Tolerance, Governance, and Surveillance in the Jim Crow South: Asheville, North Carolina, 1876-1946

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Abstract

This dissertation argues that logics of tolerance were central to emerging forms of urban governance in the New South tourist locale of Asheville, North Carolina between the late 19th and mid-20th centuries. White authorities' practices of "race relations," the development of civic sites of historical memory, and the regulation of disorderly spaces worked to distribute the responsibility of surveillance to many actors. Most significantly, objects of suspicion were enlisted and enlisted themselves in networks of authority as a means to police and, hopefully, transcend the danger to urban order they themselves embodied. These networks were hierarchical. Their priorities and the relations between actors within them were shaped and supported by white authorities' political privilege to formulate racialized, gendered, and class-conscious definitions of deviance. They were also distributive, as their operation depended on the efforts of multiple participants. The forms of governance organized around techniques of tolerance did not dispel white authorities' suspicion, nor aim to. Instead, the projects considered here created opportunities to make that suspicion operable and regularize its management.

By focusing on one city, this dissertation is able to demonstrate how the development, maintenance, and changes in networks of tolerance played a key role in making and remaking both place and space in Asheville. Scrutinizing these networks is essential for understanding how tolerance both created space for civic participation and sharply curtailed what would be tolerated within it. Through variously articulating, critiquing, and performing the expectation of surveillance, African Americans, Jews, and white Christians sought to redefine the boundaries of tolerable difference in urban spaces as well as the meanings of blackness, Jewishness, and whiteness. This dissertation employs insights drawn from cultural geography and government studies to interrogate tolerance as a technique of management. It therefore newly historicizes the emergence of tolerance as a national civic value in the interwar period and reassesses its analytical value to urban history.

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Introduction

The city of Asheville, North Carolina hired two African Americans as police officers in 1946. Gilbert Sligh and Delaney Horne were the first black police officers since the mid-1880s, when Henry Saxton served as one of three policemen in the city.[1] A picture in the *Asheville Times* showed both Sligh and Horne in uniforms, nearly obscured gun holster and bullets at their sides. The caption underneath announced they would initially work "on special assignment" under the direction of the police chief.[2] Although unannounced, the authority of these officers was spatially and racially circumscribed. They were initially not given police vehicles, patrolled only black neighborhoods, and could arrest only African Americans.[3] The limitations placed on the policemen demonstrated how whites sought to avoid facing the outcomes of their own demands for surveillance.

We will meet this pair again near the conclusion of this story. The investment of city police authority in them, however limited, was the product of several decades' of advocacy by African Americans in Asheville. While by no means the only avenue for African Americans' activism in the "Paris of the South," the long dialogue over and the eventual hiring of black police officers demonstrate two central themes of this dissertation: the incorporation of African Americans into Jim Crow networks

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[1] Darin Waters, "Life Beneath the Veneer: The Black Community in Asheville, North Carolina from 1793 to 1900," (PhD diss., UNC-Chapel Hill, 2012), 205; Lenwood G. Davis, *The Black*

[2] Caption, Asheville *Times,* April 4, 1946.
[3] Mary Elizabeth Robinson Sligh, interview by Sylvia Robin, September 14, 1993, Voices of Asheville Oral History Collection, Ramsey Library Special Collections, University North Carolina-Asheville.

of governance, and the paradoxical demands that such incorporation placed on African Americans' demonstrations of self-mastery. The black policemen embodied the contradiction of the expectations of white authorities, whose demands that African Americans police their communities conflicted with their equally privileged desires to restrict black masculinity and autonomy. The restrictions on Sligh and Horne represent the limitations on African Americans' subjectivity within the white-controlled networks of authority that were central to "race relations" governance.[4]

This dissertation examines the historical development of these networks. Its central contention is that the logics of tolerance were central to emerging forms of urban governance in the urban Jim Crow South. In part, authorities worked to present an image of a progressive city hospitable to white travelers from different sections of the country. This impression was important to the profitability of Asheville's dominant tourism industry. More significantly, however, networks of governance organized authority by distributing the expectation, responsibility, and opportunity for the management of order to multiple actors. These forms represented attempts by white authorities to incorporate suspect subjects into

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[4] This dissertation tries to avoid using the terms "objects of suspicion" and "suspect subjects" interchangeably, although there may be some regrettable slippage here. The former term is meant to connote both persons and spaces that white authorities considered potential sources of disorder. The latter term, "suspect subjects," shares a stigma of white misgivings, although the suspicion was attached to their capacity and potential to act as liberal, autonomous subjects. The terms are also connected through the fact that African Americans occupied an ambiguous "simultaneous object-subject position." within race relations governance and rhetoric. See Grace Kyungwon Hong, *The Ruptures of American Capital: Women of Color Feminism and the Culture of Immigrant Labor* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 26.

For discussions of liberal subjectivity, see Peter Miller and Nikolas Rose, *Governing the Present: Administering Economic, Social and Personal Life* (Polity Press, 2008), 7-8; Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (New York: Verso, 2003), 3-4; Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 45-46.

networks of authority while leaving intact the norms that defined those subjects' marginality.[5] The logics attendant to this project were enacted in the efforts of white authorities to manage the social deviance and potential for disorder they attributed to objects of their suspicion. Involvement in these networks was an active process and encompassed many practices, as participants policed, judged, disciplined, mitigated, contained, and reformed suspect individuals.

A defining characteristic of these networks of authority was the enlistment of objects of white authorities' suspicion in these practices of management. Each chapter illuminates the organization, inequalities, and opportunities of this participation. The ambiguous position of suspect subjects as both regulated and regulating afforded opportunities to demonstrate their worth. In addition, multiple actors contested the fashioning and operation of these networks. There was no one single critique or mode of resistance. Instead, different actors for various reasons questioned the logic of tolerance, its enactment in these networks, or the involvement of suspect subjects in the management of order.

To summarize, then, this dissertation closely examines the mechanisms by which networks of tolerance developed and functioned to manage order and organize space in the Jim Crow urban South. Although this study unavoidably makes some normative claims about the shortcomings or benefits of tolerance, doing so is not its primary focus. Rather, it is to interrogate how tolerance distributed and arranged authority as a mode of urban government in a context of white

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[5] Wendy Brown, *Regulating Aversion: Tolerance In the Age of Identity and Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 36.

supremacy.[6] My use of the concept of "networks" is deliberate and informed by this focus. The term carries a lot of baggage, but its weight is more of a blessing than a burden.

The term is useful because it allows us to conceptualize projects of governance as both hierarchical and distributive.[7] They were hierarchical because their shape, priorities, and the relations that obtained between actors within them were organized around and supported by white authorities' political privilege to formulate racist, gendered, and class-conscious definitions of deviance. Networks of governance such as those engaged in race relations were also characterized, however, by their distributive qualities, so that the projects of management they facilitated depended on the efforts of multiple participants.[8] The hierarchical nature of these networks, in fact, rendered their distributive capability more vital to their operation.

This dissertation focuses on those networks that enlisted objects of suspicion in the management of order. This impulse, as we shall see, occurred in multiple projects of management that attempted to "act upon [the] action" of its subjects over the first half of the twentieth century.[9] Interrogating this practice helps us understand how these networks were both hierarchical and distributive. The

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[6] As Herbert Marcuse pointed out, the "function and value" of tolerance was changeable rather than fixed, shaped by a society's power relations. As such, it helps to organize those relations. Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," in *A Critique of Pure Tolerance* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), 84.
[7] Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 128-133.
[8] Manuel DeLanda, *A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2006), 3.
[9] Rose, *Powers of Freedom,* 4.

delegation of this responsibility occurred more and less formally, unevenly, and unequally, as the racial organization of Southern society provided channels for this distribution to travel. There were varied incentives, penalties, and tools for different participants.[10]

The distribution and delegation fostered by these networks, however, helps explain how participants, including those identified as objects of suspicion, portrayed their involvement as indicative of self-regulating liberal subjectivity.[11] Working within these networks, in fact, increased their opportunities to do so, even though the networks themselves traversed the ostensibly sacrosanct state-society divide of liberalism.[12] Where the sources allow, the dissertation also demonstrates that the involvement of non-humans in these networks facilitated both this distribution as well as the claims to a self-regulating subjectivity made by human actors who worked within these arrangements.[13] Examining how these forms of governance engaged participants in the management of order is essential for understanding how tolerance both created space for civic participation and sharply curtailed what would be tolerated within that space.

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[10] Much of the literature on networks is concerned with explaining, conceptualizing, and exploring their role in liberal governmentality. That is, they tend to be concerned with tracing how, in the words of historian Patrick Joyce, freedom and subjectivity function "as a formula for exercising power." It is not that they do not address power, but the valorization of freedom and autonomy are important mixtures in the formulas for rule these government scholars conceptualize. This is an important distinction with the Jim Crow South, which certainly celebrated particular notions of white men's freedom but was organized to discourage, attack, and stigmatize African Americans' autonomy and freedom. See Joyce, *Rule of Freedom*, 1.

[11] Miller and Rose, *Governing the Present*, 65.

[12] Miller and Rose, Governing the Present, 60-61.

[13] Latour, *Reassembling the Social,* 10, 71-72; Latour, *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 193.

Examining how the logics of tolerance shaped these networks of governance brings to the foreground questions of "how" rather than "why."[14] This shift, in turn, allows us to reassess the analytical value of tolerance to urban history. Historians have recently explored the significance of the valorization of tolerance as a national value in the first half of the 20th century and have analyzed its shortcomings as a means to seriously grapple with inequality in America. Historian Wendy Wall, for instance, has examined the limitations and possibilities offered by its vocabulary to mediate difference and widen the circle of American nationalism. Building consensus through formulations of tolerance meant defining some ideas as out-of-bounds or intolerable. Furthermore, invocations that treated it as a personal characteristic reduced its effectiveness as a tool to redress inequality. Meanwhile, the attempts of those engaged in tolerance work to standardize difference often failed to address Americans' varied histories.[15]

This dissertation does not dispute the conclusions of Wall's excellent work or those of other studies that expressed doubt about the ability of tolerance to render justice, either in contemporary America or in the early 20th century.[16] However, considering tolerance as a technique of urban governance in the Jim Crow South

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[14] Miller and Rose, *Governing the Present,* 6; Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom,* 6.
[15] Wendy Wall, *Inventing the "American Way": The Politics of Consensus from the New Deal to the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 66-67; Stuart Svonkin, *Jews Against Prejudice: American Jews and the Fight for Civil Liberties* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 5. Also see Marc Dollinger, *Quest For Inclusion: Jews and Liberalism in Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Richard W. Steele, "The War on Intolerance: The Reformulation of American Nationalism, 1939-1941," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 9, no. 1 (Fall, 1989): 9-35.
[16] Janet Jakobsen and Ann Pellegrini, *Love the Sin: Sexual Regulation and the Limits of Religious Tolerance* (New York: New York University Press, 2003); Barbara J. Fields, "Of Rogues and Geldings," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 108, No. 5 (December, 2003): 1397-1405.

allows this study to ask different questions. Rather than asking us why it failed to bring about justice, this dissertation asks how tolerance functioned as what political theorist Wendy Brown has termed a "management technique" that both "incorporate[es] and regulat[es] the presence of the threatening Other within."[17] While other political theorists like J. Budziszewski might disagree with Brown on the virtues of tolerance, he too defines it as a matter of technique, or "the art of knowing *when and how* to tolerate."[18]

Central to this technique has been judging what was and what was not tolerable. Such judgments were both moral and spatial. "In every lexicon," Brown argues, "tolerance signifies the limits on what foreign, erroneous, objectionable or dangerous element can be allowed" within certain spaces without damaging an imagined community.[19] The creation of those boundaries messily implicates existing hierarchies. While political theorist Jurgen Habermas has tried to repair tolerance by finding a rational analytic process by which participants in a collective could decide on what constituted such limits, critics like Lasse Thomassen have expressed doubts as to the feasibility of creating such a process. The "normative implications"

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[17] Brown, *Regulating Aversion,* 27. Jakobsen and Pellegrini, citing anthropologist Gayle Rubin, similarly identify "sex negativity" as a view that holds sexuality to be potentially and presumed dangerous and therefore subject to regulative practices of tolerance. The authors note that for many Americans, the "potentially disruptive" power of sex "must be contained and 'domesticated'" through such institutions as the family. It is regulated through a variety of means. They also identify the identification of supposed threats as being fundamental to the hierarchical character of tolerance See *Love the Sin,* 6-7, 64.

[18] J. Budziszewski, *True Tolerance: Liberalism and the Necessity of Judgment* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1992), 7.

[19] Brown, *Regulating Aversion*, 27.

of demarcating boundaries between the tolerable and intolerable unavoidably has drawn upon existing inequalities and cultural assumptions.[20]

The impulse to construct and police those boundaries was central to the development of both the political practice of tolerance as well as urban space in Asheville. Authorities in Asheville grew, dispersed, and refined their ability to make and enforce judgments of the fitness of those residents who pressed their own claims to urban space. The recognition of urban dangers was a facet of urban growth in the late 19th and early 20th century. Multiple actors attempted to not just mitigate multiple hazards but incorporate and discipline them into everyday life.[21] Ideas of what constituted in/tolerable danger were at times embodied in troublesome gendered and racialized subjects.[22] The logics of tolerance was central to "race relations" governance, as white supremacists in the New South racialized this risk and conflated whiteness with order.[23] What historian Michael Rudolph West has termed "the notion of race relations" emerged amidst the retreat from democracy

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[20] Lasse Thomassen, "The Inclusion of the Other?: Habermas and the Paradox of Tolerance," *Political Theory*, Vol. 34, Number 4 (August 2006): 439-462.
[21] Barbara Welke, *Recasting American Liberty: Gender, Race, Law, and the Railroad Revolution, 1865-1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 39.
[22] Peter Miller and Nikolas Rose argue that "there are no universal subjects of government: those to be governed can be conceived of as children to be educated…or potential threats to be analysed in logics of risk and security." Miller and Rose, *Governing the Present: Administering Economic, Social and Personal Life* (Cambridge, 2008), 7-8. The authors cite Paul Veyne's 1978 "Foucault revolutionne l'historie." For an English language translation, see Paul Veyne, "Foucault Revolutionizes history," *Foucault and his Interlocutors*, ed. by Arnold I. Davidson (Chicago, 1997). Also see Mark M. Smith, *How Race Is Made: Slavery, Segregation, And the Senses* (Chapel Hill, 2006), 50, 75-76. Smith argues that whites' senses played a role in the development, ideology, and practices of segregation. What he terms "racialized sensory constructions" were themselves part of the tools with which whites policed "infringements on white physical and social space."
[23] Owen J. Dwyer and John Paul Jones III, "White socio-spatial epistemology," *Social & Cultural Geography*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 2000: 209-222. Whiteness, they argue, "is about who is able to monitor the social spaces of travel." As they make clear, it is also about how that monitoring is effected.

that took place in the South and in the nation as a whole in the 1890s and 1900s. In the context of Democratic victory, white violence, and black disfranchisement, whites sought to define and organize "race relations" as a plausible and modern means of forestalling full African American citizenship.[24] The term obscured the undemocratic reality of Jim Crow by framing African Americans' claims to economic, educational, and political opportunity and rights as problems that demanded management.[25]

The phrase put crucial assumptions to work. As the historian Barbara Fields has pointed out, the term presumed "that *race* is a valid empirical datum." This supposition has turned the focus of both turn-of-the-century Americans as well as later scholars "from the actions that constitute racism," including segregation, disfranchisement, and violence "to the traits that constitute race." According to Fields, for "racists in the New South, those traits might have included the Negroes' ignorance, laziness, brutality, criminality" and other negative characteristics imputed to African Americans that justified their exclusion from full citizenship.[26] In Fields' analysis, the term shares an important characteristic with tolerance. Both perform a crucial evasion, replacing scrutiny and interrogation of racism with a pernicious focus on race.[27]

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[24] Michael Rudolph West, *The Education of Booker T. Washington: American Democracy and the Idea of Race Relations* (New York, 2006), 12-14.
[25] West, *The Education of Booker T. Washington*, 15.
[26] Barbara Fields, "*Origins of the New South* and the Negro Question," *The Journal of Southern History* 67, no. 4 (Nov. 2001): 811-826.
[27] Barbara J. Fields, "Of Rogues and Geldings," *The American Historical Review*, 108, no. 5 (December, 2003): 1397-1405.

Examining "race relations" as a mode of urban governance, then, entails taking into account how white racists incorporated those reputed, rumored, and mass-culture mediated traits into urban and spatial governance. As historian Khalil Muhammad has noted, whites defined African Americans through the latter's alleged, assumed, and statistically articulated criminality.[28] Paternalists engaged in race relations work attempted to incorporate, attenuate, discipline, and punish black deviance in proliferating city spaces. These efforts were central to "the making of" cities and spaces in the 20th century.[29] Whites cast urban "race relations" as largely a problem of how to apply the logics of tolerance to this ostensible problem.

I focus on one particular technique for doing so in this dissertation. Whites' insistence that "representative" African Americans operate as agents of surveillance and order within an ultimately white-controlled network of authority was a key application of the logics of tolerance to "race relations." Tracing whites' expectations of African Americans' involvement makes tolerance legible as a practice involved in Jim Crow governance rather than as a personal characteristic.[30]

This expectation operated through the notion of "representative" African Americans who were charged with the responsibility of containing and diminishing

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[28] Khalil Gibran Muhammad, *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, ad the Making of Modern Urban America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 4; Joel Williamson, *A Rage For Order: Black-White Relations in the South Since Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 83.
[29] Muhammad, *The Condemnation of Blackness,* 7.
[30] Any exploration of the relationships obtaining between surveillance and the self owes a great debt to Michel Foucault, and particularly his *Discipline & Punish*. The enlistment of suspect subjects in networks of surveillance demonstrates the paradoxes of the liberal subject who is both governed, self-governing, and involved in the governance of others. See Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995); 2nd Edition, translation 1977 by Alan Sheridan.

the ostensible danger posed by those counted among the black community. After emancipation whites formulated their expectations of black surveillance and self-policing in the language of liberal self-worth and self-mastery. As Glenda Gilmore has shown, leading African Americans' pledge to exercise their influence on poorer and younger blacks was a central part of the "Best Man compromise" that existed in post-Reconstruction North Carolina. During the 1898 white supremacy campaign, for example, whites had charged that it was the responsibility of "those who stand in authority among" African Americans to curtail the alleged epidemic of sexual assault.[31] In the "Capital of the Black Middle Class" of Durham, North Carolina, leading African Americans' apparent efforts to discipline other blacks resulted in whites' limited and conditional support for black institutions. As historian Leslie Brown has observed, leading African Americans in Durham, enlisted in Jim Crow networks of governance, "faced the ambiguous task" of employing their place within those networks in order to gain some measure of autonomy.[32] In the 1930s, Southern anti-lynching activists, writing to white audiences, continued to call for African Americans to show their "ability, character and good citizenship" by "disavowing crime and the shelter[ing] of criminals."[33]

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[31] Glenda 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), 75.

[32] Leslie Brown, *Upbuilding Black Durham: Gender, Class, and Black Community Development in the Jim Crow South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 14, 19, 153. The phrase "Capital of the Black Middle Class" was coined by the black sociologist E. Franklin Frazier. See Frazier, "Durham: Capital of the Black Middle Class," in *The New Negro*, ed. by Alain Locke (New York: A. and C. Boni Company, 1925), 333-340.

