only a month, collapsing upon being deemed illegitimate.

Twelve years after that attempted mass lynching and seven after the failed coup, Manly's parents married on July 1, 1877, at the mother of the bride's home in Bingham Township. Their marriage certificate shows the union of David McCauley, 25, and Lannia Alston, 23, both of Orange County. [See below: Spelling varies on documents.] Lannia's parents (Manly's maternal grandparents) were listed as Anna Alston and John Alston, both of Orange County. The parents of the groom (Manly's paternal grandparents) were George Long (deceased) and Susan McCauley, also of Orange County. The certificate's bottom half is in a different handwriting, and the bride's name there more closely resembles the 1880 census's name for the mother of Manly McCauley as Luvinia/Luvina/Lavinia/Lavina. In the marriage register book, the name looks like Lavinia. [In 2019, there is a street named Lavinia Lane next to Morgan Creek, for what it's worth.] Signed witnesses at the marriage included a Lloyd, Maggie Brewer's maiden name.

Prior to that, Manly's father appeared in the 1870 census as a 20-year-old single man and worker on a farm, unable to read or write, and was marked as "deaf and dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic." Every black or "mulatto" person on his page of the census was also marked as "deaf and dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic."

It's worth noting that on the 1877 marriage certificate, David's father was named as George Long and deceased, and that only two men named George Long appeared in the 1850, 1860, and 1870 censuses in Orange County — both white and seeming to live in Bingham Township. Curiously, one of them owned a single enslaved



person in the 1850 and 1860 slave schedules, and in both years the person was a teenage girl. (A pair of other Longs appearing in the slave schedules those years owned several enslaved people. And Longs signed as witnesses for wills of white McCauleys that bequeathed enslaved people to heirs.) So it

is possible, if not likely, that one of Manly's four biological grandparents was white. If he knew that fact, it could've contributed to Manly's hope that his relationship with Maggie stood a chance. It is also therefore possible that Manly's father was the product of his enslaved mother's rape.

Manly's paternal grandmother, Susan McCauley, also seemed to show up in the 1870 census as a live-in domestic servant for a Lloyd family. This Lloyd family was that of Thomas F. Lloyd, who was on his way to becoming the richest man in the county and one of the founders of the mill town of Carrboro, which is attached to downtown Chapel Hill. The census shows that she was born about 1920 and was living there with two sons, ages 14 and 11, both born before emancipation. The youngest shared the name George with the father of the groom listed as deceased on the marriage certificate for Manly's parents.

Manly's mother also appeared in the 1870 census as Luvenia Alston, 16, in the home of her parents, John and Ann Alston. John was listed as a 50-year-old blacksmith. Ann was 45 and keeping house. In 1870, John and Ann appeared to have 8 children, ages 4 to 17. Also at the residence was a "mulatto" 19-year-old named William Nevil, whose occupation was domestic servant. (Two Nevilles participated in Manly's lynching.) Luvenia's parents, as well as all the children older than 10 (including Luvenia), were marked as unable to read or write, and as "deaf and dumb, blind, insane, or idiotic."

It's probable that before the Civil War's end Manly's parents and (black) grandparents had been enslaved nearby. Upon gaining freedom, formerly enslaved people commonly adopted the last names of prior owners or nearby plantations. The surnames of Chapel Hill repeatedly tell this story, with many common names of black families matching those of prominent and/or longtime white families from the area. McCauley is one example.

In the slave schedules, names of enslaved people were not recorded. The enslaved people were merely denoted with a slash, a gender, and an age, underneath the name of an owner. In the 1860 slave schedule, a man named **Matthew McCauley** was listed as owning 11 enslaved people. On the same page, another person named Matthew McCauley Jr. was listed as owning 2 enslaved people. (There were four people by the name of Matthew McCauley in Orange County in the 1860 census — two adults and two children.) It seems that the owner of 11 enslaved people was the son of another, locally famous Matthew McCauley who emigrated from Northern Ireland in the 1770s, and who lived in the Morgan Creek area in Bingham Township. One of the enslaved people owned by the 1860 Matthew McCauley was a 10-year-old boy and another was a 6-year-old girl, matching the ages of Manly McCauley's parents in the 1880 census. It is likely that one or both of Manly's parents — especially his father — were represented by these lines of the slave schedule. Further, in the 1850 slave schedule, two enslaved people matching the ages and genders of two of Manly's grandparents were owned by men named Matthew McCauley.

