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ABSTRACT

Title of Document: "EVERY EVIDENCE OF OUR PROGRESS":
THE NORTH CAROLINA NEGRO STATE
FAIR, 1879-1898

LaQuanda Marlene Walters Cooper, Master of
Arts, 2017

Directed By: Dr. Michelle R. Scott, Department of History

Few historical studies examine the black industrial fair: annual events created by black leaders, comprised of elements of the American agricultural fair as well as World's Fairs, designed to exhibit the progress of the race since Emancipation. This study attempts to address this gap in the literature by focusing on the North Carolina Negro State Fair, established in 1879 by Charles Hunter and the men of the North Carolina Industrial Association. The fair functioned as an annual, temporary, vindicationist exhibition of black progress in the state for almost fifty years. Organizational records, personal correspondence, and local newspaper articles were used to examine three late nineteenth-century fairs utilizing public history methods and concepts rooted in memory studies. This examination clarifies the socio-political factors at play in the lives of black North Carolinians post-Reconstruction, and interrogates the dynamic and fluid nature of the state's black community.

“EVERY EVIDENCE OF OUR PROGRESS”: THE NORTH CAROLINA NEGRO
STATE FAIR, 1879-1898

By

LaQuanda Marlene Walters Cooper

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, Baltimore County, in partial fulfillment
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Dedication

To my grandmother Daisy, who didn't judge me when I recorded Ken Burns's *The Civil War* on cassette tape and played it back so I could take notes.

Thank you.

I love you.

I miss you.

Acknowledgments

As my research topic shifted over the course of the year, my thesis committee has been patient and understanding. They pushed me to ask deeper, more critical questions of myself, this work, and the discipline. Dr. Michelle Scott, thank you for seeing me on Day One of my program, and making sure I knew you were there. As my advisor, you gave me space and time to go down my rabbit holes, you checked on me, and you reassured me that I could complete this work, even when I doubted myself. Dr. Denise Meringolo, thank you for introducing me to the work and the community that is public history. Dr. Derek Musgrove, thank you for consistently providing constructive feedback and encouraging me to write with clarity and precision.

I could not have conducted my research without the assistance of the staffs of the David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Duke University, the Library of Congress, and the Albin O. Kuhn Library at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County. Thank you.

To the students, families, faculty, and staff of Norwood School, I have truly appreciated your kind support of me and my work over the last three years. I will miss this community dearly. Thank you.

Kionna, thank you for graciously sharing the UMBC campus with me for three years, and hanging out with your mom in the Commons or in the Library when you could. Jaquan and Kai, your hugs, kisses and understanding have sometimes been just the push I needed. Thank you for being you.

I felt the ground shifting under me in 2013; the first person I told was my husband Justin. Thank you for your love and support along every step of this journey. For being my sounding board as I worked out my ideas aloud, always finding the most creative solutions to every logistical challenge, keeping me accountable, and reminding me that maybe, just maybe, our family walked the grounds of the North Carolina Negro State Fair, I will be forever grateful.

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The First Negro State Fair, Organization of Departments

Introduction

In 1920, Charles Norfleet Hunter was almost seventy years old, living in Portsmouth, Virginia and working at the Norfolk Navy Yard. As he considered post-World War I race relations between black and white workers at the yard, he also reflected on his own life in North Carolina, remembering that

I was born a slave. I make no boast of this fact but I am certainly not ashamed of it. I belonged to one of the oldest and most distinguished families of the realm...distinguished for intellectual culture, social refinement and great wealth. They loved their Negro slaves and that love was heartily reciprocated. There is no problem between us. There can be none. They are white people of the purest patrician strain, but have no fear of "social equality" with Negroes or any others. Their social status is so securely fixed as to not need the aid of statutes to preserve them from contamination.

Between such people and the Negroes there has never been and never will be any "race problem".¹

This is a provocative statement for a black man living in the South to make in 1920, yet Charles Hunter was everything but typical. In a lifetime that extended from slavery to the early days of the Great Depression, Hunter had an interesting and varied work history; he worked as a cashier at the Freedman's Savings and Trust, a clerk of the Raleigh, North Carolina Post Office, a traveling salesman and insurance agent, an educator, and a journalist. He created, cultivated, and leveraged personal, professional, and political relationships in the name of "uplift" for himself, and by extension, the race. Throughout his life, Hunter oscillated between working to promote a narrative of black progress—a progress rooted in the pursuit of education and the practice of agricultural

¹ "I Was Born A Slave," Charles N. Hunter Papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University. Hereafter referred to as Charles N. Hunter Papers.

labor—and figuring out how to survive as a black man in post-Reconstruction North Carolina.

My thesis seeks to add an additional occupation to Charles Hunter's resume: public historian. While the title as we know it today did not exist in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Hunter's activities certainly reflected a desire to challenge traditional, singular, and racist narratives of both the present and the past. In 1869, he encouraged his fellow North Carolinians to reinstate public celebrations of the Fourth of July.² Beginning in the 1870s, he was involved in Emancipation Day celebrations held in black communities throughout North Carolina.³ In 1924, he collected and published statistics to demonstrate the educational and economic progress of blacks in North Carolina since Emancipation.⁴ In the same year, he attempted to write and publish a comprehensive history of black life in Raleigh.⁵ However, it is Hunter's work as a co-founder of the North Carolina Industrial Association (NCIA) that will be the focus of my study.

In 1879, Hunter, his brother Osborne, and other "leading black men" established the NCIA with one purpose: "...to hold at least each year a Fair, or an Exposition, of the educational and industrial progress of the Negroes of North Carolina..."⁶ The North

² Charles Hunter to *North Carolina Standard*, June 1869, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

³ Ninth Anniversary of the Proclamation of Emancipation Invitation, Charles N. Hunter Papers; John Haley, *Charles N. Hunter and Race Relations in North Carolina*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 1987, 24.

⁴ "Progress of the Negro Race in North Carolina," Charles N. Hunter Papers.

⁵ Charles Hunter, *Review of Negro Life in North Carolina with My Recollections* (Raleigh: Self-Published), 1924, 4-6, <http://digital.ncdcr.gov/cdm/ref/collection/p249901coll37/id/4734>

⁶ Haley, 54. The concept of the "leading black man" is best explained as the black man who is responsible for "solving the race problem", that tend to push for the progress of the race via educational and economic pursuits. See St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1993, 392-393; "Constitution of the North Carolina Industrial Association", Charles N. Hunter Papers.

Carolina Negro State Fair was not the first black state fair; however, it was both a modification of an existing form—the American agricultural fair—and a contemporary iteration of nineteenth-century black public history in the United States, which was dominated by an “ideology of uplift” and “the assumption that Afro-American would succeed in American society only by assimilating Euro-American culture.”⁷ For almost fifty consecutive years, the fair operated as an annual, temporary, vindicationist exhibition of black progress in North Carolina. While clearly designed to demonstrate black progress to a hostile white society, it also functioned as a space where black North Carolinians could safely gather and celebrate their economic, educational and moral progress. At the fair, blacks considered how to become full citizens of a state and nation that actively excluded them.

My thesis concentrates on the North Carolina Negro State Fair from 1879-1898 as a local event, paying particular attention to four fairs: the inaugural fair of 1879, the fairs of 1886 and 1891, and the 1898 fair that took place soon after the Wilmington insurrection. It analyzes how each fair was planned—how they looked, felt and sounded—as well as the ways in which each fair was utilized as a political tool, even though the both the leaders of the NCIA and the black visitors to the fair were warned to remain apolitical.⁸ Examining each of these fairs as acts of public history allows for the consideration and analysis of the presence of public history methods: reflective practice,

⁷ The North Carolina Negro State Fair is believed to be the second black fair in the United States, preceded by the Lexington Colored Fair, established by the Kentucky Colored Agricultural and Mechanical Fair Association in 1869. See Kate Nowicki, “Race, Recreation, and the American South: Georgia’s Black State Fair, 1906-1930.” (PhD diss., University of Sussex, 2012), 21; Fath Davis Ruffins and Jeffrey C. Scott, “A Faithful Witness: Afro-American Public History in Historical Perspective, 1828-1984,” in *Presenting the Past: Essays on History and the Public*, Susan Porter Benson, Stephen Baker, and Roy Rosenzweig, eds. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 309-310.

⁸ “Encouraging Words from Commissioner Polk,” *The Journal of Industry*, April 1879, 1.

reflection in action, shared inquiry, and shared authority.⁹ Shared authority is especially important in my examination of the fairs, as an uneasy relationship existed between the leading black men and the black community at large in North Carolina. As black leaders shifted toward accommodation in the late nineteenth century, they found themselves at odds with working class blacks.¹⁰

While the North Carolina Negro State Fair simulated the form and function of an agricultural fair (which has a different history than that of national and international expositions of the late nineteenth century), I view it as an annual, intermediary event bridging and perhaps also responding to the ways in which black progress after Emancipation was displayed (or not) at the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, the 1891 Southern Inter-State Exposition in Raleigh, the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, and the 1895 Cotton States Exposition in Atlanta.

⁹ Katharine T. Corbett and Howard S. Miller, "A Shared Inquiry into Shared Inquiry," *The Public Historian* 28 (2006), 15-38.

¹⁰ August Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press), 1964, 24; Haley, ix; Robin D. G. Kelley, "We Are Not What We Seem: Rethinking Black Working-Class Opposition in the Jim Crow South," *The Journal of American History* 80 (June 1993): 79-81, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2079698>.

Literature Review

As mentioned in the Introduction, the North Carolina Negro State Fair was a modification of the American agricultural fair, designed to fulfill distinct political, economic, and social needs. However, few research studies center black agricultural fairs. In the 2012 book *Negro Building: Black Americans in the World of Fairs and Museums*, Mabel O. Wilson acknowledges that "there were hundreds of fairs...that existed during the period this book studies; all of them cannot be reviewed in this single volume (I will leave that task to other scholars)."¹¹

Of the few studies that discuss black agricultural fairs, only two explore the North Carolina Negro State Fair in considerable detail: Frenise Logan's 1957 article "The Colored Industrial Association and its Fair of 1886" and Kathleen Ann Clark's 1999 dissertation "History Is No Fossil Remains: Race, Gender, and the Politics of Memory in the American South, 1863-1913". Logan's article narrates the 1886 fair "as representative of all fairs preceding and succeeding it," and Clark's dissertation examines the fair as one of several tools designed to institutionalize African American historical memory in the post-Civil War South."¹² In acknowledging this gap on the topic of black fairs, there are however, several texts covering a variety of topics that provide a base for understanding both the planning and politics at the core of the annual North Carolina Negro State Fair.

¹¹ Mabel O. Wilson, *Negro Building: Black Americans in the World of Fairs and Museums*. (Berkeley: University of California Press), 2012, 8.

¹² Frenise A. Logan, "The Colored Industrial Association of North Carolina and its Fair of 1886," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 34 (January 1957): 58, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23517244>; Kathleen Clark, "History Is No Fossil Remains: Race, Gender, and the Politics of Memory in the American South, 1863-1913." (PhD diss., Yale University, 1997), 5.

Black Life in North Carolina, 1860-1900

The common narrative of Reconstruction tends to center on two components. The first is the struggle between the legislative and executive branches of the federal government for control and authority to rebuild the South—and the nation by extension. The second is the black embrace of freedom and entrance into the political area. For this study, it was important to understand the experience of both Reconstruction and the years that followed specifically for black people in North Carolina.

Published in 1935, W.E.B. DuBois's *Black Reconstruction* concentrates on the years 1860-1880, and attempts "...to tell and interpret these twenty years of fateful history with especial reference to the efforts and experiences of Negroes themselves."¹³ It is a direct challenge to the prevailing interpretation of Reconstruction led by the Dunning School of historians in the early twentieth century.¹⁴ By analyzing Reconstruction by region (South Carolina; Mississippi and Louisiana; Alabama, Georgia, and Florida; and the states of the Border and Frontier: North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee), DuBois highlights the distinct experiences in each state. He frames the struggle of Reconstruction in North Carolina as a quandary of what to do with a new, emerging ruling class: "The real fight in North Carolina was between the old regime and the white carpetbaggers, with the poor whites as ultimate arbitrators, and Negro labor between, struggling for existence."¹⁵

¹³ W.E.B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction* (Millwood, NY: Kraus-Thomson Organization Ltd), 1976, 1.

¹⁴ William Dunning was a history professor (who also self-identified as a political scientist) at Columbia University. Dunning (and the historians who trained under him, thereby creating the "school") espoused an interpretation of Reconstruction as a failed experiment, "a regime of humiliation, corruption, and exploitation by carpetbaggers, scalawags, and impudent freedmen" inflicted upon the south by "vindictive radicals." See Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1988, 69, 75, 77-80.

¹⁵ DuBois, 530.

Frenise Logan's *The Negro in North Carolina, 1876-1894* explores the intricacies of the years following Reconstruction. Like DuBois, this "narrative of the Negro group" in North Carolina seeks to challenge the assertions of "most partisan historians" that focus on the failures of Reconstruction.¹⁶ As this text was written in the 1960s, Logan also attempts "to explore Negro-white relations during a period that contributes to a solution of present-day race relations." Logan discusses black progress in North Carolina in the late nineteenth century in terms of politics, economics, education, and social life.

Glenda Gilmore's *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* provides a new narration of the state's political landscape, focused on the intersections of race, gender, and class. While Gilmore's narrative technically begins where Logan's ends, *Gender and Jim Crow* actually begins at the beginning of the nineteenth century to "illustrate[s] the contingencies of politics, the fruits of education, and the ebb and flow of interracial relations in the last half of the nineteenth century."¹⁷ Additionally, Gilmore's text considers an identifier that tends to be overlooked in discussions of the black experience during this period: place. It considers the ways in which North Carolina's location and geography impacted the perspective of both blacks and whites across the spectrum of class.

Leslie Brown's *Upbuilding Black Durham: Gender, Class, and Black Community Development in the Jim Crow South* provides a framework for understanding the dynamic and fluid nature of urban black communities in the South in the late nineteenth century. While much of this study takes places in Raleigh, the state capital, examining the growth

¹⁶ Frenise Logan, *The Negro in North Carolina, 1876-1894* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 1964, vii, viii.

¹⁷ Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 1996, xx.

of a city like Durham—described as the “Capital of the Black Middle Class” is valuable in understanding intraracial class conflict, which also tends to be overlooked when discussing black life in the south.¹⁸

Nineteenth Century Black Political Thought

August Meier’s *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington* traces the development of black political thought “between the Compromise of 1877 and the Compromise of 1895.”¹⁹ From the outset of the text, Meier is clear on the fact that he is limited in his scope, primarily because he focuses on the publicly expressed ideas “of the articulate, who are ordinarily among the prominent people.”²⁰

While much of the text is framed around Booker T. Washington, there are also sections that focus on black political thought in North Carolina on topics such as the pros and cons of political activity and black migration from the South, which probably had more impact on Charles Hunter’s work.²¹ Utilizing materials generated from the annual Colored Conventions (political conventions held in the nineteenth century to strategize how to gain justice for blacks) held in Raleigh, the text articulates the ideas of men such as J.C. Price, the President of Livingstone College; James H. Harris, a charter member of the North Carolina Republican Party; and James E. O’Hara, who represented the state’s Second District in the United States Congress.

¹⁸ Leslie Brown, *Upbuilding Black Durham: Gender, Class, and Black Community Development in the Jim Crow South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 2008, 18-19, 41.

¹⁹ Meier, 25.

²⁰ Meier, ix.

²¹ It is important to note here that there is little to no focus on Booker T. Washington in this study. Charles Hunter’s public writings and work on public commemorations (and the development of the North Carolina Negro Fair specifically) predates that of Washington.

Published more than three decades after Meier, Cedric J. Robinson's *Black Movements in America* provides an extensive, yet concise overview of black political movements from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. Robinson's descriptions of black assimilation and black nationalism, "each nurtured by a particular Black experience," were especially helpful to understanding the nature of respectability politics and class-based intraracial conflict.²²

American Agricultural Fairs

While a great deal of information regarding agricultural fairs exists, geographer Fred Kniffen was accurate in his evaluation that comprehensive historical studies of fairs tend to be few and far between.²³ That said, sociologist Wayne Caldwell Neely's *The Agricultural Fair* is considered the "standard reference work" on the history of fairs in the United States.²⁴ In this text, he cites the fair as "a significant social tradition in the evolution of American society."²⁵ In the eighteenth century, large landholders and "learned men" established private agricultural societies, focused on bringing scientific agriculture to America. Over time, the societies developed fairs to combine practical demonstrations of new farming practices, and displays of livestock raised utilizing said practices. By the late eighteenth century, these private societies were receiving grants from state legislatures to further expand their events.

²² Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Movements in America* (New York: Routledge), 1997, 96.

²³ Fred Kniffen, "The American Agricultural Fair: Time and Place," *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, (March 1951), 42.

²⁴ Warren A. Henke, review of *Historical Directory of American Agricultural Fairs*, by Donald Marti, *The Journal of American History* 74, no. 4 (1988): 1420. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1894537>

²⁵ Wayne Caldwell Neely, *The Agricultural Fair*. (New York: Columbia University Press), 1935, vii.

Membership in these early agricultural societies did not include everyday working farmers; Neely notes that “the methods employed by the societies to promote agriculture were such that they could rarely participate, if indeed, they had been able always to comprehend.”²⁶ In the early nineteenth century, the agricultural societies became more democratized and by mid-century, the societies were the primary social organization of American farmers. This second wave of agricultural societies began to include competitions for which farmers could win prizes—these competitions are what we commonly refer to as state fairs today. The first state fair took place in Syracuse, New York in 1841. From 1850-1870, the agricultural societies began to give way to new institutions that promoted farmers’ interests, such as the United States Department of Agriculture, state agricultural schools, and the Grange. In this transition, many states took on the responsibility of producing yearly state fairs.