[33] Kimberly S. Johnson, *Reforming Jim Crow: Southern Politics and State in the Age Before Brown* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 61.

Scholar Grace Kyungwon Hong has joined historian Kevin Gaines in arguing that the bourgeois status on which this Best Man ideology was based was racialized. As Hong has suggested, white supremacy complicated African Americans' demonstrations of self-mastery. Booker T. Washington's autobiography, for instance, aligned this attribute with the act of surrender. It identified "the African American subject's submission to the social order as the proof of his readiness for modernity."[34] At times, this surrender took the form of African Americans' working within urban structures dedicated to the surveillance of space and management of order.

African Americans variously critiqued, disputed, and performed this expectation in Asheville. Over the course of the period covered in this study, however, their public arguments shifted from performing this responsibility as a demonstration of their worth and ability of "representative" African Americans to discipline black deviance, to performing this responsibility in order to protect their own rights, which whites refused to do. Focusing on this shift helps us understand changes in African Americans' activism during the first half of the twentieth century, and that working within Jim Crow networks was not as static a strategy as might appear at first glance.[35] In the early and mid 20th century, for instance, African

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[34] Hong, *The Ruptures of American Capital,* 22, 26; Kevin Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture Since the Turn of the Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 4.

[35] J. Douglas Smith has argued that managed race relations weakened during the 1920s in Virginia, an upper South state that, like North Carolina, had a reputation for relatively tolerant race relations when compared with the Deep South. In that decade and the next, African Americans disenchanted with paternalistic whites' intransigence and ineffectualness sought to challenge institutions of white supremacy more directly. In Asheville, attempts in the 1940s by African Americans to register to vote also directly

Americans in Asheville responded to whites' criticism that they had inadequately policed the African American community by asking for an African American policeman. Over the course of this period, there was a subtle but significant shift in how African Americans made this argument. Initially they framed the request as a tool for more effective surveillance. By World War II, activists framed it as a needed instrument to protect African Americans rights, lives, and bodies, a task at which the white law enforcement structure was conspicuously failing. While Khalil Muhammad has pointed out that activists' focus on the constitutional rights of due process and equal protection failed to "dissolve" the racialization of crime, this shift nevertheless demonstrates a challenge to the logics of tolerance, a challenge momentarily contained by the restrictions placed on the exercise of authority by those officers.[36]

Additionally, focusing on whites' demands for suspect subjects to police and act upon others allows us to place Jim Crow "race relations" within a larger context of the Southern and American urban political landscape.[37] In doing so, we avoid a

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challenged white supremacy institutions. At the same time, the discourse of tolerance and the efforts of African Americans facilitated their more formal integration into Jim Crow networks of authority. Smith is invested in tracing the decline of paternalism as a governing strategy. The networks under investigation in this dissertation appear to be more resilient than the paternalistic strategies Smith examines. The distributive nature of the networks under review here—that is, their capacity to distribute responsibility for surveillance, policing, and a limited amount of management to suspect subjects may set them apart from paternalistic strategies in which elite whites are called upon to solely act. Furthermore, while paternalism remained a static ideology in Smith's telling, tolerance was somewhat more dynamic, as we shall see in chapter six. See J. Douglas Smith, *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politics, and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 300-301, Note 3.

[36] Muhammad, *The Condemnation of Blackness*, 12.

[37] As Khalil Gibran Muhammad and other scholars have argued, the efforts by whites to define "'normality whiteness, and functionality'" as the opposite of blackness fundamentally

portion of the ideological work that the term itself attempts to accomplish—separating the exploitation and subjugation of African Americans from other undemocratic relations in the New South.[38] The distribution of responsibilities for surveillance extended to other suspect spaces and peoples. As we shall see, the multiple actors who shaped urban governance sought to contain disorder through this strategy. Often responding to residents' own and contending claims, the city government extended its power to license, qualify, and condition people's abilities to occupy central public spaces such as the town square. The intensifying spatial management in Asheville closely resembled the process in larger cities in the Progressive era, in which the imperative to contain and limit disorder limited residents' access to public space.[39]

Nowhere in Asheville was the combination of the elements of "spaces, persons, problems and objects" to be managed so freighted with meaning and value than at what was known after 1903 as Pack Square. Management of spaces such as the square and its commercialized vicinity encompassed attempts to define the place of potentially disruptive subjects within a dominant political, moral, racial,

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shaped urban development in not just the South but the United States as a whole. Muhammad, *The Condemnation of Blackness*, 7.

[38] Fields, "*Origins of the New South*," 811-826. Southern whites after Reconstruction employed the term "the New South" to connect together economic and industrial growth, northern investment, elite white rule and white-regulated race relations, a resurgent Southern white pride, and a commitment to reunion on the region's terms. Edward Ayers, *The Promise of a New South* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1992), 8. Historian Natalie J. Ring notes the similarities the region's economy shared with those of colonies. Natalie J. Ring, *The Problem South: Region, Empire and the New Liberal State, 18880-1930* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012), 10.

[39] Lisa Keller, *Triumph of Order: Democracy and Public Space in New York and London* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 11.

economic, and spatial order.[40] As such, it offers an outstanding opportunity to place race relations governance within the context of other modes of governance. Often, sources of authority such as the city board of commissioners extended or created regulation in response to the claims of residents to particular spaces. Urban space was not just contested. Indeed, this contestation was fundamental to its development. As political theorist Warren Magnusson has pointed out, attempts to regulate urban space have been central to its "proliferative" nature. "Each measure of security generates a new activity," Magnusson points out, "which must in turn be 'secured.'"[41]

As this dissertation will show, throughout the first half of the twentieth century, an increasing number of actors played greater roles in mitigating ostensible threats to order. They did so often through their assumption of the responsibility to police others. This charge applied to multiple groups that could be organized by racial, ethnic, religious, or economic definitions. By engaging in multiple ways with this charge, African Americans, Jews, and white Christians sought to redefine both the boundaries of tolerable difference in urban spaces as well as the meanings of blackness, Jewishness, and whiteness. It was a crucial performance for those whom white elites considered suspect and as potential sources of disorder, such as

[40] As in the New South locale of Charlotte, elite whites in Asheville employed their political privilege and power in their attempts to rationalize urban space. Thomas Hanchett has argued that in the 1890s, the political threat of populism spurred elite whites in Charlotte to create greater distance between themselves and both African Americans and working-class whites. They also attempted to make it harder for those groups to organize together by reinforcing spatial boundaries between them. See Hanchett, *Sorting Out the New South City: Race, Class, and Urban Development in Charlotte, 1875-1975* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

[41] Warren Magnusson, *Politics of Urbanism: Seeing Like a* City (New York: Routledge, 2011), 32.

pawnbrokers, taxi drivers, and dance hall proprietors. It was a condition of their continued economic presence in the city's urban landscape. The distribution of responsibility to practice surveillance was not confined to "race relations" but rather influenced how multiple actors were enlisted the process of organizing space.

One of the effects of "race relations" discourse was to set relationships between African Americans and whites apart from the rest of the economic and political organization of the New South—what Barbara Fields called the movement to "jim-crow Jim Crow." Similarly, a potential pitfall of "tolerance talk" is to accept its attempts to standardize difference at face value.[42] We do not want to flatten the variations between the meanings, implications, performances, and sanctions for different objects of suspicion in urban New South governance. Instead, delineating these differences illuminates the relatively privileged position of some enlisted in these forms of management. In contrast to African Americans, Christian whites and Jews were suspect largely because of the economic roles they occupied and the notion of those roles as weak links in the racialized economic and social order of the city.

Pawnbrokers, for instance, encountered increasing regulation in the first half of the twentieth century. Jews owned two pawnshops in downtown Asheville, adjacent to one another and to an African American neighborhood. Some amount of suspicion accorded them may have stemmed from anti-Jewish stereotypes and assumptions. The imperative to police African Americans, who in the 1930s made up an overwhelming majority of customers, more likely contributed to the

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[42] Fields, "*Origins of the New South,*" 811-826.

increasing regulation and to the pawnshop's status as a suspect economic space. Beyond the pawnshop's status in urban economies, furthermore, Jeffrey Melnick has argued that Christian whites in the South sought to police the relationship between Jews and African Americans.[43] For those actors who successfully claimed whiteness, acting to manage and police others was a tool of self-making and a signal of liberal subjectivity because the networks in which they were enlisted were ultimately dedicated to white supremacy. When such objects of tolerance took on this responsibility, they tried to reshape their public identities, much as African Americans sought to do.

Location, Location, Location

By focusing on one city, this dissertation is able to demonstrate how the development, maintenance, and changes in networks played a key role in making and remaking both place and space in Asheville.[44] This dissertation interrogates Asheville not as a locale so much as a growing city, focusing on a central concern of governance facing a constellation of authorities during the latter 19th and early 20th centuries: how to identify, contain, and discipline disorder while at the same time creating order and urban spaces that white tourists drawn from both the North and South would find appealing. Studying the logics of tolerance provides us with a

[43] Jeffrey Melnick, *Black-Jewish Relations on Trial: Leo Frank and Jim Conley in the New South* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2000).
[44] James Connolly, "Bringing the City Back in: Space and Place in the Urban History of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Jul, 2002): 258-278. Connelly argues that attention to space in particular can generate histories that weave together "the social, cultural, planning, and political histories" of cities. Chapter three of this dissertation particularly tries to accomplish this by focusing on what would come to be called Pack Square after 1903.

means of understanding how deeply interwoven these imperatives were. It is only secondarily a history of Asheville, and an incomplete one at that.

Some context, however, is necessary. Paul Yandle has called on fellow historians to turn their attention to state and local politicians whose actions "helped institutionalize the New South vision that more prominent politicians and editors described for larger audiences."[45] This study follows Yandle's advice, then, by examining the institutionalization of practices of tolerance in urban governance in Asheville. As historian Richard Starnes has shown, the city's boosters identified the city as a New South locale in the early 20th century. Because of its location and climate, the city relied on northern and southern visitors. Just as southerners sought refuge from the heat of the summer in the mountains, so too did northerners travel to Asheville to escape the cold winters that prevailed in the North. Both northern capital as well as northern visitors helped to symbolize sectional reunion, a key aspect of New South ideology. More significantly, tourism was a quintessential New South industry in its reliance on railroads, Northern capital, the exploitation and policing of a low-wage labor force, and attempts by whites to "manage" race relations by obscuring the violence, intimidation, and inequality of Jim Crow.[46]

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[45] Paul Yandle, "Different Colored Currents of the Sea: Reconstruction North Carolina, Mutuality, and the Political Roots of Jim Crow, 1872-1875," in *North Carolinians in the Era of the Civil War and Reconstruction*, ed. Paul D. Escott (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 224.

[46] Richard Starnes, "'A Conspicuous Example of What Is Termed the New South': Tourism and Urban Development in Asheville, North Carolina, 1880-1925," *North Carolina Historical Review* 80 (January, 2003): 52-80; Richard Starnes, *Creating the Land of the Sky: Tourism and Society in Western North Carolina* (Tuscaloosa:: University of Alabama Press, 2005); Richard Starnes, ed., *Southern Journeys: Tourism, History and Culture in the South* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003); Steven Hoelscher, "Making Place, Making Race: Performances of Whiteness in the Jim Crow South," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 93, No. 3 (September, 2003): 657-686.

This last characteristic was particularly important. As a Southern tourist destination, it was necessary for whites to create what historian Darin Waters, in his recent dissertation on African Americans in Asheville between 1793 and 1900, calls a "veneer" of progressive race relations.[47] As Starnes has noted, vacationers were not likely to choose a place known for having disorderly or violent race relations.[48] This concern— ironically, ground in the sense that the city itself was also being watched by its patrons— shaped what historian Hal K. Rothman has called the "scripting of space" by authorities invested in the tourist industry.[49]

Just as historians have noted that race relations in Asheville did not significantly differ from conditions in other cities, the preoccupation with creating order and containing deviance was by no means unique to the "Paris of the South."[50] Rather, the elements of white supremacy, labor exploitation, economic development, and spatial management that gave form to this preoccupation were characteristic of both the New South and the Progressive Era urban United States. These common components came together in particular ways to shape the city's social, political, and material landscape.[51]

Asheville, then, provides an important opportunity to explore the questions that drive this dissertation: how were the ideological and spatial presumptions of tolerance rationalized in urban governance? How did the injunction that diverse

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[47] Waters, "Life Beneath the Veneer."
[48] Starnes, "A Conspicuous Example," 52-80.
[49] Hal K. Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2000), 12.
[50] Rothman, *Devil's Bargains*, 12; Waters, "Life Beneath the Veneer," 224.
[51] See, for instance, Georgina Hickey, *Hope and Danger in the New South City: Working-Class Women and Urban Development in Atlanta, 1890-1940* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003); J. Douglas Smith, *Managing White Supremacy.*

suspect subjects police others shape the development of public space? How did this expectation shape identities among multiple participants? Finally, how did "race relations" become an important vector for these techniques of management in the New South during the first half of the twentieth century?

Chapters

The first chapter, "'Let Us Judge Each Other By Our Best, Not Our Worst Samples': Zebulon Vance, Tolerance, and the Fayetteville State Normal School" defines white supremacist notions of tolerance and examines its institutionalization in the first black state teacher's college at Fayetteville. It argues claims of judgment of personal worth were intertwined with practices of surveillance in segregated institutions like the college, which whites pointed to as examples of their tolerance.

The first section examines the Civil War and post-Reconstruction governor Zebulon Vance's well-known Gilded Age speech, "The Scattered Nation," in which Vance offered a review of Jewish history, detailed Jews' regeneration into useful citizens, and urged his Christian audience to judge the character of Jews as individuals. I first read Vance's speech as a New South speech engaged in reshaping post-Reconstruction social relations. The key characteristics of tolerance in Vance's formulation, echoed elsewhere, were the imperative that individuals prove their worth, the promise of correct judgment of that worth, and the masculine nature of both actions. Vance asserted that Jews, or at least certain racial and religious categories of Jews whom he judged equivalent to deists, were no longer threats to the nation or to Christians and therefore deserved to be judged as individuals.

The second section of the chapter examines how these three defining characteristics were institutionalized in the Fayetteville school, a project of racial governance established by Vance in response to African Americans' demands for the opportunity for state-supported normal education. Some whites were leery of investing African Americans with the opportunity and power accorded teachers to shape the next generation. The administration of the school itself involved many actors at the local and state levels who participated in multiple surveilling strategies for racial order that revolved around the injunction that these suspect subjects prove their worth. The school's African American teachers and principals like Charles Chesnutt attempted to both navigate for his students and negotiate for himself whites' expectations. He urged his students to transcend their presumed deviance through demonstration of their characters. In formulating a liberal subjectivity for his students, he emphasized that they were under continual scrutiny by whites.

This chapter is the only one of the six to not take place in Asheville. By examining the early years of Democratic rule, however, it demonstrates the centrality of notions of tolerance and its attendant measures of surveillance to the white supremacist state and the state-building projects in which it engaged.[52] It argues against notions of Appalachian and Ashevillian exceptionalism in matters of "race relations" and tolerance, claims often tied to notions of mountain Republicans

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[52] Saidiya Hartman has noted that the post-emancipation state was charged with policing African Americans, whereas individual whites had been charged with this responsibility during slavery. The process of state-building, then, was inseparable from the process of defining former slaves' political status. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*: *Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 170.

and an assumed dearth of African Americans in Appalachian areas.[53] This chapter contends instead that tolerance was part of a larger political landscape, means of exercising power, and white supremacist ideologies. Asheville was part of this landscape.

The second chapter, "Race Relations, Representation, and the Young Men's Institute in Asheville, 1898-1918," demonstrates how whites applied the logics of tolerance to "race relations" talk in Asheville. The chapter demonstrates that the presumption of African American deviance, threat, and the danger they posed to whites shaped notions of race relations. The first part focuses on those whites like the Presbyterian minister Robert Campbell and Commissioner of Public Safety D. H. Ramsey who were self-consciously engaged in "race relations" work. As an example of this work, it details an effort by African Americans and whites in the 1910s to close the brothels reserved for whites that had been located in black neighborhoods. These efforts were undertaken in the name of mitigating the threat of "sensual outbreaks" and drew heavily on notions of the moral frailties of African Americans. Finally, this chapter focuses on the role of the Young Men's Institute (YMI) in the construction of race relations. The institute was an African American community center adjacent to Asheville's downtown. Its status as a space for the cultivation of respectable black masculinity, its leaders' claims to representation, and their unequal participation in "race relations" governance were tightly linked through

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[53] Waters, "Life Beneath the Veneer," 3; John Inscoe, *Appalachians and Race: The Mountain South from Slavery to Segregation*, (Lexington, Kentucky: the University Press of Kentucky, 2001); Tim Konhaus, "'I Thought Things Would Be Different There': Lynching and the Black Community in Southern West Virginia, 1880-1933," *West Virginia History: A Journal of Regional Studies,* Vol. 1, No. 2 (Fall 2007): 25-43.

their claims of the mitigation of supposed black deviance. Robert Campbell and other whites engaged in "race relations" argued that the more complete incorporation of African Americans into structures of authority was essential to the practice of good race relations. Leaders of the YMI made claims for the institute's place in these relations by asserting its role as an agent of order within this Jim Crow order. This chapter, then, argues that those whites engaged in race relations work sought to incorporate African Americans in particular ways within structures of authority, and that local institutions like the YMI occupied an ambiguous position within this race relations governance, both acting to contain and reform black deviance and serving as a vehicle for black masculine aspirations and middle-class ideologies.

The third chapter, "Public Square, Court Square, Pack Square: The Ordering of Public Space, 1898-1924," examines the intensifying spatial, commercial, and racial regulation of the city's central civic downtown space in the late 19th and early 20th century. By examining the development of this space, it is able to place race relations and the logics of tolerance within a wider project of urban governance. It demonstrates how city authorities made judgments about the threat of disorder represented by a wide variety of people with claims to the square. In making such judgments, city authorities were also constructing a vision of order built, as in other places, on multiple and interrelated hierarchies.[54] The construction of order on the square relied on the city government's extension of its power to license people's presence. Access to the square was restricted and measured in multiple ways. The

[54] Hickey, *Hope and Danger in the New South City,* 2.

first section of the chapter examines the 1898 dedication on the square of a seventy-five foot obelisk in honor of Zebulon Vance, the Buncombe County native and Redeemer governor. The ceremony, held in the beginning of the Democrats' white supremacy political campaign of the same year, was a harbinger of white racial radicalism and its influence on the spatial organization of the square. The second section examines written and visual representations of the space, known after 1903 as Pack Square in honor of George Pack, the northern industrialist and philanthropist. These images of the square and of order were aspirational. Multiple media that circulated widely presented the square as orderly yet also a place of leisure. They portrayed it as a site of distanced, successful, and silent regulation. The final section makes that regulation, absent in images of the square, visible. The city government, in conjunction and at times in competition with residents and civic organizations, sought to make the square resemble paternalistic segregationists' images of a Jim Crow space. In part, this was accomplished through an augmentation of the ability of empowered whites to make consequential judgments of residents' characters and claims to the main civic space of the city. These regulations extended far beyond demarcating racial boundaries and privileges to reshape access to public space.

The fourth chapter, "Surveillance and Policing Beyond the Square," expands the previous chapter's focus on the square to suspect economic and social spaces in the city, particularly pawnshops, dance halls, and boarding houses for the young women drawn to Asheville to work in the city's industries during the boom decade following the end of World War I. It argues that the extension of networks of

authority was a response to urban growth and commercial sites of mass culture. That augmentation occurred often through the enrollment of troublesome spaces and suspect peoples into those lines of authority through their responsibility to police, much as race relations rhetoric placed the collective responsibility for the actions of African Americans on their "representative" leaders.