It appears from the 1860 census that this Matthew McCauley was a farmer who owned real estate valued at \$5,500 and owned personal estate worth \$11,000, which would've included enslaved people.

Research later done by a McCauley descendant, and obtained by the author, shows that in the 1844 will of Martha McCauley, widow of one of the original McCauley brothers of Orange County, she left several enslaved people to her children. Among them was a woman inherited by her son Matthew. The woman's name was Susan, same as Manly's paternal grandmother.

PART 3: HIS FAMILY'S LIKELY ENSLAVERS

The McCauley Brothers of Northern Ireland and Chapel Hill:

A century before Manly was born, Matthew and William McCauley, brothers, came by boat to the United States from Northern Ireland in the 1770s. The King of England apparently had a price on the head of Matthew for his involvement in insurrections against the crown. Matthew was so fearful of capture, legend has it, he curled up and hid inside a molasses barrel aboard the ship until far out into the Atlantic Ocean. He was fed through the barrel's bung hole, and for the rest of his life, Matthew was known as "Bung" McCauley.

Upon settling in North Carolina, the McCauley brothers both acquired large amounts of land through purchases and grants in the vicinity of what soon became Chapel Hill, and elsewhere in Orange County, and both prospered. (Matthew received 761 acres in 1783 as a Revolutionary War Bounty Land Grant.) Matthew, already a personal enemy of the British, entered the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War and reached the rank of lieutenant and then captain in retirement. He wintered with George Washington at Valley Forge and was captured with Governor Burke in Hillsborough and imprisoned at sea. From then on, despite being a small man, Matthew would challenge to a fight any Tory sympathizer he met. He quickly became a well-known figure and owned the region's best grist mill, on Morgan Creek, and blacksmithing operation. His mill was so popular that

roadside signs in the vicinity noted how much farther it was. Matthew was also known as the distiller of the finest Irish whiskey in North Carolina.

The family names of Neville and King, the names of two of the four men arrested for hanging Manly McCauley, appeared repeatedly on various legal documents of the McCauleys in the 19th century. Two of Matthew McCauley's daughters married Nevilles. Another daughter married a King, also the maiden name of Milton Brewer's mother.

William McCauley, Bung's brother, also became a planter in addition to assuming numerous roles in local government, including justice of the peace and sheriff, and he served as a state representative and senator.

The McCauley Brothers and UNC's Founding:

After the University of North Carolina was chartered in 1789, its future site was selected from a few locations in central North Carolina. At the time, the hilly area that would become Chapel Hill where the McCauleys had acquired vast amounts of land was merely where the intersection of two main roads and a Church of England, New Hope Chapel, existed. Property owners in the vicinity of New Hope Chapel won the bid to place the university there by making the best offer in land and treasure. They knew that building a college there, and thus a town, would greatly increase their wealth and the value of their land, much of which was likely not ideal for farming. The McCauley brothers gave a combined 250 acres to the state for UNC in that initial offering — 150 acres by Matthew, 100 acres by William.

As Masons and original land donors for America's first public university, the McCauley brothers played prominent roles in the famed cornerstone ceremony for UNC's first building, Old East, on October 12, 1793, considered to be UNC's birth date. The ceremony was presided over by William R. Davie, the Grand Master of the Masons of North Carolina who is regarded as the father of the university. William McCauley wore an ornate apron and they celebrated afterward

with Matthew's whiskey, as family legend has it. The elaborate ceremony was later depicted by a mural inside the Chapel Hill post office and courthouse. However, according to tradition among McCauley descendants, a rather unknown snafu occurred when the heavy cornerstone was being lowered into place: The rope broke. The story goes that Matthew then turned to his enslaved body servant, known



as Big Dave, a man nearing six-and-a-half feet and 300 pounds, and told Dave to pick up the stone and put it in place. Big Dave did so. From the very first stone laid at UNC — even including the ceremony famous for the rich white men who oversaw it — enslaved people did the work. The mural includes 21 people. None are black.