Donald Marti’s *Historical Directory of American Agricultural Fairs* points out that the state fair phenomenon moved from east to west and thrived in the Midwest. In some instances, fairs began “almost immediately after settlers arrived.”²⁷ On the other hand, state fairs were slow to develop in the South; where they did take place, enslaved people attended fairs with half-price admission, and participated in the competitions. Even after the Civil War, most southern state fairs are described as having been racially integrated events until the late 1880s and early 1890s.²⁸

²⁶ Neely, 43-44.

²⁷ Donald B. Marti, *Historical Directory of American Agricultural Fairs*. (New York: Greenwood Press), 1986, 8.

²⁸ Marti, 14.

The World's Fair and Nationalism

In their *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988*, John Findling and Kimberly Pelle outline the fair's history in the world. From their beginnings as ancient Roman festivals, fairs evolved to become "... a mixture of commerce, entertainment, and theater" in an attempt to boost both a country's image in the world, as well as citizens' pride in their homeland.²⁹ What we know as World's Fairs began in 1851 in London; America's first World's Fair was held in New York's Bryant Park in 1853, and it was a unique form unto itself. The American agricultural fairs that were already in existence "...seem to have had negligible impact on the individuals who were involved in the planning of the earliest international fairs in held in the United States".³⁰

Paul Greenhalgh's *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* notes that Britain and France understood by 1867 that educational exhibits should be designed for the benefit of the lower middle and artisan classes who would visit the fairs; by the end of the nineteenth century, "the 'masses' proper were referred to as being the true beneficiaries of learning, their intellectual development apparently being vital for the survival of Western Civilization."³¹ Robert Rydell's *All the World's A Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Exhibitions, 1876-1916*, takes the same view, citing the extreme care that American fair organizers took to design the various exhibits as an attempt to "...present the proper interpretation of social and political reality"³². These grand events, held in a

²⁹ John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle, eds, *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), xv, xvii.

³⁰ Findling and Pelle, xviii.

³¹ Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939*, (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1988), 21.

³² Robert Rydell, *All the World's A Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Exhibitions, 1876-1916*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 3.

country facing industrial, economic, and social change at an unprecedented rate, focused on the idea of progress—that the unprecedented changes, “predicated on the subordination of nonwhite people” were, in fact, for the nation’s benefit.³³ While the design of the North Carolina Negro State Fair more closely aligned with that of the American agricultural fair, its function certainly resembled that of the World’s Fairs of the late nineteenth century. Publicly displaying black educational, industrial, and material growth as progress was at the core of the fair’s existence.

³³ Rydell, 4.

Methodology

This study is an admittedly interdisciplinary one, guided by both public history methods, and concepts rooted in memory studies.

Public History Methods

Texts such as Kathleen Ann Clark's "History Is No Fossil Remains: Race, Gender, and the Politics of Memory in the American South, 1863-1913" and Mitch Kachun's "The Faith that the Dark Past Has Taught Us; African American Commemorations in the North and West and the Construction of a Usable Past, 1808-1915" chronicle the formation of a distinct African American understanding of history. Each described a selective adoption of intellectual traditions (such as the writing and disseminating of race histories and the planning and execution of public events, be they Freedom Day commemorations, or in the case of this study, an industrial fair) by a small group of people, to be received by the masses—both black and white.

Public history—whether it is “history for the public, of the public, by the public, or with the public”—is not divorced from politics.³⁴ The North Carolina Negro State Fair was a public event which clearly reflected a shift in black thought as a direct result of the Democratic party's “redemption” of Southern state governments throughout the 1870s. In North Carolina, the process of redemption began in 1870, and was complete by 1876.³⁵ In

³⁴ Barbara Franco, “Public History and Memory: A Museum Perspective,” *The Public Historian* 19 (Spring 1997): 65, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3379145>

³⁵ W.E.B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction* (Millwood, NY: Kraus-Thomson Organization Ltd), 1976, 536; Logan, Frenise, *The Negro in North Carolina, 1876-1894* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 1964, 8; John Haley, *Charles N. Hunter and Race Relations in North Carolina*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 1987, 21. In Chapter 1, I contend that Reconstruction effectively ends in 1870.

the face of this political oppression, African Americans began to focus on self-help and racial unity; on “economic and moral development,” the underlying ideals of the fair.³⁶

While this shift is solidified in the mid- to late-1800s, it is important to note that African American public history was already rooted and growing from a foundation of racial unity and uplift from the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is in this first era of African American public history, from 1825 to 1900, as delineated by Fath Davis Ruffins and Jeffrey Scott, in which black historymaking was dominated by an “ideology of uplift” and “the assumption that Afro-American would succeed in American society only by assimilating Euro-American culture.”³⁷

Related to racial uplift, race vindication is another component of the general practice of African American history (public history included) critical to my work. V.P. Franklin and Bettye Collier-Thomas characterize race vindication as a primary activity for the “leading” blacks of the nineteenth century, in which they used their acumen and education as tools “to deconstruct the discursive structures erected in science, medicine, the law, and historical discourse to uphold the mental and cultural inferiority of African peoples.”³⁸ I would respectfully add to Franklin and Collier-Thomas’s definition to include political discourse, as the North Carolina Negro State Fairs functioned to counter the erosion of black rights post-Reconstruction.

³⁶ August Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press), 1964, 24.

³⁷ Fath Davis Ruffins and Jeffrey C. Scott, “A Faithful Witness: Afro-American Public History in Historical Perspective, 1828-1984,” in *Presenting the Past: Essays on History and the Public*, Susan Porter Benson, Stephen Baker, and Roy Rosenzweig, eds. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 309-310.

³⁸ V.P. Franklin and Bettye Collier-Thomas, “Biography, Race Vindication, and African American Intellectuals: Introductory Essay,” *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 81, No. 1/4 (Winter-Autumn, 1996), 1, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2717604>

Concepts from Memory Studies

The first concept rooted in memory studies is *historical consciousness*, a specialized and developed form of collective memory, as defined by Amos Funkenstein.³⁹ There is no concentrated focus on the development of African American collective memory by and of itself in this study; however, there will be concentration on the “historical image” derived from collective memory which Funkenstein refers to as “...the reminder of the past for the purpose of creating collective identity and cohesiveness, but in the attempt to understand the past and give it meaning.”⁴⁰

The second concept is a model of understanding the creation of collective memory, posed by Wulf Kansteiner. In this model, collective memory is produced from the interaction of three factors: intellectual and cultural traditions that frame a group’s understanding; a group of “memory makers” who selectively adopt and transform these traditions; and memory consumers who can use, ignore, or transform the traditions themselves.⁴¹ In examining how the North Carolina Negro State Fair represented black progress, this study applies Kansteiner’s model by examining nineteenth century African American thought, the tradition of African American commemoration, and the form and function of the agricultural fair as the intellectual and cultural traditions that frame black North Carolinians’ understanding; by laying bare the motivations and methods of Charles Hunter and the North Carolina Industrial Association as “memory makers”; and by

³⁹ Amos Funkenstein, “Collective Memory and Historical Consciousness,” *History and Memory*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Spring-Summer, 1989), 5-26, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25618571>

⁴⁰ Funkenstein, 12.

⁴¹ Wulf Kansteiner, “Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies,” *History and Theory* 41 (May 2002): 180, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3590762>

exploring the response of the black masses—the “memory consumers”—who both provide objects for the Fair’s exhibits, and attend the fair as an act of social uplift.

Sources and Structure

The primary sources for my thesis are located within the Charles N. Hunter Papers, located at Duke University. As previously mentioned, Hunter helped to established the North Carolina Industrial Association in 1879. His collection of personal and professional papers is regarded as the singular repository of the Association’s records. An investigation of these papers reveals the planning process for the fair, such as how the exhibits were designed, and how the physical fairgrounds were utilized. Additionally, an exploration of Hunter’s writings provides first-person information on black life in North Carolina post-Reconstruction and how he chose to create and present his particular narrative of black progress in collaboration with the other leading black men of the NCIA.

I have also consulted articles from local newspapers such as the *Banner*, the *Durham Daily Globe*, the *News & Observer*, the *Raleigh Gazette*, the *Raleigh Daily State Chronicle*, *The Star of Zion*—representative of both the black and white press—for three reasons. First, as the fairs were public events, examining how they were perceived by the public is critical. Second, Charles Hunter was a “memory maker”; as such, his papers reflect his evolving ideas and values. Utilizing local periodicals will assist in addressing any gaps. Third, the black newspapers reveal how the leading blacks of North Carolina communicated both their objection to racism as well as their race pride.

The thesis includes three chapters, organized both thematically and chronologically. The first chapter, “Fair Foundations,” provides historical context for the North Carolina Negro State Fair. I explore the state of black life in North Carolina during Reconstruction, and introduce the reader to Charles Hunter, and his public history work prior to the establishment of the North Carolina Industrial Association (NCIA) and the North Carolina Negro State Fair.

The second chapter, “A Unanimity of Purpose,” illustrates how the first North Carolina Negro State Fair held in 1879 was representative of the first era of black public history. I focus on several elements: the founding of the NCIA; the form and function of the American agricultural fair and how it was modified by the NCIA; the NCIA’s planning of the fair; the methods they used to collect objects and display the race’s progress; how the Association encouraged both blacks and whites to visit the fair; and how the first fair was discussed in the press.

The third chapter, “Black Progress On Display and In Context,” places the North Carolina Negro State Fair as an act of public history within specific political contexts over the next two decades. I examine the fair of 1886 (for which the most archival material exists); connections between the fair and the Southern Inter-State Exposition held in Raleigh in 1891; and the Negro State Fair that took place soon after the Wilmington Insurrection in 1898.

After having explained the creation, development, mounting, and reception of these specific events, I discuss the public history methods utilized and how they reflected the dynamic and fluid nature of the black community in North Carolina in the late nineteenth century in the Conclusion. I also attempt to define the North Carolina Negro

State Fair as a museum of sorts. A temporary installation lasting no more than five to seven days, I argue the fair occupied an alternative position relative to white political authority. It also existed to communicate and reinforce a particular set of cultural values, rooted in the pursuit of education and the practice of agricultural labor.

Chapter 1: Fair Foundations

Reconstruction in North Carolina, 1865-1870

Understanding Reconstruction as a conflict between Black Americans' hope for their future and white Americans' opposition to both black progress and federal intervention is both simple and practical. However, Reconstruction was not a uniform experience across the South; each state's story during the years 1865-1877 is a bit different. For instance, our general understanding of Reconstruction—particularly in states such as South Carolina—is based on increased African American political participation. As this section will illustrate, Reconstruction in North Carolina is quite a contrast.

Enslaved people began traveling with—and seeking the protection of—the Union Army after the Battle of Hatteras Inlet in 1861.⁴² By 1864, more than 17,000 freedmen were under federal supervision. Many of them lived in all-black communities along the Outer Banks.⁴³ Whether black North Carolinians were free before or during the Civil War, they were all optimistic about their future, even as white politicians declared that “The South is never again.”⁴⁴ Under President Andrew Johnson's *Proclamation Establishing Government for North Carolina*, William Woods Holden was appointed provisional governor. In his proclamation of a state constitutional convention, he also affirmed black freedom, albeit with racist, paternalistic instructions and caveats:

⁴² John Haley, *Charles N. Hunter and Race Relations in North Carolina*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 1987, 5.; “North Carolina as a Civil War battlefield: May 1861-April 1862,” in *North Carolina: A Digital History*, David Walbert, ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina School of Education, 2009), <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-civilwar/5663>

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ A small and mostly free black community existed in antebellum North Carolina. Interestingly, free blacks were allowed to vote in state elections until 1835. Also see Frenise Logan, *The Negro in North Carolina, 1876-1894* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 1964, 5.; Haley, 3.

“It now remains for you, aided as you will be by the superior intelligence of the white race...to decide whether the freedom thus suddenly bestowed upon you, will be a blessing to you or a source of injury...It is not expected that you can comprehend and appreciate as they should be comprehended and appreciated by a self-governing people, the wise provisions and limitations of Constitutions and laws; or that you can now have that knowledge of public affairs which is necessary to qualify you to discharge all the duties of the citizen.”⁴⁵

Delegates to the state convention would accomplish President Johnson’s stated objective of restoring North Carolina “to its constitutional relations to the federal government.”⁴⁶ They also discussed the possibility of forcing blacks out of North Carolina, similar to Jackson’s practice of Indian removal three decades earlier.⁴⁷

Despite Holden’s—and by extension, the state’s—belief and decree of their social and political inferiority, black North Carolinians were already mobilizing to secure their status as American citizens. In May 1865, a group “of colored men...of the age of twenty-one years and upwards” directly petitioned President Johnson for the right to vote, invoking their previous military service as proof of their patriotism.⁴⁸ In addition to the establishment of all-black communities and direct petition to the federal government,

⁴⁵ William Woods Holden, “Proclamation to the People of North Carolina,” in *The Papers of William Woods Holden, Volume I: 1841-1868*, Horace Raper and Thornton W. Mitchell, eds. (Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 2000), 189.

⁴⁶ “Proclamation Establishing Government for North Carolina, May 19, 1865,” *The Papers of Andrew Johnson, Volume 8*, Paul H. Bergeron, ed. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989), 137.

⁴⁷ Haley, 11.

⁴⁸ W.E.B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction* (Millwood, NY: Kraus-Thomson Organization Ltd), 1976, 526; Haley, 7; Steven F. Miller et al., “Between Emancipation and Enfranchisement: Law and the Political Mobilization of Black Southerners during Presidential Reconstruction, 1865-1867,” *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 70 (April 1995): 1062; “North Carolina Blacks to Andrew Johnson, May 10, 1865,” *The Papers of Andrew Johnson, Volume 8*, Paul H. Bergeron, ed. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989), 57-58.

blacks also organized the first Freedmen's Convention in the South at Raleigh in September 1865.⁴⁹

To be sure, there was no such thing as black political unanimity, and a diversity of thought was on display at the 1865 convention. As the one hundred fifty delegates from across the state discussed issues of black education, personal morality, economy and industry, they managed to balance both a conciliatory tone and radical action. Conservative delegates contended that blacks should remain in North Carolina no matter their circumstance; that their truest allies were the state's intellectually superior whites—not northern carpetbaggers.⁵⁰ At the same time, the convention established a newspaper, *The Journal of Freedom*, which would "...advocate the abrogation of all laws which make any distinction between men on account of color, and urge the enactment of laws such as will give every man equal rights," and formed a state chapter of the Equal Rights League.⁵¹

The public purpose of the 1866 Freedmen's Convention was to discuss education for black North Carolinians. However, the meeting was more political in nature, as it faced a hostile state legislature. The 1866 General Assembly created and passed the state's Black Codes, which defined who was a "person of color" and imposed antebellum

⁴⁹ Haley, 8; Elizabeth Rauh Bethel, *The Roots of African American Identity: Memory and History in Free Antebellum Communities* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 83; Also, the University of Delaware maintains an online exhibit chronicling the Colored Conventions movement at <http://coloredconventions.org/>

⁵⁰ Haley, 9.

⁵¹ *Journal of Freedom* (Raleigh, NC), September 30, 1865, 4; October 7, 1865, 2. The National Equal Rights League (NERL) was formed in Syracuse, New York in 1864 to press for equal rights for blacks as the Civil War drew to a close. John Mercer Langston served as its first president. The North Carolina State Equal Rights League operated as an auxiliary of NERL, with individual local chapters focused on community organization and mobilization. See Hugh Davis, *"We Will Be Satisfied With Nothing Less": The African American Struggle for Equal Rights in the North during Reconstruction*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), 2011, 17, 21-22.

laws previously designed to restrict the liberties of the state's free black population on all people of color, including a prohibition on their voting and holding public office.⁵² After the convention created the Freedmen's Educational Association of North Carolina, charging it with the establishment of public schools open to all students regardless of class or race, it turned back to politics, and began to pass resolutions. One resolution renounced white violence against blacks in Craven, Duplin, Halifax, Hyde, Jones, and Wayne counties, all located on North Carolina's eastern coast, where the power of the former planter class was centralized.⁵³ Another resolution encouraged the formation of local chapters of the Equal Rights League.⁵⁴ Yet another resolution praised federal legislators for passage of the Freedmen's Bureau Bill, the Civil Rights Act, and the Thirteenth Amendment.⁵⁵

A defining characteristic of the Freedmen's Conventions was the annual address to the people—the white people—of North Carolina. The annual address was the convention's response to white politicians' refusal to attend. The Convention's 1866 address highlighted black military service in both the Revolutionary War and War of 1812, as well as their attempt to save the Union in the Civil War.⁵⁶ After quoting the

⁵² Public Laws of North Carolina, session of 1866, 99; Senate Ex. Doc. no. 26, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 197. March 10, 1866. Prior to 1835, free blacks in North Carolina participated in state elections; the 1776 constitution did not list race as a qualification for voting. However, many whites, particularly those in the slaveholding east, desired a racial restriction. Eastern delegates to the 1835 constitutional convention won passage of the following amendment: "No free negro, free mulatto, or free person of mixed blood, descended from negro ancestors to the fourth generation inclusive, (though one ancestor of each generation may have been a white person,) shall vote for members of the Senate or House of Commons." See Logan, p. 7; "1835 Amendments to the North Carolina Constitution," in *North Carolina: A Digital History*, David Walbert, ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina School of Education, 2009), <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-newnation/4528>

⁵³ Haley, 14.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Outlining the history of black military defense of the United States was a common strategy used, particularly in the nineteenth century, as evidence of black claims of citizenship. See, Clark, 88-90 and

Declaration of Independence as proof of their understanding of America's founding principles, they ask whether they can count on white citizens for protection:

“Can we look to you for protection or not, to shield us from the murderous hand?...We beg you as white men in authority to shield or defenceless heads, and guard our little homes. We appeal to your religion and humanity...Oh North Carolina, the land of our birth, with all thy faults, we love you still...will you treat us as human beings, with all our rights? It is all we ask.”⁵⁷

Such addresses are illustrative of the strategy of utilizing a conciliatory tone disguising political demands during Presidential Reconstruction.⁵⁸

As Radical Reconstruction began after the election of 1866, black North Carolinians shift their focus, but not everyone agreed with this shift. James Harris, the prominent black politician who would become one of the charter members of the North Carolina Republican Party, presided over the 1866 convention and believed that blacks could have forged a productive partnership with the white planter class. He was dismayed by the whites' rejection of black claims of citizenship, and mischaracterized black requests for education and access to the franchise as “negro domination”.⁵⁹ Phrases such as “negro domination” and “social equality” were loaded terms, and would be utilized to generate support for white supremacist Democrats in North Carolina into the twentieth century.