The chapter first details the significant growth and expansion of the city, examining some of the strains and tensions that this development engendered. It focuses on the anxieties that attended Asheville's development. Moral critiques of tourism and its effect on the city's morals were common, well before this postwar development. In the 1920s, however, due to multiple factors like prohibition, population growth, commercialized mass culture, and sensationalistic crime coverage, some residents called for more extensive surveillance and regulation to a greater number of spaces.

The second section of the chapter illustrates the augmentation of such networks in a multiple of areas in the 1920s and 1930s. While suspect subjects were under increasing regulation during this time, they often took the opportunity to demonstrate their citizenship and self-mastery to those who possessed licensing power. The chapter particularly scrutinizes the regulation of pawnbrokers, who despite continuing suspicion of their trade were able to largely make the claim that they were part of an apparatus of surveillance. In contrast, the city government in the early 1920s decided that "public" dance hall operators were unable to police their economic and social spaces. Consequently, the city government shut down

dance halls in 1921, opening them a year later with a reformulated network of surveillance.

The penultimate chapter, "'Race Relations' and Paradoxes of Personhood in Crisis" examines how whites' demands that African Americans police their own population helped define the contested and contradictory terrain of "race relations" governance in Asheville in the 1920s. It examines the most publicized racial crisis in the city during that decade: the alleged assaults of two white women in 1925, the near lynching of the African American men accused of the crimes, and their subsequent trials. This drama and white hysteria provided the impetus for the most extended discussion between "representative" African Americans and whites over the former's responsibility for surveilling other African Americans. For those whites that possessed the ability to speak through the city newspapers, the distribution of this responsibility was a sign of their own tolerance.

The first part of the chapter examines representational networks of African Americans in the 1920s, particularly those within and running through the Phyllis Wheatley Branch of the YWCA. African American activists such as Adela Ruffin were key to the growth and augmentation of such networks. These were oriented towards the supply of the labor of African American women to whites. They were dependent on Ruffin's claims and work to marshal, recruit, and ultimately vouch for and recommend the labor of other black women. Such networks were part of "race relations" governance, as whites criticized the domestic labor of black women, who in Asheville resisted low wages and exploitive conditions in a variety of ways, including attempting to organize a union.

The remainder of the chapter examines the 1925 episode, the heart of which lasted from September to December. African Americans critiqued the expectations of surveillance whites formulated and repeated during this crisis. They defined the hypocrisy of such expectations by pointing out that African Americans' active work in this responsibility necessitated a masculinity that represented a threat to white supremacy and by asking that the city appoint a black police officer. This episode is valuable, then, because it demonstrated African Americans' and whites consciousness of the paradoxes and hypocrisy of the latter's expectations. Those expectations, hypocrisies, and paradoxes of subjectivity represented how the logics of tolerance informed the ideology and practice of "race relations."

The sixth chapter, "Vance Redux: Public Memory, Tolerance, and Articulations of Authority," examines the period from the 1920s to the 1940s when tolerance became a vehicle for the expansion of a still-circumscribed Americanism. During this period activists invoked this American value more frequently in race relations work. The explicit appeal to tolerance shaped the greater integration of African Americans in formal networks of surveillance. This was not integration based on equality. Rather, their integration into networks operating within Jim Crow governance that largely aimed to police and mitigate supposed black deviance and urban threat. At the same time, inclusion in these networks had multiple meanings for African Americans.

The first part of the chapter examines how tolerance became more prominent in public discourse and civic life. In Asheville, this occurred because of several interrelated factors. Wanting to protect the city's reputation, prominent

residents engineered a public repudiation of the fascistic William Dudley Pelley, who relocated to Asheville in the early 1930s. White elites participated in Brotherhood Day ceremonies, editorials, and court actions against Pelley aimed at disassociating the city from him. Shortly following this effort, in which both Jews and Christians played key roles, "representative" Jews and members of the United Daughters of the Confederacy began holding annual ceremonies together at the city's main civic square. These observances honored the Redeemer governor Zebulon Vance and invoked his speech "The Scattered Nation" as a beacon of American character and virtue. Along with African Americans' own continued advocacy, these developments helped make tolerance significant and legible in a local context as a national value. As with the more implicit rationalities of tolerance that informed practices of governance earlier in the century, these explicit invocations addressed questions of threat and danger, though on a national rather than urban scale. In their search for consensus, for example, Brotherhood Day ceremonies in effect sought to make America safe for differences by making differences safe for America. These public formulations of tolerance did not initially reference race, which did not become incorporated into Brotherhood Day and Week activities until later in the 1940s. Instead, race relations observances in the 1930s continued to emphasize the need to demonstrate one's individual and representative worth.

The second section of the chapter examines African Americans' activism in the 1930s and 1940s. Their public arguments shifted during this period. Previously they focused on the need to take part in containing and reforming African

Americans' deviance. In the 1930s and increasingly the 1940s they asserted that African Americans' rights were not being sufficiently protected by white authorities. Such remedies as a black policeman, then, were necessary.

The invocation of tolerance facilitated African Americans' limited integration into more formal networks of authority. Such integration in the name of tolerant race relations included black police officers, positions within the statewide Bureau for Negro Work, and the local Negro Welfare Council. However, this activism of working within segregated structures of authority was coupled with blacks' more direct challenges to the legal and extralegal mechanisms of Jim Crow, including voting rights, jury exclusion, and police brutality.

This dissertation, then, demonstrates the value of examining how the presumptions and logics of tolerance shaped urban development and governance in the Jim Crow South. This influence took the form of the creation and augmentation of networks of surveillance designed to diminish, mitigate, and police supposed threats to urban order. Most notably, it was often the objects of tolerance themselves who were charged with this responsibility as a condition for their continued tolerance by networks of authority. The distribution and policing of this responsibility, then, was a technique of tolerance.

Highlighting the multiple projects of governance that employed this technique matters for several reasons. Conversations about race are often still informed and attenuated by the individualistic meanings of liberal tolerance. This dissertation, however, demonstrates that tolerance was more than just a line demarcating the ideological boundaries of the liberal state. It shows that tolerance,

as a technique, did not rely on what resided in people's hearts so much as in the machinery that helped them live their lives – in the maintenance of everyday life. As such, it crossed that ideological boundary constantly. Judgments about risk, threat, and deviance – what was acceptable—were fundamental to that process and continue to inform how we organize urban space.

Chapter 1:

'Let Us Judge Each Other By Our Best, Not Our Worst Samples': Zebulon Vance, Tolerance, and the Fayetteville State Normal School.

Introduction

This chapter may appear at first glance to be a bit of a geographic and thematic outlier. The following chapters of this dissertation trace how the enactment of logics of tolerance characterized emerging forms of governance in the New South city of Asheville, North Carolina between the late 19th and mid-20th century. That story, however, does not begin in Asheville, a town in the foothills of the Southern Appalachian mountains whose economic potential as a tourist destination was transformed by the arrival of the railroad in 1880. This chapter instead places Asheville in a wider political landscape.[55] The development of urban space in Asheville was shaped by the political possibilities foreclosed or facilitated by the post-Reconstruction political context. Despite past assertions of Appalachian and Ashevillian exceptionalism in matters of race and race relations, New South ideology and government shaped the course of urban life in Asheville.[56] Our first

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[55] Alan Bromberg, "'Pure Democracy and White Supremacy': The Redeemer Period in North Carolina, 1876-1894" (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 1977); Gordon B. McKinney, *Zeb Vance: North Carolina's Civil War Governor and Gilded Age Political Leader* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Deborah Beckel, *Radical Reform: Interracial Politics in Post-Emancipation North Carolina* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011).

[56] In his recent dissertation, Darin Waters has challenged "the idea that on the issue of race the mountain South was distinctly different from the lowland regions of the South." His dissertation, furthermore, argues that race relations in Asheville were little different from the relations that prevailed in other parts of the South, despite the efforts of Asheville boosters to make those relations appear distinct. See Darin Waters, "Life Beneath the Veneer: The Black Community in Asheville, North Carolina from 1793 to 1900" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, 2012), 6; Tim Konhaus, "'I Thought Things Would Be Different There': Lynching and the Black Community in Southern West Virginia, 1880-

task, then, is to locate tolerance in New South ideology and projects of governance begun under the authority of the Democratic Redeemers.[57]

This chapter sets out to accomplish this initial task by following the post-Reconstruction career of Zebulon Vance, Asheville's most famous native son prior to the author Thomas Wolfe. It analyzes the formulation of tolerance Vance employed in his philo-Semitic address "The Scattered Nation." Vance, the Civil War and Redeemer governor of the state, delivered this speech on numerous occasions in front of both Jewish and Christian audiences. He advocated that Christians judge individual Jews on their merits. Three elements constituted his articulation of tolerance: the demand by whites that suspect individuals prove their worth and fidelity to supposedly universal values and virtues, whites' complimentary assertion of their racial privilege to judge that worth, and the masculine nature of both the act of proof and the act of judgment. In Vance's eyes, however, not all Jews had earned tolerance. He qualified that population by norms of race, religion, and modernity. In

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1933," *West Virginia History* 1, no. 2 (Fall 2007): 25-43; Richard D. Starnes, *Creating the Land of the Sky: Tourism and Society in Western North Carolina* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005). Also see John C. Inscoe, *Race, War, and Remembrance in the Appalachian South* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2008); Inscoe, ed., *Appalachians and Race: The Mountain South from Slavery to Segregation* (Lexington, University Press of Kentucky, 2001).

[57] Tolerance and intolerance were closely linked, as the former's expression and practice carried with it the usually implicit, though sometimes explicit, threat of violence. Stephen Kantrowitz, among others, has argued that the paternalistic pretensions of Redeemers such as Vance's fellow Civil War and post-Reconstruction South Carolina governor, Wade Hampton, relied on and was the flip-side to white Democrats' use of violence. "Paternalism and violence," Kantrowitz argued, were "complementary and mutually necessary strategies" of governance for South Carolina Redeemers. See Stephen Kantrowitz, *Ben Tillman and the Reconstruction of White Supremacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 78. Joel Williamson noted a similar phenomenon in an urban context when he referred to Atlanta as "Janus-faced," a term that been previously used to refer to the city. See Williamson, *A Rage for Order: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 148.

effect, he argued that only Reform Jews from either the United States or Western and Central Europe had made themselves eligible for modernity and thus for the individualizing judgment of tolerance.[58]

Vance's formulation of tolerance had wide political resonance. These aspects together expressed the liberal pretensions of New South ideology. The second half of the chapter traces the incorporation of these aspects in the administration of the first black state normal school, established in 1877 at Fayetteville. In doing so, the chapter illustrates Redeemers' investment of state and local power in practices of tolerance. How state institutions and other actors incorporated and expressed these aspects as racial governance structured African Americans' opportunities, inequalities, and vulnerabilities in the New South. Literary scholar and historian Saidiya Hartman has noted that the post-emancipation state was charged with policing African Americans, whereas individual whites had been charged with this responsibility during slavery. The process of state building, then, was inseparable from the process of defining former slaves' political status.[59]

The three aspects that defined tolerance in Vance's well-known speech also informed segregated Redeemer projects like the Fayetteville school. While the public figures involved in the effort did not explicitly invoke tolerance in explaining the purpose of the school, the school was meant to lessen tensions between the races. Notions of tolerance informed its establishment and administration. The

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[58] The speech serves as a reminder that philo-Semitic expressions often mirrored others' rationales for anti-Semitism. Both orientations shared similar assumptions about Jews, including fantasies of their financial prowess and unmixed racial purity.
[59] Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*: *Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 170.

school's students, charged with proving their universalistic worth, could only do so in a context defined by their racial identity.[60] White administrators, both at the local and state level, created and worked within segregated, gendered space in which students were asked to prove their worth and promised correct appraisal of that worth. Democrats invested in white supremacist visions of "mutuality" believed that the school would attenuate the potential for political and social disorder supposedly posed by African Americans.

Vance and other Democrats believed that the Fayetteville school would serve their white supremacist visions of "mutuality." The project was explicitly meant to bind African Americans' political loyalties to Conservative southern whites through the former's very specific and limited incorporation into white-controlled structures of authority. While it meant different things to different people at different times, by 1877 Democrats' understanding of mutuality commonly emphasized the interdependent yet unequal roles and opportunities of African Americans and whites in the South. The term envisioned a common interest uniting unequal and different peoples in labor and in "uplift." This meaning both foreshadowed and contributed to the emergence of the ideological term "race relations," which by the 1890s and 1900s provided the "means by which segregation and racist proscription

[60] As Barbara Fields has argued in her critique of oxymoronic terms such as "racial justice," those students had to accept "race, the badge that racism assigns them, to earn remission of the attendant penalties." See Barbara Fields, "'Origins of the New South' and the Negro Question," *The Journal of Southern History* 67, no. 4 (Nov., 2001): 811-826.

[were] assimilated by American ideology" while maintaining the rhetorical fig leaf of mutuality.[61]

The school, nonetheless, was the product of African Americans' initiative as well as their prior organization of a school during Reconstruction at that location. Excluded from the white normal school established at Chapel Hill, African Americans asserted their right to their own state normal school. Educators like the future author Charles Chesnutt attempted to negotiate what later historians and social theorists have defined as a fundamental ambiguity of African American subjectivity in the late 19th century. In various ways and employing different vocabularies, Kevin Gaines and others have illuminated the ways in which racialized and gendered notions of self-mastery and worth were deployed in the late 19th and early twentieth centuries.[62] As this chapter will argue, more than simply a theoretical condition, this contradiction acquired shape through the networks of surveillance generated by the injunction that African Americans demonstrate their worth.[63] That is, the school's administration and education interwove expectations

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[61] Michael Rudolph West, *The Education of Booker T. Washington: American Democracy and the Idea of Race Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 15.
[62] Kevin Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture Since the Turn of the Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 4; Grace Kyungwon Hong, *The Ruptures of American Capital: Women of Color Feminism and the Culture of Immigrant Labor* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 3; Walter Johnson, "On Agency," *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (2003): 113-124.
[63] This chapter also argues for a more specific and productive use of the term of tolerance when discussing Redeemer governments. This question has not been adequately addressed in histories of the New South. Tolerance in such descriptions mostly marks as more harsh the brand of white supremacy, systematic segregation, and disenfranchisement practiced in the next decade. C. Vann Woodward's *Origins of the New South*, for instance, described Redeemers as paternalistic and comparatively more tolerant than the regimes that followed. In support of this argument, historians have cited the relatively unsystematic nature of segregation as well as the cooperation between what were known as the 'better classes' of whites and African Americans in some areas of mutual concern, such as

of judgment of individual worth and practices of surveillance. By urging his students to engage in middle-class self-presentation, educators like Chesnutt sought to negotiate the reality of whites' assumptions and threats of violence as well as the promise of individual judgment by asking his listeners to imagine themselves under surveillance. The liberal notion of individual judgment could not be disentangled from practices of surveillance, particularly in the context of white supremacy.

"The Scattered Nation"

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temperance. Citing Woodward, Nina Silber states that "southern race relations in the 1880s were characterized by a good deal of tolerance and fluidity."

The absence of legal segregation in many areas of southern life underlay Woodward's contention about the relative tolerance of the Redeemers. To interrogate tolerance and shape it into a more useful analytical tool, therefore, we must contend with historians' revision of the timeline of segregation that Woodward set out in *The Strange Career of Jim Crow.* According to Woodward, segregation did not exist in many legal forms until the 1890s. Howard Rabinowitz, among others, has questioned this chronology, pointing to the customs of segregation that Woodward had apparently overlooked in his focus on legislation. Rabinowitz has in mind a longer and somewhat more ambiguous process, one that African Americans took active roles in shaping. In looking at the longer process of segregation that indeed reached new heights in the 1890s, Rabinowitz argued that both Republican and Redeemer governments played essential roles in the transition from "exclusion to segregation" which characterized relations between African Americans and the state in the twenty years following the Civil War. Redeemers' greater involvement in creating segregated state structures provides us with an opportunity to seriously interrogate the meaning and practice of tolerance rather than use it as a way to signify something worse in comparison. For Democratic Redeemers, segregated spaces expressed their ideas of tolerance and were often the only ones in which they were willing to practice it. See Howard N. Rabinowitz, "From Exclusion to Segregation: Southern Race Relations, 1865-1890," *The Journal of American History* 63, no. 2 (Sep. 1976): 325-350; Rabinowitz, "From Exclusion to Segregation: Health and Welfare Services for Southern Blacks, 1865-1890," *The Social Service Review* 48, no. 3 (Sep., 1974): 327-354. Janette Thomas Greenwood, *Bittersweet Legacy*: *The Black and White 'Better Classes' in Charlotte, 1850-1910* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Stephen A. West, "A General Remodeling of Every Thing: Economy and Race in the Post-Emancipation South," in *Reconstructions: New Perspectives on the Postbellum United States*, ed. Thomas J. Brown (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 34; Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 134; C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971); Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Vance's "The Scattered Nation" addressed Jews' history, contributions to "civilization," and present circumstances. It urged white Christians in America to tolerate Jews on the basis of their past contributions to Christian and capitalist "civilization" as well as their present regeneration, productivity, and performance of citizenship. In this chapter, however, Vance's formulation of tolerance concerns us more than his opinions of Jews. Vance's definition of tolerance was a just assessment of individual worth. Three expectations shaped this definition: first, that 'suspect' individuals prove their worth and character; second, that Christian whites possessed the right to judge that worth, based on racialized norms of civilization; and finally, that to demonstrate one's worth and judge that worth were both acts of manhood. These elements suggest that tolerance was an act of power that often reinforced gendered and racialized notions of merit in concrete and consequential ways as it became increasingly incorporated in the administration of new, segregated institutions such as the normal school. This rendering of tolerance contributed to the New South ideology, which blended sectional reconciliation, southern industrial progress and prosperity, and paternalistic race relations based on white supremacy.[64] Understanding how the oft-delivered speech addressed these

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[64] Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 8; Paul A. Cimbala and Barton C. Shaw, eds., *Making a New South: Race, Leadership and Community after the Civil War* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007), 2-5. Geographer David R. Jansson uses the characteristics of the "New South Creed" that the historian Paul Gaston identified in his earlier work, *The New South Creed.* The term stood for "'harmonious reconciliation of sectional differences, racial peace, and a new economic and social order based on industry and scientific, diversified agriculture.'" Jansson also notes that the Creed signified "accessibility, tolerance, and industry." See David R. Jansson, "American National Identity and the Progress of the New South in *National Geographic Magazine,*" *Geographical Review* 93, no. 3 (Jul., 2003): 350-369; Paul Gaston, *The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970).

different contexts clarifies the centrality of tolerance to the project and portrayal of the New South.

An author hoping to return from the political wilderness composed "Nation." Vance wrote the first draft of the speech between his terms as Civil War and Redeemer governor. Temporarily barred from holding political office, he turned to working as a lawyer and lecturer based in Charlotte, a booming city relatively unscathed by war.[65] Vance likely wrote and first delivered "The Scattered Nation" in the early 1870s while a resident there.