Matthew McCauley (Jr.):

The Matthew McCauley from Northern Ireland died in 1821 with a will distributing his estate of vast amounts of land and the family plantation and businesses. The will bequeathed numerous enslaved people by name to his wife and nine surviving children. In the 1820 census, he'd owned 19 enslaved people. In 1810, it appeared he owned at least 20, and in 1800 he owned 16. Free land and free labor, perhaps including the labor of Manly McCauley's ancestors, helped this immigrant travel from hiding in a barrel to accumulating generational wealth for his family in a relatively short time. His enslaved people worked the land and the grist mill known as the best around, among many other labors.

In the first decade of the 1800s, Matthew McCauley and his wife, Martha Johnston McCauley, had a son for the last time and named the baby Matthew after his father. As an adult, the second Matthew continued owning land in the area around Morgan Creek. And in the early 1900s when Kemp Plummer Battle published his history of the university, a grandson of the original Matthew also named Matthew McCauley still lived on the old family plantation.

In 1842, the second Matthew McCauley took advantage of a new bankruptcy law and filed for bankruptcy despite owning 7 enslaved people in the census taken two years prior. In the 1850 census, after his mother died and he inherited portions of her estate perhaps including Manly's grandmother, he was listed as owning \$4,000 worth of real estate about the time Manly's father was born. In 1860, he owned 13 enslaved people, ranging in age from 2 to 50. A black male of 10 years old corresponded in age to Manly McCauley's father, David. A black female of 6 years old corresponded in age to Manly's mother, Lavinia.

PART 4: HIS COMPANION AND HIS MURDERERS

MAGGIE BREWER, MILTON BREWER, JESSE KING, RELDUE LLOYD, WALTER NEVILLE, et al.

A two-and-a-half mile stretch along modern-day Old Greensboro Road, just west of downtown Chapel Hill, connects the men accused of lynching Manly McCauley. Back then, it was cotton, tobacco, and timber country. The old Brewer farm was the farthest west. Then heading east back toward town came the Neville farms, then Jesse King's old place, before reaching the approximate site of the lynching, the modern-day intersection of Old Greensboro Road and Hatch Road. That intersection is next to the old (white) McCauley homeplace. Some of the old McCauley plantation along Morgan Creek was later developed into a subdivision where basketball coach Dean Smith lived for decades. When the musician James Taylor was a child, his family rented the old McCauley house; the Taylors' neighbor was a black sharecropper. The same house, built in 1890, still stands, as it did in 1898 in view of the woods where Manly McCauley was lynched. In front of that house is a small, older home from the mid-1800s. It is possible that Manly McCauley's grandmother Susan; father, David; or other ancestors were enslaved on this land or at the old house.

Maggie Lloyd Brewer:

Just after Manly was reported as likely having been lynched, *The News* of Chapel Hill wrote of Maggie: "No punishment the courts could inflict could be so terrible as the one she will suffer year after year, after sober reason is enthroned."

The entry for Milton's and Maggie's 1888 wedding in the North Carolina marriage registry stated that she was 19 at the time (Milton was 22). But she was 16, perhaps a contributing factor in her dissatisfaction with her husband 10 years later. Maggie's estrangement from Milton after he apparently helped to hang her lover did not last long though. The posse took Maggie to her parents' house, but she and her husband evidently reconciled fairly quickly. Their fourth child was born 16 months later. Decades later, Maggie and Milton Brewer were buried together at the Bethel Baptist Church cemetery. The daughter conceived in the months after Manly's lynching grew up to marry the son of Reldue Lloyd, one of the other men arrested for Manly's lynching.

Maggie was born in 1871 to Thaddeus [spelling varies] "Faddis" Lloyd and Elizabeth "Betty" Lloyd. In the 1880 census, the year Manly McCauley was born, Maggie was an 8-year-old girl (the census taker mistakenly marked her as 10) and the only child living at home. Faddis couldn't read or write, but his wife and daughter could. The households listed next to them on the census were both black: McCauleys and Lloyds. Listed two homes away from Maggie's family in a white household was a black, live-in servant (a cook) who was an Alston, the maiden name of Manly's mother. One wonders if as children, Maggie and Manly even knew each another in some capacity. Or perhaps as adults they discovered these connections as they fell in love. The households on that same



page of the census were nearly an even mix of white and black. Such proximity in a diverse neighborhood surely shaped the racial attitudes of Maggie and her father.