Bethel, 18-19; *Minutes of the Freedmen's Convention, Held in the City of Raleigh, on the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th of October, 1866* (Raleigh, 1866), 26-27.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ August Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press), 1964, 6.

⁵⁹ Haley, 14.

Interestingly, it was the white Conservatives' rejection of blacks that aided in the development of the alliance between blacks and the state's newly formed Republican Party. Led by William Woods Holden, the North Carolina Republican Party held its first convention in March 1867 with both blacks and whites in attendance. Its platform endorsed civil rights, universal male suffrage, and early ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment.⁶⁰ Governor Jonathan Worth referred to the convention as "...the most radical which has assembled in the United States" and believed that "Each County, for itself, must adopt the best measure possible to avert the further calamities which are in store for us."⁶¹

The calamities came by way of North Carolina's 1868 Constitution. During the constitutional convention, delegates (out one hundred thirty-three, only fifteen of whom were black) discussed segregation, interracial marriage, and black political participation.⁶² Despite the Conservatives' multiple attempts to write in racial distinctions, the convention delegates "proceeded to produce the most liberal constitution in the history of North Carolina."⁶³ The Constitution included a Declaration of Rights which affirmed the equality of all men, the holding of free elections, and the right to a public education.⁶⁴ The Constitution was ratified, as was the Fourteenth Amendment, and Governor Worth would be removed from office, replaced by William Woods Holden.

The triumph of the 1868 constitution would be short-lived. While Republicans remained in the state legislature, fears of "negro domination" and "social equality" began

⁶⁰ Haley, 18.

⁶¹ Jonathan Worth, "Letter to Thomas Ruffin, March 29, 1867," in *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, J.G. de Rouhlac Hamilton, ed. (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1909), 924.

⁶² DuBois, 529.

⁶³ Haley, 19.

⁶⁴ NC Const. of 1868, art. 1, §1, §10, §27.

to play out in violent ways. White supremacist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, the White Brotherhood, and the Stonewall Guard attacked, intimidated, banished, and murdered blacks and Republicans.⁶⁵ Holden referred to the groups' acts of terror as "a dangerous secret insurrection."⁶⁶

Widespread embrace of white supremacy and its terrorist tactics, combined with accusations of Republican fiscal mismanagement, led to the Conservatives gaining control of the General Assembly in 1870.⁶⁷ Governor Holden would be impeached, and the Conservatives would amend the state constitution in a successful attempt to solidify the power of the General Assembly and prevent black political participation. While most sources agree that the regional project of Reconstruction ended with the Compromise of 1877, black North Carolinians of the time would have disagreed. For them, Reconstruction ended seven years earlier.

While full "redemption" or "home rule" of North Carolina was not fully secure until the re-election of Zebulon B. Vance as governor in 1876, the Conservatives worked to consolidate their power over local and state government over the next six years, which effectively eliminated the political gains made by blacks in the previous two years.⁶⁸ As the editor of *The North State* wrote, "...the Democrats, finding that they could not deprive the colored people the right to vote by violence...determined to accomplish this object, so dear to their hearts, by *law*."⁶⁹

⁶⁵ DuBois, 533-536; Haley, 20-21.

⁶⁶ DuBois, 534.

⁶⁷ DuBois, 531-532.

⁶⁸ Zebulon B. Vance was a Unionist Congressman who became a Confederate after the Civil War began, and led the 26th North Carolina Regiment. He was elected to his first term as governor in 1862 and served until May 1865. See William S. Powell, *North Carolina Through Four Centuries*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 1989, 368-369, 405-406.

⁶⁹ United States Congress, *Senate Report 693*, 1:146.

The Conservatives first attempted to call for a constitutional convention; when it was defeated, they utilized a legislative procedure to amend the 1868 constitution. From 1870-1872, numerous amendments were proposed; the eight amendments that passed (including one that created biannual sessions of the legislature) were placed on a referendum and approved by voters.⁷⁰ In 1875, the General Assembly called again for a constitutional convention to be held the following year, which was approved by a margin of 154 votes.⁷¹ The 1876 constitution legalized separate schools for black and white students, criminalized interracial marriages, instituted a one-year residency requirement for voters, and gave the legislature the authority to abolish town and county governments.⁷² The last two amendments were designed to erode black political participation: many blacks worked as agricultural laborers and moved from county to county for work. The one-year residency requirement would effectively block blacks from voting in elections. The General Assembly's ability to abolish town and county governments prevented blacks from holding political office, especially in eastern counties where blacks were the majority.⁷³

The years following Reconstruction weren't necessarily marked by increased racial violence; however, the editor of *The North State* reminded its readers that the system of governance as designed by the Conservatives "...is a far more formidable engine of oppression than any open violence, because its work is done under the forms of law."⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Powell, 404; Dillard S. Gardiner, "The Continuous Revision of Our State Constitution," *North Carolina Law Review*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (1958), 300.

⁷¹ Powell, 404.

⁷² Powell, 405; Gardiner, 300.

⁷³ Logan, 51.

⁷⁴ United States Congress, *Senate Report 693*, 1:147.

Who was Charles Hunter?

In the last years of his life, Charles Hunter lived at 824 Cotton Place in Raleigh; a State Highway Historical Marker commemorates his life just a block to the north.⁷⁵ The marker remembers Hunter as a “Black teacher, writer, & reformer” as well as “founder, N.C. Industrial Assoc.”⁷⁶ Throughout his life, Charles Hunter attempted to balance both the advancement of the black race after Emancipation and his struggle to secure a consistent, middle-class life for himself.⁷⁷ This struggle was certainly not confined to Hunter; blacks throughout North Carolina were moving “...from field hands to teachers, from carpenters to construction bosses.”⁷⁸

Charles Norfleet Hunter was born in either 1851 or 1852 in Raleigh at his parents’ home.⁷⁹ His father Osborne Sr. was “a noted mill wright in those days” who “hired his own time from his master and that of my mother from her master, Colonel Haywood.”⁸⁰ After his mother Mary’s death in 1855, the Hunter family moved to the Haywood family home where Charles was cared for by his maternal Aunt Harriet, “who was known by the white children as Mammy.”⁸¹ When Aunt Harriet could not provide direct care for the

⁷⁵ Hunter’s address was printed on his stationery.

⁷⁶ “Marker: H-103,” accessed March 19, 2017, <http://www.ncmarkers.com/Markers.aspx?sp=Markers&k=Markers&sv=H-103>.

⁷⁷ Haley, ix, 1.

⁷⁸ Gilmore, 3.

⁷⁹ Haley notes that inconsistency exists concerning Hunter’s birth date; he infers that either Hunter did not know his exact date of birth or he actively misrepresented his age. See Haley, p. 288. Additionally, the biographical documents in his papers also reflect this inconsistency. See “Biographical Sketch of Charles N. Hunter” and “Dictionary of North Carolina Biographical Sketch,” Charles N. Hunter Papers.

⁸⁰ “My Recollections,” Charles N. Hunter Papers. The Haywoods were a notable family in North Carolina politics, beginning with John Haywood, who was the first mayor of Raleigh. The Hunters were held by William Dallas Haywood, who also served as mayor of Raleigh.

⁸¹ Ibid. Hunter specifically refers to Aunt Harriet as his maternal aunt, and recalls that his maternal grandfather Surry Hill was the body servant of North Carolina’s Secretary of State William Hill.

Hunter children, Charles and his brother Osborne Jr. “were taken in charge by the two youngest daughters of the family, Miss Annie... and Miss Maggie...”⁸² The Hunter boys were the Haywood girls’ playmates. While he would express profound gratitude for his treatment by the Haywoods for the rest of his life, his family “prayed for freedom and a Union victory, because they knew that the outcome of the struggle meant the difference between perpetual bondage and liberty.”⁸³

After the war, Hunter received his formal education at the Johnson Normal School, a freedmen’s school operated by Northerners.⁸⁴ Later in his life, he expressed his appreciation for the Northern white teachers and their families, who “were made the victims of unchristian hatred on the part of Southern people...in an attempt to halt the education of his race.”⁸⁵ After graduation, Hunter attended Shaw University for one year.⁸⁶

Hunter recalled attending the North Carolina Freedmen’s Convention in 1865. As a teenager, he was impressed by both the delegates’ statesmanship and their lack of bitterness toward whites.⁸⁷ As the alliance between blacks and Republicans began to develop in 1866, Hunter was in full agreement, as they were the party responsible for black freedom. In a manuscript, Hunter asked, “Is it conceivable that the Negro could have made any other than the choice he did make?”⁸⁸

⁸² Charles Hunter to Ernest Haywood, 10 Nov. 1920, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

⁸³ Haley, 2.

⁸⁴ Haley, 16.

⁸⁵ Haley, 13.

⁸⁶ Haley, 10; “Dictionary of North Carolina Biographical Sketch,” Charles N. Hunter Papers. Located in Raleigh, Shaw University was founded in 1865 as the first Historically Black College or University (HBCU) to be established in the South. See “Shaw University Historical Perspective,” accessed March 19, 2017, http://www.shawu.edu/About_Shaw/Historical_Perspective/.

⁸⁷ Haley, 10.

⁸⁸ Undated Manuscript, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

While Hunter never self-identified as a politician, he certainly cultivated political relationships that helped him both personally and professionally. After the Civil War, Hunter met Jacob Chur, a Union officer who served as the Assistant Commissioner for the Freedmen's Bureau in North Carolina.⁸⁹ Hunter was friends with both George W. Brodie and James Harris, respected black Republican politicians in North Carolina.⁹⁰ Brodie also worked as the manager and chief cashier at the Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company. The bank was chartered by Congress as part of the Freedmen's Bureau to assist newly freed blacks in saving and manage their money as many began working for the Union Army after the Civil War.⁹¹ Hunter would obtain employment at the bank as an assistant cashier in 1869. He worked there until the bank failed in 1874.⁹²

In the five years Hunter worked for the Freedmen's Bank, he began to clarify his understanding of the world around him. The bank's existence provided blacks with both a safe place to deposit their money and learn the value of economic prudence. Hunter became convinced that a focus on thrift, education, and hard work were imperative for blacks—especially after the Conservatives gained control of the North Carolina General Assembly in 1870. Initially, Hunter chalked up their victory to a “spontaneous uprising”; he then rationalized that the Republicans had a hand in their own defeat. White

⁸⁹ Charles Hunter to Jacob Chur, 27 May 1867; Jacob Chur to Charles Hunter, 28 May 1869; Charles Hunter to Jacob Chur, 5 July 1869; Jacob Chur to Charles Hunter, 6 April 1870; Charles N. Hunter Papers. For background on Chur, also see “Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of North Carolina Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands · SOVA,” accessed March 19, 2017, <http://sova.si.edu/record/NMAAHC.FB.M843>.

⁹⁰ Charles Hunter to George Brodie, 7 May 1876, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

⁹¹ The Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company would expand to have thirty-seven branches in seventeen states, including the District of Columbia. See “The Freedman's Savings Bank: Good Intentions Were Not Enough; A Noble Experiment Goes Awry,” March 3, 2015, <https://www.occ.treas.gov/about/what-we-do/history/freedman-savings-bank.html>; “Freedman's Bank,” *Freedman's Bank*, accessed March 19, 2017, <http://freedmansbank.org/>.

⁹² Haley, 20; “Dictionary of North Carolina Biographical Sketch,” Charles N. Hunter Papers.

Republicans refused to support blacks as viable political candidates, political appointees and employees of the state party's Executive Committee.⁹³ Yet, the party actively courted and depended upon black votes. Hunter concluded that it was this fragile alliance between the Republican party and black North Carolinians, combined with the party's fiscal corruption that led to the end of Reconstruction in the state.⁹⁴

Although Hunter communicated primarily with the "race men" in North Carolina, his thinking was no different from other black leaders in the late nineteenth century. Systematic political oppression at the hand of the state led them to focus on the formation of separate institutions and the use of material wealth as a measure of success in an attempt to prove they were in fact the white man's equal.⁹⁵ Hunter's letters and written musings reveal an interesting angle in his thinking: while he believed that blacks needed to be educated and economically self-sufficient before working for their political and civil rights, he also embraced the idea that race relations could be improved by establishing solid bonds with the best white people of North Carolina:

...I am endeavoring to support the proposition that, among enlightened white people and enlightened Negroes there is no natural antipathy and that which seems to be such is simply the result of a want of understanding of each other.⁹⁶

Was Hunter's consistent voice of accommodation a strategy in the same way the 1865 Convention begged for white protection while simultaneously establishing

⁹³ Frenise Logan, *The Negro in North Carolina, 1876-1894* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 1964, 14-16.

⁹⁴ Haley, 22.

⁹⁵ August Meier, *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press), 1964, 24.

⁹⁶ "I Was Born A Slave," Charles N. Hunter Papers.

chapters of the Equal Rights League? In analyzing his personal papers, it is not apparent that he separated his ideas from his actions. Perhaps his outlook was an outgrowth of his specific experience as an enslaved child.

Eugene Genovese describes an “aristocratic ethos” among the enslaved and its components—a sense of pride in belonging to a particular master and family, a commitment to order, and a sense of shame.⁹⁷ After the death of his mother, Charles Hunter’s family moved back into the Haywood home, and into the orbit of one of the most prominent political families in the state. He pointed to his maternal grandfather’s status as the “body servant of Secretary William Hill.”⁹⁸ For the rest of his life, Hunter took satisfaction in his connection to the Haywoods (and by extension, other notable North Carolina whites). There is no evidence in his writing that “he embraced almost every philosophy of race relations except separatism and violence”, as asserted by John Haley.⁹⁹ Rather, his writings seem to reflect a common experience for the formerly enslaved in the years following the Civil War and Emancipation. While Emancipation and Reconstruction offered hopeful glimmers of membership into American society, they also brought a new sense of uncertainty. The ways of their ordered, yet racialized world had been upended; yet, many viewed their connections with their

⁹⁷ Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*. (New York: Pantheon Books), 1972, 113-115, 120-122.

⁹⁸ “My Recollections,” Charles N. Hunter Papers. William Hill was North Carolina’s Secretary of State from 1811-1857, and served as the State Librarian concurrently from 1812-1842. See “Hill, William | NCpedia,” accessed March 20, 2017, <http://www.ncpedia.org/biography/hill-william-0>.

⁹⁹ Haley, viii.

former slaveholders as social currency “as the past receded and new struggles emerged.”¹⁰⁰

Charles Hunter: Black Public Historian

Charles Hunter’s personal, professional, and political relationships—especially those with whites—came in handy for him as he began his work as a public historian. By 1879, when he helped to establish the North Carolina Industrial Association, he had a decade of experience with public commemorations. In 1869, Hunter noted there was no formal, public celebration of Independence Day on July 4. In a letter to the *North Carolina Standard* (published by W.W. Holden and Son), Hunter suggested “that a meeting be held, and suitable arrangements made to properly celebrate the ‘Nations birth day’.”¹⁰¹ At the first glance of Hunter’s letter, one might wonder why a freeman, just six years after Emancipation, would want to celebrate the founding of the nation that enslaved him.

The history of the observance of Independence Day is a complicated one for various segments of the country’s population. For example, in antebellum black communities, “...July 4 was a white American holiday. They felt that if observed at all, it should be as a day of national atonement, one on which the people would repair to their places of worship, asking God's forgiveness.”¹⁰² The one instance in which blacks—north to south, east to west—celebrated the date of July 4 was to commemorate the abolition of

¹⁰⁰ Leslie Brown, *Upbuilding Black Durham: Gender, Class, and Black Community Development in the Jim Crow South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 2008, 3.

¹⁰¹ Charles Hunter to *North Carolina Standard*, June 1869, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

¹⁰² Benjamin Quarles, "Antebellum Free Blacks and the 'Spirit of '76'," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 61, No. 3 (July 1976), 234, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2717251>

slavery in New York in 1827.¹⁰³ On the other hand, whites in antebellum North Carolina commemorated the Fourth of July with daylong celebrations, complete with firing cannons, picnics, and outside entertainment. As the Civil War began, they felt as if they had lost their independence; instead they focused on celebrating Christmas.¹⁰⁴

Once Emancipation came in 1863, however, blacks living in the South began to publicly celebrate America's birthday. In Louisville, Baltimore, and Biloxi, blacks commemorated July 4 "as they had never celebrated it before, nor would again."¹⁰⁵ While I uncovered no specific evidence of Hunter's knowledge of this new, momentary black embrace of the holiday, it is highly probable that Hunter was well aware of these celebrations, and did not want North Carolinians to miss out. In line with his attitude that racial strife could be addressed by way of public interactions, it is not surprising that he would propose an interracial celebration. As the war was over, and the county was reconciling itself, the *Standard* agreed with Hunter's proposal, as it called for "a meeting of our citizens—without reference to politics—...and steps taken to properly celebrate the 'ever glorious fourth'."¹⁰⁶ The meeting was called, and Raleigh's first Independence Day celebration took place. Joseph W. Holden, son of William Woods Holden and Speaker of the North Carolina House gave a speech at the segregated event.¹⁰⁷ In spite of the races being separated at this event, Hunter believed in the power of public

¹⁰³ Quarles, Ibid.; Mitch Kachun, "The Faith that the Dark Past has Taught Us: African American Commemorations in the North and West and the Construction of a Usable Past, 1808-1915." (PhD diss., Cornell University, 1997), 77-78.

