

## Carr Building

The Board of Trustees named this building in 1900 to honor Julian Shakespeare Carr, who studied at UNC in the mid 1860s and served as a trustee from 1877 until his death in 1924. Carr Building was a residence hall until the 1980s, when it was converted to office space. Carr provided the funds for its construction.<sup>1</sup>

Carr:

- Provided financial underwriting for the Democratic Party's white supremacy campaign of 1898
- Used violence and condoned its use by others to suppress Black claims to equal citizenship
- Labored to legitimize the regime of Jim Crow by promulgating a false history of the Civil War and its aftermath



Julian S. Carr, ca. 1905  
North Carolina Museum of History

Julian Shakespeare Carr was born in 1845, the third of seven children in the household of John W. and Eliza P. Carr. His father was a wealthy Chapel Hill merchant, who in 1860 owned \$6,000 worth of real estate and \$30,000 worth of personal property. Roughly a third of the latter sum derived from the value of nine enslaved men, women, and children who ranged in age from four months to forty years. Today, the combined value of John Carr's holdings would be \$1.1 million, \$390,000 of which would be represented by the people he held in bondage.<sup>2</sup>

The younger Carr studied at the University of North Carolina from 1862 to 1864, when he left to serve in the Confederate army. He returned for the 1865-66 academic year

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<sup>1</sup> Minutes, October 6, 1967, oversize vol. 11, Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina (System) Records, 1932-1972, #40002, University Archives, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Kemp P. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, vol. 2 (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, 1912), 588-89. The building was named on the recommendation of the Board of Trustees' Committee on Memorials and Naming Buildings. Carr received a B.A. in 1911, when the university bestowed degrees on alumni, living and dead, who left their studies to fight for the Confederacy. See J.G.de R. Hamilton, "Return of the War Classes," *University of North Carolina Magazine*, New Series, 29 (October 1911), 16-24. The engraving of Carr (above) is from Clement A. Evans, ed., *Confederate Military History*, vol. 4 (Atlanta: Confederate Publishing Company, 1899), 424.

<sup>2</sup> Louise L. Queen, "Julian Shakespeare Carr," William S. Powell, ed., *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, vol. 1 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 330; 1860 U.S. Federal Census, Population Schedule, Chapel Hill, Orange County, North Carolina; 1860 U.S. Federal Census, Slave Schedule, Chapel Hill, Orange County, North Carolina. Census records are available online at Ancestry.com. The estimated value of John Carr's human property is based on an average individual value of \$800 for the South's four million enslaved people in 1860. See Samuel H. Williamson, "Measuring Slavery in 2016 Dollars," <https://bit.ly/2VX5H5L>.

and then departed again in 1868, this time for Little Rock, Arkansas, where he worked in an uncle's business. A remembrance of him written many years after his death ascribed the move to "wanderlust," but there is evidence to suggest that more serious considerations may have been at play.<sup>3</sup>

On September 12, 1865, Carr and a small group of university students broke up a political meeting organized by newly emancipated Black residents of Chapel Hill. Newspaper accounts reported that "a general fight ensued, in which some of the students were pretty badly injured and the negroes roughly handled, pistols and sticks being freely used." Carr was arrested and then released on bail, secured by university president David L. Swain. We do not know how the case concluded, but three years later, in August 1868, Carr was involved in another assault. In this instance, he and his brothers – "on slight provocation," according to one witness – flogged a Black woman near the university campus. She subsequently took her case to Freedmen's Bureau officials headquartered in nearby Hillsborough. Again, the archival record goes cold, but it is clear that Carr was in danger of prosecution before a military tribunal. That may well be the explanation for his move to Little Rock. Such speculation is supported by Carr's public boasts that he had been a Klansman. "Back . . . when there was need of the Ku Klux Klan, I was one of them," he confessed, "and I am proud of that fact." So, it seems that the flogging incident was not a one-off act of violence but rather an expression of what a Raleigh newspaper described as the "intense rebel spirit" that prevailed in Chapel Hill. Over the course of the following year, surrounding Orange County and nearby Alamance and Caswell Counties became sites of some of the most intense Klan activity in the state. Had Carr not fled, he would have faced the very real prospect of imprisonment.<sup>4</sup>