The 1898 newspapers blamed Faddis for his daughter's affair because of his progressive racial views. Two papers also referenced Faddis's supposed role in the case of an accused serial rapist in the same neighborhood a couple of years prior. Many historical newspapers reveal the tale of Wash Atwater, a black man alleged to have frequently assaulted white women. He was first accused of attempted rape in 1894 and got two years on the chain gang for, as one paper put it, "insulting a white woman." Immediately after completing that sentence, Atwater was accused of attempted rape again. Multiple mobs searched for him, but Atwater kept escaping. A man named King (one of Manly McCauley's arrested lynchers was Jesse King) claimed to have shot Atwater but he got away. Then Atwater was reported lynched by gunfire by a mob not far from the Brewer farm on the plantation of a man named "Coon" McCauley. The large, armed mob had intercepted Atwater at the home of another black man (who had the last name Alston, Manly's mother's

maiden name). But four months later, Atwater turned up alive after all. The story of his lynching had been a lie. He was arrested, shot during a successful escape, captured by another posse, charged with attempting to rape yet another woman (this one a Lloyd), and sentenced to 15 years in prison. Then he escaped from the penitentiary.

The episode in which Atwater was supposedly lynched in 1896 appears to have been what 1898 stories referred to, claiming that Maggie's father had intervened. They took issue with the fact that Faddis had helped search for Atwater's body "in the hopes of having the negroes rise and mob." Faddis also had tried to convince his neighbors that, as the paper put it, "force was not necessary for Atwater to carry out his hellish designs on those innocent girls." We don't know why witnesses had claimed Atwater had been killed when he had not been. But it's possible that Faddis had something to do with Atwater's not being lynched. Then everyone lied hoping the episode would pass.

A year and a half after Manly's lynching, on the same page of the 1900 census as Maggie's parents, a black woman named Susan McCauley appeared. She was listed as 22 years old and living as a lodger in the home of a married black couple. She was likely Manly's older sister.

Maggie Brewer lived until the age of 85 and died from a stroke in a convalescent home. Near her and her husband's graves in the Bethel Baptist cemetery, another twist is revealed. Between the Brewers and Reldue Lloyd, another arrested lyncher, are Maggie's parents. Faddis's worn, marble tombstone bears the Southern Cross of Honor, denoting his status as a veteran of the Confederate States Army. Other documents confirm this fact. Faddis Lloyd, the bleeding-heart liberal, served as a private in Company G of the North Carolina 11th Infantry.



Milton Brewer:

Milton Green Brewer's life practically spanned from the Civil War to the Civil Rights Movement. He was born in January of 1866, nine months after Union troops marched into Chapel Hill and went door to door telling enslaved people they were free. He died in February of 1960, the same month the lunchcounter sit-ins began in Greensboro, N.C., and spread to Chapel Hill and elsewhere.

His father, Stephen Brewer, had fought for the Confederacy too, as his tombstone at Bethel Baptist also denotes. He was as a private in Company D of the North Carolina 1st Infantry. Milton's mother was a King and an aunt to one of the other arrested lynchers, Jesse King, making Milton and Jesse first cousins. (Jesse's father was also a Confederate veteran.) Growing up, Milton's neighbors looked to be racially diverse as well. It's also worth noting that before Milton or Maggie were born, numerous Brewers and Lloyds from that section appeared in the slave schedules as owners of enslaved people.



When Milton Brewer married Maggie Lloyd in 1888, the wedding took place in the home of a Nevill, and a King and a Lloyd signed as witnesses — all four family names of the men later arrested for Manly's lynching on one document. In the 1900 census, Milton and Maggie

were shown living together with their now four children, ages 7 months to 11 years, after the lynching. Also living with them was a boarder who was black, an 84-year-old widow with the last name Lloyd. By 1910, the Brewers had had at least five children, but one son died sometime between the age of 5 and 15.