¹⁰⁴ Powell, 388.

¹⁰⁵ Leonard Sweet, "The Fourth of July and Black Americans in the Nineteenth Century: Northern Leadership Opinion Within the Context of the Black Experience," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 61, No. 3 (July 1976), 272, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2717253>

¹⁰⁶ *North Carolina Standard*, June 25, 1869, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

¹⁰⁷ "Holden, Joseph William | NCpedia," accessed March 19, 2017, <http://www.ncpedia.org/biography/holden-joseph-william>.; Charles Hunter to Jacob Chur, 5 July 1869, Charles N. Hunter Papers; Haley, 23.

commemorations to unite the races; "...that the more blacks and whites saw and talked to each other, the greater the chance of the reduction of the prejudices that kept them apart and suspicious of each other."¹⁰⁸

While "many Fourth of July observances in the South were undertaken almost exclusively by African Americans and a smattering of white Republicans" during Reconstruction, that would change as states returned to "home rule."¹⁰⁹ By 1871, Jim Crow was becoming both custom and law; as such, blacks were formally and publicly excluded from Independence Day celebrations. As the Conservatives tightened their grip on the South, and on North Carolina in particular, they asserted that the Fourth of July was a white man's holiday.¹¹⁰ A new public holiday—and celebration—was needed for black North Carolinians.

In his search for a new holiday, Hunter placed himself and the black people of North Carolina into an existing tradition of black public commemoration. During the eighteenth century, enslaved Africans in New England held small annual festivals during election week, which occurred in the summer. These celebrations were "replete with African influenced singing, dancing and gaming," and were usually marked by the election of a black king or governor "who would often wield considerable authority within the black community, acting variously as arbitrator, judge, adviser and liaison with whites."¹¹¹ While these events were financed and supervised by whites, these celebrations allowed enslaved Africans to express their culture publicly, and to function as a distinct

¹⁰⁸ Haley, p. 23.

¹⁰⁹ Kachun, "The Faith that the Dark Past has Taught Us," 12.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Mitch Kachun, *Festivals of Freedom: Memory and Meaning in African American Emancipation Celebrations, 1808-1915* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 17-18.

community. Similar festivals such as Militia Training Day and Pinkster would be held throughout the Northeast.¹¹² These events changed in both form and function as slavery's grip decreased in the region; by the early nineteenth century, these events reflected a new African American culture. As they were organized by free black leaders who overwhelmingly embraced Christianity, the events were marked by formal sermons and orations reflecting the leaders' "...vision of their experience in America that captured the inherent tension between their distinctiveness as a people and their fundamental right to claim the status of American citizens."¹¹³

The leading black men of the first era of black public history "were extremely concerned with eradicating much of slave culture and inculcating a Christian morality based on self-restraint, education, a strong work ethic, religion and sobriety."¹¹⁴ While the focus of black leaders in the early nineteenth century was on the eradication of slavery, the years following Emancipation found them hesitant to accept the vestiges of enslaved life and culture. Instead, they concentrated on respectability: the development and adherence to a system of individual behavior, rooted in Christianity "both as a goal in itself and as a strategy for reform of the entire structural system of American race relations."¹¹⁵ The progress of the race depended on the distance it could remove itself from the institution of slavery. For example, minister Benjamin Tucker Tanner wrote that jubilee singing should be done with class, as opposed to evoking memories of how these

¹¹² Kachun, *Festivals of Freedom*, 17.

¹¹³ Kachun, *Festivals of Freedom*, 2-3.

¹¹⁴ Fath Davis Ruffins and Jeffrey C. Scott, "A Faithful Witness: Afro-American Public History in Historical Perspective, 1828-1984," in *Presenting the Past: Essays on History and the Public*, Susan Porter Benson, Stephen Baker, and Roy Rosenzweig, ed. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 308; Kachun, *Festivals of Freedom*, 5.

¹¹⁵ Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 1993, 187.

songs had been sung on the plantations.¹¹⁶ This belief system sits at the heart of what is referred to as racial improvement, self-help, or uplift. While attempting to define and vindicate a separate and distinct African American community, leaders of public celebrations were also attempting to create public expressions that could be respected and recognized by whites. In short, respectability politics have been at the heart of black public history.

In the early nineteenth century, there was disagreement as to which date, which step on the march to black freedom should be celebrated. Should blacks celebrate the end of the Atlantic slave trade, or the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, or the abolition of slavery in individual states and localities? By 1871, the answer was clear: January 1, the day the Emancipation was issued; the day Benjamin Tucker Tanner declared as the birthday of the black race in America.¹¹⁷ In North Carolina, January 1 became “the major secular holiday for blacks...and it was widely commemorated throughout the state.”¹¹⁸ For most of his life, Charles Hunter would be involved in Emancipation Day celebrations in North Carolina in one form or another: whether as a member of the planning committee, an invited speaker, or as the composer of the Emancipation Day Resolutions.¹¹⁹

As Emancipation Day became part of the black experience in North Carolina, there was another shift at play. Reconstruction was in its last days as the Emancipation Day celebrations began. Black political organizations diminished in their prominence as

¹¹⁶ Kachun, *Festivals of Freedom*, 150-151.

¹¹⁷ Kachun, ““The Faith that the Dark Past has Taught Us,” 243.

¹¹⁸ Haley, 24. It should be noted that many black communities across the United States still commemorate Emancipation Day on January 1.

¹¹⁹ Ninth Anniversary of the Proclamation of Emancipation Invitation, Charles N. Hunter Papers; Haley, 24.

blacks were systematically excluded from the state's political life. Other black institutions, such as schools, churches, and newspapers—established to address their exclusion from white institutions—began to expand their reach. They would take the lead in “articulating black-centered views of history.”¹²⁰ These institutions would continue the focus on racial uplift and vindication; as such, they would craft and disseminate narratives of black progress that minimized the existence and impact of racial conflict. Hunter would spend his life working as a teacher, principal, journalist, and editor; as such, he was at the leading edge of this trend.

Hunter's work on these public commemorations would not be without controversy or opposition, however. As previously explained, Hunter viewed relationships with the best white people as imperative to black progress. While Emancipation Day (and later the Negro State Fair) were black events, he always invited prominent whites to attend and speak to the black attendees. As Secretary of the 1872 Emancipation Day festivities, Hunter invited two prominent—and diametrically opposed—white men to attend: Charles Sumner, the Radical Republican Senator from Massachusetts, and Bartholomew Moore, one of the architects of the North Carolina Black Code.¹²¹ The invitation to Sumner makes sense; in his letter of invitation, Hunter expressed the hope that Sumner's attendance would give attendees an opportunity to “behold one who has ever stood as a source of Grace in defence of the liberties of our people.”¹²² We can only speculate as to why Hunter invited Moore, and whether he believed the invitation would be accepted. It is possible that Hunter simply wanted to

¹²⁰ Clark, 173.

¹²¹ Ninth Anniversary of the Proclamation of Emancipation Invitation, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

¹²² draft of letter, Charles Hunter to Charles Sumner, 22 December 1871, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

have prominent whites—regardless of their politics—on the platform for the event. It is also possible that Hunter believed that he could somehow curry favor with Moore by inviting him. Unfortunately, Hunter’s invitation to Moore is not available to us.

What we do know is that both men turned down Hunter’s invitation. Sumner’s letter of regret reflected his belief in extending justice to blacks instead of amnesty, and asked for their support of the Civil Rights Bill currently under debate in Congress; as expected, Moore’s letter decried the Republicans’ use of their personal freedom to promote “corruption” as “the greatest of all human curses” and warned blacks that they should use their personal freedom only to “exalt and honor virtue and intelligence.”¹²³

Hunter’s creation, promotion, and replication of public events designed to appeal to nineteenth-century white values and sensibilities inevitably generated black opposition. Hunter believed that “if blacks were to remain in North Carolina in any peace, they would have to accept an inferior position and not give whites any trouble.”¹²⁴ Whereas he believed he was working for racial uplift by cultivating friendly relations with white Conservatives and working on temperance campaigns throughout the state, he also believed that he was being disrespected by his own people. In a letter to George Brodie regarding a financial matter at the Freedmen’s Savings and Trust, Hunter asserted that “If you are not kindly disposed enough to assist me, you should not use any opportunity to embarrass me.”¹²⁵ In a letter to U.S. Senator J. C. Pritchard, Hunter doubled down on his stance that blacks should focus on the pursuit of education and practice of agricultural labor and proclaimed that he accepted this opposition, because he fully believed that their

¹²³ Haley, 25; Clark, 179-180; Bartholomew Moore to Friday Jones and Others, 1 January 1872, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

¹²⁴ Haley, 34.

¹²⁵ Charles Hunter to George Brodie, 7 March 1876, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

labor would eventually lead to their prominence—as individuals contributing to the prominence of the race as a whole.¹²⁶

Within the framework of black respectability, Hunter believed that advancing his career would not only improve his personal standing with both blacks and whites, but it would be a step on the road to uplifting the entire race. His career with the U.S. Postal Service serves to illustrate this point. While Hunter eschewed electoral politics and discouraged blacks from seeking elected office, he believed that blacks (including himself) should benefit from federal patronage. In 1881, he opposed William Woods Holden's reappointment as postmaster of the Raleigh post office, based on Holden's opposition to hiring black postal clerks. By April of the same year, Hunter received an appointment as a clerk in the Raleigh office by way of his political connections, and became the first black postal clerk in North Carolina. His new position made him a "leading black man" in the eyes of blacks and whites alike.¹²⁷ Hunter would hold this position until he lost his appointment upon the inauguration of Democrat Grover Cleveland in 1885.¹²⁸ Upon losing his post, Hunter, determined not to lose his standing in the black community, became an educator. He taught at the Durham Graded school, and assumed the principalship at schools in Goldsboro and Raleigh.¹²⁹

Although Charles Hunter was a leading black man in Raleigh, he was certainly not a member of the black elite. When we consider black leadership in the late nineteenth century, we tend to examine the work of those toward the top of the social ladder.

However, I maintain that blacks like Hunter, "urban African Americans of the middling

¹²⁶ Charles Hunter to J.C. Pritchard, 21 April 1902, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

¹²⁷ Haley, 57-58.

¹²⁸ Haley, 67.

¹²⁹ "Dictionary of North Carolina Biographical Sketch," Charles N. Hunter Papers.

sort,” bore much of the everyday labor in the first era of black public history.¹³⁰ It will be these middle-class blacks that create the North Carolina Industrial Association (NCIA) and the North Carolina Negro State Fair. Nationally recognized black leaders such as Frederick Douglass, T. Thomas Fortune, and John Mercer Langston will participate in the fairs in various capacities; however, their participation is not the focus on my study. Rather, I am examining the public history work: reflective practice, reflection in action, shared inquiry, and shared authority, practiced by both the men of the NCIA, and their supporters—men and women—across socioeconomic lines.

¹³⁰ Gilmore, 3.

Chapter 2: “A Unanimity of Purpose”

The practice of public history is not an objective one; even the decision to remain neutral is subjective. Regardless of its form, public history reflects the values and beliefs of the practitioner—whether it is an individual or an organization. The North Carolina Industrial Association (NCIA) was no exception: its founding and its work were extensions of Charles Hunter’s view of the world.

The models of accommodation Hunter practiced can be placed within both academic and popular frameworks. In John Dollard’s model, black accommodationists put whites on a pedestal, embrace white values, and remember their place.¹³¹ In popular postwar fiction, Southern romantic writers emphasized the close personal relationships between slaveholders and enslaved people, and made white paternalism beneficial to both blacks and whites.¹³² Hunter understood this and assumed such a stance. This stance enabled him to be regarded as a “leading black man” by whites—which allowed him to promote both black progress and his own.

Establishing the NCIA

In early 1879, Hunter, his brother Osborne, and twenty other leading black men met in the back of Alexis Long’s barbershop on Fayetteville Street just south of the State Capitol. There, they decided that black people would have to “devote their energy to labor and the improvement of their moral and intellectual condition.”¹³³ Their decision established the North Carolina Industrial Association (NCIA); in March, the

¹³¹ John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 255.

¹³² Haley, 46.

¹³³ Ibid.

organization's articles of incorporation—written by Hunter—were passed by the General Assembly.¹³⁴ new organization would “encourage and promote the development of the industrial and educational resources of the colored people of North Carolina, to gather statistics respecting their progress in the various pursuits and customs peculiar to civilized and enlightened nations...to hold annually...an exhibition of the products of their industry and education...”¹³⁵ The NCIA was established as an organ of race vindication, and would utilize the familiar format of the agricultural fair to display their work.

The American Agricultural Fair

The word fair comes from the Latin *feriae* for “holiday”. There is evidence of fairs taking place in ancient Rome, usually in the form of religious festivals. Medieval fairs took place at “major crossroads of trade and were a mixture of commerce, entertainment, and theater.”¹³⁶ Regardless of when or where fairs took place, they exist to encourage pride—pride in one’s hamlet, village, town, city, state, or nation.¹³⁷ While fairs encourage a sense of fair in the general sense, it is necessary to clarify that theoretically, the American agricultural fair is not the same in its form and function as the larger national and international expositions and World’s Fairs so common in the late nineteenth century.

The roots of the American agricultural fair rest with the formation of eighteenth-century agricultural societies, modeled after those already in existence in England. These

¹³⁴ Untitled Address, Charles N. Hunter Papers; Haley, 46.

¹³⁵ “Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina, Passed by the General Assembly at Its Session [1879]”, 907-908.

¹³⁶ Findling and Pelle, xv.

¹³⁷ Findling and Pelle, xvi; Neely, 18; Rydell, 2-5.

societies were established and led by both large landholders and “learned men”; they focused on the discovery and dissemination of the best scientific agricultural practices.¹³⁸ As the young country was largely rural, the existence of agricultural societies, focused on improving farming practices and yields made sense. On the other hand, they were exclusive groups that discovered and disseminated the best agricultural practices among themselves.¹³⁹ Additionally, everyday eighteenth-century American farmers “had neither leisure nor equipment...and were apt to be suspicious of ‘book farming’ anyway.”¹⁴⁰

The farmers’ suspicion of ‘book farming’ became apparent to the agricultural societies when they began to organize public educational events. Designed for the everyday farmer, these public events reflected the societies’ belief that science could change and improve American agriculture and life.¹⁴¹ In an attempt to improve attendance at their events, the societies introduced competitions for farmers, complete with cash prizes, known as premiums. These were the first agricultural fairs.¹⁴² The premium, according to Fred Kniffen, was the defining characteristic of the American agricultural fair:¹⁴³ As interest and participation in these early fairs grew, so did premiums; as a result, agricultural societies began to request (and receive) state subsidies.¹⁴⁴

In the first half of the nineteenth century, agricultural fairs grew in both size and number, specifically in the Midwest: “Fairs began in the heartland almost immediately

¹³⁸ Neely, 43.

¹³⁹ Neely, 43-44.

¹⁴⁰ Neely, 45.

¹⁴¹ Marti, 2-6; Kniffen, 266.

¹⁴² Neely, 46; Marti 6.

¹⁴³ Kniffen, 266.

¹⁴⁴ One of the earliest examples of agricultural societies receiving state funds is that of the “regular and generous grants” to the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture in 1792. See Marti, 7.

after settlers arrived in the East.”¹⁴⁵ Antebellum fairs are also established in the south, specifically in the District of Columbia, Kentucky, and the Carolinas.

The North Carolina State Fair

The North Carolina State Agricultural Society was first established in 1818 and lasted until 1850.¹⁴⁶ It was reestablished in 1852 by men described as both “advocates for agricultural reform” and “enlightened planters”; men such as Thomas Ruffin, John Dancy, and Kenneth Rayner.¹⁴⁷ The society served as a tool by which the planter class could exert their power. As many everyday North Carolinian farmers were illiterate, they relied on oral tradition to inform their farming practices which were deemed by the society as being “desperately backward.”¹⁴⁸ It was this realization that led to the creation of the North Carolina State Fair in 1853.¹⁴⁹

Designed to teach farmers new agricultural methods and display “the superior products that resulted from the adoption of such techniques.”, the State Fair provided a wide array of premiums to participating farmers.¹⁵⁰ One could win \$30 for “best yoke of oxen over four years old”; \$20 for one of the eight best experiments in the “action or non-action of lime as manure, above the fall of tide-water rivers of North Carolina, on

¹⁴⁵ Marti, 8.

¹⁴⁶ “Marker: H-45,” accessed March 19, 2017, <http://www.ncmarkers.com/Markers.aspx?MarkerId=H-45>.

¹⁴⁷ Melton A. McLaurin, “The Nineteenth-Century North Carolina State Fair as a Social Institution,” *The North Carolina Historical Review*, Vol. 59, No. 3 (July 1982), 213, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23535099>. Thomas Ruffin was the former Chief Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court and owned a plantation in Alamance County. John Dancy operated a cotton plantation in Edgecombe County, and Kenneth Rayner was a former U.S. Congressman who also owned a plantation in Hertford County. As noted previously, planter power was centralized in North Carolina’s eastern counties.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ The North Carolina State Fair is still in existence; Marti describes it as “the biggest Southern agricultural show east of Texas”. Also see “Welcome to the North Carolina State Fairgrounds,” accessed March 19, 2017, <http://www.ncstatefair.org/index.htm>.