Several aspects of the speech place it in a New South context, including its supposed origins, status as a mobile agent of reconciliation, and formulation of tolerance. According to historian Selig Adler, the genesis of his address could be found in the end of the Civil War at a moment of despair for the vast majority of white southerners. After surrendering to the Union army in April 1865, Vance resided for a short time in Statesville, North Carolina, where he came into regular contact with Jews for the first time.[66]

The Union army arrested him there on his birthday, May 13. The commanding officer initially sought to have Vance ride via horseback to Salisbury, thirty-five miles away. Rather than have the "corpulent" governor suffer this indignity, a local Jewish merchant, Samuel Wittkowsky, transported him in his buggy to his destination. Wittkowsky was a Jewish immigrant from Polish Prussia engaged in hat manufacturing in Statesville during the war. After the war, he

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[65] Thomas W. Hanchett, *Sorting Out the New South City: Race, Class, and Urban Development in Charlotte, 1875-1975* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 24.
[66] Selig Adler, "Zebulon B. Vance and the 'Scattered Nation," *The Journal of Southern History* 7, no. 3 (Aug., 1941): 357-377.

became a prosperous merchant in Charlotte, living in close proximity to Vance.[67] Historians and biographers have cited Vance's contact with Jews in Statesville and particularly his ride with Wittkowsky as the "inspiration" for the speech's call for Christians' tolerance of Jews.[68]

The story of the speech was intertwined with the gendered story of Southern defeat.[69] Wittkowsky himself was "fond of recalling that ride in later years" and remembered the governor weeping for the future of his family and his state. Thus the oration emerged from a moment representing both the defeat of the Confederacy and the dawning of a new era.[70] Tales of this dark moment for white southerners were often coupled with their appeals for a resurgent South. This moment had ideological significance for those conservative whites who later recalled it, celebrating two essential elements of New South ideology: assertions of material and social progress as well as white Democrats' rightful return to power. Vance himself, in his first well-known speech in the postwar period, "The Duties of Defeat," spoke of this darkest abyss in Southern history with one breath and a Southern renewal with the next. Rebuilding the South, Vance maintained at his alma mater the University of North Carolina in 1866, was "not near so hopeless as it would seem at first, and it is noble and glorious beyond anything that ever fired the

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[67] Adler, "Zebulon B. Vance," 357-377.
[68] In particular, see Adler, "Zebulon B. Vance," 357-377; McKinney, *Zeb Vance.*
[69] LeeAnn Whites, *Gender Matters: Civil War, Reconstruction, and the Making of the New South* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 86; Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 46.
[70] Adler, "Zebulon B. Vance," 357-377.

ambition of youth."[71] This moment of suffering, resolve, and later progress became part of the claim of the newness of the New South.[72] According to historian Edward Ayers, one of the central messages of Henry Grady's well-known 1886 speech to the New England Society of New York was that the region "had built itself out of devastation without surrendering its self-respect."[73] In stories told about the composition of "The Scattered Nation," this moment of defeat was recalled as both transformative and restorative.

Vance's delivery of the lecture also served as a vehicle for sectional reconciliation. David Blight has noted that by the end of the 1870s, Redeemers such as Vance had much in common in political outlook and goals with Northern Republicans.[74] Northern and international investments in Southern railroads and industry were an important part of the boom and supposed progress of the region. As part of the desire to attract these investments, Democrats sought to enforce "racial peace" in part through coercion and violence.

Portable oratory often furthered this reconciliation. Grady paid respect to the Union heroes of Lincoln and Sherman in his appearance before the New England

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[71] Zebulon Vance, "The Duties of Defeat: An Address Delivered Before the Two Literary Societies of the University of North Carolina, June 7th, 1866," (Raleigh: William B. Smith & Company, 1866), 10.
[72] One of *Gone with the Wind*'s most famous scenes, after all, portrays this moment when Scarlett, in the shadow of her family's ruined plantation, calls God to attest to her vow that she will "never go hungry again." The memory of this hunger, deprivation, and sense of victimization motivates her subsequent economic activity. While she transgresses gender norms in her economic pursuits and incurs the wrath of other women, her focus on economic development is part and parcel of the New South vision. *Gone with the Wind*, dir. Victor Fleming, (1939; Los Angeles: Warner Home Video, 2000).
[73] Ayers, *The Promise of the New South*, 21.
[74] David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 138. These goals included the encouragement of commerce and the repression of labor activism.

Society.[75] Redeemers such as Vance and South Carolina Governor and former Confederate General Wade Hampton sought to strengthen ties with the North both to encourage northern capital investment as well as to convince northerners that white southerners knew best regarding the status and treatment of African Americans in the region. Hampton himself made an "interstate goodwill tour" with Republican politicians, including President Hayes.[76]

Vance's appeal for tolerance was one of his most widely delivered speeches. Wilma Dykeman, writing in the *New York Times* more than sixty years after his death, noted that Vance's oratorical skills served as an instrument of reconciliation as he "spoke throughout the North."[77] Biographer Selig Adler noted that in the 1870s and 1880s, Vance gave the speech hundreds of times "in almost every important city" in the nation.[78] A *New York Tribune* article from 1876 noted that the governor had "repeatedly delivered" the talk.[79] He delivered the address while governor as well, delivering it in 1878 at Fayetteville, where the black normal school was located, to a segregated audience of African Americans and whites.[80] As with other Redeemer governors such as Hampton, Vance's speaking tours and performances may have furthered the process of reconciliation The speech even

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[75] Ayers, *The Promise of the New South,* 21.
[76] Rod Andrew, *Wade Hampton: Confederate Warrior to Southern Redeemer* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 427.
[77] Wilma Dykeman, "North Carolina Salutes a Native Son," *New York Times*, July 9, 1961, 13, Proquest (115254629).
[78] Adler, "Zebulon B. Vance," 357-377.
[79] Adler, "Zebulon B. Vance," 357-377.
[80] "'The Scattered Nation,'" North Carolina *Gazette,* February 14, 1878, n.p.

functioned as an international calling card; on a northern trip, Vance was asked to deliver "Nation" in Ontario, during winter no less.[81]

Vance's contemporaries recognized that the speech fit into the broad genre of New South writings. While governor, Vance received a request from the superintendent of the Texas Military Institute to contribute some piece of writing to a collection whose purpose was to "illustrate the 'New South' in oratory, dialectic, poetry and general literature."[82] The superintendent, Colonel J. G. James, called on Vance to represent the region, as the book would "do full justice to the genius, talent and culture of Southern statesmen."[83] James' second letter specifically asked for Vance's "lecture on the Jews."[84] As befitting a representation of the New South, James assured Vance that the collection would be "broad and catholic in tone, pure in thought and expression, and devoid of all that could offend sectional prejudices."[85]

The speech clearly carried political meaning for the once and future governor. As Adler points out in his 1941 article on the speech's birth, life, and

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[81] W. J. Palmer to Zebulon Baird Vance, telegram, December 1877, Zebulon Vance Papers, ed. Gordon McKinney and Richard McMurry (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1987), microfilm, SHC-541. As Leonard Rogoff has pointed out, the speech likely received greater attention in the South, where it was "preached repeatedly from lecterns and reprinted in virtually every journal and newspaper across the South." Leonard Rogoff, "Is the Jew White?: The Racial Place of the Southern Jew," *American Jewish History* 85, no. 3 (1997): 195-230.
[82] John G. James to ZBV, January 1, 1878, Vance Papers, SHC-604.
[83] John G. James to ZBV, January 1, 1878, Vance Papers, SHC-604.
[84] John G. James to ZBV, January 19, 1878, Vance Papers, SHC-644.
[85] John G. James to ZBV, January 19, 1878, Vance Papers, SHC-644. This reconciliation to a large extent took place on southern white democrats' terms. David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: University of Harvard Press, 2001); Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993). I have not found a record of the volume which James hoped to edit.

afterlife, there were likely less than 500 Jews in North Carolina when he initially composed his speech, which was likely sometime in the late 1860s or early 1870s. For Adler, this dearth of Jews served to refute any suggestion of purely political motives on Vance's part.[86] However, Adler's reasoning is reversible; the small number of Jews in North Carolina also suggests a wider if indirect and implicit political meaning for the speech. Furthermore, Vance continued to give his speech after he had regained public office, both as governor in the 1870s and as U.S. senator in the 1880s.

` Historians have recently called attention to how Vance's speech implicitly addressed wider political conflicts beyond tolerance of Jews. Anne C. Rose has argued that, far from being apolitical, the speech was inseparable from Vance's position as a "defeated southern governor committed to the restoration of home rule."[87] The speech showed how formulations of religious tolerance worked to "legitimate exclusion on grounds besides faith."[88] Steven E. Nash has argued that the address implicitly compared Jews and white southerners, in their common experiences of victimization and similar struggles against "ruthless foes."[89] For Democrats like Vance, perfect democracy for which he lauded the ancient Jewish state could only be approached by a restoration of conservative whites' power in the state.

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[86] Selig Adler, "Zebulon B. Vance," (357-377).
[87] Anne C. Rose, *Victorian America and the Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 44.
[88] Rose, *Victorian America*, 45.
[89] Steven E. Nash, "The Immortal Vance: The Political Commemoration of North Carolina's War Governor," in *North Carolinians in the Era of the Civil War and Reconstruction,* ed. Paul D. Escott, 272. (269-294).

As these analyses suggest, the speech's articulation of tolerance spoke to the politics of the New South. In Vance's telling, tolerance was a just consideration of individual merit. The criteria Vance used were by no means unique. In suggesting measures of productivity, cultivation, and self-discipline when appraising an individual's worth, Vance privileged a racialized and gendered formulation of worth and personhood.[90] In his telling, racial, economic, and religious factors all combined to issue a judgment on Jews' regeneration, engagement with modernity, and level of "civilization." He told the story of some, but not all, Jews as a "narrative of development."[91] Their ancient contributions to 'civilization' aside, only American and Western/Central European Jews who had embraced Reform Judaism appeared fit for tolerance in his telling and occupied the uppermost position in Vance's hierarchy.[92] According to Vance, this group was "by far the most intelligent and civilized of their race." Vance assured his audience that they had cast aside the "Talmudic traditions which cumber and obscure their creed," allowing them to productively interact with modernity and not pose a threat to the nation. Vance placed these Jews, whom he likened to "Unitarians or Deists," in this narrative of development.[93]

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[90] Hong, *The Ruptures of American Capital*, xiii, 3.
[91] Hong, *The Ruptures of American Capital*, 3.
[92] Vance credited Jews with making varied contributions to the development of democracy, individualism, and freedom. He emphasized the ancient Jewish state's "laws for the protection of property, the enforcement of industry and the upholding of the state." These were the virtues of productivity and order, and provided the means by which Vance impugned the history and peoplehood of African Americans. Zebulon Vance, "The Scattered Nation," in *Zebulon B. Vance and "The Scattered Nation,"* ed. Maurice Weinstein (Charlotte: Wildacres Press, 1995), **80-81.**
[93] Vance, "The Scattered Nation," 80-81.

The least fit for tolerance of his groups inhabited a wide and varied geographical area, including "the interior of Africa, Arabia, India, China." Vance reported this group as occupying the lowest spot on a Jewish hierarchy in "wealth, intelligence, and religion."[94] Jews who occupied the next highest category resided in "Northern Africa, Egypt, Palestine, Syria," but also in Eastern Europe. Vance bounds this group's knowledge by religious orthodoxy, characterizing them as "ignorant of all except Jewish learning."

"Nation" narrated "modern" Jews' possession of the exemplary characteristics of the liberal subject, including their willingness and even eagerness to be judged as individuals. This manner of ordering society defined the social value of tolerance as not universal but rather selective, depending on the successful performance and judgment of these characteristics of rationality and productivity. He therefore made judgment of personal worth a crucial component of the act of tolerance. "When we find gold," he implored, "let us recognize it. Let us prove all things and hold fast that which is good."[95] To be tolerant and to apprise worth accurately was both a mark of civilization and a claim to legitimate power. Within his constructed hierarchy of civilization, those nations occupying the highest level all had improved their treatment of Jews.[96]

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[94] Vance, "The Scattered Nation," 80.
[95] Vance, "The Scattered Nation," 88.
[96] Vance, "The Scattered Nation," 86. Representatives of the British empire also made the claim that tolerance was a mark of an advanced level of 'civilization.' The possession of tolerance became a justification for empire. These claims are very clearly displayed in the pages of the *American Israelite*, which devoted extensive coverage to the treatment of Jews overseas. For instance, see Lord Stanley's March 30, 1867 letters on the persecution of Jews in Serbia, reprinted in the May 24th, 1867 edition of the *Israelite.* "The Jews in Serbia," *The Israelite*, May 24, 1867, 5,

These acts of proof and judgment were those of male subjects. On one hand, the act of demonstrating one's merit and worth was the work of a man. The Jewish figure that emerged from "The Scattered Nation," asked only one thing of Vance's audience, that its members "judge [him] as we judge other men—by his merits."[97] Proving one's worth and one's manhood were, if not synonymous, then certainly overlapping. Moreover, the acts by which Jews and others could earn tolerance and prove their worth were those enacted in the service of the responsibilities of manhood. The hoary objections to Jews noted by Vance are those associated with the demonstration of manhood: "it is said that industrially he produces nothing, invents nothing, adds nothing to the public wealth; that he will not own real estate."[98] These actions connoted citizenship at a time when its rights and responsibilities were limited to men and conservatives like Vance denied full citizenship to African Americans.

White men who claimed for themselves the responsibility of rational judgment would assess these masculine actions. This duty necessitated suspending one's emotions and sentiment in order to judge the character of another who might otherwise incite animosity.[99] Historian Gail Bederman has also shown that

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http://americanjewisharchives.org/wise/browse.php?i=Year:By_Year:1867-1867; Lisa Leff, *Sacred Bonds of Solidarity: The Rise of Jewish Internationalism in Nineteenth-Century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).

[97] Vance, "The Scattered Nation," 87.

[98] Vance, "The Scattered Nation," 89.

[99] Glenn Hendler, "Pandering in the Public Sphere: Masculinity and the Market in Horatio Alger," *American Quarterly* 48, no. 3 (1996); 415-438. Hendler summarizes an admittedly simplified formulation of the Victorian separate spheres ideology: "masculine is to feminine as reason is to sentiment."

Victorians defined white manhood through self-restraint and reasoned judgment.[100] Central to this conception of manhood was the "ability to control powerful masculine passions through strong character and a powerful will." While changes in the economic structure of the nation would increasingly destabilize this vision of manhood by the end of the century, men were still expected to consider the worth of others accurately.[101] Perhaps nothing illustrates the masculine mutuality of proof and judgment than Vance's claim that the "the true gentleman, Jew or Gentile, will always recognize the true gentleman, Jew or Gentile."[102]

It may be tempting to dismiss Vance's formulation as idiosyncratic and irreparably compromised by his racial biases and political concerns. Tolerance was a widely valorized although not uncontested virtue in Gilded Age America, however, and the three main assumptions that informed Vance's formulation shaped others' as well.[103] Vance's terms, for instance, largely echoed those formulated by the most prominent Jewish Reform newspaper, Isaac Meyer Wise's *The American Israelite.*[104] As we shall see, contemporaries of Vance as well as later scholars have identified the

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[100] Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural history of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 85.
[101] Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 11-12.
[102] Vance, "Scattered Nation," 87.
[103] Anne C. Rose, *Victorian America*, 44. After the Civil War there were efforts to strongly define America as a Protestant Christian nation. This was due to the war itself and white Protestant fears that "new" immigrants threatened their cultural privilege and political power. The temperance movement partly represented those efforts in the Victorian era. Marni Davis, *Jews and Booze: Becoming American in the Age of Prohibition* (New York: New York University Press, 2012).
[104] The paper's consistent engagement with tolerance illustrated the determination of Wise and others to demonstrate the compatibility of Reform Judaism with American ideals and society. "What is Sectarianism?—What is Tolerance?—No. 16," *The Israelite*, May 17, 1872, 9, http://americanjewisharchives.org/wise/browse.php?i=Year:By_Year:1872-1872. This article was one of a series ran between November 1871 and May 1872 entitled "What is Sectarianism?—What is Tolerance?" that addressed Freemasonry's attitudes towards Jewish members.

central place of this claim to judgment in shaping conservative whites' assumptions of power that signaled the end of Reconstruction, if not the end of an ongoing "struggle for racial domination."[105] After Reconstruction ended in North Carolina, what Glenda Gilmore has termed "the Best Man" idea emerged as mostly "a theoretical device" of some whites, whose promise to reward merit among elite African Americans simultaneously "worked to limit democracy."[106] The language of masculine merit that the Best Man employed was founded on a contradiction, as Saidiya Hartman has noted. The promise of judgment of masculine merit was compromised in part because "white propertied men modeled" ostensibly universal standards of masculinity.[107] While contradictory, the logics behind the Best Man compromise nonetheless shaped such segregated projects as the Fayetteville school. The contradiction, however, would be mediated through the language and reality of surveillance.

Redemption, Tolerance, and Mutuality

In North Carolina, Democrats' control of the executive and legislative branches of the state government following the violent 1876 election marked a shift in the ability of conservative whites to shape the contested relationship between African Americans and the state government. This power in part resulted from

[105] Wade Hampton, Confederate General and Redeemer governor of South Carolina, also spoke the language of normative tolerance. Hampton suggested that to be white was to be tolerant, and to be tolerant was to hold the power to judge the fitness and worthiness of others. Rod Andrew, *Wade Hampton*, 435; Cimbala and Shaw, *Making a New South*, 4.
[106] Glenda Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 62.
[107] Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 176.

constitutional changes in the same year that limited localities' opportunities to elect local officials, transferring this power instead to the state assembly. Both whites and African Americans objected to these anti-democratic changes.[108] Historian Gregory Downs has maintained that while Redeemers in North Carolina attempted to make African Americans "second-class citizens" after their party's assumption of power, blacks' continued political participation held "practical consequences" for Vance and other Democratic politicians.[109] Through their extensions of state power, the Democratic Redeemer government sought to make African Americans visible to the state government as objects of a conditional tolerance that not only existed but thrived within segregated contexts. As a site of intersection between tolerance and segregation, the Fayetteville state normal school, established in 1877, furthered this process in North Carolina. The students there, charged with proving their universalistic worth, could only do so in a context defined by their racial identity.

The claim of judgment and the norms that claim utilized were central to both Reconstruction and Redemption. There were sharp discontinuities between Republican and Redeemer governments, most notably in their orientations towards

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[108] Democrats called a constitutional convention in 1875 to revise the 1868 constitution. Due to the changes, the general assembly rather than local politicians chose "local magistrates." Furthermore, those magistrate would choose county commissioners. After the assembly's 1876-1877 session, these appointed county commissioners would in turn appoint committees to oversee school districts. Previously, these committees were also locally elected. Additionally, Superior Court judges would be elected state-wide rather than locally. These changes reflected Redeemers' distrust of popular democracy. Karin L. Zipf, "'The Whites Shall Rule the Land or Die': Gender, Race, and Class in North Carolina Reconstruction Politics," *The Journal of Southern History* 65, no. 3 (Aug., 1999): 499-534; Fields, "'Origins of the New South,'" 811-826; Deborah Beckel, *Radical Reform: Interracial Politics in Post-Emancipation North Carolina* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 92.

[109] Gregory P. Downs, *Declarations of Dependence: The Long Reconstruction of Popular Politics in the South: 1861-1908* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 132.

popular democracy, African Americans' political and economic freedom and participation, and conceptions of the proper scope of government.[110] Despite these and other significant differences, there were elements of continuity in the regimes' institutionalization of segregation, the demand for personal yet representative proof of merit and worth from African Americans, and the claims of correct judgment made by white representatives of the governments. By examining Redeemer involvement with segregation, the regimes' investment in tolerance becomes clearer. For Democratic Redeemers, segregated spaces expressed their ideas of tolerance and were often the only ones in which they were willing to practice it.