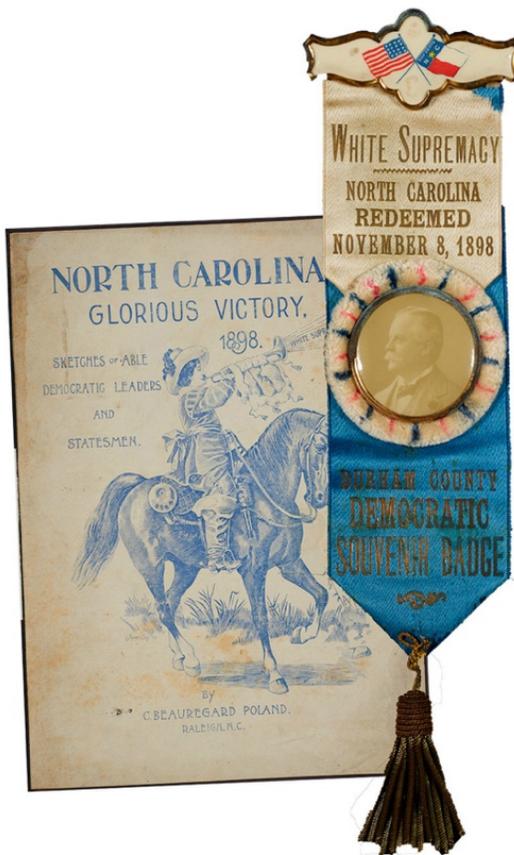
Carr returned to Chapel Hill in 1870, and with his father's financial backing purchased a third interest in the W. T. Blackwell Tobacco Company in Durham. Carr had a genius for marketing. By the early 1880s, he had made Blackwell's "Bull Durham" tobacco an internationally recognized brand. The company shipped its product worldwide and had offices in Bombay and Shanghai. Carr took a special interest in China, where he supported the work of Methodist missionaries and later became a financier of the Chinese Nationalist revolution.

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<sup>3</sup> Queen, "Julian Shakespeare Carr," 330; *Representative Men of the South* (Philadelphia: Chas. Robson and Co., 1880), 506-8; "Julian S. Carr Remembered for His Activities as Civil War General," *Daily Times-News* (Burlington, N.C.), October 24, 1962.

<sup>4</sup> "A Difficulty at Chapel Hill," *Sentinel* (Raleigh, N.C.), September 20, 1865; bail bond, Julian S. Carr, September 13, 1865, Records Relating to Civil Affairs, Raleigh Post, Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, Record Group 393, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Solomon Pool to John Pool, August 19, 1868, in Horace Raper ed., and Memory W. Mitchell, assoc. ed., *The Papers of William Woods Holden*, vol. 1 (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 2000), 355; untitled news item, *Daily Standard* (Raleigh, N.C.), August 14, 1868. Carr spoke proudly of his Klan membership. See "Traducers Shown to Be Slandering Their Own State and Their Own People," *News and Observer* (Raleigh, N.C.), October 16, 1908; "General Jule Carr on the Ku Klux Klan," *The Independent* (Elizabeth City, N.C.), November 4, 1921; "Sons of Veterans also Pick Klan Member as Chief," *Waco News-Tribune* (Waco, Tex.), April 13, 1923. On Klan violence, see Carole Watterson Troxler, "'To Look More Closely at the Man': Wyatt Outlaw, a Nexus of National, Local, and Personal History," *North Carolina Historical Review* 77 (October 2000), 403-33; Luther M. Carlton, "The Assassination of John Walter Stephens," *Annual Publication of Historical Papers*, series 2 (Durham, N.C.: Historical Society of Trinity College, 1898), 1-12.