¹⁵⁰ McLaurin, 213.

different soil”; or \$10 for the largest and choicest variety of flowers”.¹⁵¹ The State Agricultural Society capitalized on its exclusive, rich, and powerful membership in order to finance the fair—it was paid for by the society’s membership dues, donations from private businessmen, Raleigh city commissioners, and a grant from the state legislature.¹⁵² The city’s commissioners and governing board assisted in locating and securing the fairgrounds, located one mile east of the State Capital between Hargett and Davie Streets.¹⁵³

The 1853 State Fair lasted four days. Admission to the fairgrounds was twenty-five cents. Up to four thousand people attended the fair on any day of the fair, many of whom were able to reach Raleigh via rail lines that reduced their fares.¹⁵⁴ Opening day began with an instructional lecture on instructional methods. By the time the Civil War began, this address was replaced by an address by the governor. The fair’s social and political functions had supplanted its original instructional one.¹⁵⁵ The State Fair also appears to be an integrated event—I located no evidence in the course of my work that suggested racial segregation existed at the fair before the Civil War, during Reconstruction, and in the first days of Jim Crow in the state. Blacks—enslaved and free—were in attendance and in some instances, competed for premiums.¹⁵⁶ The fair

¹⁵¹ “Schedule of Premiums to be Awarded at the First Annual Fair of the North Carolina State Agricultural Society,” *North Carolina Standard*, August 10, 1853.

¹⁵² “The History of the State Fair” in *North Carolina: A Digital History*, David Walbert, ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina School of Education, 2009), <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-newsouth/4404>; “Marker: H-45”.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ McLaurin, 225; “Visitors to the North Carolina State Fair :: State Fair Ephemera Collection,” accessed March 19, 2017, <http://digital.ncdcr.gov/cdm/ref/collection/p16062coll1/id/13>.

¹⁵⁵ McLaurin, 213, 217.

¹⁵⁶ Marti, 14.

remained an integrated event until the introduction of “Colored Day” in 1891.¹⁵⁷ The State Fair would remain segregated until 1965.

This form of the state fair: administered by a central organization of elites interested in both exerting their power and promoting their idea of progress; funded by way of membership dues, private donations, and hopefully, government subsidies; serving both the organization’s political purposes and the public’s social purposes, combined with an existing tradition of black commemoration to provide a framework for Charles Hunter and other leading black men to establish the North Carolina Industrial Association and its Negro State Fair.

An examination of the NCIA as an organization reveals its similarity to the North Carolina State Agricultural Society; it was created by successful men who used their social and political connections to ensure their success. “Leading black men” such as John Leary (one of the first blacks admitted to the North Carolina State Bar, who also established Shaw University’s law department), Ezekiel Smith (an educator who also served as the U.S. minister and consul to the Republic of Liberia), Lemuel Hinton (a well-known local saddle maker), Anthony Burns (a local restaurant owner), and John Williamson (a newspaper editor for black publications throughout the state) would become members, act in leadership positions, and helped to finance the fair. In some cases, they would also serve as judges for some of the fair events.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ McLaurin, 221; Marti, 14.

¹⁵⁸ Robert C. Kenzer, *Enterprising Southerners: Black Economic Success in North Carolina, 1865-1915*. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997), 75-77.

Hunter and his brother played by the accommodationist handbook; in establishing the NCIA, they consulted with prominent white North Carolinians such as former governor Zebulon Vance, current governor Thomas Jarvis, and agricultural commissioner Leonidas Polk.¹⁵⁹ In a letter to Osborne Hunter, Polk warned that “to secure the sympathy, aid, and cooperation of the intelligent patriotic white men of the State...you must demonstrate by an unswerving avowal, that your sole and sincere purpose is to foster and advance the material welfare of your race...”¹⁶⁰ The NCIA could not engage in electoral politics. The letter was published in *The Journal of Industry*, the NCIA’s official publication, with the motto “God will Help those who Help Themselves” on its masthead.

Polk’s letter also alludes to another rationale for the establishment of the NCIA: “Let the lofty and noble purpose of your Association...by inculcating ideas of economy, industry and honesty, and unlike your brethren of the more Southern states, you will not be deluded into the great error of leaving the bountiful fruitful land of your birth, for one abounding only in disappointment.”¹⁶¹ Once redemption was complete with the election of Zebulon Vance as governor, black North Carolinians began to leave the state in increasing numbers. Some (less than four hundred) left for Liberia, West Africa.¹⁶² To the east of Raleigh, Johnston and Wayne counties reported that six thousand blacks left for Indianapolis, Indiana over a one-month period.¹⁶³ The leading black men of the were now tasked with curtailing black emigration.

¹⁵⁹ Haley, 46.

¹⁶⁰ “Encouraging Words from Commissioner Polk,” *The Journal of Industry*, April 1879, 1.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Logan, 121.

¹⁶³ Logan, 123.

Black Emigration from North Carolina

Even as people migrated to urban areas such as Raleigh, Durham, and Wilmington after the Civil War, North Carolina remained a predominantly rural state. As Reconstruction ended in 1870, blacks were prohibited from entering skilled trades; as such, they “followed the line of least resistance, and incidentally, the traditional calling of the race since antebellum time, living from the soil” as laborers and tenant farmers.¹⁶⁴ Black agricultural workers were exploited over the next decade via wage discrimination, being paid in supplies, and the state’s mortgage and lien system.

Racist whites justified wage discrimination by convincing themselves that “the negro is a cheap liver and demands less wages.”¹⁶⁵ However, it was the systematic barring of blacks from other areas of employment that put them in a position where they would work for any wage, even a grossly unfair one. Wage disparity based on race—as much as \$1.50 to \$2.00 per month—was a commonly accepted fact of agricultural work in North Carolina. The state’s Labor Commissioner, however declared that blacks’ poor pay should not be an excuse for ever walking off the job, especially during the planting and harvesting seasons.¹⁶⁶

During the 1870s and 1880s, approximately 15-20% of the American population was illiterate; the black illiteracy rate in the United States was 70-80%.¹⁶⁷ White

¹⁶⁴ Logan, 75.

¹⁶⁵ Logan, 77.

¹⁶⁶ Logan, 76-77.

¹⁶⁷ U.S. Census Bureau, “Percent Illiterate in the Population, by Race and Nativity, 1870 to 1969,” Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1975/compendia/hist_stats_colonial-1970.html (accessed July 15, 2017).

landlords in North Carolina took advantage of black illiteracy by paying tenant farmers in supplies rather than in cash. By accepting and using these supplies, the tenant farmers actually incurred more interest owed to the landlord; they ended up with very little real income by the end of the year.¹⁶⁸

The state's mortgage and lien bond system was also problematic, as it was designed to protect landlords' interests to the detriment of their tenants. Tenants' crops were mortgaged in advance and were "deemed and held to be vested in possession of the lessor until the rents for said lands shall be paid..."¹⁶⁹ Tenants could be charged with a misdemeanor for removing any portion of their crops "without the consent of the lessor...and without giving him or his agent five days' notice...and before satisfying all the liens held by the lessor..."¹⁷⁰ The same section also declares that landlords could be charged for committing the same act, provided "there is nothing due him."¹⁷¹ With landlords employing a variety of tactics to ensure the consistent indebtedness of their tenants, that was unlikely.

Facing political and social oppression following the end of Reconstruction, black North Carolinians sought to establish black colonies; some even went so far as to directly petition Governor Zebulon Vance in 1877. Vance denied their request, declaring that he knew there was no plan or intention to deny blacks their rights.¹⁷² Between 1877 and 1880, blacks began to leave North Carolina, citing economic exploitation, political

¹⁶⁸ *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of North Carolina for the Year 1887* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1887), 79, 89, 124-37.

¹⁶⁹ *The Code of North Carolina, Enacted March 2, 1883, Volume I* (New York: Banks and Brothers, 1883), Section 1754.

¹⁷⁰ *The Code of North Carolina*, Section 1759.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² Logan, 118-119.

intimidation, and legal injustice as the major push factors for their migration into Kansas and Indiana.¹⁷³ State leaders—both black and white—tended to oppose black migration.

The North Carolina Myth

State leaders' opposition to black migration was rooted in a social concept known as the North Carolina myth.¹⁷⁴ The myth held that North Carolina was a much better place for blacks to live than the states of the Deep South; it operated on the inevitability and benefits of white paternalism. White leaders such as Leonidas Polk who perpetuated the myth could both convince themselves that they were good people and use their good, kind paternalism as a tool of social control over blacks. On the other hand, black leaders (including the Hunter brothers and other members of the NCIA) also benefitted from their perpetuation of the myth: doing so reinforced their own perceived social status. Their "wealth and position depended upon the presence of a substantial Negro population."¹⁷⁵ Additionally, black perpetuation of the myth assuaged "those whites who had the power to grant them favors or prestige."¹⁷⁶ In *The Journal of Industry*, the Hunters declared "...that poor though we be, we are an important factor when the productive wealth and political power of the South is called into question. Now that these elements of greatness may be encouraged to stay within the borders of the Old North State, let us put a premium on labor."¹⁷⁷ They assured whites there would be no major migration of blacks out of North Carolina, but as discussed earlier in this chapter,

¹⁷³ Meier, 60; Logan, 123.

¹⁷⁴ Haley, x.

¹⁷⁵ Meier, 61.

¹⁷⁶ Haley, xi.

¹⁷⁷ "An Exodus," *The Journal of Industry*, April 1879, 3.

emigration occurred anyway, posing both a challenge to the state's dependence on cheap black labor and the North Carolina myth.

Planning the First Fair

To offset the numbers of African Americans fleeing the state, the first North Carolina Negro State Fair, “by which the colored people may exhibit to the world their progress...” needed to be planned.¹⁷⁸ This task fell to Charles Hunter, who was named Secretary of the Fair.¹⁷⁹ While some notes and records of subsequent fairs are available to us in Hunter's papers, few materials exist to illustrate how he successfully planned the “First Grand Annual Fair,” scheduled to open on November 17, 1879.¹⁸⁰ A working understanding of how this first fair came to be has been constructed using issues of *The Journal of Industry*, Hunter's professional correspondence, as well as an issue of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, which sent a correspondent and an artist to cover the opening of the fair.¹⁸¹

The NCIA was formally incorporated by the state legislature on March 14; by March 29, the association received permission from the Department of War—no doubt via political connections—to hold the fair at Camp Russell.¹⁸² Located at the corner of New Bern Avenue and Tarboro Road, less than one mile from the State Capitol, Camp Russell was the site of a Civil War hospital, having been utilized by both Confederate and

¹⁷⁸ “Our Position,” *The Journal of Industry*, April 1879, 2.

¹⁷⁹ “The Colored Fair at Raleigh, N.C.,” *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, December 6, 1879, 243.

¹⁸⁰ “To the Colored People—The Farmers, the Mechanics, The Artisans and the Educators, of North Carolina,” Charles N. Hunter Papers.

¹⁸¹ It is important to note here that the reporter only directly interviewed whites; in the article, blacks are simply observed and heard.; an unsurprising bias of the white press in the late nineteenth-century.

¹⁸² G.B Russell to Caesar Johnson, *The Journal of Industry*, April 1879, 3.

Union forces. After the war, the site functioned as an army barracks until 1876.¹⁸³ The only conditions of holding the fair at Camp Russell were “that no persons except those in charge of property &c, shall be allowed to enter or remain in the grounds between sunset and sunrise; that no fires shall be allowed in any of the public buildings; and that the firing of guns, pistols, or any kinds of firearms, be prohibited.”¹⁸⁴ *The Journal of Industry* expressed and promoted its satisfaction with the site, as it stretched across several acres and had “buildings amply sufficient for the purpose.”¹⁸⁵

Once the site was secured, Hunter needed to solicit interest from black North Carolinians—to both submit items for the exhibition, but also to attend the fair. He also had to drum up support from North Carolinians of any race who had the economic means to donate funds or products for premiums. In *The Journal of Industry*, Hunter appealed to blacks to participate in the fair in and capacity they were able; announcements in the newspaper encouraged potential participants to:

“Begin now to prepare whatever you propose to put on exhibition; if you don’t, somebody will ‘get away with you sure’.”
“Save the scraps. You will need them all, if you propose making a bed quilt to put on exhibition.”¹⁸⁶
“If you’ve got any stock, you’d better begin to fatten it, if you want to get the premium on it.”

Black men and women were asked to support the fair, albeit along stereotypical gendered divisions of work. The participation of young black men, which would assist more substantially in moulding race character” and solve “the great Negro problem.”¹⁸⁷ Black women were urged to “come forward with all the dexterous handiwork of household taste

¹⁸³ “H-33 Marker Essay,” 2009, http://www.ncmarkers.com/print_marker.aspx?MarkerId=H-33.

¹⁸⁴ G.B Russell to Caesar Johnson.

¹⁸⁵ *The Journal of Industry*, April 1879, 3.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ “Our Young Men and the Industrial Fair,” *The Journal of Industry*, April 1879, 2.

and the beauties of chaste and refined art, to hallow with your presence the labors of this Association..."¹⁸⁸ Examining these appeals for participation and support, however, reveals race vindication at work. In an American society that deems black men as without character, their very presence—whether by way of their exhibits, or by visiting the fair—alters the prevailing narrative. In the nineteenth century, the concept of being a proper lady was not based solely on one's gender identity as female. Rather, recognition as a lady was a function of both one's gender identity and their racial identity: "...no black woman, regardless of income, education, refinement, or character, enjoyed that status of lady."¹⁸⁹ In asking black women to bring the accouterments associated with ladies, created by their own hands, the NCIA made ladyhood accessible.

To spread the word about the fair to the black masses, many of whom were illiterate, Hunter offered to send ministers copies of *The Journal of Industry* so they could read it aloud to "the people in their respective communities...and encouraging them to take an active interest in it."¹⁹⁰ Those who might not have anything to display at the fair were encouraged to attend, as Hunter offered prizes for "each of the following class of persons making their appearance on the exposition grounds: The largest, the smallest, the oldest and tallest, man or woman in the state."¹⁹¹

The NCIA promised exhibitors that it would "in due season issue a premium list, which will offer the most liberal inducements possible for such evidences of our

¹⁸⁸ "To the Colored People—The Farmers, the Mechanics, The Artisans and the Educators, of North Carolina".

¹⁸⁹ Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, "African American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race," *Signs*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Winter 1992), 261, <http://www.jstor.org/stable3174464>

¹⁹⁰ "To Our Ministers," *The Journal of Industry*, April 1879, 3.

¹⁹¹ *The Journal of Industry*, April 1879, 3.

progress...”¹⁹² Hunter set out to secure donations from the public in order to devise the list of premiums. As the fair was rooted in an accommodationism that relied on interracial cooperation—real or feigned—Hunter did not hesitate to make an appeal to whites. He framed the fair and the ability to donate to it as “a fine opportunity to our white friends for an exhibition of their interest in the material and educational welfare of the race,” as “our welfare and their welfare is so indissolubly interwoven.”¹⁹³ Hunter hoped to capitalize on blacks’ past loyalties and their current conduct as upstanding citizens to secure “no small share of our premiums” from whites.¹⁹⁴

By April when the first issue of *The Journal of Industry* rolled off the presses, the NCIA had secured a premium from a local black merchant, Messrs. Allen and Company of New Bern.¹⁹⁵ George Allen’s firm offered “at their expense...one ‘Atlas’ or ‘Stonewall’ plow, or steel sweep, as may be preferred” to the black men who could produce the largest yield of lint cotton, rice, or corn, or who killed the heaviest hog of his own raising.”¹⁹⁶ Allen’s offer allowed Hunter the opportunity to challenge other black merchants: “Who will be next to do likewise?,” he asked.¹⁹⁷

While we do not have the 1879 premium list to examine, we do have the 1884 list, which was published in the same binding as those of the State Agricultural Society.¹⁹⁸ An exhibitor could compete for a \$20 premium for “best and most varied field crops from

¹⁹² “An Address to the Colored People,” *The Journal of Industry*, April 1879, 4.

¹⁹³ “To the White People of the South,” *The Journal of Industry*, April 1879, 2.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ E.R. Dudley to Osborne Hunter, *The Journal of Industry*, April 1879, 3.

¹⁹⁷ “To the White People of the South”.

¹⁹⁸ In 1884, both the North Carolina State Fair and the North Carolina Negro State Fair were held as additional events to supplement the larger North Carolina Exposition. See “Marker: H-34,” accessed March 19, 2017, <http://www.ncmarkers.com/Markers.aspx?MarkerId=H-34>.

any farm; a \$10 premium for the “best lot of fancy needle-work from any lady”; or a \$4 premium for the “best trio Native turkeys”.¹⁹⁹

Another document we do have to examine the organization of the first fair is a list of its departments.²⁰⁰ The first Negro State Fair was organized into thirteen departments, ranging from field and food crops, to household supplies, to the fine arts, to educational productions such as map drawings and essays.²⁰¹ An examination of this list again reinforced that while black men and women were encouraged to participate in the fair, it was done within nineteenth-century middle class gender norms. Women were placed in charge of the Household Supplies, Fine Arts, Dairy, and Educational Production departments. Men supervised the Field Crops, Mechanic Arts, Saddlery, and Plowing Match departments.²⁰²

The First Fair Opens

The First Negro State Fair opened on Tuesday, November 18 at Camp Russell.²⁰³ In the Headquarters building, exhibitors registered their goods for display. Clerks—ten men and two women—registered fair entries and distributed labels and receipts.²⁰⁴ South of the headquarters building were the exhibition halls—each one story high, one hundred feet long, and twenty-five feet wide—former barracks buildings that has been “admirably

¹⁹⁹ *Plans of Buildings, Rules and Regulations Governing Exhibits at the North Carolina State Exposition, Raleigh, N.C. October 1st to October 28th, 1884. Also Premium Lists of the North Carolina Agricultural Society and the North Carolina Industrial Association* (Raleigh: Edwards, Broughton, and Company, 1884), 20-21.