Three years after Maggie died, Milton died of pneumonia at 94. They had 15 grandchildren and 16 great-grandchildren at the time, according to his 1960 obituary. One pallbearer was a Lloyd. Their joint headstone reads: "Asleep In Jesus." Their farm remained owned by Brewers into the 2000s, and a great-grandson of Maggie and Milton Brewer still lives on the land today.

**

Whatever the origins of the 1898 troubles in Milton's and Maggie's marriage, the newspapers blamed Milton's alleged liberal sensibilities in addition to Faddis. Under the headline, "Social Equity Horrors Brought Home To Him," a *Durham Daily Sun* story stated that while Milton had previously assumed tales of "negro insolence" to be "Democratic lies," he'd now vowed to vote Democratic and for "white supremacy" after seeing "in his own home the horrible effects of the social equality teachings of the Republican party."

Faddis, a Confederate veteran with a more open mind than most, is an apropos representation of Chapel Hill in this era. Even though the era of Manly's lynching marked the early days of the college town's famously liberal bent, in 1898 Chapel Hill was also still deeply entwined with the Confederacy, as it would be for generations to come.

Milton is a telling signpost as well, if it's true that he was a liberal Republican before his wife left him for a black man and he lynched Manly. He was but one of countless examples around 1898 of rural white people who turned against their black neighbors at the polls to end the Fusion movement. This trend continued for a century and counting. The fact that Milton resumed his marriage with Maggie for another 60 years, and his life stretched until the Civil Rights Movement, also shows how closely linked these eras were, and thus how closely linked our present time is too. Milton also demonstrates how fluid white political opinions can be when race becomes a factor.

Jesse King:

Jesse King and Milton Brewer were cousins and appeared as kids on the same page of the 1880 census, a couple of months after Manly McCauley was born. Jesse's father, William Duncan King, like Milton's and Maggie's fathers, was a Confederate veteran, having been a private in Company G of the 28th North Carolina Infantry. No

Kings were recorded as owners in the 1850 and 1860 slave schedules in the area, but Jesse's mother was a Neville, and his wife and paternal grandmother were Lloyds. Both family names appeared plenty.

It's little surprise that as closely connected as Jesse was to Milton, and potentially to Maggie by blood, that he joined Milton's posse and apparently helped him kill Manly. Then a month after the lynching, Milton applied, on Jesse's behalf, for a marriage license from Orange County. On New Year's Day, two months after Manly's murder, 25-year-old

Jesse King got married in Bingham Township. Witnesses included E.C. Nevill (one of the other lynchers) and a Lloyd. The brother of Jesse's new father-in-law was Thomas F. Lloyd, the

richest man in Orange County who had just built the cotton mill in Carrboro. (Carrboro was briefly called Lloydville.) In 1880, Thomas F. Lloyd, who seemingly employed Manly's grandmother as a domestic servant in 1870, was listed two households from Maggie Lloyd Brewer's family when she was a girl in Faddis Lloyd's home.

Jesse and his wife had at least five children in total, one of whom lived into the 2000s. According to an interview with Gordon Neville — a great nephew of one of the other lynchers and a neighborhood historian who grew up and now lives on the farm next to Jesse's old farm — Jesse owned thousands of acres but lost everything in the Great Depression. So it makes sense that in the 1940 census, Jesse and his wife (plus two adult children) were living in Durham with the family of their oldest daughter.

Jesse died a year later, in 1941, when at 68 he was hit by a car outside Brady's Restaurant in Chapel Hill. His skull was crushed in the accident. (In the 1960s, the "whites only" Brady's was the target of a massive sit-in.) Jesse and his wife are buried 17 paces from the Brewers in Bethel Baptist cemetery.

Before moving to Durham, Jesse and his wife lived between the Brewer farm and the site of the lynching. Some of his land later became part of U.S. senator John Edwards's home. Jesse King's old house is still standing in 2019, in front of Edwards's, on Old Greensboro Road.