Spreading the Gospel and dethroning China's last emperor were, for him, elements of a single project to open the country's vast market to American commerce. With similar shrewdness, Carr also maneuvered to buy out other Blackwell investors and establish a majority stake in the firm. Then, in 1898, he sold the business to James B. Duke's American Tobacco Company for the remarkable sum of \$3,000,000. In the decades that followed, Carr used the profit from that sale to expand a business empire that included textile and hosiery mills, railroads, banks, and electric and telephone companies.<sup>5</sup>



White supremacy souvenirs, 1898. Carr's portrait adorns the ribbon. North Carolina Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Carr's wealth made him an influential figure in state politics. He was heavily involved in the Democratic Party's white supremacy campaigns in 1898 and 1900 against a Fusion alliance of Black Republicans and white third-party Populists that had controlled state government since 1894. Carr provided the financial backing for newspaperman Josephus Daniels, who acquired a failing Raleigh daily, the *News and Observer*, and transformed it into the propaganda arm of the party. Daniels filled the newspaper with stories and political cartoons that stoked fears of "negro domination" and Black men's purported lust for white women. To amplify that message, Carr and a small circle of associates paid to send the *News and Observer* and other loyal Democratic papers to more than 40,000 white households that otherwise had no subscriptions.<sup>6</sup>

On Election Day, 1898, Democrats took back control of the state legislature. Elated, Carr sent a note of gratitude to fellow industrialist Bennehan Cameron, whose cash donations had helped to finance the victory for Anglo-Saxon manhood" and "WHITE SUPREMACY." To mark the occasion, he enclosed a souvenir badge that

<sup>5</sup> Queen, "Julian Shakespeare Carr," 330; *Representative Men of the South*, 509-10; Mena Webb, *Jule Carr: General Without an Army* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 236. On Carr's financial support for the Chinese Nationalist revolution, see Sterling Seagrave, *The Soong Dynasty* (London: Lume Books, 2018), 39-158; E.A. Haag, *Charlie Soong: North Carolina's Link to the Fall of the Last Emperor of China* (Greensboro, N.C.: Jaan Publishing, 2015); Bangnee Liu, "China's Role in the Postwar World," and Costen J. Harrell, "General Carr and the Education of Charlie Soong," in C. Sylvester Green, ed., *General Julian S. Carr: Greathearted Citizen* (Durham, N.C.: The Seeman Printery, 1946), 56-73.

<sup>6</sup> LeRae Umfleet, *The 1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report*, 1898 Race Riot Commission, Research Branch, Office of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, May 31, 2006, 62, <https://bit.ly/3dLwkRg>.

was decorated with his own image. Carr also fired off a triumphant telegram to President William McKinley. "Men with white skins," he exclaimed, "will rule North Carolina ever hereafter."<sup>7</sup>

Over the next two years, Democrats set about securing that prophecy. They steered North Carolina's first Jim Crow law through the state legislature, elected Charles B. Aycock governor under the banner of white supremacy, and amended the state constitution to disenfranchise Black men by imposing a literacy test on prospective voters. The amendment hobbled the state Republican Party – which sought to save itself with a "lily-white" purge of Black members – and ushered in a half-century of one-party white rule.<sup>8</sup>

More than race hatred animated this new order. White supremacy was, at its core, a system of power and plunder that drove Black earnings down to near subsistence levels, reduced white wages by devaluing labor in general, and sustained itself with a racial ideology that persuaded even the poorest whites to see their economic interests as opposed to those of Blacks beneath them. The end effect was to trap the vast majority of Black North Carolinians on the land as a semi-bound labor force of sharecroppers and tenant farmers, and to make the wages paid to white workers in North Carolina's textile mills and tobacco factories some of the lowest in the nation. This was the Jim Crow regime that made Julian Carr and others of his class wealthy men.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Carr to Bennehan Cameron, December 30, 1898, series 1.2, folder 275, Bennehan Cameron Papers, 1866-1962, #03623, Southern Historical Collection, and mementos of the 1898 white supremacy campaign, North Carolina Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; "Shows Large Democratic Majorities, Col. J.S. Carr's Telegram to McKinley," *Charlotte Observer*, November 9, 1898. The badge in the illustration is decorated with a profile image of Julian Carr, chairman of the executive committee of the Durham County Democratic Party. The centerpiece of the state party's post-election "jubilee" in Raleigh was a "great mammoth arch" made of chrysanthemums that held aloft portraits of Carr, Josephus Daniels, and party chairman Furnifold Simmons. See "Raleigh's News Budget," *Wilmington Morning Star*, November 15, 1898.