²⁰⁰ See Table: The First Negro State Fair, Organization of Departments.

²⁰¹ “The First Negro State Fair, Organization of Departments,” Charles N. Hunter Papers.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ There is a discrepancy between the proposed opening date of the fair as noted in “To the Colored People—The Farmers, the Mechanics, The Artisans and the Educators, of North Carolina” and what is reported in “The Colored Fair at Raleigh, N.C.”

²⁰⁴ “The Colored Fair at Raleigh, N.C.”

adapted to their present uses, being well-lighted, roomy and ventilated.”²⁰⁵ There was Floral Hall, “devoted to the handiwork or the colored ladies;” Horticultural Hall “for the display of fruits and flowers;” Mechanics’ hall; the Art Gallery; and Agricultural Hall, which also included “a race track one-fourth of a mile long.”²⁰⁶

“A great multitude of people” attended the Opening Day of the first Negro State Fair; a multitude that clearly cut across class lines, as “numbers of gentlemen in tatters patiently awaited their turn *en queue*.”²⁰⁷ Fair marshals led a procession through downtown Raleigh into Camp Russell “amid the shouts of a rejoicing multitude.”²⁰⁸ Upon entering the Main Hall to sit on a “tastefully decorated” stand with “the most prominent men in the state of both races,” Governor Thomas Jarvis was greeted with hearty applause from the crowd.²⁰⁹ He began his remarks by commending the quality of the work on display, as it “far exceeded what was reasonable expected that it would be.”²¹⁰ He went on to encourage the black audience to live by the motto hanging on the wall in the display spaces: “God helps those who help themselves.”²¹¹ Jarvis repeatedly assured them that they would be treated as full citizens of the state of North Carolina, “So there is no need for you to go elsewhere”—obviously, a response to the thousands of blacks who were leaving the state. Those who remained would find in North Carolina as

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ “Opening of the Fair,” *The Journal of Industry*, November 19, 1879; “The Colored Fair at Raleigh, N.C.”

²⁰⁸ “Opening of the Fair”.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

genial a place, as promising and hopeful a future as you can in any other place or any other climate upon the face of God's earth."²¹²

James O'Hara, the New York-born son of an Irish merchant and a black West Indian woman, who moved to North Carolina in 1862 and became a politician in Halifax County, followed Governor Jarvis's address.²¹³ He framed the first fair as the beginning of a new age; "another great and meritorious stride made by the sable sons of the Old North State in the ascent toward civilization and national grandeur."²¹⁴ He remarked that blacks were already competing with whites "in placing before the world, their efforts in the upward walk of life and success gained by untiring industry."²¹⁵ Just as Jarvis did, O'Hara opposed black emigration; he advised those pushing for emigration to "come, look and enjoy the feat; give your wearied troubled soul rest, for us and our household North Carolina shall ever remain our permanent home."²¹⁶ That bond asserted, O'Hara went on to inject a bit of politics into his speech under the guise of discussing educational opportunities for blacks in the state. In order to strengthen the ties blacks had with their home state, and given that they are an "agricultural people", O'Hara believed that the state needed to establish a public institution for higher learning for blacks, similar to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where they could pursue greater knowledge in the agricultural fields.²¹⁷

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ United States House of Representatives Office of the Historian, "O'HARA, James Edward," n.d., [http://history.house.gov/People/Listing/O/O-HARA,-James-Edward-\(O000054\)/](http://history.house.gov/People/Listing/O/O-HARA,-James-Edward-(O000054)/). Clark, 187-8. In 1883, James O'Hara became the second black man to represent North Carolina in U.S. House of Representatives.

²¹⁴ "Speech of Hon. J. E. O'Hara," *The Journal of Industry*, November 19, 1879.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ The Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race (now North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University) was not established until the passage of the Second Morrill Act in 1890. See "Vision - North Carolina A&T State University," accessed March 19, 2017, <http://www.ncat.edu/about/history-mission.html>.

For an event (and an organization) that was established to be distinctly apolitical, O'Hara's speech was clearly the opposite. As a leading black man, he clearly and forcefully opposed black emigration from North Carolina. Yet his appeal to the state to establish a public institution of higher learning for blacks was a political one, even if it was couched in the contemporary rhetoric of industrial and agricultural labor. This would become the framework for the North Carolina Negro State Fair: a window to reveal to the world what black North Carolinians could do when they are free, and a mirror to reflect to blacks themselves that they were capable of what was on display in front of them and more. The "best" white men and the "leading" black men of the state would be on hand to assert their authority over the audience, articulating their visions of black progress. In the decades to come, this framework functioned to both further the NCIA's concept of black progress, as well as to generate white support for the causes they deemed to be most important.

Chapter 3: Black Progress On Display and In Context

The Negro Fair would be produced annually by the North Carolina Industrial Association for almost fifty years, with the hope that each event would outshine the previous one. In order to do this, Charles Hunter and his associates needed to plan each fair while keeping in mind the political and social contexts of the day. The three fairs I discuss in this chapter illustrate Jim Crow's expansion and its effects on black North Carolinians in the last years of the nineteenth century. They also provide a glimpse into the class and gender dynamics at play within the black community.

In analyzing the Negro Fairs of 1886, 1891, and 1898, it became quickly apparent to me that the number of archival sources available decreased over time. Charles Hunter served as Co-Secretary of the 1886 fair; however, he did not work in this capacity for the 1891 and 1898 events. As such, very few papers in Hunter's collection pertain to fairs in these years. The examination of the two later fairs are rooted in descriptions from local newspapers—black and white, Republican and Democrat.

The 1886 Fair

The NCIA began to advertise the seventh Negro Fair in Spring, 1886. George T. Wassom, a lawyer and the brother-in-law of U.S. representative James O'Hara, was the other Co-Secretary of the Fair; in the May-April issue of *The Appeal*, he encouraged black North Carolinians to support the fair as an act of race pride.²¹⁸

²¹⁸ *Banner-Enterprise*, May 31, 1883; *The Appeal*, April-May 1886, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

As fall arrived, Wassom and Hunter were busy seeking both exhibit objects and speakers for the fair. The correspondence in Hunter's papers reveal that making each fair better than the last was a laborious effort. Volunteers traveled the state to generate interest in the fair.²¹⁹ John S. Lewis, an attorney from Lumberton, planned to travel across the southeastern region of North Carolina—from Wadesboro to Shoe Heel—"to address the people in the interest of the approaching fair..."²²⁰ His cross-county travel was facilitated by railroad passes secured by the NCIA.²²¹ As with the white fair, the state's rail lines played an essential part in the success of the Negro fair, providing free passes to NCIA members on fair business, in addition to offering reduced roundtrip fares to fairgoers.²²²

Other volunteers worked to generate interest in the fair closer to home. C. S. Hargraves from Chapel Hill hoped to use copies of the fair's premium list "to show to the people that they may see what you are doing for our state."²²³ In the same letter, Hargraves invites Hunter to come to Chapel Hill "and make some speeches."²²⁴ However, working as a booster for the Negro fair was not without obstacles. John Love, a volunteer working in Buncombe County in the western region of the state, wrote Wassom to give him an update on his lack of progress: "Well, we have called three mass meetings but have not had, at either, a full attendance..."²²⁵ Love assured Wassom that "we are not

²¹⁹ Logan, *The Negro in North Carolina*, 98.

²²⁰ John S. Lewis to George T. Wassom, 10 Sept. 1886, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

²²¹ John S. Lewis to George T. Wassom, 7 Sept. 1886, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

²²² "Visitors to the North Carolina State Fair :: State Fair Ephemera Collection," accessed March 19, 2017, <http://digital.ncdcr.gov/cdm/ref/collection/p16062coll1/id/13>; Frenise A. Logan, "The Colored Industrial Association of North Carolina and its Fair of 1886," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (January 1957), 61, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23517244>

²²³ C.S. Hargraves to Charles Hunter, 31 Aug 1886, Charles N. Hunter Papers

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ John Love to George T. Wassom, 14 Sept 1886, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

discouraged.”²²⁶ Maggie Whiteman reported from Wilmington that she could provide neither an accurate number nor a description of items that would be on display: “There is quite a list of things promised, but I can’t yet say that they are from a reliable source.”²²⁷

The NCIA and its Negro Fair were created to present “every evidence” of blacks’ progress since Emancipation. Why, then, might some black North Carolinians be hesitant to participate? As Reconstruction gave way to Redemption North Carolina in 1870, many blacks were working as laborers and tenant farmers. As I discussed in Chapter 2, they were systematically exploited via wage discrimination and the state’s mortgage and lien system. And yet, they were being encouraged by the NCIA—with few, if any members who were agricultural laborers themselves—to bring their “best and most varied field crops,” their “best lot of plain and fancy cakes,” or their “best trio white cochins” to Raleigh to put on display.²²⁸ The struggle to survive in Jim Crow North Carolina was also not limited to those who worked the land. B.P. Allen, a teacher in Lumberton, wrote Wassom to explain why he could not support the fair:

“...my non attendance is solely due to the fact that my financial condition would not allow me to attend. I have a large family to support-and my school is self sustaining; consequently I am nearly penniless every fall...I have in my family eight children...By time these are fed and clothed, I have not a cent to spare.”²²⁹

The number of North Carolina farms increased in the decade from 1880-1890; plantations and large farms were divided, subdivided, and sold, particularly in the east and in the

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Maggie Whiteman to George T. Wassom, 21 Oct 1886, Hunter Papers; text is underlined in the original letter.

²²⁸ *Plans of Buildings, Rules and Regulations Governing Exhibits at the North Carolina State Exposition, Raleigh, N.C. October 1st to October 28th, 1884. Also Premium Lists of the North Carolina Agricultural Society and the North Carolina Industrial Association* (Raleigh: Edwards, Broughton, and Company, 1884), 20-21.

²²⁹ B.P. Allen to Wassom, 9 Oct 1886, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

Piedmont.²³⁰ Some blacks benefited from these land transfers, and became large landholders in their own right. However, they were the minority, and they were excluded from farmers' organizations such as the North Carolina Farmers' Alliance.²³¹ Tenant farming led to increased soil deficiency, an overreliance on few crops, reduced yields for those crops, and an overall lower standard of living.²³² The state remained rural, even with a slow and consistent migration to the cities. The standard of living for blacks in rural North Carolina was low, whether they worked the land, or worked in the classroom, like B.P. Allen. For many blacks, a real focus on individual and family survival in the face of systemic racism and poverty outweighed displaying the progress of the race, especially if there is no "progress" to display.

Despite the hesitation of some, other black North Carolinians cheerfully offered goods for the fair. After traveling to Elm City in Wilson County, one volunteer reported that "after visiting great many of the citizens, succeeded in collecting the following exhibits."²³³

Miss Annie M. Abott,
 one tablecloth
Miss Hattie Randolph,
 Fancy work
Miss Augustina Johnson,
 Fancy table scarf
Mrs. H.H. Cooper
 Fancy work, consisting of one silk crazy quilt, Turkish rug and
 house decorations²³⁴

²³⁰ Powell, 417; Logan, *The Negro in North Carolina*, 83.

²³¹ Logan, *The Negro in North Carolina*, 84.

²³² Powell, 417.

²³³ Unsigned letter to Hunter, 21 Oct 1886, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

²³⁴ Ibid.

The list continued for another page and included exhibits of wood work, iron work, needle work, a coffin, and a hearse.²³⁵

Word of the Negro Fair spread outside of North Carolina, and others offered to send items for display. L.W. Bloxom wrote from Baltimore that he knew a woman who wanted to send “china ware and painting of kinds.”²³⁶ A set of tinware was sent from the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (now Hampton University) in Virginia. In a note accompanying the submission, F.C. Briggs, the Institute’s business agent, apologized that the set are not better, but I was obliged to take what was on hand.”²³⁷ The abolitionist William Still, author of *The Underground Railroad*, “The only Book that fully explains the secret work of the U.G.R.R.—a thrilling and important chapter in the United States,” offered to send two copies of his book to the fair from Philadelphia.²³⁸ Race histories such as *The Underground Railroad*, noted for both its accessibility to the general reading public as well as the accuracy of the accounts of the formerly enslaved were an important form of race vindication that also functioned to create a sense of historical consciousness for black readers.²³⁹

For the eighth annual fair, Hunter and Wassom secured three speakers: North Carolina’s governor Alfred Moore Scales, U.S. Senator Henry Blair from New Hampshire, and John Mercer Langston, former president of the National Equal Rights

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ L.W. Bloxom to Mr. Coleman, 23 Aug 1886, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

²³⁷ F.C. Briggs to Charles Hunter, 4 Nov 1886, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

²³⁸ William Still to Charles Hunter, 29 Oct 1886, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

²³⁹ Stephen G. Hall, *A Faithful Account of the Race: African American Historical Writing in the Nineteenth Century*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 2009, 137-149; Elizabeth Rauh Bethel, *The Roots of African American Identity: Memory and History in Free Antebellum Communities* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 176.

League, former consul-general in Haiti, now president of Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute (now Virginia State University).²⁴⁰ Publisher and journalist T. Thomas Fortune was extended an invitation to speak at the fair "...as one the National leaders of the race." Fortune committed his journalistic career to race vindication: he openly denounced white supremacy and challenged other black leaders (most notably Frederick Douglass) regarding their views on political independence in his writing.²⁴¹ Due to an impending book deadline, he declined the invitation, but did offer to publish any information about the fair as "...It could do your cause some good, and I would like to assist you in this way if I can."²⁴² Booker T. Washington, principal of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute (now Tuskegee University) was also invited to the fair, but he declined. He was organizing the Colored Department of the Alabama State Fair, which was scheduled to begin at the same time.²⁴³ The Colored Department, similar to the fair being mounted by the NCIA, was a separate exhibit of black progress, displayed in a separate space during the State Fair.²⁴⁴

The eighth Negro Fair opened on Tuesday, November 10 with a parade, beginning at Fayetteville Street between Hargett and Martin Streets. The band, parade marshals, fire departments and military organizations marched north to the State Capitol,

²⁴⁰ Armfield to Wassom, 18 Sept 1886; Henry Blair to George T. Wassom, 30 Aug 1886; John Mercer Langston to George T. Wassom, 18 Oct 1886, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

²⁴¹ Franklin and Collier-Thomas, 5; Meier, 31.

²⁴² Letter from T. Thomas Fortune, 4 Sept 1886, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

²⁴³ L. Mayo to Charles Hunter, 10 Oct 1886, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

²⁴⁴ In 1885, the World's Industrial and Cotton Exposition in New Orleans opened the first Colored Department. It was the first time at a World's Fair that blacks were permitted to plan and execute their own exhibit. See Miki Pfeffer, "'Mr. Chairman and FELLOW AMERICAN CITIZENS': African American Agency at the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition in New Orleans, 1884-1885," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, Vol. 51, No. 4, Fall 2010, 442-462. After this fair, states began to include Colored Departments at State Fairs. See *The Southern Farmer and Dixie Cultivator*, Vol. 46, 1888.

where Governor Scales and Commissioner of Agriculture Montford McGehee joined the group. The parade then traveled east along Hillsborough Street to the State Fairgrounds.²⁴⁵ Scales and McGehee opened the fair with formal remarks.

At the fair, Floral Hall was filled with “superior” displays of needlework, paintings and decorative houseware, including the tinware sent from Hampton.²⁴⁶ In Agricultural Hall, an engine and tender built by a sixteen-year-old boy stood out as an example of a degree of mechanical skill of the highest order.”²⁴⁷ William Coleman’s cattle also attracted “general attention.”²⁴⁸ Newspaper reports of the fair—black and white—call attention to those exhibits and displays produced by men. However, black women were integral to the fair’s success as an institution.

Narratives disseminated by way of black public commemoration, black public history, and black history in general centered the experience of black men in the nineteenth century. Leading black men constructed a dominant historical narrative which focused on their independence and manhood; they utilized this narrative to make the case for equal citizenship.²⁴⁹ Southern redemption in the 1870s eroded black power—the power of black men—in electoral politics; the loss of political power as an indicator of progress required black men to expand the tools by which black progress could be forged, nurtured, and displayed. Their expanded focus now included educational institutions,

²⁴⁵ “The Colored Fair Opening Day,” *Raleigh News and Observer*, November 10, 2886; “Marker: H-34” accessed March 19, 2017, <http://www.ncmarkers.com/Markers.aspx?MarkerId=H-34>.

²⁴⁶ “The Colored Fair,” *Raleigh Times Visitor*, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Clark, 76; W. Fitzhugh Brundage, “Meta Warrick’s 1907 ‘Negro Tableaux’ and (Re)Presenting African American Historical Memory,” *The Journal of American History* 4 (March 2003): 1396, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3092547>

churches, newspapers, and even the home. These institutions, in addition to existing commemorative practices such as Emancipation Day celebrations would reconstitute the core of black public history in the late nineteenth century, and would present opportunities for black women to construct a more plural narrative of racial progress, to “aid in the reconstruction of black advancement.”²⁵⁰

From the beginning, black women supported the fair with their exhibit submission, particularly in Departments F (Home Made Articles), G (The Arts, Jewelry, and Silverware), L (Dairy and Vegetables), and M (Educational Production, Map Drawings, Essays, and Penmanship).²⁵¹ Using both formal and informal networks, women also worked to collect exhibit items.²⁵² At the fair, women worked as exhibit clerks, and they supervised the exhibits in the noted departments. Indeed, Charles Hunter and the leading black men of the NCIA were the public faces of black progress in North Carolina; yet they knew the fair could not be successful without black women’s labor.²⁵³ The work of black women was an important component of the fair’s success in particular, in general, their work would be “crucial to the revival and maintenance of black commemorative practices during the decades following Reconstruction.”²⁵⁴

We see politics emerge at the fair on its second day—Education Day. While John Mercer Langston and State Superintendent Sidney Finger were the scheduled speakers, it was the presence of Republican Senator Henry Blair raised white suspicions. In 1883, the

²⁵⁰ Clark, 226.