Another surprising detail appeared in the 1830 census, a decade prior to Jesse's death. A 43-year-old lodger was then living with Jesse and his family, a teacher named Frank P. Graham. At the time, Frank Porter Graham was an esteemed history professor at UNC-Chapel Hill, and a month later he became UNC's president. Two years later, he was named the first president of the consolidated UNC system. He also became a larger-than-life figure in 20th century Chapel Hill who had more to do with fortifying its liberal reputation than any other single person. Graham was one of the most significant liberals in the South, and eight years after being recorded as living with Jesse King, he introduced President Franklin D. Roosevelt for a speech on UNC's campus, lauding him for fighting for "oppressed minorities." At the microphone, President Roosevelt then praised UNC's progressive bonafides, as his words were broadcast live around the world. In 1949, Graham was appointed a U.S. senator, a position he lost the next year in an ugly election that centered on his perceived support for civil rights.

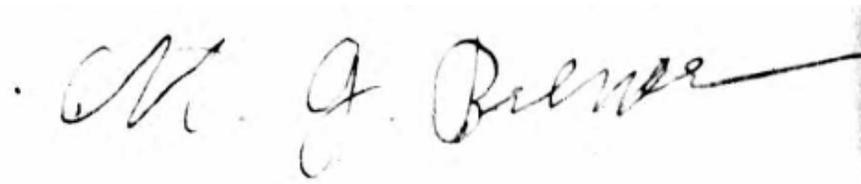
Reldue Lloyd:

Reldue Henry Lloyd was 29 when he was arrested for lynching Manly McCauley. He, too, was a farmer. He'd been married seven years then and his wife had given birth to four children. One daughter had died at 10-months-old the year before the lynching, and a boy was born in 1898. So Reldue had three kids, including a baby, at home when he apparently lynched Manly. His arrest warrant was issued the day after his wedding anniversary. Reldue's wife was the daughter of one of Orange County's most prominent farmers.

Reldue was born in 1869, the son of a 61-year-old doctor. In 1856, his father was a delegate representing Orange County at the state Democratic convention. His father's headstone at Bethel Baptist church reads: "He Made The Poor Man's Heart Glad."

About five years after the lynching, Reldue and his wife had another child, and Reldue lived until 1956, when at 86 he died from a heart attack while an inmate in a state psychiatric hospital. He'd been a widower for three decades by then and an inmate in the hospital for three years.

Reldue's grave is missing a headstone in 2019, but he, his wife, and their infant daughter are buried next to Maggie Brewer's parents in the Bethel Baptist Church cemetery. Three of the four men arrested for Manly McCauley's lynching — Reldue Lloyd, Jesse King, and Milton Brewer — are located close together in the southwest

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "M. J. Brewer", written in black ink on a light-colored background. The signature is written over a horizontal line.

corner of the cemetery. Also nearby are Maggie, Maggie's parents, Milton's parents, Jesse King's parents, Reldue Lloyd's parents, and several other close relatives of the principal parties.



[NOTE: In 2019, the author interviewed Gordon Neville (mentioned above in the Jesse King section) after hearing that Gordon had done some research on the Manly McCauley lynching and believed his great uncle took part. It turned out that Gordon also thought his in-laws had a connection. His sister-in-law had married the son of a man named Ralph Lloyd. Family lore was that Ralph Lloyd had taken part in the lynching. But the 1898 newspapers stated

that the Lloyd arrested for murder was Reldue Lloyd instead. Gordon thought perhaps the newspapers got it wrong, or that either Reldue or Ralph was a nickname. But the information in the newspapers seemed to come from solid sources, and further research proved that Reldue Lloyd and the Ralph Lloyd who married into Gordon Neville's in-laws' family were two different people. The Ralph Lloyd related to Gordon's in-laws by marriage was James Ralph Lloyd, and he would've just turned 13 (possibly 14) at the time of the lynching. It's unlikely that he was at the center of activity. He definitely wasn't the Lloyd arrested. Perhaps he was still involved somehow.]

Walter Neville:

The fourth man arrested for the lynching was a Walter Neville. This name was another source of some confusion between Gordon Neville in 2019 and the 1898 newspaper accounts.