<sup>8</sup> Paul D. Escott, *Many Excellent People: Power and Privilege in North Carolina, 1850-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 259-60; J. Morgan Kousser, *The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1974), 183-95; Helen G. Edmonds, *The Negro and Fusion Politics in North Carolina, 1894-1901* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1951), 91-93, 213-14, 222. The amendment and the revised election law that put it into practice required that would-be voters wishing to register first demonstrate – "to the satisfaction" of local election officials – their ability to "read and write any section of the Constitution in the English language." That gave Democratic registrars wide latitude to exclude Black men from the polls. The amendment also included a grandfather clause that exempted from the literacy test adult males who had been eligible to vote or were lineal descendants of men who had been eligible to vote before January 1, 1867. That was a magic date, because it preceded the limited right to vote given to Black men under the Military Reconstruction Act, passed in March 1867. The literacy test was thus designed to achieve the very thing the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution expressly outlawed – voter exclusion based on race. See *Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina, Adjourned Session 1900* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, and E.M. Uzzell, 1900), chap. 2; *Public Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina, Passed by the General Assembly at Its Session of 1901* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, and E.M. Uzzell, 1901), chap. 89, sec 12.

<sup>9</sup> Robert R. Korstad and James L. Leloudis, *To Right These Wrongs: The North Carolina Fund and the Battle to End Poverty and Inequality in 1960s America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 16-17. On white supremacy as a system of plunder, see Coates, "The Case for Reparations," *The Atlantic*, June 2014.

The economic logic of white supremacy helps to explain Carr's devotion to the Lost Cause. He led the United Confederate Veterans in North Carolina and proudly bore the title of 'General,' which the organization bestowed on him despite the fact that he never served above the rank of private. That position of honor and respect made Carr a regular and much-sought-after speaker at the dedication of Confederate monuments erected in the years following the white supremacy campaigns. At such an event in Chapel Hill in 1913, he delivered the now infamous speech in which he boasted of having "horse-whipped a negro wench until her skirts hung in shreds, because on the streets of this quiet village she had publicly insulted and maligned a [white] Southern lady." Carr appears to have been recalling the assault he committed in 1868.<sup>10</sup>



"General" Carr (center, holding his hat) led the North Carolina delegation to the national gathering of Civil War veterans at Gettysburg in July 1913, a month after the dedication of UNC's Confederate monument. National Photo Company Collection, Library of Congress.

Carr told the story to underscore the purpose of UNC's newly installed Confederate monument and others of its kind. The statue honored all university men who fought for the

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<sup>10</sup> Webb, *Jule Carr*, 196; "Unveiling of Confederate Monument at University," June 2, 1913, series 2.2, folders 26 and 27, Julian Shakespeare Carr Papers, 1892-1923, #00141, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Confederacy – the *living* as well as the dead, and most especially the veterans who, like Carr, enlisted in the postwar battle to restore white rule. For those men, service to the Confederate cause "did not end at Appomattox." In peacetime, they answered demands for racial equality with acts of terror. They "saved the very life of the Anglo-Saxon race," Carr declared. "Praise God." In Carr's fevered imagination, the alternative could not have been worse: he believed with certainty that had he and other "heroes" shirked their duty, the South would have become "a Black Republic."<sup>11</sup>