²⁵¹ “The First Negro State Fair, Organization of Departments,” Charles N. Hunter Papers.

²⁵² Maggie Whiteman to George T. Wassom, 21 Oct 1886; Annie Grandy to Hunter, 26 Oct 1886, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

²⁵³ “To the Colored People of North Carolina,” Charles N. Hunter Papers.

²⁵⁴ Clark, 227.

Dortch Act was passed by the North Carolina state legislature; it allowed taxes and polls to be allotted by race to fund segregated school facilities:

The special tax thus collected from the taxable property and polls shall be applied and expended exclusively for the purpose ...in keeping up a graded public school, free for all white persons...and the special tax thus collected from the property and polls of colored persons shall be expended exclusively for the education of colored children...²⁵⁵

Additionally, the Dortch Act was used as a tool to force blacks to support Democrats—if blacks asserted themselves politically in opposition, they would lose all state funding for education.²⁵⁶

On the other hand, Blair's education bill—first introduced in the Senate in 1881 and again in 1883 and 1886 with modifications—allocated millions of federal dollars to the states in proportion to their illiteracy rates, to be distributed equitably between white and black schools.²⁵⁷ North Carolina, a state where one-third of the population was black, and three fifths of people who were illiterate were black, stood to benefit greatly should the Blair Bill have been passed. Charles Hunter doggedly lobbied white politicians to support the bill, particularly noting the inequity in post-secondary funding: the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill received \$70,000 annually, whereas only \$4,000 was allocated to support the five normal schools established for blacks.²⁵⁸ But southern whites were opposed federal funding for education without local oversight as to the allocation and use of said funding and the bill would eventually fail to get out of committee.

²⁵⁵ "Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina, Passed by the General Assembly at Its Session [1883]", 82.

²⁵⁶ Haley, 61.

²⁵⁷ Allen J. Going, "The South and the Blair Educational Bill," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (September 1957), 270-272 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1887190>

²⁵⁸ Haley, 64.

Blair's very presence at the fair was a signal of protest on the part of Hunter and the NCIA. Their vision of black progress was rooted in the pursuit of education and the practice of agricultural labor. Democrats took notice. The Charlotte *Home and Democrat* described Blair as a fanatic, advocating to help blacks "only in the way of reading books and going to colleges to be unfitted for the duties of a laborer".²⁵⁹ The newspaper went on to claim that the white people of North Carolina are the true friends of their fellow black citizens. After all, whereas Blair wants to trick blacks into thinking that they can and should be educated, it was white North Carolinians who were "willing to help the negro buy land and secure for his wife and children a home," being sure not to favor his ruin by appointing him or electing him to public office."²⁶⁰ The *Raleigh News and Observer* also reminded blacks that their children benefitted from "...equal educational facilities equal to those enjoyed by the whites by the democratic administration of the State...Such things should be observed by the colored people."²⁶¹

Despite these objections, the 1886 fair was assessed to be a "creditable" event. The *Raleigh Times Visitor* confirmed that Hunter and Wassom had in fact, met their goal, as "the present exhibition...excels all that have proceeded it."²⁶²

The 1891 Fair

The 1891 fair is unique in that it coincided with the Southern Inter-State Exposition, which was originally planned to open in June and run through the end of the year. This exposition, focused on attracting new settlers—both foreign and domestic—to

²⁵⁹ *Charlotte Home and Democrat*, November 26, 1886.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁶¹ *Raleigh News and Observer*, November 12, 1886.

²⁶² *Raleigh News and Observer*, November 10, 1886; *The Progressive Farmer*, November 17, 1886.

the south included a Colored Department, “twenty five thousand feet...set apart for the exhibits of the colored people.”²⁶³ *The Weekly Union Times* urged “every negro who has the best interests of the race at heart to do what he can to make the Colored Department at Raleigh a success.”²⁶⁴ The 1891 North Carolina Negro State Fair now had to compete for exhibits with a regional exposition.

The Southern Interstate Exposition

The exodus out of North Carolina in the late nineteenth century was not just a black one. By the mid-1880s, young white men left the state to advance their education or to begin new, adventurous lives in the West.²⁶⁵ In 1888, John Patrick, North Carolina’s Commissioner of Immigration wrote to Governor Lawrence Ross of Texas, suggesting “...that a combined effort on the part of the Southern States be made by those who are officially instructed with the work.”²⁶⁶ With the agreement and support of other southern Commissioners of Immigration, the Southern Inter-State Immigration Convention was established. Tasked with securing “the united and harmonious action of all the Southern states in the matter of added population and capital for the South,” the convention met in Montgomery, Alabama on December 12, 1888.²⁶⁷ The proceedings of the convention reveal a lack of specificity as to who is deemed an immigrant; both those arriving from foreign lands as well as native-born Americans were referred to as immigrants.

²⁶³ “The Colored Department of Raleigh Fair,” *The Weekly Union Times*, July 3, 1891.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Powell, 439-440.

²⁶⁶ John Patrick to Lawrence Ross, 29 June 1888, in *Proceedings of the Southern Interstate Immigration Convention: convened in Montgomery, Alabama, December 12-13, 1888, and of the Southern Interstate Immigration Executive Committee, Convened in Montgomery, Alabama, December 14, 1888, and the Address of F.B. Chilton, General Manager, December 20th, 1888*. (Dallas, Tex. :, 1888),5, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044025694720>.

²⁶⁷ F.C. Chilton, 10 Oct 1888, in *Proceedings of the Southern Interstate Immigration Convention*, 9-10.

Arthur Arrington, speaking on behalf of the North Carolina delegation at the convention reported that “2,000 immigrants had been brought into the state, and they brought with them an aggregate wealth of \$2,000,000.”²⁶⁸ How those immigrants came into the state was not reported; specifically, Immigration Commissioner John Patrick’s work as a community booster, writing and sending advertisements to northern newspapers to attract newcomers to move to his native Anson County, located on the South Carolina border.²⁶⁹ W.H.S. Burgwyn, an attorney and banker from Vance County, introduced a resolution “that as a means to introduce a desirable class of immigration into the South...the holding of a Southern Interstate Immigration Exposition in some of the Northern cities.”²⁷⁰ The exposition was slated to begin on October 1, 1891.²⁷¹ The resolution was adopted, and planning began in earnest among the states. Although the exposition was originally planned to be in a northern (or western) city, eventually it was moved to the North Carolina State Fairgrounds in Raleigh.²⁷²

Black communities across the South mobilized to support the Colored Department of the Exposition, supervised by J.C. Price, president of Livingstone College. In his call to participate in the exposition, Price asked blacks “...not to allow the opportunity to pass to show the people of the United States and the nations of the earth what the American Negro has accomplished in his one quarter of a century of freedom.”²⁷³ Mass meetings were held in Washington, D.C.; Richmond, Virginia; Johnson City, Tennessee;

²⁶⁸ *Proceedings of the Southern Interstate Immigration Convention*, 34.

²⁶⁹ “Patrick, John Tyrant | NCpedia,” accessed June 3, 2017, <http://www.ncpedia.org/biography/patrick-john-tyrant>.

²⁷⁰ *Proceedings of the Southern Interstate Immigration Convention*, 20.

²⁷¹ *Proceedings of the Southern Interstate Immigration Convention*, 38.

²⁷² “Active Steps to Locate the Great Southern Exhibition,” *Fort Worth Gazette*, March 29, 1890; “Southern Interstate Exposition,” *Yorkville Enquirer*, May 6, 1891.

²⁷³ “The Raleigh Exposition,” *The Washington Bee*, July 25, 1891.

Anderson, South Carolina and throughout the South to generate interest and participation.²⁷⁴ Trinity AME Church in Manning, South Carolina hosted a benefit with elocutionist Hallie Quinn Brown to raise funds for the effort.²⁷⁵

There is no documentation available regarding the planning of the 1891 Negro Fair; while Charles Hunter was an active member of the NCIA and served as its treasurer in 1891, he was not secretary of the fair. Throughout the 1890s, Hunter worked primarily as an educator and journalist—he was principal of Garfield Training School, and joined the staff of *The Raleigh Gazette*.²⁷⁶ However, we can contrast Price’s standard appeal to race pride in his call to participate in the Colored Department and subsequent black mobilization with the possible impact of a piece Hunter wrote in the *Gazette* in May 1891 on the NCIA’s collecting efforts.

Titled “What’s the Matter with the Colored People of Raleigh?,” Hunter criticized the blacks in his community as being “far in the rear” in terms of their progress.²⁷⁷ Shaw University, Saint Augustine’s Normal School and Collegiate Institute (now Saint Augustine’s University), “and a most excellent system of Graded Schools” existed in the city; Hunter was dismayed that more blacks weren’t taking advantage of these institutions.²⁷⁸ Instead, according to him, the city’s blacks were “the most inert, lethargic, unresponsive, thoughtless community of colored people to be found any where in the

²⁷⁴ “The Raleigh Exposition,” *The Washington Bee*, July 25, 1891; “Exhibits by Colored People,” *The Times-Richmond, Va.*, June 10, 1891; “Important Step,” *Johnson City Weekly Comet*, June 25, 1891; “Attention Colored Citizens,” *Anderson Intelligencer*, September 3, 1891.

²⁷⁵ *Manning Times*, October 28, 1891.

²⁷⁶ Haley, 84.

²⁷⁷ “What’s the Matter with the Colored People of Raleigh?,” *The Raleigh Gazette*, May 16, 1891.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

county.”²⁷⁹ Such public admonitions made by middle- and upper-class blacks were not uncommon during the late nineteenth century.²⁸⁰ But, such pieces surely impacted participation in the Negro Fair—at least locally.

The Colored Department of the Southern Inter-State Exposition opened on October 14, 1891 with five thousand blacks in attendance.²⁸¹ In cooperation with the exposition managers, articles placed on display in the Colored Department would remain during the Negro Fair, scheduled to begin on November 6.²⁸² While we have no explicit evidence of planned collaboration between the two events, we can examine the NCIA’s expanded premium list and a description of the 1891 fair as “one of the grandest events of the Southern Inter-State Exposition”²⁸³ as suggestive of an implicit collaboration at best. The NCIA suggested that visitors traveling to Raleigh to view the Colored Department come by covered wagon and camp “for a week or ten days” at a camp site near the Fairgrounds.²⁸⁴

The 1891 fair opened with the customary parade, led by the Oak City Brass Band and the Durham fire department, beginning at Fayetteville Street and ending at the State Fairgrounds.²⁸⁵ However, there was no stop made at the State Capitol; Governor Thomas Holt did not make remarks at the opening of either the Colored Department nor the opening of the Negro Fair. John Williamson, NCIA Secretary and editor of the *Raleigh Gazette* opened the fair by commenting on the superiority of the exhibits in the Colored

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, 14-15; Meier, 24; Ruffins and Scott, 311.

²⁸¹ “The Exposition A Big Success,” *Daily State Chronicle*, October 15, 1891, 4.

²⁸² *Raleigh Gazette*, October 24, 1891; November 7, 1891, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

²⁸³ *Raleigh Gazette*, November 7, 1891, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

²⁸⁴ *Raleigh Gazette*, October 24, 1891.

²⁸⁵ *Raleigh Gazette*, November 7, 1891.

Department over “the exhibit of the white people in the other part of the grounds.”²⁸⁶ He also took the opportunity to congratulate North Carolina “upon the kindly relations between the races which is so plainly seen on every hand,” as it was the only state with a black member of the U.S. Congress.²⁸⁷

That member of Congress, Republican Henry P. Cheatham from the state’s Second District, also spoke at the opening of the fair. Cheatham implored the audience to concentrate on “the acquisition of material wealth, mental culture and moral character.”²⁸⁸ He also noted that the “degree of good feeling” toward blacks is far better in North Carolina than in the North. P.B.S. Pinchback, the former Louisiana governor and first black man to hold such office, told the crowd at the fair that he found the event to be “a creditable display of the productive capacity of the race” as well as evidence of “mutual cooperation between the races..”²⁸⁹

Hunter, in the roles of local principal and founding NCIA member, also offered a word of welcome. He declared that one could find “no better city and no better people” than the people of Raleigh.²⁹⁰ He went on to describe “...the good nature of our people as manifested on these grounds during the past month...he has not witnessed a single frown.”²⁹¹ Based on his public scolding of the city’s blacks just five months ago, such a declaration seems odd. However, it also makes sense that Hunter, while wanting blacks to

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

be on their best behavior for the uplift of the entire race, would also want to present a positive representation of the city at the opening of the fair.

While there are a few newspaper descriptions of the Colored Department which opened almost a month before, there are no other newspaper descriptions of the 1891, other than the *Gazette*'s report of opening day, which was located in Hunter's scrapbook. From this report alone, it is difficult to determine what specific political contexts were at the root of this year's fair; however, in broadening the lens to uncover what was going on around the country indicates a growing sense of unease.

Blacks were still leaving the south for the west in considerable numbers, facing armed opposition to their resettlement—particularly in Oklahoma.²⁹² As the black masses were continuing to move away, it's possible that black leaders became increasingly anxious about their standing in the community—and with whites. Speeches like those on the fair's opening day might have been rhetorical tools to maintain their social power. Soon after the fair (and possibly motivated by the continuing exodus), Booker T. Washington went on a speaking tour, encouraging black entrepreneurs to move south, asserting that the race “can find our way to the front sooner through Southern prejudice than through Northern competition.”²⁹³ Additionally, other black leaders were publicly advocating for equitable representation in the upcoming Columbian Exposition being held in Chicago. Black representation on a national—and international stage—represented a new stage of racial progress that perhaps the NCIA was not prepared for.

²⁹² “A Big Negro Exodus,” *The New York Times*, January 14, 1891; “Race War in Oklahoma: Cowboys and Negroes Fighting for the Cimmaroon Valley,” *The Washington Post*, September 19, 1891.

²⁹³ “Field for Colored People: Prof. Washington Advises the Negro to go South and Locate,” *The Washington Post*, November 21, 1891.

The 1898 Fair

Though the 1886 and 1891 fairs were impacted by contemporary social and political contexts, no fair was marked by politics in quite the same way as the 1898 fair. Scheduled to open on November 15, the NCIA's nineteenth fair would take place just days after the Wilmington Insurrection. Understanding the causes of the insurrection assists our appreciation of its impact on the 1898 fair.

The Democrats' consolidation of political power in North Carolina since 1870 led to development of an increasingly conservative and reactionary party. Farmers had begun to organize into local lodges of the Grange, and eventually they joined the National Farmers' Alliance.²⁹⁴ Alliance members who were also registered Democrats grew frustrated with the party's platform, which they believed favored railroad and manufacturing interests to their detriment.²⁹⁵ For them, it was no longer enough for Democrats to oppose "social equality" and "negro domination"; they began to leave the Democratic party in the 1880s.²⁹⁶ This resulted in both the decimation of the Farmers' Alliance and the birth of Populism in North Carolina.

In 1892, the Populists held their first state convention, where they fielded a full slate of candidates for both state and local elections that year. They campaigned on a platform of "free coinage of silver, railroad regulation, graduated income tax, uniform rate of interest, and local self-government."²⁹⁷ The Republicans advocated fair elections

²⁹⁴ Powell, 423-24.

²⁹⁵ Helen G. Edmonds, *The Negro and Fusion Politics in North Carolina, 1894-1901*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 1951, 218.

²⁹⁶ Powell, 427; Edmonds, 29.

²⁹⁷ Edmonds, 26.

as well as local self-government.²⁹⁸ In opposition to the Republicans, the Democrats campaigned by warning voters of the return of Reconstruction (read: black political and social power) if they lost; they completely disregarded the Populists.²⁹⁹ While the Democrats claimed victory in the Election of 1892, the seeds of what would come to be known as Fusion had been sown for the next election in 1894.

Before the Populists and Republicans held their state conventions in August 1894, a secret meeting of the parties' leaders took place in Raleigh.³⁰⁰ At their conventions, both parties approved the same slate of candidates for office, and both platforms supported "a fair election law and restoration of local self-government."³⁰¹ The Election of 1894 was "almost a clean sweep" for the Fusion ticket, resulting in their control of the General Assembly, the Supreme Court, and the office of State Treasurer. Fusion would last in North Carolina until 1898.³⁰²

A component of Fusion in North Carolina that needs to be considered is increased black political participation. While the number of black voters did not increase in 1894, black citizens would benefit from Fusion as an extension of their uneasy alliance with the Republicans. This benefit would come primarily through increased officeholding, although this increase came nowhere close to the "negro domination" so feared by white supremacists.³⁰³

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ Edmonds, 34.

³⁰¹ Edmonds, 36.

³⁰² Powell, 436; Edmonds, 37; Logan, *The Negro in North Carolina*, 24.

³⁰³ Powell, 430-432; Edmonds, 84-155, 219.