Vance's campaign made use of his status as the Confederate governor and engaged in racial politics.[111] At the start of his term as governor in 1877, Vance advocated the establishment of a black normal school as a means of tying African Americans more closely to white North Carolinians and to the state as whites governed it. Vance and other state politicians employed the terms of "'mutual interests' and 'mutual dependence'" to define relations between African Americans and whites.[112] This rhetoric was popular in state debates in the years before and after Vance won the governorship in 1876.[113] With the Democrats' victory, the meaning of the term as used by whites narrowed to explicitly include segregation as

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110 Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution* (New York: HarperCollins, 2002; 1st ed. 1988, Harper & Row), 593.
111 Beckel, *Radical Reform*, 92.
112 Paul Yandle, "Different Colored Currents of the Sea: Reconstruction North Carolina, Mutuality, and the Political Roots of Jim Crow, 1872-1875," in *North Carolinians in the Era of the Civil War and Reconstruction*, ed. Paul D. Escott (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 226.
113 Yandle, "Different Colored Currents," 223.

a "permanent arrangement."[114] As conservatives understood it, "interdependence meant racial and economic domination of African Americans by whites, not social interaction."[115]

While whites claimed to have extended their kindness in the postwar era previously, they warned that they might not do so in the future if the terms of their mutuality were altered or corrupted. James Harper, a conservative representing Western North Carolina, predicted trouble if his ideal vision of mutuality was upset by proposed 1872 Civil Rights legislation. He saw mutuality in terms of uplift and labor exchange. Whites would teach to African Americans the attributes of model workers: the "economy of time, improved methods of labor, and the cultivation of those qualities which give a man self-respect and the good will of his fellows." In return, African Americans would use "their strong arms and trained muscles" to earn wages and support their families. However, this apparently natural division could be upset by government interference. Harper predicted "social discord and hatred" if the proposed Civil Rights bills were to pass.[116]

White conservatives later claimed that their opposition to other Civil Rights legislation such as Charles Sumner's 1874 civil rights bill was rooted in their desire to maintain what they understood to be proper relations of mutuality. U.S. House member Robert Vance's vision of mutuality was grounded in paternalism. He focused his opposition on the bill's provision for integrated schooling, which

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[114] As Yandle notes, this mutuality took memorable rhetorical form in Booker T. Washington's "mutual progress" symbolized by the metaphor of separate social fingers. Yandle, "Different Colored Currents," 221.
[115] Yandle, "Different Colored Currents," 223.
[116] Yandle, "Different Colored Currents," 228

eventually was dropped before passage in 1875.[117] North Carolina's Democratic legislature would very likely have not supported the creation of a normal school two years later had there been the possibility of the schools being integrated. Among the Conservative changes to the state's Reconstruction constitution in 1875 was an amendment requiring segregated schools.[118] The ability of the state to segregate its teacher's schools was a precondition for the Democratic regime's willingness to fund a black teacher's school, but so were blacks' demands that they do so.

The brother of Zebulon, Representative Vance insisted that the rights that African Americans did currently enjoy were the result of the work of Southern whites. He stressed whites' agency and assent in African Americans' possession of civil rights. Whites "consented that he should vote; they consented he should hold office; they consented he should serve upon juries; they consented that he should hold property."[119] As the repetition employed by Zebulon's younger brother makes clear, Conservative whites not only employed assertions of victimhood when opposing Reconstruction and what they referred to as "negro domination." Some at times maintained the alternate fiction that blacks had only received their rights on the conditional yet kindly acceptance of whites.

Robert Vance's speech even sounded a bit like his brother in his demand that African Americans demonstrate their individual worth. Yandle has noted the Congressman's call for African Americans to life themselves by their "own bootstraps to an equal footing with white Americans," in effect exhorting them to

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[117] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 554; Yandle, "Different Colored Currents," 252.
[118] Yandle, "Different Colored Currents," 256.
[119] Yandle, "Different Colored Currents," 229.

create narratives of development acceptable to whites. Such a narrative supposedly was a sign of one's self-possession and self-ownership, and therefore would be the product of and expression of oneself alone. Vance protested that if he were black, "'I would come up by my own merit.'" It was, of course, African Americans doing just that which provoked some of whites' most violent reprisals. The demand for proof existed in accord with, rather than opposition to, Vance's assertion that it was "absurd for gentlemen to talk about the equality of the races."[120]

When Zeb Vance took office in early 1877, he sought to restore what he claimed was the proper mutuality. Vance's inaugural address was reprinted in Democratic newspapers around the state. The speech began on an ominous note by suggesting that his election was a sign that "[t]here is retribution in history."[121] He claimed that his return to the position of governor was a just restoration of both white power as well as correct mutuality. In addition to promoting government "retrenchment," railroad development, and economic advancement, Vance claimed to seek a restoration of the natural relations between blacks and whites that would have occurred if not corrupted by the meddlesome work of white Republicans. He blamed what he perceived as negative race relations on the opposition party and promised to restore beneficial mutuality between African Americans and whites. He excused the former population for their prior antagonistic political participation on the grounds that they had been used by evil, designing men. Once African Americans' "almost unanimous political hostility towards the whites" would pass

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[120] Yandle, "Different Colored Currents," 230. Yandle observed that Robert Vance "was asking to pull themselves to a level that he did not believe they were capable of reaching." That doubt, thought, is implicit in the demand for proof.
[121] "Gov. Vance's Inaugural Address," *North Carolina Gazette*, Fayetteville, N.C., Jan. 4, 1877.

away, then "every semblance of personal hostility toward the negro" on the part of whites would dissolve.[122]

The governor further called on his party to demonstrate to dubious African Americans the righteousness of Democratic paternalism. He insisted that the Democratic government, "by liberal legislation and kind treatment," would show "we earnestly desire their prosperity and happiness." Rather than Northerners, former slaveowners were "and naturally should be, their best friends." Further, Vance recognized that whites' tolerance of African Americans depended on their sense of superiority, class, and manhood: "as men of chivalry and honor we scorn to deceive or oppress them because they are weaker in numbers and intelligence than we are."[123]

On the heels of his inaugural, his message to the state assembly urged the establishment of both white and African American teachers' schools. The normal school was not the only extension of state authority that Vance contemplated in his message, however. He also urged the state to grow its knowledge in the field of agriculture. He asked the legislature to enable the state to "take at the same time from each tax-payer, on oath, the amount, character and value of his production for the past year." He took for granted the division of these statistics into categories of race. The comparison of whites and black statistics might, Vance opined, aid African Americans in meeting the norms established by whites, "stimulating the industry of the blacks and increasing otherwise the value of their citizenship."[124]

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[122] "Gov. Vance's Inaugural Address," *North Carolina Gazette*, Fayetteville, N.C., Jan. 4, 1877.
[123] "Gov. Vance's Inaugural Address," *North Carolina Gazette*, Fayetteville, Jan. 4, 1877
[124] "Gov. Vance's Message," *North Carolina Gazette*, Fayetteville, N.C., Jan. 25, 1877.

The school similarly would function as a segregated space in which to simultaneously measure the worth of African Americans and aid in their uplift. The schools represented different articulations and augmentations of state government authority. The white teachers' school was incorporated into the already existing university system. Vance recommended that the state university at Chapel Hill serve as a geographical and institutional location for the white school. He left these questions more open for the black school, only suggesting the Assembly bestow a "small endowment" to a current African American institution.[125] The establishment of the black normal school, as we shall see, illustrates how the state as well as local communities were enlisted in projects of tolerance.

Vance advocated the establishment of the black normal school as a means of institutionalizing whites' vision of "mutuality." The school would in theory train teachers friendly to whites' interests. Vance insisted that such institutions would respond to a homogenous white Southern interest, although "mutuality" would disproportionally benefit those who were better positioned to directly exploit African Americans' labor.[126]

Like other Conservative politicians in the postwar years, he warned of the danger of "outsiders" teaching African Americans. It was foolhardy for North Carolina to allow "the education of an entire class of its citizens to drift into the hands of strangers, most of whom are not attached to our institutions if not

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[125] Gov. Vance's Message," in Clement Dowd, *Life of Zebulon B. Vance*

[126] As Alan Bromberg has noted in his dissertation, Vance as governor and senator expended a lot of energy in keeping whites of different classes and geographies together under the Democratic banner. These tensions would grow sharper, leading to the Fusion government in the state in the 1890s, which won election in 1894, the same year as Vance's death. Bromberg, "'Pure Democracy and White Supremacy."

positively unfriendly to them."[127] Vance emphasized the danger that this situation posed to the political stability of the state, observing that to continue to allow white northerners to teach at African American schools was unwise.[128]

The school would teach African Americans in time "to look to their State" for their own progress and advancement. Having so learned, African Americans would realize "that their welfare is indissolubly linked with ours."[129] He hoped, therefore, to tie African Americans to the state on whites' terms. Historian Howard Rabinowitz has noted that the changes in the teaching corps in black school reflected changing political situations.[130] Redeemer support for a black normal school reflected and furthered such a change. Conservatives supported the placement of black teachers in black schools, while attempting to ensure "that the students would not be exposed to ideas that would threaten the status quo in race relations."[131] Vance framed the project to the legislature, then, as a way to lessen the potential for black political resistance. Like other Redeemers, Vance suggested that Democrats could win the vote of African Americans.

African Americans' desires may have intersected with Vance's, but from different paths and leading in different directions. African Americans had sought to exercise autonomy and greater control over their schools in addition to advocating

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[127] Quoted in Clement Dowd, *Life of Zebulon B. Vance* (Charlotte: Observer Printing and Publishing House, 1897), 207. Howard Rabinowitz has also pointed out Redeemers' dislike of northern teachers in black schools. Howard N. Rabinowitz, "Half a Loaf: The Shift from White to Black Teachers in the Negro Schools of the Urban South, 1865-1890," *The Journal of Southern History* 40, no. 4 (Nov., 1974): 565-594.
[128] Mildred P. Jones, *History of Fayetteville State College* (Fayetteville, NC: Fayetteville State College Press, 1969), 1.
[129] Quoted in Dowd, *Life of Zebulon B. Vance*, 207.
[130] Rabinowitz, "Half a Loaf," 565-594.
[131] Rabinowitz, "Half a Loaf," 565-594.

for integrated schools. After Vance's message to the legislature, a female northern white teacher, Louise Dorr, wrote him twice in protest of his professed distrust for northern teachers. Her letters express both white paternalistic teachers' assumptions about their roles in black schools as well as their students' resistance to these assumptions. To the governor she justified her and her colleagues' place in African American schools by stressing their engagement in uplift, maintenance of the proper "mutuality," and willingness to leave "the past" of slavery alone. The teachers' goals were to make of their students "better men and women, better Christians, better citizens than they could be in the state of ignorance that has prevailed among them."[132]

She also claimed that she herself was contributing to proper 'mutuality,' assuring Vance that she endeavored to shape productive and loyal workers and thus reinforced the economic priorities of Redeemer governance. "There is no scholar of mine," she wrote, "whom I have not counseled—if the question came up at all—to be faithful to his employer."[133] Finally, though admitting a dislike of slavery, she felt that the issue "is past. And 'let the dead past bury its dead.'"[134] Accordingly, slavery "or the war is never spoken of" in her school.[135] Furthermore, Dorr informed Vance that she had been preaching open-mindedness toward Vance and the Democrat regime to her students. To those who bemoaned Vance's election as governor, she urged them to give him a "fair trial before we condemned him."[136]

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[132] Louise L. Dorr to ZBV, August 13, 1877, Vance Papers, NCAH-13178
[133] Louise L. Dorr to ZBV, August 13, 1877, Vance Papers, NCAH-13178
[134] Louise L. Dorr to ZBV, August 13, 1877, Vance Papers, NCAH-13178
[135] Louise L. Dorr to ZBV, August 13, 1877, Vance Papers, NCAH-13178
[136] Louise L. Dorr to ZBV, August 13, 1877, Vance Papers, NCAH-13178

Dorr blamed Vance's message for African Americans' attempts to exercise greater autonomy. Like Vance himself, she was reluctant to imagine African Americans as their own agents. There had recently been, she reported in her second letter, a movement to replace the white northern teachers and principal at her school with African Americans. She deplored the failed attempt, and the tension that gave rise to the movement had not dispersed. This movement, Dorr claimed, was the result of Vance's animus against northern teachers. While she neatly turned his accusation of northern teachers around on him, the attempt to displace white authority at the school likely reflected longstanding tensions between some paternalistic white teachers and African American teachers.[137]

The state legislature, responding to Vance's request, passed a bill for the establishment of segregated state normal schools in early 1877. The school, in its concern for and concern with its students' characters, represented the institutionalization of a segregated tolerance. Members of the state's Conservative government applauded themselves for their liberalism in establishing the school. They made much of the fact that the black and white normal schools were funded at the same amount, $2,000 a year. Accordingly, Vance applauded the legislature for its "liberality."[138] However, this apparent liberality obscured several inequalities, so that whites benefited disproportionally from the extension of state authority. As Ella Louise Murphy pointed out in her excellent 1960 dissertation on the Fayetteville normal school, several factors contributed to this inequality.

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[137] Louise L. Dorr to ZBV, August 17, 1877, Vance Papers, NCAH-13193

[138] Ella Louise Murphy, "Origin and Development of Fayetteville State Teachers College, 1867-1959—A Chapter in the History of the Education of Negroes in North Carolina" (PhD diss., New York University, 1960), 99.

The supposedly equal arrangement came about after the federal government appropriated $125,000 to the state for the education of both whites and African Americans. The white teacher college's association with the whites-only state university aided whites, as white professors attached to the university served the normal school but was not compensated through its dedicated funds.[139] Furthermore, blacks' school term was significantly longer than that of whites, even though they were appropriated the same amount of money. While more students attended Chapel Hill's normal school, its length of instruction was shorter. The length of a school term there was 38 days, with 28 days of instruction. At Fayetteville, each term lasted four months, and there were two terms per year.[140]

Reflecting the gendered nature of tolerance, the proportion of male to female students at the Fayetteville school was much greater than at the normal school at UNC-Chapel Hill, where the proportion was almost even. In 1878, there were 402 students enrolled at the university's normal school, of which 190 were female and 212 male.[141] In the same year at Fayetteville, of the 114 students who had enrolled since the school opened, 72 were men and only 42 women.[142]

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[139] Murphy, "Origin and Development," 99.
[140] "State Colored Normal School at Fayetteville, N.C.," in *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina for the Fiscal Year Ending September 1, 1880* (Raleigh, P.M. Hals and Edwards, Broughton & Co., State Printers and Binders, 1881), 37.
[141] Kemp Battle, "Report of the University Normal School of 1878 in *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina, 1878* (Raleigh: The Observer, State Printer and Binder, 1879), 7. There was a greater sex disparity in the category of "Number of Students preparing to be Teachers," which was an 82/60 split. It is not clear from Battle's report what the distinction is between categories. Battle, "Report," 15.
[142] Robert Harris, "Report of the Principal," in *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina, 1878* (Raleigh: The Observer, State Printer and Binder, 1879), 41.

This disparity initially occurred for multiple reasons. The legal foundation for the school was part of the reason for the greater disparity at Fayetteville. Women were initially excluded from the school by legislative action; according to Robert Harris, it was the "design of the law to exclude."[143] Initially, the law kept women and anyone over 25 from attending the school.[144] In a letter to Vance the summer before the school began its first session, the principal asked whether people who fell into these categories could in fact attend. Vance replied that that such people were "welcome to attend and be taught when it does not interfere with the rights of those legally entitled."[145] Given these vague guidelines, Harris reported to the State Board of Education in his first annual report that female students were only admitted by "special permission." While they were equal in "character, conduct and scholarship" to men, the admission tests "has been more rigid than that of males." Harris urged the state to remedy this exclusion and explicitly open the school to women, as this would benefit the state. The legislature changed the law in 1879, but this provision was not the only source of the gendered, masculine impulse of tolerance.[146]

Non-state funding sources also shaped this gender disparity. The Peabody Fund, a private source of funding that supplemented state support, subsidized male students to a greater extent than female students. According to Harris' report, the money was available to pay the "travelling expenses of the male students." While the fund also was used to supply books to all students, the aid that the money gave to men needing to travel to attend school would have been significant at a time when

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[143] Harris, "Report of the Principal," 41.
[144] Robert Harris to ZBV, July 20, 1877, Vance Papers, NCAH-13142.
[145] Vance to Harris, endorsement, July 20, 1877, Vance Papers, NCAH-13142.
[146] Murphy, "Origin and Development," 103.

there was only one black normal school in North Carolina.[147] Men's mobility was thereby subsidized.

Surveillance, Administration, and Judgment

The establishment and administration of the school demonstrated the close connections between whites' presumption of tolerant judgment over African Americans' characters, networks of surveillance mobilized to make and communicate those judgments, and the white supremacist "mutuality" that Democrats meant the school to serve. The teacher, assistant principal, and principal Charles Chesnutt encouraged his students to be conscious of the surveillance of black bodies practiced by whites. This surveillance helps make legible the contradiction in African Americans' status as objects of tolerance called on to demonstrate their self-mastery.

As Louise Dorr's second letter makes clear, African Americans desired greater control over their own education.[148] This position was also evident in their response to the proposed black normal school. Indeed, the school was a response by whites to African Americans' demands for equal if not integrated schooling.[149] About

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[147] Harris, "Report of the Principal," 45.

[148] Rabinowitz, "Half a Loaf," 565-594. He also cites the Dorr letter as an example of African Americans' desires for black teachers. For further exploration of African Americans' resistance to northern whites' paternalism, see Joe M. Richardson, *Christian Reconstruction: The American Missionary Association and Southern Blacks, 1861-1890* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 248. Richardson notes that African Americans' goals included greater control over their schools as well as more black teachers.

[149] Murphy, "Origin and Development," 98. Faced with overwhelming white support for segregated schools at the 1875 constitutional convention, African American delegate J. O. Crosby added an amendment requiring equal facilities and proportionate funding for black schools. The state assembly later nullified this provision. Zipf, "'The Whites Shall Rule the Land or Die," 499-534.

a month after the state legislature passed a bill for normal schools, a meeting of the state Board of Education met to determine the school's future location. The announcement that the school would be located at a place yet to be determined "occasioned much speculation and much rivalry."[150] At this March meeting that would help decide the location of the school, fifteen counties were represented by more than thirty African Americans. Delegates possessed letters of introduction, confirming them as representatives of their communities and as "representative men" of their race.

While the state oversaw this project and African Americans influenced the location of the school, local whites' input was also part of the process. Delegates carried letters from whites testifying to their character. The good opinion of whites likely ensured that African Americans' petitions were given consideration. A delegate, Reverend Coles, transmitted multiple letters. One, written by an African American minister and brother of the future principal of the normal school, confirmed Coles as a representative of the town but did not speak to his character.[151] The others, conversely, attested to not Coles' position but rather his character. The Reverend J. Rumple assured the governor that Coles was "well esteemed and trusted in this community by all classes."[152] Rumple introduced Coles as an "earnest, intelligent and worthy citizen who feels a deep interest in the religious and moral elevation of his race."[153] An additional letter, this time from

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[150] Murphy, "Origin and Development," 96.
[151] Cicero R. Harris to ___, April 2, 1877, Vance Papers, NCAH-12938. The letter is not addressed to anyone in particular but is included in Vance's microfilm collection.
[152] J. Rumple to ZBV, April 5, 1877, Vance Papers, NCAH-12948.
[153] J. Rumple to ZBV, April 5, 1877, Vance Papers, NCAH-12948.

attorney John S. Henderson in Salisbury, introduced Coles to Vance a third time, describing the former as "a man of character and intelligence."[154] Another author and newspaper publisher, Julius Bonitz, also vouched for the character of this representative of Goldsboro, N.C.[155] This extension of the state's power, while still in the planning stages, nonetheless invested in and likely made consequential whites' judgments of African Americans' worthiness.