As the stories of Carr's youth suggest, he had few qualms about the use of violence to enforce racial order. He made that clear in an 1899 speech on the subject of lynching. Carr linked vigilante killing to what he characterized as Black men's bestial sexuality and a purported epidemic of Black-on-white rape. Quoting Rebecca Latimer Felton, an outspoken advocate of rough justice, he declared forthrightly, "the black fiend who lays lustful hands upon a [white] woman cannot be killed too soon, and no punishment, legal or illegal, is too severe to be administered speedily." Carr traced lynching's origins to the Reconstruction era and efforts to grant equality to newly emancipated slaves who were, in his view, unprepared for its responsibilities. That "blunder," he contended, had left Black men's impudence and licentiousness unrestrained. By this logic, there was but one way to put an end to lynching. The violence would stop when Blacks accepted white supremacy as Nature's law and began to teach moral rectitude and "uprightness" in their homes, schools, and sanctuaries.<sup>12</sup>

Such reasoning defined what scholar Paul Mullins has described as Carr's "raw paternalistic racism." He could speak in one moment as a white-robed Klansman and act in the next as a generous philanthropist. In Durham, he provided much-needed funding for the North Carolina College for Negroes (now North Carolina Central University), supported the city's leading Black church, and backed Black businessmen such as John Merrick, one of the founders of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company. To Carr's way of thinking, these institutions offered Blacks the means to "make everlasting war upon the brute element of [their] race." The onus was on Black people to *earn* the right to live without fear as free and equal citizens – a right that whites took for granted as an entitlement by birth. "I am and have been a friend of the negro, in the negro's place," Carr explained. "Whenever and wherever the negro has behaved himself . . . my disposition has been to lend him a helping hand."<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> "Unveiling of Confederate Monument at University"; untitled address to the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Chattanooga, Tennessee, series 2.2, folder 31a, Carr Papers.

<sup>12</sup> "Col. Carr on the Race Problem," and "Col. Julian S. Carr on Lynching," *Farmer and Mechanic* (Raleigh, N.C.), May 30, 1899; untitled speech, series 2.2, folder 30b, Carr Papers. On Rebecca Latimer Felton, see LeeAnn Whites, "Love, Hate, Rape, Lynching: Rebecca Latimer Felton and the Gender Politics of Racial Violence," in David S. Cecelski and Timothy B. Tyson, *Democracy Betrayed: The Wilmington Race Riot of 1898 and Its Legacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 143-62.

<sup>13</sup> Paul Mullins, "A Digital Heritage of Confederate Memorialization: Julian Carr and Silent Sam," *Archaeology and Material Culture*, August 30, 2018, <https://bit.ly/38YMBul>; Jean Bradley Anderson, *Durham County: A History of Durham County, North Carolina* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1990), 259-60; Walter B. Weare, *Black Business in the New South: A Social History of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1993), 39-42, 51; undated speech in support of the disenfranchisement amendment to the state constitution, series 2.2, folder 21, Carr Papers.

This concern for keeping Blacks in their place also appears to have steered Carr into support for the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which, when ratified in 1920, afforded women the right to vote. He provided financial backing for the North Carolina Equal Suffrage League and counseled its leadership on strategy and tactics. Though the closure of archives on account of the coronavirus pandemic has prevented a full investigation of the question, it seems reasonable to assume that Carr regarded woman suffrage, at least in part, as an important means of safeguarding the future of white supremacy. That was the view of two of his closest allies in the cause: Walter M. Clark, Chief Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court, and Martha H. Haywood, publicity chairwoman of the suffrage league.<sup>14</sup>

Clark worried that an increase in the number of qualified Black voters was inevitable, either as a result of legal challenges brought against the disenfranchisement amendment to the state constitution or, more immediately, as a consequence of demands for equal citizenship made by the 25,000 Black North Carolinians who fought in World War I. He believed that there was "no other way to offset these votes" than to give white women access to the ballot box. The math seemed clear and compelling. "In North Carolina the white population is 70% and the negro 30%," Clark explained, "hence there are 50,000 more white women than all the negro men and negro women put together." Under these circumstances, could anyone doubt that "Equal Suffrage" for women would "strengthen . . . White Supremacy" and "make it more secure"? In an opinion column reprinted statewide, Martha Haywood echoed Clark's reasoning. "If white domination is threatened in the South," she declared, "it is therefore doubly expedient to enfranchise [white] women quickly in order that it be preserved." So, too, said U.S. Senator Furnifold Simmons, chief architect of the white supremacy campaigns of 1898 and 1900, and Josephus Daniels, whose newspaper Carr helped to elevate as the mouthpiece of white rule. Both men endorsed Haywood's plea in a broadside that was widely circulated by the suffrage league.<sup>15</sup>