Wilmington, the seat of New Hanover County, is one hundred forty miles away from Raleigh to the southeast. In the late nineteenth century, it was North Carolina's largest city.³⁰⁴ It had a large black population that allied itself with the Republican party and could use the power of their numbers to force Democrats to acquiesce to many of their political demands.³⁰⁵ Within the black community were several successful and well-known leading men, such as John Dancy, collector of customs for the port of Wilmington; undertaker Thomas Rivera; and Alex Manly, editor of *The Record*.³⁰⁶ The economic growth of the city led to its population growth; by 1870, Wilmington was a majority-black city and would remain so until the insurrection in 1898.³⁰⁷

The Election of 1898 would mark the return of Democratic power in North Carolina, utilizing a vicious, racist campaign, "...the likes of which the state had never seen," again focused on the fear of "negro domination" at the hands of the Fusionists.³⁰⁸ While their previous campaigns weren't as successful, they now could point to increased black political participation and officeholding under Fusion as proof. The election also marked the return of the Red Shirts to intimidate black voters. Democrats won one hundred thirty-four seats in the General Assembly and five seats in Congress.³⁰⁹

In August 1898, three months before the election, the *Wilmington Morning Star* published an 1897 speech echoing the tones of the Democrats' campaign. In the speech, Rebecca Felton chastised white men for not protecting poor white men from the sexual

³⁰⁴ LeRae Umfleet, *1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report*. (Raleigh: Office of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources), 2006, 39.

³⁰⁵ Umfleet, 30.

³⁰⁶ Edmonds, 164.

³⁰⁷ Umfleet, 33.

³⁰⁸ Powell, 433.

³⁰⁹ Powell, 436.

advances of black men, and proposed lynching “to protect woman’s dearest possession from the ravening human beasts.”³¹⁰ Alex Manly, the biracial editor of *The Record* responded to the speech with an editorial:

“...Teach your men purity. Let virtue be something more than an excuse to intimidate and torture a helpless people. Tell your men that it is no worse for a black man to be intimate with a white woman, than for a white man to be intimate with a colored woman... You sow the seed—the harvest will come in due time...”³¹¹

It took weeks, but Manly’s editorial reached the pages of the Democratic *Raleigh News and Observer*, where Democrats seized on it as an example of negro domination. Manly’s editorial was not the cause of the Wilmington insurrection; instead, it was a ruse used by the white supremacist who had secretly planned the overthrow of the city government over the previous six to twelve months.³¹²

After the election, whites drew up and adopted a Declaration of White Independence from “negro rule” in Wilmington. They also demanded that Alex Manly leave the city. The declaration and demand were presented to black leaders on November 8—the black leaders had approximately thirty hours to comply.³¹³ While the black leaders complied and got Manly out of the city, they did not send notice back to the white mutineers in time. A half-hour after the deadline, whites went to the armory, got weapons, and marched to the offices of *The Record*, which they burned down.³¹⁴ The race insurrection had begun. We know that the coroner performed fourteen autopsies; however, other evidence suggests that approximately sixty people may have died in the

³¹⁰ Edmonds, 159; J. Vincent Lowery, “Ever Threatened... Ever in Need:” Alexander Manly’s Confrontation with the Democratic Campaign in 1898 North Carolina,” in Umfleet, 348.

³¹¹ Umfleet, 98.

³¹² Edmonds, 159-160.

³¹³ Haley, 112; Edmonds, 166.

³¹⁴ Edmonds, 168; Powell, 437.

violence.³¹⁵ The systematic banishment of blacks who vocally opposed white supremacy, as well as those whose financial success was an affront to whites (regardless of their level of political involvement), combined with a general outmigration of blacks began almost immediately.³¹⁶ It was in the aftermath of this that the 1898 fair opened.

Again, we have no documents detailing how the 1898 fair was planned. Charles Hunter did not serve as Secretary of the fair, although he did attend. Descriptions of the fair in newspapers (which all happen to be Democratic; those in black newspapers do not appear to have survived) note that fair week was plagued by “extremely bad weather.”³¹⁷ No doubt that blacks’ fear of traveling across the state just days after a race riot would have also negatively impacted attendance at the fair, as well as the number of exhibits on display. The *News and Observer* reported that:

“...The farm display was not very large but embraced some very fine cotton—one stalk was exhibited that contained 298 bolls, most of the them well-developed...

The exhibits of needlework, bed-quilts, and every kind of work done by women, is quite large, and very creditable in size and excellence...”³¹⁸

Republican Governor Daniel Russell declined an invitation from the NCIA to open the fair—the *Charlotte Observer* reported that Russell did so because he “...despises them as a race, and knowing that they can never serve him again politically, chose not to put himself to the trouble to speak to them.”³¹⁹ On Opening Day, R.H.W. Leake, a minister, politician, and president of the NCIA went to Josephus Daniels, owner

³¹⁵ Umfleet, 1.

³¹⁶ Umfleet, 158; 232-233.

³¹⁷ *Wilmington Messenger*, November 22, 1898.

³¹⁸ “The Colored Fair,” *Raleigh News and Observer*, November 18, 1898.

³¹⁹ “Governor Russell was Not There,” *Henderson Gold Leaf*, December 8, 1898.

of the *News and Observer* as asked him to speak in Russell's place. Daniels, a staunch Democrat, hesitated to accept the offer; Leake responded to his hesitation:

“On the contrary...this old rascal who is up in the governor's mansion, who has gotten everything he has from negroes, has been ungrateful. They have no respect for him. They know that at heart you are their friend and they need somebody who was a leader of the white supremacy campaign to give them assurance of friendship and protection. You are the very man they want.”³²⁰

And so, Daniels opened the fair, assuring the audience that “the day of election for them was really a day of emancipation from corrupt party leaders...”³²¹ Daniels was followed by a professor from Shaw University, and John Dancy, the collector of customs from the Port of Wilmington. According to Daniels, all of the black speakers counselled peace and acceptance of the situation...”³²²

As previously mentioned, Charles Hunter attended the fair, but he did not offer public remarks; rather, he was there with the exhibit from his school, lobbying for the inclusion of industrial courses in the public school curriculum.³²³ He believed “the school authorities should give the matter their attention as many colored children are growing up in idleness and crime simply because they do not know how to do anything...”³²⁴ The *News and Observer* agreed with Hunter that it was “worthy of serious thought.”³²⁵

The relative calm (or fearful lull) that followed the Wilmington Insurrection and the 1898 fair would soon be replaced by chaos from all directions. Black leaders jockeyed for position both with Democrats, and within the larger black community.

³²⁰ Josephus Daniels, *Editor in Politics*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 1941, 311.

³²¹ Daniels, 312.

³²² Ibid.

³²³ Haley, 116.

³²⁴ “The Colored Fair,” *Raleigh News and Observer*, November 18, 1898.

³²⁵ Ibid.

While the Democrats softened their white supremacist rhetoric, they returned to their legal playbook—what could not be taken from blacks by force alone was about to be taken by law. In January 1899, an amendment to the state constitution was introduced establishing a literacy restriction for voting, followed by a bill segregating both steamboats and railroads.³²⁶

The North Carolina Negro State Fair was now at a crossroads. While the country was becoming increasingly industrialized, the south functioned more as a rural province than an equal partner in this growth as it provided the raw materials used in the country's march into the twentieth century, yet reaped little of the economic gains. Southern blacks received a pittance of those already limited gains. How would the NCIA be able to seek and receive the same kind of broad support it previously enjoyed? Between the establishment of Jim Crow as both custom and law, the development of American imperialism, and the new (yet persistent) black interest and participation in World's Fairs and expositions at Chicago (1893), Atlanta (1895), and Paris (1900), the future of this industrial fair appeared to be dimmer than its past.

³²⁶ Haley, 117-125.

Conclusion

Jim Crow was more than custom. It was more than local ordinances. By the beginning of the twentieth century, southern states cemented it in their constitutions; the nature of governance was rooted in white supremacy. Yet, the North Carolina Negro Fair persevered in the nadir. The NCIA planned and presented the fair annually until the state denied them use of the state fairgrounds in 1926 and 1927, as the state was preparing to take control of the white state fair and move to a new 200-acre space.³²⁷ The fair then lost its appropriation of \$500 because it was not held. Charles Hunter, dismayed with what he considered to be “a declining interest in the fair on the state’s leading black men,” was determined to revive it.³²⁸

In 1928, after meeting with the city’s black leaders, Hunter—aware of the social and political conditions of the day—proposed bringing back the fair under the guidance of a board of directors appointed by governor Angus McLean. These appointments would come by recommendation of the manager of the white state fair, which was now under the exclusive control of the state Department of Agriculture.³²⁹ The governor was amenable to this new plan; in fact, he ensured an appropriation of \$200,000 for that year’s fair at the new fairgrounds. In 1929, the NCIA was again denied use of the state

³²⁷ Haley, 280. The narrative of the later years come primarily from the Haley text, as other sources disagreed on when the fairs end. For example, Jim Sumner asserted that “When the fair was discontinued is unclear, although it lasted at least a decade,” and the State Encyclopedia of North Carolina does not identify an end date for the fair. See Jim Sumner, “The African American State Fair,” *Tar Heel Junior Historian*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Winter 2002): <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-newsouth/4406> and Harry McKown, “North Carolina Industrial Association Colored Fair,” *NCPedia*, <http://www.ncpedia.org/government/fair/ncciaf> (accessed March 30, 2017); Marker: H-93,” http://www.ncmarkers.com/print_marker.aspx?MarkerId=H-93.

³²⁸ Haley, 280.

³²⁹“Marker: H-93”.

fairgrounds. In 1930, Hunter argued that the NCIA should “return to its original purposes and accept the challenge of using its own resources to stage a fair,” as it had done back in 1879.³³⁰ He was elected as the executive secretary with authority to plan the fair, and was able to mount a successful event, without a state appropriation. While serving in the same capacity in 1931, the NCIA decided to abandon its annual fair and hold it in conjunction with the Wake County Negro Fair, which didn’t occur.³³¹ While planning for this joint event, Charles Hunter became ill, and passed away on September 4.³³²

The fact that the North Carolina Negro State Fair could have been held in conjunction with a local black fair is evidence to its impact. Within the first decade of the fair’s existence, nine smaller local black fairs were established in North Carolina.³³³ By 1895, the black fair in New Bern, one hundred-twenty miles east of Raleigh along the Neuse River, became such a major local event that the fair’s organizers incorporated themselves as the Oriental Industrial Stock, Fruit, and Agricultural Fair Association.³³⁴ Across the south into the early twentieth century, statewide black fairs occurred in Mississippi and Georgia.³³⁵

There is also evidence that Hunter and the NCIA attempted to organize local black fairs across the south; in an 1886 letter, Madison Davis, president of the Northeast Georgia Colored Fair Association, wrote “...I am in favor of an organization of a national industrial association and will give you all the assistance I can...”³³⁶ This specific organization did not materialize; however, the growth of both local and statewide black

³³⁰ Haley, 281.

³³¹ Haley, 282.

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Kenzer, 77.

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ “Mississippi’s Colored Fair,” *The New York Times*, November 11, 1886; Nowicki, 12.

³³⁶ Madison Davis to George T. Wassom, 15 Oct 1886, Charles N. Hunter Papers.

fairs, combined with successful Colored Department exhibitions at World's Fairs in New Orleans (1885) and Atlanta (1895), as well the Exhibition of American Negroes in Paris (1900) led to the founding of the National Negro Fair Association and plans to hold a National Negro Fair in Mobile, Alabama in 1909.³³⁷ While we can access evidence of the black presence at World's Fairs with relative ease, we cannot do the same in order to chronicle the full story of black fairs, which I suspect accounts for the gap in the literature regarding black industrial fairs in the post-Reconstruction south.

My research is an attempt to address this gap specifically in North Carolina—a state that constructed a myth that it was somehow a “better” place for blacks to live, despite implementing the same white supremacist policies designed to restrict black progress as the states of the Deep South. The North Carolina Negro State Fair, while not the first black fair, certainly provides a lens by which we might better understand the factors at play in the lives of black North Carolinians in the late nineteenth century. Additionally, we can utilize the ideas and concepts that constitute what we commonly understand as public history methods today to examine the dynamic and fluid nature of the black community and in North Carolina.

The existence of both the NCIA and the North Carolina Negro State Fair, is proof of *reflective practice*. As Reconstruction gave way to Redemption in North Carolina, Charles Hunter and other leading black men needed a new vehicle by which to promote the progress of the race. Establishing the NCIA with the primary purpose of staging a fair to highlight the products of blacks' industry and education was an act of both race

³³⁷ For a description of the Colored Department at the New Orleans World's Fair, see Pfeffer. For a description of both the Colored Department at the Cotton States Exposition and the Exhibition of American Negroes, see Wilson, 30-138.

vindication and race uplift. The fair displayed black progress to a hostile white society that denied both the possibility and the existence of said progress; it also was a means to visually show blacks of lower classes that they were capable of progress.

The planning of the fairs, specifically the speakers at each event, was an active, public consideration of how to become full citizens of a state and nation that actively excluded blacks. This, to me, constitutes *reflection in action*. One could argue that the work of race vindication is reactive in its nature; however, I contend that the selection of speakers allowed the NCIA to both respond to contemporary socio-political contexts, as well as stake out positions of their own. In 1879, the NCIA was warned to avoid politics as they planned the first Negro State Fair. But how could the fair ever be legitimately apolitical if the governor and other state officials—both black and white—open the fair? Their very presence transformed the mythically neutral space into a political one. At first glance, James O'Hara's speech at the first fair in 1879 aligned with the common position of black leaders—he opposed black emigration. But he also made the case that if blacks were to stay in North Carolina, the state had an obligation to allocate funds for a public institution of higher education for them.

Hunter and the NCIA do not engage in *shared inquiry* in planning and developing the fairs, however. The leading black men of the NCIA—politicians, business owners, journalists—set the goal for the fair: to simultaneously exhibit the progress of the race and display their prominence as individuals. Despite this lack of shared inquiry, they do practice a form of *shared authority*. While the leading black men set the goal of the fair, they did so with the understanding that the success of the fairs depended on the participation of the black masses. The documents of the 1886 fair reinforce that planning

and installing annual exhibits of black progress was both ambitious and challenging. Organizing each annual event meant that the NCIA had to repeatedly face the black masses they relied on to furnish the evidence of racial progress—many of whom defined progress as simply making ends meet day by day.

Uncovering and recounting the story of the North Carolina Negro State Fair, guided by both public history methods, and concepts rooted in memory studies also aids in extending our understanding of what forms a museum can take. In the twenty-first century, we see the proliferation of pop-up museums—temporary exhibits in which participants share objects based on a specific theme, which then prompts conversation.³³⁸ The North Carolina Negro State Fair can be perceived as a precursor to today's pop-ups with one exception: whereas today's pop-ups are intended as tools for community engagement, the fair was intended as a tool to effect change for the everyday lives of black North Carolinians, particularly as the Democratic party solidified its control over state politics, and the gains of Reconstruction were slowly but surely giving way to Jim Crow. The Negro Fairs were a window to reveal to the world what black North Carolinians could do when they are free, and a mirror to reflect to blacks themselves that they were capable of what was on display in front of them and more. They were far more than yearly contests for premiums at the State Fairgrounds.

An article in *The New York Times* this spring posed the following questions: “When an institution...is confronted by such tumult, should it respond? And how? Should a museum change with the events around it, or should it stand true, like an immovable rock, as political storms come and go? Is a museum's job to explain the

³³⁸ Michelle DeCarlo, "Conversation and Community: An Exploratory Study of the Pop-Up Museum Concept." (Master's Thesis, University of Washington, 2013), 5.

historical past, or is its presentation of the past really about the present? Or the future?”³³⁹

There is a growing body of work in both public history and museum studies that explores the ways in which museums and other public history sites answer these kinds of questions and the results they yield. Obviously, the questions posed are meant for typical brick-and-mortar institutions, with collections and exhibition policies developed over years and decades, and refer to their responses (or lack thereof) in the face of modern events, such as the Ferguson and Baltimore Uprisings, and the 2016 presidential election. Yet, we can look to other museum forms such as the North Carolina Negro State Fair as an example of how to respond to political and social upheaval.

³³⁹ Graham Bowley, “Museums Chart a Response to Political Upheaval,” *The New York Times*, March 13, 2017. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/13/arts/design/museums-politics-protest-j20-art-strike.html?_r=0

Table: The First Negro State Fair, Organization of Departments

Note: Italics are used to indicate women supervisors; those who are married are identified in the Salutation used.

Department	Objects	Supervisor
A	Field Crops & Samples of Food Crops	Jessie Boone, John Mandel
B	Horse, Mules, Cattle, Sheep & Swine	A. Robinson, Ben Scott, Frank Jones
C	Poultry, Bees, and Honey	James A. Lowry
D	Household Supplies	<i>Harriett Hill, Mrs. R.V. Yarborough, Lizzie Thomas, Mamie Manly</i>
E	Horticulture, Orchard and Wines	Frank Bryant, Samuel Hayes, Toney Burns
F	Manufacture of Home Made Articles	Section A: E.E. Smith Section B: <i>Phoebe Turner, Annie Hawkins, Eleanor Hinton</i> Section C: <i>Mrs. Robert Wyche, Martha R. Jenkins, Sophia A. Ellison, Cynthia Hayes, Cora Young, M. Hinton, Mrs. L. Green, Mary Jeffers, Bettie Bank (?)</i>
G	The Arts, Painting, Drawing, Musical Instruments, Jewelry & Silverware	<i>Priscilla Burray</i>
H	Mechanic Arts, Carpenter's Work Vehicles, Cabinet & Upholster's Work	Carey Irvin, Jackson Alston
I	Agricultural Implements	Joe Hill
J	Saddlery, Harness, Etc.	Robert Hutchings
K	Plowing Match	John Lane
L	Dairy and Vegetable Garden	<i>Mrs. Geneva Jones</i>
M	Educational Production, Map Drawings, Essays, Penmanship	<i>Annie Fuller, Ada B. Manly</i>

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