Gordon Neville is 80 at the time this paper is written. His farm is one of only a handful of bicentennial farms certified by the North Carolina Department of Agriculture, meaning it has been in his family for more than 200 years. Gordon is the seventh consecutive generation in the male line of his family to own the same farm since 1763. A Neville Creek and a Neville Road run through the neighborhood, and there's a Neville Chapel. Gordon had always heard, from his father and grandfather, as well as from neighbors, that his grandfather's brother, **Claude Neville**, was one of the lynchers of Manly McCauley. (Claude owned the farm next to Gordon's.) But Claude's full name was Eugene Claudous Neville, which does not match the Walter Neville reportedly arrested. Gordon is sure though, and has good reason to be. We determined that the likely explanation is that while four men were arrested in the aftermath of Manly's death, more than those four participated in the lynching, but not all were arrested. It was likely a show-arrest anyway, everyone knowing that no consequences would come.

There were two Walter Nevilles in that time who were about the right age to have possibly been involved and arrested, both born about 1874 or 1875. One was a married farmer named **Walter Lee Neville**. The connections to him were somewhat thin, although he did live in Bingham Township, but the author did not locate much information about him. As a boy, his family lived with his grandparents in Bingham Township. A 65-year-old Walter L. Neville who'd been born in North Carolina showed up in Virginia in the 1940 census married to a 31-year-old woman. Based on his children living with them, this seems to be a second marriage. That could've been the Walter L. Neville originally from Bingham Township, and that family also was in the census in Virginia 10 years prior, in 1930, although he was marked as born in Virginia, very likely a mistake. This Walter L. Neville had been married to this wife in Virginia since she was 15 and he was 43. He died at 80 in 1955 following a stroke and is buried at a family cemetery in Virginia.

The other possibility, **Everett Walter Neville**, was also listed in that era as a farmer, and had more apparent connections to be the other people involved. Although he went by Everett, rather than Walter, most of

his life. But two months to the day after the posse had headed out after Manly and Maggie, he married a sister of Reldue Lloyd's wife, making Reldue and Everett Walter Neville brothers-in-law. A McCauley signed as a witness to the wedding at the home of Everett's new father-in-law. Everett Walter Neville was also kin to Claude Neville.

A newspaper announcement about the wedding said Everett was a popular salesman in a local store. By 1910, Everett Walter Neville and his family lived in downtown Chapel Hill, and his father-in-law was now divorced and living with them. Over the years, Everett was listed as a salesman of clothing, a storekeeper, a merchant, and a grocery man. He and his family moved to Cameron Avenue near the black section of downtown Chapel Hill and he owned a small grocery store there next to the University Laundry plant for decades, at least into the 1950s. In 1953, Everett's store was robbed one night of some cigarettes, candy, ink pens, and vegetables.

Everett and his wife had six children, the first born on the first anniversary of the McCauley murder trial. One child died as a baby. Everett lived to be 93, dying of a heart attack following a medical operation in 1968, between the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy. He lived to see the Civil Rights Acts of 1964, 1965, and 1968 signed into law, and was buried at Damascus Church, along where the old Pittsboro Road the posse traveled in 1898 was, two miles south of Old Greensboro Road.

As for Claude Neville, Gordon Neville's great uncle who certainly took part in the lynching but avoided arrest, he was born in 1875 in a log cabin still standing just behind Gordon's home. Claude signed as a witness on Jesse King's marriage certificate and was wed himself two years after the lynching. He came to own a farm next to Gordon's eventual farm by where Neville Road is in 2019, and he and his wife lost to death 7 of their 12 children before adulthood. Two died at birth, one at a month old, another at 4 years old, and two sons and one daughter each died at 16. The 1-month-old and 16-year-old daughter died on the same day in 1918. However, their last child to survive birth lived to be 99, until June of 2019. She was born during the white supremacy administration of Woodrow Wilson and died during the Donald Trump presidency.

Claude killed himself in 1933 with a gunshot to his heart eight months after his wife died from cancer. He'd been a wholesaler of fertilizer and feed to other farmers, but his business evaporated in the Great Depression. Claude, his wife, and the children they lost are buried at Antioch Baptist Church off Old Greensboro Road.