Over the course of a lifetime, Carr gave hundreds of speeches to promulgate these understandings of the Civil War, its aftermath, and its implications for Black citizenship and American democracy. With that same goal in mind, he also labored to ensure that white children would be schooled in "the truths of Confederate history." In 1919, he joined the

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<sup>14</sup> Over time, the state organization was known interchangeably as the Equal Suffrage League and the Equal Suffrage Association.

<sup>15</sup> Ida Husted Harper, ed., vol. 6, *The History of Woman Suffrage* (New York: J.J. Little and Ives Company, 1922), 491; "Equal Suffrage Convention," *Asheville Gazette-News*, September 15, 1914; Walter Clark, *Ballots for Both, An Address by Chief Justice Walter Clark, at Greenville, N.C., 8 December 1916* (Raleigh: Commercial Printing Co., 1917), cover page and 10; Martha Haywood, "No Man's Land," *Carter's Weekly* (North Wilkesboro, N.C.), August 20, 1920; Leonard Rogoff, *Gertrude Weil: Jewish Progressive in the New South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 129-30. See also John James Kaiser, "Judicial Knight Errant: Walter Clark and the Long Progressive Era in North Carolina" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 2015), chap. 6; Joyce Weaver, "Biographical Sketch of Martha Helen Haywood," Biographical Database of NAWSA Suffragists, 1890-1920, Alexander Street, <https://bit.ly/2EmvaQ5>; "Makes for White Supremacy," *The Woman Citizen*, August 21, 1920. In August 1920, Tennessee became the thirty-sixth state to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment, making woman suffrage the law of the land. North Carolina legislators did not approve the amendment until 1971, followed only by their counterparts in Mississippi, who finally yielded 1984.

steering committee for a project undertaken by the United Confederate Veterans and the United Daughters of the Confederacy to censor what was written and taught about the slaveholding South and its war against the United States. The two groups distributed thousands of copies of a pamphlet titled *A Measuring Rod to Test Text Books and Reference Books in Schools, Colleges, and Libraries*. The publication offered a catechism of Confederate principles such as these: "Secession Was Not Rebellion," "Slaves Were Not Ill-Treated in the South," and "The War Between the States Was Not Fought to Hold the Slaves." Carr and the steering committee urged public school and college officials to reject textbooks that did not teach these truths and implored librarians to mark the title pages of offending scholarly works with the words "*Unjust to the South*" (emphasis in the original). This campaign to teach a false history of slavery, the Confederacy, and the origins of Jim Crow was remarkably effective; even today, its tenets persist in classroom lessons and public memory.<sup>16</sup>

In these many ways, Julian Carr devoted himself to the maintenance of white supremacy. He was not simply "a product of his time," as one biographer has claimed. He instead labored as a master builder of one of the darkest eras in American history – a time marked by extra-legal violence and legalized injustice that made a mockery of the nation's professed values.<sup>17</sup>

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Duke University's Board of Trustees removed Carr's name from a campus office building in December 2018. The structure was named for him in 1930 in recognition of the gift of land on which the university's East Campus was built.<sup>18</sup>

UNC Commission on History, Race, and a Way Forward

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<sup>16</sup> Mildred Lewis Rutherford, *A Measuring Rod to Test Text Books and Reference Books in Schools, Colleges, and Libraries* (Athens, Georgia: [United Confederate Veterans], [1919]; Karen Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), chap. 7.

<sup>17</sup> Webb, *Julie Carr*, 193.

<sup>18</sup> "Julian Carr's Name Will Be Removed from a Duke University Building," *News and Observer* (Raleigh, N.C.), December 2, 2018. The building had been named for Carr in recognition of the gift of land on which Duke's East Campus was built. See "Julian S. Carr and the Carr Building," University Archives, Duke University Libraries, <https://bit.ly/2BGsuMi>.