The location and principal eventually selected by the state committee similarly demonstrated the support of local whites. The publisher of the Conservative *North Carolina Gazette* in Fayetteville endorsed a petition by the city's African Americans that made the case for the city's selection. The publisher J. H. Myrover testified to the "worth and ability" of Robert Harris, who was currently the principal of a black seminary in that city.[156] The letter lauded Harris' efficiency and attention to discipline. Myrover not only listed Harris' virtues, but also noted that the principal was "universally respected in our community," thereby employing the vocabulary of mutuality.[157]

The support Harris enjoyed among whites in Fayetteville was likely important to the state committee's decision to establish the normal school there. In her biography of her father, Charles Chesnutt's daughter described Harris's position as "on a smaller scale, like that of Booker T. Washington." She affirmed his role in contributing to mutuality, noting that "by his tack [sic] and moderation he won and held the good will of all classes of the community." Finally, he also was an effective

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[154] John S. Henderson to ZBV, April 5, 1877, Vance Papers, NCAH-12950.
[155] Julius A. Bonitz to ZBV, April 5, 1877, Vance Papers, NCAH-12949.
[156] J. H. Myrover to ZBV, 1877, Vance Papers, NCAH-12907.
[157] J. H. Myrover to ZBV, 1877. Vance Papers, NCAH-12907.

transmitter of practices of earned tolerance, she claimed; due to his examples and teachings, there was in Fayetteville "a higher standard of morality and good conduct than existed in almost any other southern town of that period."[158]

Although the Board of Education meeting was held in March, Fayetteville was not designated as the location until May. African Americans' earlier organization and drive for education shaped this state decision. Seven African Americans paid a little less than $140 for the lot on which the Howard school was built in 1867. Robert Harris was the first principal of the school, which had educated future teachers and offered an advanced curriculum before becoming part of state government.[159]

Even before it opened, whites claimed that the state school was an instrument of mutuality. Vance visited Fayetteville in the summer before the school opened. Apparently the occasion furthered "good racial feelings."[160] The state appointed E. J. Lilly, W. C. Troy, and J. H. Myrover as the "local Board of Managers."[161] In Zeb Vance's words, these men were "selected from the best business citizens of the town who took a great interest in its welfare."[162] Vance judged the principal, Robert Harris, as a man of character and capacity, while

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[158] Helen Chesnutt, *Charles Waddell Chesnutt: Pioneer of the Color Line* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952), 5; quoted in J. Noel Heermance, *Charles W. Chesnutt: America's First Great Black Novelist* (Archon Books, 1974), 42. Heermance notes that Harris sought to transmit to his students the values of "American middle-class success." Heermance, *Charles W. Chesnutt*, 41.
[159] Jones, *History of Fayetteville State College*, 3.
[160] Murphy, "Origin and Development," 99-100. Vance visited on June 18, 1877.
[161] Murphy, "Origin and Development," 100.
[162] Murphy, "Origin and Development," 106.

Harris's two assistants were "subject to the approval of the local board of managers."[163]

The school's opening ceremonies in September 1877 provided an opportunity for those responsible for the school to offer their visions of its purpose. In doing so, the speakers presented the school as a segregated site in which blacks were expected to prove their individual worth. As Assistant Principal, Charles Chesnutt wrote Vance a lengthy report detailing the school's opening. Chesnutt reported that a "large respectable and intelligent audience," including the mayor of Raleigh, witnessed the opening ceremonies.[164] Principal Harris delivered the first speech; the first thing he set out to do was to "disabuse the public mind of any wrong opinions which it might have entertained." Chesnutt did not specify what illusions Harris sought to dispel. The principal claimed that the future graduates would both honor the state and serve as "armaments to their race."[165]

The chairman of the school's Local Board of Managers also spoke the language of mutuality at the event. According to G. G. Myrover, the school would contribute to the uplift and progress of African Americans in not only education but also "the higher arts of civilization." By doing so, Myrover held, the school would further the "better feeling which is gradually strengthening between the white and colored people." The school would foster the "mutual understanding which should exist between" the races.[166]

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[163] Murphy, "Origin and Development," 106; Mildred P. Jones, *History of Fayetteville State College* (Fayetteville state College Press, Fayetteville, NC, 1969), 2-3.
[164] Charles Chesnutt to ZBV, Sept. 4, 1877, Vance Papers, NCAH-13236.
[165] Charles Chesnutt to ZBV, Sept. 4, 1877, Vance Papers, NCAH-13236.
[166] Charles Chesnutt to ZBV, Sept. 4, 1877, Vance Papers, NCAH-13236.

Speakers enjoined the first class of incoming students to demonstrate their worth and to represent their race well. An African American teacher from Wilmington, Mr. Green, spoke regarding the "bright prospect" for the students and urged them "to strive to improve the opportunities afforded them, to prove themselves worthy of them, and to show to the world that the colored race is susceptible of a high degree of mental culture." Such demonstrations would help bring about a more tolerant age that would see an erosion of the current "existing prejudices between the two races" so that "all men [would] be judged and respected according to their merits."[167]

As additional reports to the state suggest, the imperative for students to prove their worth contained within it the suspicion and assumption of their blameworthiness. While demonstrating his students' worth, Harris strove to dispel the suspicion under which objects of tolerance moved. He asserted, for instance, that his future teachers were not in need of personal reform. The second section of Harris' first annual report to the state superintendent is "Character of Students," following only "Attendance." In this section, Harris declared that the school was not a "'Reform School'" because students' time in class would be insufficient to reform those in need of moral repair. Indeed, only students who displayed "satisfactory evidence of good character [were] admitted" to the program.[168] The beginning of the report illustrates Harris' sensitivity to whites' preoccupation with African Americans' characters and presumed deviance.

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[167] After Chesnutt's lengthy report, principal Robert Harris included a short note, attesting that "the above abstract is a correct report." Charles Chesnutt to ZBV, Sept. 4, 1877.
[168] Harris, "Report of the Principal," 39-40.

If the first section, "Character," focuses on students' intrinsic traits, the section "Deportment" shifted to how whites in Fayetteville perceived the display of these traits. In this section Harris reported to the superintendent that the students have "gained for themselves an enviable reputation by their exemplary conduct."[169] To demonstrate his point he drew on examples of public space, which often served as the arena for conflicts between whites and blacks.[170] For instance, he reported to the state superintendent that as a result of his students' "quiet and orderly deportment on the street and in public assemblies they have earned the respect and good will of the citizens generally."[171] Chestnut implicitly acknowledged, then, the surveillance under which the school's students moved.

To be admitted to the school, students were required to have their county school examiner certify their "moral character."[172] Because of the negative presumption under which they labored, students still entered the school under a probationary period, during which they could prove their good characters. The probation afforded school authorities the time necessary for "sifting them thoroughly and forming a true estimate of their character and talents, so that those who fail to meet our requirements may be dropped from the rolls."[173] In other words, not only did whites in the city of Fayetteville function as disciplinary agents

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[169] Harris, "Report of the Principal," 42.

[170] The sidewalk, for instance, was framed as a continual arena of conflict preceding the pogrom of African Americans in Wilmington in 1898. White newspapers advertised conflicts that supposedly took place on the streets of Wilmington. See Leon Prather, *We Have Taken a City: The Wilmington Racial Massacre and Coup of 1898* (Madison, New Jersey: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1984), 52-54. Also see *Democracy Betrayed: The Wilmington Race Riot of 1898 and Its Legacy* (Chapel Hill, 1998).

[171] Harris, "Report of the Principal," 42.

[172] "State Colored Normal School at Fayetteville," North Carolina *Gazette,* June 28, 1877, n.p.

[173] Harris, "Report of the Principal," 42.

through their surveilling of black bodies. To some extent, the school did too, as students had to demonstrate their characters to both loci of authority.

Multiple activities and organizations offered opportunities to refine those characters as well. The school organized a "Total Abstinence Society," which demanded of students a pledge to not use any alcohol, tobacco, or "vulgar language."[174] The instruction offered upheld the "middle-class" virtues for which Robert Harris and his assistants stood. Chesnutt promised that the school's literary society, for example, would contribute to "mental discipline by teaching self-possession, self-control, respect for constituted authority, the rules of argument."[175]The school's administrators consistently emphasized in their reports to the state their own concern with the characters of its pupils.

The advice given by Chesnutt in the school's several extra-curricular meetings and societies demonstrated what Grace Kyungwon Hong identified as the contradictory subject-object position defined in Booker T. Washington's autobiography.[176] Proving one's worth as an object of tolerance within a racial hierarchy inescapably involved acting as a self-possessed subject. School administrators like Chesnutt recognized the ambiguity and vulnerability of this

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[174] Harris, "Report of the Principal," 45. The Board of Managers, made up of Myrover, Troy, and Williams, signed off on the report, stating that it met with their approval. Harris, "Report," 46-47. The "character" of students at the Chapel Hill normal school was undoubtedly also a concern for its instructors. However, this concern was not reflected in the report submitted by Kemp Battle, the president of the university. Neither the word nor the normative concern for which the word stood for appeared in Battle's report.

[175] Charles Chesnutt, "The Advantages of a Well-Conducted Literary Society," October 1881, in *Charles W. Chesnutt: Essays and Speeches*, ed. Joseph R. McElrath, Jr., Robert C. Leitz, III, and Jesse S. Crisler (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 14.

[176] Hong, *The Ruptures of American Capital*, 26.

position.[177] As Assistant Principal and later Principal, he played a large role in these meetings. While in the former position, for instance, he participated in Literary Society meetings as a "recapitulator."[178]

His lectures, instruction, and advice imagined his students as both objects and subjects. He urged them, at times literally, to walk a narrow line. Chesnutt laid out the qualifications for teachers as he understood them in a speech to the school's Literary Society in 1881. Beyond being a true Christian, the teacher should be a gentleman. To be such a man meant, in part, having "a proper regard for the rights and opinions of others."[179] In fact, this kind of consideration was not only a requirement for etiquette, but in fact was the foundation for "every social system."[180] Chesnutt warned against quick anger and oversensitivity, as "the ability to control the temper is one of the highest marks of a gentleman. Notice the rude and ignorant."[181] During the Victorian era, self-control was valorized as a trait of masculinity, and Chesnutt's advice was likely little different from that delivered by other authorities at other schools.[182]

However, Chesnutt moved beyond these exhortations to practice self-control by asking his students to imagine themselves under constant policing. He wanted his students to learn and apply the lessons learned in the classroom to all aspects of

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[177] The uncertainty of this paradoxical position recalls Hartman's warning about the pernicious nature of the invitation to demonstrate one's possession of manhood. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 176.
[178] *The Journals of Charles W. Chesnutt*, ed. by Richard H. Brodhead (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 85.
[179] Chesnutt, "Etiquette (Good Manners)," 1881, in *Essays and Speeches*, 1.
[180] Chesnutt, "Etiquette," 2.
[181] Chesnutt, "The Advantages," 19.
[182] Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 85.

their lives. In a separate speech, he highlighted five particular areas in which they should practice proper deportment: the toilet, table, street, entertainment, and special occasions. Chesnutt's meticulous instructions called upon his auditors to consider the impact their actions and opinions would have on others. His advice on how they should act in the street highlights the ambiguity of the subject-object position of earned tolerance. He urged his audience to walk "manly and dignified—or lady like" in public.[183] At the same time, he cautioned them to walk in a straight line, lest someone "think you drunk."[184] Continuing with the school's administrators' concern with public space, he also specifically warned audience members against taking up too much room when walking, and never to "walk more than three abreast, and if you meet anyone, break ranks and give them plenty of room to pass."[185] His advice addressed and attempted in some ways to constrain the free movement of self-possessed subjects. Whites had and would continue to object to the free movement of African Americans in public spaces as a personal affront, so that the sidewalk emerged as a consistent arena of conflict and spectacle. As his counsel suggested, whites in the community were enlisted in formal and informal networks of surveillance. Their roles helped define the school as an ostensible mechanism of mutuality. We can see these roles performed in Robert Harris' descriptions of the school's closing ceremonies in 1879 and 1880. As principal, Harris included these descriptions in his report to the state superintendent. These reports fulfilled several functions. They provided an opportunity to demonstrate

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[183] Chesnutt, "Etiquette," 6.
[184] Chesnutt, "Etiquette," 6.
[185] Chesnutt, "Etiquette," 7.

students' performance of personal merit and the judgment of these performances. The report reaffirmed the interracial though unequal mutuality the school was supposed to cement and which anticipated the work done by "race relations." Furthermore, these reports affirmed Harris' function within a network of authority even while reporting local whites' own supervisory actions.

In his last yearly report before his death in 1880, Harris described his scholars' performances of their personal worth. Students presented their essays, addresses, and songs; both whites and blacks judged these to be "excellent," Harris reported.[186] Harris chose to include in the first full paragraph of the description of the ceremonies the joint presence and appreciation of whites and blacks. He further foregrounds these acts of judgment; the valedictorian speech was "considered by competent judges a model of taste and elegance."[187] In sum, the visitors were "highly gratified at the evidences of proficiency and talent."[188]

The last event of the closing exercises was a debate conducted by members of the Literary Society. The society considered the question of whether "the condition of the colored people in the South would be improved by emigration."[189] This was a contentious question for both white and black southerners, with no simple racial divide in opinions. While some Southern Democrats welcomed the migration, others perceived black migration as a betrayal of their vision of mutuality in which African Americans would provide labor to whites. Vance, by this time a U.S. senator, opposed this migration. Reminiscent of his inaugural address, he claimed

[186] Harris, "Report," 40.
[187] Harris, "Report," 40.
[188] Harris, "Report," 40.
[189] Harris, "Report," 40.

that any discontent among African Americans in his state had to have been externally introduced by Republican outsiders.[190] Redeemer attempts to institutionalize and enforce their vision of mutuality and their practices of tolerance narrowed African Americans' political and economic opportunities. These actions, together with continuing white violence and lack of protection for blacks, contributed to the decisions of many to migrate north and west. Historians have estimated that "between 2,500 and 3,000" African Americans migrated north to Indiana in 1879, one of the many post-Reconstruction movements out of the southern states to destinations inside and outside the United States by African Americans.[191]

After the graduation ceremonies' debate concluded, unnamed judges found for those arguing that African Americans' conditions would not be improved by migration, a judgment apparently "heartily concurred in by the audience."[192] The Literary Society and its debate demonstrated participants' merit. At the same time, students' loyalties to the state and to southern whites, the reinforcement of which was one of the signal purposes of the school, were re-affirmed. Performing their own supervisory function, the white members of the local board affirmed the truthfulness of Harris' report and in doing so remind us of how the school tied

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[190] Nell Irvin Painter, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas After Reconstruction* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), 252-253.

[191] Raymond Gavins, "The Meaning of Freedom: Black North Carolina in the Nadir, 1880-1900," in *Race, Class, and Politics in Southern History: Essays in Honor of Robert F. Durden*, ed. by Jeffrey J. Crow, Paul D. Escott, and Charles L Flynn, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 178. Also see Steven Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet*: *Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 359.

[192] Harris, "Report," 41.

together state and local structures of power while defining African Americans' places within those structures.

No matter who won the debate, however, at least one teacher was more optimistic about migration. Charles Chesnutt grew more dubious about the potential offered by staying in the Democratic South. Due to his position at the school as well as additional tutoring jobs, Chesnutt was able to provide his young and growing family with a middle-class life. However, even though his position at the school opened up some opportunities for him, the power held by local white elites over the school foreclosed the possibility of Chesnutt's political involvement. Chesnutt recounted in his journal his reluctant acceptance of the 1880 Republican nomination for town commissioner "like a fool."[193] Upon hearing the news, the already ailing principal of the school, Robert Harris, scolded him for his "indiscretion."[194] Moreover, two prominent whites, one a trustee of the school, "contrived to put so 'many fleas in [his] ear'" that he renounced the nomination.[195] The state's enlistment of local power structures in the administration of the school provided the instrument for this constraint.

Conclusion

As his entry suggests, despite his relatively advantageous position Chesnutt was dissatisfied with the limits whites sought to place on his future. His journal recorded his determination to prove his worth in language almost identical to the

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193 Chesnutt, *Journals,* 135.
194 Chesnutt, *Journals,* 135.
195 Chesnutt, *Journals,* 135-136.

language used by Vance in "Scattered Nation." Like Vance, Chesnutt drew together proof of worth and judgment of that worth in a gendered relationship. Chesnutt declared his intention in his journal to "become a man in the highest sense of the word."[196] Manly proof was one theme of his desire: "I will show to the world that a man may spring from a race of slaves." In its next breath the journal entry further invokes while potentially subverting the normative nature of tolerance: "and yet far excel many of the boasted ruling race."[197] The performance of judgment as well as proof are actions performed by men: "If a man be too proud, too self-conceited, or so blinded by prejudice as not to recognize and honor true merit wherever discovered, I want not his good opinion."[198]

Chesnutt sought to improve his prospects to the point of exhaustion, often working after he had completed his educational responsibilities at the school. According to one biographer, by the late 1870s Chesnutt believed "that stenography would be the magic carpet to whisk his family to the 'land of opportunity.'[199] Having taught himself shorthand in the evenings for several years in preparation, Chesnutt in 1879 wrote to Senator Vance, asking for his help in finding work as a court reporter in Washington D.C. during the school's summer break. The future writer hinted suggestively that there likely were "few if any shorthand writers from North Carolina at the Capital." More directly, he asked Vance whether the now-senator would be willing to "use your influence to" procure a position for Chesnutt.[200] Vance

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[196] Chesnutt, *Journals*, 167.
[197] Chesnutt, *Journals*, 93.
[198] Chesnutt, *Journals,* 93.
[199] Sylvia Lyons Render, *Charles W. Chesnutt* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1980), 23.
[200] C. W. Chesnutt, to ZBV, May 6, 1879, Vance Papers, SHC-976.

wrote a courteous but discouraging note to be transmitted to Chesnutt. There was a surplus of stenographers, he wrote, and his advice "to white and blacks is to stay away" from the capital city.[201]

Chesnutt made a trip to D.C. later to see Vance with the same goal in mind, having departed before receiving Vance's reply. Chesnutt strategy of calling on Vance's influence was widespread in the late 19th century. Andrew Carnegie and Horatio Alger's protagonists stood as examples of ambitious young men who successfully moved through "authority networks" during this same period. Like many of the young men of Alger's novels, Chesnutt sought to gain the opportunity to demonstrate his worth in a white-collar position through his personal relationships.[202] Vance, however, repeated to Chesnutt that there was not employment available, as there was already a surplus of stenographers. While the trip was fruitless, it strengthened the future writer's determination to relocate to a place where he would have the opportunity to demonstrate his worth.[203]

His desire to find a place of what he imagined to be more genuine tolerance pushed him towards the North. He knew that the logic of proof functioned differently for African Americans and whites in the South. In particular, he recognized the presumption of guilt that his school and individuals such as himself sought to dispel by proving their moral worth and character. Chesnutt's poetry illustrates the different presumptions at work for African Americans and whites in the south. The burden of proof rested with African Americans to prove their

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[201] C. W. Chesnutt, to ZBV, May 6, 1879, Vance Papers, SHC-976.
[202] Pamela Laird, *Pull: Networking and Success Since Benjamin Franklin* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 7.
[203] Chesnutt, *Journals, 1*67. He wrote this on July 21, 1881.

innocence; when one could not "prove himself honest, He certainly must be a thief."[204] Chesnutt identifies the opposite dynamic for whites: "A white man's regarded as honest, Until his rascality's shown."[205]

Chesnutt himself encountered this presumption of potential deviancy even while advancing in his career as an educator at the school. After Robert Harris died in 1880, Chesnutt traveled to the Commission of Education in Raleigh to apply for the position of principal. He brought "a number of recommendations from leading citizens" of Fayetteville attesting to his character and qualifications. According to his daughter, he kept one in particular that illustrated the paradoxical logic of normative tolerance: "His morality is high toned and although colored, he is a gentleman."[206] There is a presumption of a non-normative essence in the compliment, At the same time, the author of the letter feels that Chesnutt has demonstrated his worth, character, and morality, according to whatever criteria defined a gentleman for the letter writer and for his audience.[207] While invoking Chesnutt's difference, the letter testified that he had transcended it as well. The author was performing his duty as a white man to judge African Americans' character within networks of authority. Chesnutt selection as principal by the Commission of Education ratified the judgments written on the letters of recommendation he carried with him. The commission, Chesnutt wrote in his

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[204] Chesnutt, *Journals,* 176.
[205] Chesnutt, *Journals,* 176.
[206] Chesnutt, *Charles Waddell Chesnutt*, 25.
[207] The letter writer, mindful that his or her (likely his) own reputation was on the line as a result of the recommendation, likely judged Chesnutt according to criteria commonly used during this period to judge whether a man was in fact a 'gentleman.' Pamela Laird discusses the responsibility taken by the writer of a letter of introduction for the object's character and actions. Laird, *Pull*, 23.

journal, chose him for the position because it realized that he was a 'scholar and gentleman."[208] Although Chesnutt's new position came with a sizable raise in his salary, he grew impatient with the limitations that white southerners placed on his ambitions and determination to both improve and prove himself.