PART 5: HIS LEGACY

Until the work of the Equal Justice Initiative and the 2018 opening of its National Memorial for Peace and Justice in Montgomery, Alabama, the lynching of Manly McCauley was little known in the liberal college town where it occurred. The Orange County Community Remembrance Coalition hopes to amplify locally EJI's mission of educating the public on not just this historical lynching, but on other similar events here, and on the broader legacies of racial terror lynchings and slavery still present today.

The legacy of the white McCauley family, however, is evident throughout Chapel Hill, in the names of streets and areas, including the protected Cameron-McCauley Historic District adjacent to the university campus. (Cameron Avenue is named for Paul Cameron — the largest slaveholder in North Carolina at the time of the Civil War with more than 1,000 enslaved people — who became a UNC trustee after Reconstruction.) McCauley Street in the historic district is named for David McCauley, a great-grandson of both of the original McCauley brothers. David named the street for himself, and two other streets in the neighborhood for North Carolina politicians Zebulon Vance and Edward Ransom. Vance, a Democrat, was governor during the Civil War and again when Reconstruction ended, and a U.S. congressman and senator. He was also a Confederate colonel. Ransom was a state legislator and served the Confederacy in the Civil War as a surgeon.

Matthew "Bung" McCauley died in 1821 and was buried in a small family cemetery on the vast McCauley land along Morgan Creek. The cemetery, like much of the surrounding McCauley property around Morgan Creek, later became UNC property, as it is still in 2019. Today, the cemetery sits on a knoll next to University Lake, also on McCauley's former property. The cemetery is well kept and marked with commemorative plaques. It was first dedicated by the university in 1939 a few years after the damming of Morgan Creek to create the lake. The lake is the water source for Chapel Hill and Carrboro. In a speech at the cemetery's dedication, president Frank Porter Graham, who'd lived with one of Manly McCauley's lynchers a few years prior, honored the McCauley brothers as original land donors for UNC. At a 1992 McCauley family reunion and celebration of UNC's bicentennial, UNC

president C.D. Spangler spoke in the same year the cemetery underwent a restoration.

Now adorning the cemetery's front gate is a large, decorative metal flower: a dogwood blossom. We do not know where Manly McCauley, reportedly hanged from a dogwood tree, is buried.



NOTES:

- This document is based on information best available, from the author's research on this topic and on local African-American history as a journalist. The author has made every attempt he knew how to verify and accurately convey facts, including personally surveying and photographing cemeteries. Unfortunately, some potentially crucial 1898 newspapers that might've shed further light on the events regarding Manly McCauley's lynching were lost to history: There are no surviving copies of some issues of the Chapel Hill and Hillsborough newspapers of that period.
- While this paper was written for OCCRC, it is the sole work of its author. Any viewpoints herein do not necessarily reflect those of the Coalition as a whole or its individual members. The author gave particular attention to reconstructing Manly McCauley's life as best as possible, given limited information and 121 years passed. But an effort was also made to gather details about the lives of his lynchers, as well as the family that likely enslaved his ancestors. This was not done to imply that they warrant empathy or the same attention as their victims, but because it's also instructive to see the context of their lives in the scope of their heinous crime.

SOURCES:

Documents:

U.S. Census — 1800, 1810, 1820, 1830, 1840, 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940

U.S. Slave Schedule — 1850, 1860

Marriage Certificates / Marriage Registers — Lavinia & David McCauley, Maggie & Milton Brewer, Allie & Jesse King, Lula & Reldue Lloyd, Callie & James Ralph Lloyd, Cora & Everett Walter Neville, Ola & Claude Neville

Death Certificates — Maggie Brewer, Milton Brewer, Jesse King, Morris Lloyd, Thomas F. Lloyd, Reldue Lloyd, James Ralph Lloyd, Eugene Claude Neville, Everett Walter Neville, Walter Lee Neville

Draft Registrations — Jesse King

Real Estate Deeds — Traced historical deeds and ownership of Milton Brewer property, Jesse King property, John Edwards property, old McCauley homeplace property, John Edwards property, Dean Smith property

Maps — 1891 George W. Tate Map of Orange County (original copy at Register of Deeds), Google Maps

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