In contrast, Chesnutt's journals portray the North as a place of greater tolerance, where individuals would have the opportunity to develop and demonstrate their worth to a greater extent.[209] For Chesnutt, the North promised opportunities to obtain his "proper standing in society, (and that to be judged according to my merit)."[210] Allowing that "prejudice sticks" in the North, Chesnutt nevertheless believed that men there could "enjoy these privileges" of freedom in America if he could afford them.[211] He left only two years after becoming principal. Upon hearing he was leaving, the School Board offered to increase his monthly salary by $10 to $85, but Chesnutt declined to stay on as principal. He moved to Cleveland, where he became a lawyer and author.

Most of the migrants who left the state in the late 1870s and early 1880s were not in as good of a position in North Carolina as Chesnutt had been. Like him, however, other migrants may have left hoping that they would find a place of more genuine tolerance where they would be able to prove what they were rather than what they were not. In journal entries that alternated between hopeful and defiant before he left Fayetteville, Chesnutt imagined the North as a place where merit was justly rewarded. However, it is uncertain that a purified climate of tolerance existed

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[208] Chesnutt, *Journals,* 162, Feb. 27, 1881; Heermance, *Charles W. Chesnutt,* 58.
[209] Chesnutt, *Journals*, 106.
[210] Chesnutt, *Journals*, 106.
[211] Chesnutt, *Charles Waddell Chesnutt,* 17. The entry is from October 16, 1878.

elsewhere. Chesnutt believed that most southern whites practiced a corrupted and form of tolerance. The universalistic virtues supposedly at issue and at the center of tolerance were amenable to multiple projects and institutions. But they themselves were built on exclusions, as Hong and Hartman have shown. It was not simply the corruption of a southern practice of tolerance, but the premises of tolerance itself, that should make us pause.

This chapter has allowed us to place practices of tolerance in Asheville that we shall examine in the following chapters within a larger political context. The Fayetteville school was a tolerant project of governance that spoke to both the liberal and paternalistic facade of the New South. Democrats like Vance supported it with the purpose of attenuating the supposed threat of black political resistance and incorporating African Americans into white-controlled structures of authority. In the context of these goals, the administration of the school generated formal and informal networks of surveillance that were closely linked to the judgment of African Americans' characters by both blacks and whites. As we shall see in the following chapters, race relations work in Asheville during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, like mutuality, were informed by logics of tolerance. These projects attempted to incorporate that attempted to incorporate suspect subjects within white-controlled networks of authority as agents of surveillance.

Chapter 2:

Race Relations, Representation, and the Young Men's Institute in Asheville, 1898-1918

Introduction

The remaining chapters focus on Asheville, a tourist destination rapidly growing in the late 19th century. Zebulon Vance had made it a priority as governor to finish the work of the Reconstruction government and connect North Carolina's mountainous western portion to the rest of the state. Vance encouraged overseers to push the unfree laborers who largely built the railroad to their limits. According to his biographer Gordon B. McKinney, Vance set an "unrelenting schedule" for the overseers of the railroad's construction, which contributed to the high death toll of convict workers. McKinney estimated that 125 workers died during the construction of the Western North Carolina Railroad.[212] By the time that railroad reached Asheville in 1880, Vance was no longer governor, having been elected in 1878 to the United States Senate, where he remained until his death in 1894.

The coming of the railroad remade the economic potential of a city that had been struggling since the conclusion of the Civil War. The war's destructive toll had increased the area's remoteness. Traffic on previously established market

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[212] Gordon B. McKinney, *Zeb Vance: North Carolina's Civil War Governor and Gilded Age Political Leader* (Chapel Hill, 2004), 336-337. Historian Homer S. Carson III has pointed out that Vance asked that all available prison laborers be detailed to work on the WNC railroad. Carson, examining the period of railroad construction in Western North Carolina between 1875 and 1892, counts 461 deaths among these black and white unfree laborers during this period. He noted that more than one-tenth of all prisoners sent to the region to work on the railroad died while doing so. Homer S. Carson III, "Penal Reform and Construction of the Western North Carolina Railroad 1875-1892," *Journal of Appalachian Studies* 11, nos. 1-2 (2005): 205-225.

transportation routes like the Buncombe Turnpike had been disrupted and slow to recover, particularly as other places gained access to railroads. The railroad's arrival facilitated the city's role as a "flourishing" tobacco market. In 1890, five million pounds of tobacco leaf were sold in the city. Its viability as a market town increased land values in nearby counties where the crop was cultivated.[213]

More significant, though, was the railroad's impact on the city's draw as a leisure destination. Its climate, the writer Wilma Dykeman observed, had "become a "product" by the mid-1880s, if not earlier.[214] While it had been a destination for health-seeking upper-class Carolinians before the war (as a young man Vance worked at a hotel in nearby Warm Springs), after the railroad's arrival the city attracted a wider population. As historians have noted, its appeal as a health destination was soon eclipsed by its draw as a pleasure destination.[215] In 1888 the Battery Park Hotel was built with Northern capital on a former Confederate battery. Many more hotels followed shortly.[216]

In the decade after the railroad's arrival, Asheville's population nearly quadrupled to slightly more than 10,000, which placed it among the state's largest cities. African Americans had lived for a long time in Western North Carolina and Asheville. In 1890 they composed slightly more than a third of the city's population

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[213] Wilma Dykeman, *The French Broad* (Newport, TN: Wakestone Books, 1999), 258.
[214] Wilma Dykeman, *The French Broad* (Newport, TN: Wakestone Books, 1999), 191.
[215] Darin Waters, "Life Beneath The Veneer: The Black Community in Asheville, North Carolina from 1793 to 1900," (PhD diss., University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, 2012), 48; Richard Starnes, *Creating the Land of the Sky: Tourism and Society in Western North Carolina* (Tuscaloosa, 2005), 28. Warm Springs, North Carolina was renamed Hot Springs in 1886.
[216] Waters, "Life Beneath The Veneer," 75.

at 3,567.[217] The city also had the second-highest foreign-born population in the state, after the port city of Wilmington. While the total of 219 was small, it may have signified Asheville's allure as a boomtown. Although the turn of the century census did not show the same dramatic rate of growth, the total population still grew significantly to 14,694. By 1920, this number had almost doubled to 28,504. The African American population largely kept pace with this development, numbering 7,145 in 1920, or about one-quarter of the city's population. The percentage was slightly lower that the statewide average of 29.8. As was the case thirty years prior, Asheville was second to Wilmington in foreign-born population in 1920.[218]

As noted in the introduction and by other historians, Asheville did not differ significantly from other locales in its pattern of race relations. While maintaining what Darin Waters calls the "veneer" of good race relations was important for many places, as a tourist destination, that priority was particularly important for Asheville. White authorities sought to neutralize the perception, ironically so central to white supremacist political appeals and practice, that the city could be a "place where racial problems could erupt at any moment."[219]

Such a moment seemingly arrived in 1906, when an African American man who had recently arrived in Asheville shot five people to death. White authorities

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[217] Starnes, *Creating the Land*, 66; Gordon McKinney, *Zeb Vance; Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890, Part II* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897), http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1890.html. In particular, see *Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890, Part I, Population*.

[218] *Fourteenth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1920: Volume III, Population, Composition and Characteristics of the Population by States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922), 730, 734, http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1920.html.

[219] Waters, "Life Beneath The Veneer," 96.

cast the crisis in the vocabulary of race relations. This episode serves as a valuable introduction to this chapter because it demonstrates how the logics of tolerance, which sought to incorporate danger into networks of white authority, informed "race relations" governance. To paraphrase Michael Rudolph West, the shootings constituted a problem of race relations that could be solved by recourse to "race relations."[220] Whites congratulated themselves on their restrained responses to the "extreme provocations" provided by the shootings.[221] While a reaction to unforeseen events, those responses drew on racialized cultural assumptions and political practices, none more central than the notion of African Americans as suspect subjects whose deviance had to be interrogated and abated by their very specific and limited incorporation into networks of surveillance and authority. Whites' judgments about African Americans' characters, broadcast in the Asheville dailies, were made on the basis of how well African Americans were enlisted and enlisted themselves in the effort.

On November 13, 1906, Will Harris rampaged through a black neighborhood close to downtown, ending up at they city's central civic square, known as Pack Square. He murdered, in a very short span, three African American men as well as two white police officers while wounding a third. His last victim, a policeman, was

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[220] Michael Rudolph West, *The Education of Booker T. Washington: American Democracy and the Idea of Race Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 14; Barbara J. Fields, "*Origins of the New South* and the Negro Question," *The Journal of Southern History* 67, no. 4 (Nov., 2001): 811-826.

[221] "The City Mourns For Brave Men," *Asheville Gazette-News*, November 14, 1906, 4.

shot at the square itself. Harris, who had escaped from prison in Charlotte two years earlier, had only recently come to Asheville. After this last killing he fled.[222]

Once Harris made his escape from the square, calls for both weapons and "another Ku-Klux" rang out throughout the night. According to the *Citizen*, the immigrant pawnbroker Harry Finkelstein was "among the first to volunteer to arm the crowd."[223] Almost jocularly, the Democratic *Asheville Citizen* recounted how "Uncle Harry" had supplied around fifty firearms "without thought of possible return of the instruments."[224] Ironically, the pawnbroker had sold Harris the rifle and ammunition used earlier in the evening.[225] Indeed, in Thomas Wolfe's 1937 short story "Child By Tiger," which the *Citizen* observed "held fairly closely to the actual facts of the case,"[226] angry whites who inquire how the villain acquired his

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[222] "Negro Runs Amuck On Asheville's Streets, Killing Patrolmen Blackstock and Bailey and Wounding Captain Page; One Negro Killed and Two Wounded," *Asheville Citizen*, November 14, 1906, p. 1.

[223] The newspapers mentioned Finkelstein's sale of the rifle several times over the next few days. The sale clearly received some attention. At the same time, so did his readiness to distribute rifles to ad hoc sheriff deputies. Furthermore, Finkelstein quickly donated $10 to the relief fund set up for the families of the dead police officers. This was a substantial amount and equal to the donation by one of the city's newspapers. As a pawnbroker, Finkelstein constituted a weak link in the urban racial order and in the ordering of race relations, with the potential to upset those relations. As an immigrant, he may not have been as acculturated to Southern racial codes. See Jeffrey Melnick, *Black-Jewish Relations on Trial* (Jackson, 2000) 42; Clive Webb, *Fight Against Fear: Southern Jews and Black Civil Rights* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003), 20*; Eric Goldstein, The Price of Whiteness: Jews, Race, and American Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 59. For repeated references to Finkelstein's sale to Harris of the rifle, see "City's Streets Filled With Human Masses," *Asheville Citizen*, November 16, 1906, p. 1; "Fund of $1,183 Already Raised For Dead Men's Families," *Asheville Citizen*, November 15, 1906, 1.

[224] "Negro Runs Amuck On Asheville's Streets," *Asheville Citizen*, 1.

[225] "Bullets of Avengers Ends Negro's Life," *Asheville Citizen*, November 16, 1906, 4.

[226] "Tom Wolfe's Story Recalls Murderous Rampage of Negro," *Asheville Citizen*, September 10, 1937, in Ted Mitchell, *Thomas Wolfe: An Illustrated Biography* (New York: Pegasus Books, 2006), 243.

gun are met by a "gesticulating" caricature of a gold-toothed Jewish pawnbroker named Teitlebaum, who replied, "Vell, what could I do? His money was good!"[227]

Due in part to Finkelstein's distribution, on the morning after the incident Asheville "resembled an armed city." According to one regional newspaper, the city and its surrounding area were "patrolled by armed squads who keep a sharp lookout for the murderer."[228] The downtown avenues and square "were thronged with people."[229] The mayor ordered the closure of drinking establishments for the next two days. The formerly Republican-affiliated *Asheville Gazette-News,* which would later become the *Asheville Times,* estimated that 200 men including "prominent residents" went out in multiple posses to track down Harris.[230] The posses pursued multiple leads, as multiple African Americans "fitting the description" of Harris were reported in different directions.[231] Lemuel Morrow, the coachman of a prominent white man, was mistaken for Harris and "badly wounded" when, fearing a robbery attempt, he failed to halt when whites called for him to do so.[232] Two days after the initial killings, a posse surrounded and shot Harris numerous times, bringing his body back to hang outside a funeral home close to the

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[227] Thomas Wolfe, "The Child By Tiger," *The Web and the Rock* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958), 150. Not surprisingly, Leo Finkelstein's oral history only mentions his father's timely bestowal of firearms to whites empowered by the sheriff to hunt down Harris. The younger Finkelstein, who ran the pawnshop for years after Harry, did not mention Harry's sale of the rifle to Harris. Leo Finkelstein Oral History, interview by David Schulman, February 10, 1994, Jewish Heritage in Western North Carolina Oral History Collection, D. H. Ramsey Library, Asheville, NC.
[228] "Sent a Posse On a Special," *The Augusta Chronicle*, November 15, 1906, 1.
[229] "Scenes on Streets," *Asheville Gazette-News*, November 14, 1906, 4.
[230] "Tom Wolfe's Story," *Thomas Wolfe*, 243.
[231] "Crosses French Broad," *Asheville Gazette-News*, November14, 1906, 4.
[232] "Shot by Mistake," *Asheville Citizen*, November 15, 1906, 1.

square. “It was certain,” the *Gazette News* assured its readers, that the body was that of the killer.[233]

During these events and in their aftermath, African Americans and whites engaged in race relations governance through the incorporation of African Americans and their domestic spaces into networks of surveillance. This incorporation was based in part on whites’ presumption of African Americans’ deviance. In the immediate wake of the shootings, white authorities engaged in a door-to-door search of African Americans’ homes in the neighborhood adjacent to downtown. The *Citizen*, explaining this search, maintained that authorities believed that African Americans “would uncover the desperado if possible.” Nevertheless, whites carried out a search because of the possibility that either Harris had forced someone to hide him or that “dissolute people” were willingly aiding him.[234]

In what may have been an attempt to contain the potential for violence generated by this invasive action, the *Citizen* noted that officers carried out the search in residences. Meanwhile, those whites taking part in the search who were not policemen—the *ad hoc* deputies—guarded the outside.” The search, the *Citizen* stated, was conducted “dispassionately.”[235] The *Gazette-News* approvingly commented on the supposed willingness with which African Americans submitted

[233] “Murderer of Five Is Slain, While Battling With A Posse,” *Asheville Gazette-News*, November 15, 1906, 1.
[234] “Asheville Stirred To Its Depths Passes the Most Exciting Day In Its History, But Reason And Sober Judgment Hold Sway Under Trying Circumstances,” *Asheville Citizen*, November 15, 1906, 1.
[235] “Asheville Stirred To Its Depths,” *Asheville Citizen*, 1.

to this inspection, as "the inhabitants of these sections threw wide their doors and tendered their services in aid of the possemen."[236]

This was arguably the most ponderous and bluntest means of incorporating African Americans' spaces into networks of policing. However, this invasive search was not the only articulation of African Americans' relationship to surveillance produced during the crisis. African Americans also formed themselves into posses to find Harris. The *Gazette-News* applauded African Americans' assistance in "aiding the officers." In addition, the secretary of Asheville's black Young Men's Institute, discussed later in this chapter, "offered the officers the assistance of other negroes in the search for the desperado."[237] The *Citizen*, meanwhile, singled out black churches for their role in enlisting African Americans' help. Ministers offered "helpful suggestions" for catching Harris while encouraging their congregations to assist the effort.[238] Supposedly as a result of these actions, whites were satisfied that no "member of the race will shield Harris."[239]

Both papers employed whites' reactions as the norm and explicitly measured African Americans' attitudes and actions against this standard when making judgments about their characters. The *Citizen* observed that African Americans "were as zealous as any and many joined in the search."[240] A *Gazette-News* editorial cited the pro-lynching sentiments voiced by multiple African Americans to demonstrate that the city's black population was as "exercised over the deeds of the

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[236] "Expression From Colored People," *Asheville Gazette-News*, November 17, 1906, 2.
[237] "Negroes and Whites," *Asheville Gazette-News*, November 14, 1906, 4.
[238] "Asheville Stirred To Its Depths," *Asheville Citizen*, 6.
[239] "Negroes and Whites," *Asheville Gazette-News*, 4.
[240] "Asheville Stirred To Its Depths," *Asheville Citizen*, 6.

alleged Will Harris last night as are the whites."[241] Several days later, the *Gazette-News* adjusted that estimation to preserve a bit of distance between whites and African Americans, who apparently had "manifested almost as keen interest in the chase as did the white people."[242] Similarly, the *Citizen* claimed that African Americans' followed "the example of the whites" by keeping "cool." It thereby drew on white supremacist claims about the imitative nature of African Americans.[243] The editorial compared the lack of officially unsanctioned mob action in Asheville favorably to the recent riot by whites in Atlanta in September 1906.[244] There had been a possibility for such an "outbreak" early in the crisis. According to the *Citizen,* though, African Americans' repudiation of "disorder and law-breaking" as well as elite whites' actions to maintain calm among whites resulted in an absence of "race feeling" during the extended crisis."[245]

In the aftermath of Harris' death, African Americans affirmed race-relations governance through the representative instrument of a mass meeting. Advertised beforehand through the press, it was attended by "a large crowd, among whom were a number of white people." An interracial committee offered resolutions that were later adopted by the mass meeting. The resolutions described Harris' black victims as "respectable law-abiding and inoffensive." The resolutions, furthermore, "bitterly

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[241] "Negroes and Whites," *Asheville Gazette-News*, 4.
[242] "Expression From Colored People," *Asheville Gazette-News*, 2.
[243] Joel Williamson, *A Rage for Order: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 87
[244] "A Sober Citizenship," *Asheville Citizen*, November 15, 1906, 4.
[245] "Asheville Stirred To Its Depths," *Asheville Citizen*, 6. The mayor had ordered saloons closed for two days after the shootings. The *Citizen* boasted of "no drunkenness" as well as "vey little inflammatory talk." See "Let Us Settle Down," *Asheville Citizen*, November 16, 1906, 4.

repudiate[d] the man as a member of our race" and voiced approval of the white posse's actions. The meeting also wanted to reassure whites of African Americans' continuing fidelity to law and order. Its resolution stated that "we are unalterably opposed to those members of our race who violate" law and order. "Such persons," the meeting promised, "shall not receive either sympathy or shelter from us." The mass meeting coupled these resolutions with an assertion of their citizenship by recognizing "our white fellow citizens."[246]

These resolutions, of course, were in part the gloss on the carefully constructed veneer to which historian Darin Waters has referred. More significantly, however, they attested to the importance of "race relations" as an ideological map for navigating conflict—and particularly, the "Negro problem."[247] This episode provides a glimpse of how the vocabulary of "race relations" mediated the assumptions, objectives, and authority of white supremacists and the assertions of African Americans to equal citizenship. Whites and blacks formed networks of surveillance that responded to the exigencies of a crisis. At the same time, those *ad hoc* formations embodied the logics of tolerance that informed race relations practice.

In a sense, the remainder of this chapter unpacks the episode detailed above. It argues that "race relations" governance purported to manage, mitigate, and discipline supposed black deviance while enlisting "representative" African Americans within networks of authority and in positions that did not threaten white

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[246] "Colored Citizens Hold Mass Meeting," November 17, 1906, *Asheville Citizen*, 1
[247] West, *The Education*, 19. West points out that white supremacists in the 1890s and 1900s used these terms to signify their resistance to African Americans' equal citizenship.

supremacist ideology. Institutions such as the Young Men's Institute both functioned as an engine for creating representation and as an instrument for deploying it in the context of disenfranchisement. The YMI's representational activities privileged gendered middle-class ideologies.[248] African Americans attempted to shape their roles within white-controlled networks of authority through those assertions of representation.

The first section of the chapter focuses on the efforts of prominent whites to delineate the "race problem" in Asheville. The Presbyterian pastor Robert F. Campbell and the young Commissioner of Public Safety D. Hiden Ramsey both sought to define the substance and suggest a course for "race relations." Both paternalistic whites argued that these relations necessarily involved efforts to attenuate the risk to urban order African Americans embodied. Each advocated that African Americans be incorporated into white-controlled formations of governance while pledging that whites would continue to practice judgment of the worth of African Americans. Campbell, who had called for white paternalists to shoulder the responsibility for black uplift, helped to garner support for a campaign against the entrenched system of locating houses of prostitution for white customers in black neighborhoods. Undertaken in the name of improved "race relations," this effort

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[248] Kevin Gaines argues that we cannot speak of the black middle class as we would the white middle class in the early 20th century. He interrogates, instead, the middle-class ideologies that he argues serve as better markers for group identification, rather than material definitions. Kevin Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture Since the Turn of the Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 14; Martin Summers, *Manliness and Its Discontents: The Black Middle Class and the Transformation of Masculinity, 1900-1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 6.

aimed to minimize the threat of racial "outbreaks" supposedly heightened by this racialized geography of vice.

Secondly, the chapter examines the role of the Young Men's Institute in the construction of race relations. The institute was an African American community center adjacent to Asheville's downtown. Its status as a space for the cultivation of respectable black masculinity, its leaders' claims to representation, and their unequal participation in "race relations" governance were tightly linked. H.D. Ramsey and Robert Campbell both argued that the more complete incorporation of African Americans into structures of authority was essential to the practice of good race relations. Leaders of the YMI, such as Reverend Dusenbury, made claims for the institute's place in these relations by asserting its role as an agent of order within Jim Crow.

Defining "Race Relations"

The perception of the constant potential for racial disorder and violence existed in part because, like the rest of the state, Asheville was contested political territory throughout the 1890s. The vacancy created by the death of the Democratic senator Zeb Vance was filled by the "mountain Republican" Jeter Pritchard after the Fusion victory of 1894.[249] Although the region had voted Democratic most of the time after the end of Reconstruction, in 1896, Buncombe county voters elected a Republican on the Fusion ticket to the state legislature.[250] The statewide white

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[249] Gordon McKinney, "Southern Mountain Republicans and the Negro, 1865-1900," *Journal of Southern History* 41, no. 4 (November, 1975): 493-516.
[250] Waters, "Life Beneath the Veneer," 196-197.

supremacy campaign of 1898, however, defeated the Republican-Populist Fusion government and candidates in Buncombe County as elsewhere. As H. Leon Prather and others have noted, many Democratic whites employed terror, threats and violence during this and the disfranchisement election of 1900.[251] In fact, according to historian Gordon McKinney, Democrats during that election "made a special effort to convince mountain voters of the evil results of black political advances."[252]

The campaign did this in part by framing Asheville as a previously secluded locale whose political and social distance from black political power could not be maintained. In particular, the *Citizen* raised the possibility of African Americans being integrated as equals in networks of municipal authority. In late October the *Citizen* published a letter to the editor from a contributor only named "Investigator." The letter attempted to heighten the racial anxieties of white Ashevillians by insisting that black political participation could not be contained. It scolded its audience for thinking that the mountains to the east of Asheville could restrain "the black tide of impenetrable ignorance and prejudice."[253] The author asked whether Asheville's whites were "altogether so secure as we have imagined ourselves."

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[251] H. Leon Prather, "The Red Shirt Movement in North Carolina, 1898-1900," *The Journal of Negro History* 62, no. 2 (April, 1977): 174-184. Also see Michael Perman, *Struggle for Mastery: Disfranchisement in the South, 1888-1908* (Chapel Hill, 2001); James M. Beeby, *Revolt of the Tar Heels: The North Carolina Populist Movement,* 1890-1901 (Jackson, 2008).
[252] McKinney, "Southern Mountain Republicans," 493-516; James Beeby notes that Democratic leaders Furnifold Simmons and Josephus Daniels spread largely fabricated stories of African American outrages and assertiveness to the western portion of the state in order to "frighten white Populist voters into voting for Democrats." Beeby, *Revolt of the Tar Heels,* 173.
[253] "Asheville's Negro Vote: Alarming Rate of Increase—When the Mask Will be Thrown Off," *The Semi-Weekly Citizen*, October 28, 1898, 2.

The author sounded the alarm over Asheville's supposedly rapidly rising population of African Americans. The "negro problem might have crossed the Blue Ridge" mountains into Asheville, the writer maintained, because Republicans in the area during the 1890s were supposedly dependent on African Americans for their slim majorities. African Americans were attracted to not only relatively good wages, but also the "paradise of political privileges" that awaited them in the state under Fusion government. Due to the city being "Negroized," the author predicted that African Americans would be a majority there "in less than six years."[254] Once that happened, then African Americans would take places in networks of surveillance and authority on equal footing with whites; they would be elected as aldermen and assume positions as "police justices…policemen, and all the rest!"[255]

Like elsewhere in the state, election day 1898 in Asheville was tense. Having been told that armed whites might attempt to keep them from voting, African Americans "marched" as a group to a polling place in one district.[256] In the evening, an African American man shot at a drunken white man who had attacked him with a

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[254] This was extremely unlikely. There was a significant population disparity in the 1900 census. The city's total population of 14,694 included 9,970 whites and 4,724 African Americans, or slightly greater than a 2-to-1 ratio. This was a similar proportion as exhibited by the 1890 census. Whites also had a significant advantage in the numbers of registered voters for the 1898 election, 2,331 to 1,329. Furthermore, in 1896 the numbers were 1,817 to 1,157. For whites, the gain in those two years of registered voters was 514. For African Americans, it was a gain of 172 for African Americans. This also could have reflected greater white intimidation and resistance to black registration in 1898, but also suggests that there was no significant demographic change under way in Asheville. See "The City's Registration," *Asheville Citizen*, November 1, 1898, 1; *Twelfth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1900: Volume I: Population of States and Territories* (Washington, D.C.: United States Census Office, 1901), http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1900.html.

[255] "Asheville's Negro Vote," *The Semi-Weekly Citizen*, 2.

[256] "Election Day Was Quiet: No Brawls, Few Altercations at the Polls," *Asheville Gazette*, November 9, 1898.

cane just off the main civic square in downtown. He missed the assailant, but wounded a white teenager on the square and a black man in his barbershop a short distance away.[257] After the shootings, whites made several "attempts at disorder directed against" African Americans, including throwing rocks through the window of a black restaurant.[258] Asheville was nonetheless an exception to the large-scale post-election violence visited upon still-serving Republican officials in other locales like Wilmington.

Running on their white supremacy campaign, Democrats won seats in the Western North Carolina region as they did through most of the state. The election results sent three Democrats to the state General Assembly in 1898 from Buncombe County. Future Democratic governor Locke Craig, "an avowed white supremacist campaigner," was elected to the state House for the first time by 265 votes, or a margin of approximately ten percentage points.[259] He would be one of the principal boosters of the disenfranchisement amendment adopted in the 1900 election.[260]

Unlike other locations, Asheville's local "Fusion officeholders whose terms had not expired were specifically allowed to remain in office." One historian has suggested that this exception was due to the city's status as an overwhelmingly white city, whose votes Democrats wanted to cultivate in advance of the coming disenfranchisement amendment.[261] Fusion may have been electorally and politically potent in the county during the 1890s, but that did not mean that white Republicans

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257 "Shot By a Negro," *Asheville Gazette*, November 9, 1898.
258 "A Young White Boy Shot," *Asheville Citizen,* November 9, 1898, 1.
259 "Democracy Triumphant: White Men Will Rule," *Asheville Citizen*, November 9, 1898, p. 1.
260 Beeby, *Revolt of the Tar Heels*, 189.
261 Helen G. Edmonds, *The Negro and Fusion Politics in North Carolina, 1894-1901* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1951), 189.

fought for more equitable conditions for African American supporters, although they defended black men's right to vote.[262] Fusionism became, as historians since C. Vann Woodward have noted, one of the "forgotten alternatives" to white supremacist Democratic rule.[263] The white supremacist victory led to disfranchisement as well as other undemocratic measures passed by the Democratic legislature.

In the wake of the violent and bitter 1898 election, Robert F. Campbell sought to reestablish paternalistic relations between whites and African Americans in the name of racial peace. As many white southerners did, the minister of the First Presbyterian Church did so by appealing to the past. Campbell sought to reconstruct a "race relations" based on admittedly unequal power relations and the corresponding duties of the "better sort" of Southern whites to protect, educate, and religiously instruct African Americans.

Although Campbell did not speak of it as such, he laid out future "adjustment" between the races based on whites' tolerance of African Americans. His pamphlet, named two causes for the recent violence: African American criminality and white prejudice. He paid significantly more attention to the former; white prejudices, Campbell held, were but a reaction to the provocations of African Americans. Thus he called for white tolerance while not disputing images and expectations of black criminality. More significantly, Campbell urged both races to limit, manage, and lessen the threat African Americans ostensibly embodied.

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[262] McKinney, "Southern Mountain Republicans," 493-516.
[263] Beeby, *Revolt of the Tar Heels*, 217.

While he did not invoke Wilmington, the recent violence there and elsewhere committed by whites likely informed listeners' and readers' reception of his message. He asserted, for instance, the possibility of a more intensive whites' subjection of African Americans. As the "stronger race," whites could push blacks "to the wall" if they wished.[264] The minister made use of the work of pioneers of racist statistical science, including Frederick L. Hoffman.[265] Utilizing statistics to argue for African Americans' post-emancipation demographic and moral decline as had other white supremacists,, Campbell suggested that their freedom necessitated whites' practices and attitudes of tolerance. He warned whites that "one of the greatest dangers" to the region currently was that it might "resort more and more to sudden and violent means of relieving herself of these burdens. The shot-gun policy is far from being an ideal one among a civilized people, and political legerdemain is even worse." More specifically, Campbell saw lynching as the outcome of two conditions that occurred since emancipation—black criminality and white "race prejudice."[266]

In familiar Lost Cause tones, Campbell celebrated slavery as a school for citizenship and as a producer of "friendly" relations between whites and blacks. Campbell asserted that the current racial tension and violence could only have resulted from the corruption of those congenial relations. As Vance did when he assumed the governorship in 1877, Campbell blamed this breakdown (in effect,

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[264] Robert F. Campbell, "Some Aspects of the Race Problem," (Asheville: Asheville Printing Company, 1899), 8.
[265] Khalil Gibran Muhammad, *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, ad the Making of Modern Urban America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 35. Campbell extensively quoted a study that itself referred to Hoffman's *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro*, which was published in 1896. See Campbell, "Some Aspects of the Race Problem," 19.
[266] Campbell, "Some Aspects of the Race Problem," 24-25.

white hostility towards African Americans' meaningful political participation) on demagogues and "misguided philanthropists." He reassured his audience, however, that although this friendly foundation "has been shaken," it had not been permanently dissolved.[267] Campbell, who characterized slavery as more burdensome for white masters than for their slaves, assured his audience that he did not seek a return to that time, but rather a restoration of the good feelings that supposedly formerly prevailed.[268] Those relations could only be based on whites' unquestioned superiority.

The minister imagined religious as well as legislative tools to manage race relations. Warning his audience to "beware of the boomerang of injustice," Campbell called for color-blind restrictions on suffrage. To find the proper "adjustments" between the races, he also urged white Christians, and the Southern Presbyterian branch in particular, to resume and redouble their evangelization efforts among blacks. In urging white southerners to take the lead in educating African Americans, Campbell cited Vance's address to the state legislature in 1877, in which the governor urged white North Carolinians to engage themselves in educating the state's blacks.[269]

The sermon reached a wide audience. The *Citizen* provided a lengthy summary in the next day's newspaper in the editorial section. More significantly, Campbell had an expanded version of the sermon printed. In the preface to the first printed edition, which appeared in March of 1899, Campbell claimed its production

[267] Campbell, "Some Aspects of the Race Problem," 8, 13.
[268] Campbell, "Some Aspects of the Race Problem," 13.
[269] Campbell, "Some Aspects of the Race Problem," 24, 28.

was due in part to the requests of "several of the Negro pastors in the city," who hoped to distribute copies "among their people."[270] In addition, the Secretary of Colored Evangelization for the Southern Presbyterian Church requested 1,500 copies. A second edition came out in May of the same year.

It was apparently widely read and distributed through educational and religious networks. One New York correspondent of Campbell's informed him that copies of his pamphlet had "gone from Maine to South Carolina," with the greatest number dispensed in New York "either personally or accompanied by a letter," including one to the "editor of the N.Y. *Times*.[271] Campbell saved many responses from both blacks and whites in the North and South; the great majority that he saved in his scrapbook were positive. The pamphlet was reviewed positively by the Atlanta *Constitution* in April 1899, which may have aided the former's circulation.[272] Campbell himself delivered the paper in several venues. Letters from educators at black colleges complimented Campbell. Charles Chesnutt, conversely, wrote one of the only surviving letters that ventured criticism. Chesnutt, who was also engaged in responding to the violence of Wilmington with his novel *The Marrow of Tradition*, complimented Campbell's effort but objected to his portrayal of slavery as a beneficial institution whose real victims where white masters and mistresses.[273]

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[270] Robert F. Campbell, "Some Aspects of the Race Problem in the South" (Asheville: Asheville Printing Company, 1899. "Prefatory Note."

[271] Richard R. Bryan to Robert F. Campbell, May 12, 1899, box 7, Robert F. Campbell Papers, Special Collections, D. H. Ramsey Library, University of North Carolina-Asheville. Bryan claimed that shortly after sending two copies of "The Race Problem" to the editor of the *Times*, he was "struck with the tone of an editorial which appeared two days later, as it was entirely different from those of a day or two previous."

[272] R. F. Armstrong to RFC, April 24, 1899, box 7, Robert F. Campbell Papers.

[273] Charles Chesnutt to Campbell, box 7, Robert F. Campbell Papers.

Where Campbell sought to rescue and re-establish slavery-era paternalistic relations, Chesnutt critiqued the legacy of those relations.[274]

While Campbell's prescription for "adjustment" emphasized colorblind disfranchisement, during the 1900 campaign Asheville Democrats sought to assure whites that they would be unaffected by the measure. The proposed amendment contained a grandfather clause. Voters registered before the end of 1908 could forego a literacy test, provided they or their ancestors had registered prior to 1867.[275] This provision still caused concern among whites, some of who pressed for a longer or permanent grandfather clause.[276]

The disenfranchisement campaign of 1900 was contentious and, like 1898, marked by violence and intimidation. The appeals to whites in the Democratic *Citizen* likely differed little from appeals in other papers similarly aligned elsewhere in the state. The *Citizen* raised the specter of the "black brute," promising that failure of the disenfranchisement amendment "would enormously increase the terror that stalks" white women.[277]

As in the 1898 election, Democratic appeals imagined Asheville to be a shrinking island of white control threatened by African Americans' political

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[274] Charles Chesnutt, *The Marrow of Tradition* (Boston, 1901).
[275] Beeby, *Revolt of the Tar Heels*, 191. As *Revolt* notes, the state adult illiteracy rate was higher than 30% at this time. Democrats worked to ensure passage of the amendment by first "stacking the local government law and the new election law in their favor."
[276] Glenda Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow* (Chapel Hill, 1996), 120. There was a movement to extend the grace period for white men, but the governor, aware that the amendment could be declared unconstitutional if providing too long a period, opposed such an extension. Also see Michael Perman, *Struggle For Mastery: Disfranchisement in the South, 1888-1908* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); R. Volney Riser, *Defying Disfranchisement: Black Voting Rights Activism in the Jim Crow South*, *1890-1908* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010); Kent Redding, *Making Race, Making Power: North Carolina's Road to Disfranchisement* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2003).
[277] "To White Business Men," *The Semi-Weekly Citizen*, July 31, 1900, 2.

participation. On June 16th, Democrats meeting in the Buncombe County courthouse organized a "White Supremacy Club."[278] Less than a week after its founding, members of the Club met at the city's opera house in response to what the *Citizen* called the "clarion call of the Anglo-Saxon." One speaker at the meeting, John Martin, formulated black political influence in spatial terms, as encroaching westward from outside Asheville rather than from within. The "black cloud" that threatened the state, he held, must be dispersed.[279] Another speaker similarly warned his audience that "the great black demon will cross the mountains to plague you" if the did not do their part to arrest its advance. "You cannot quarantine against negro rule," the speaker John Martin warned.[280] It was intolerable; there was no spatial fix.

Disenfranchisement did not seek to contain African Americans' political influence but rather to destroy it in the name of racial peace. At the same event, Buncombe County state representative Locke Craig warned that the pogrom in Wilmington after the 1898 election was but "the crater of a volcano that was slumbering in every section of North Carolina."[281] He invoked the continual threat, in whites' minds, of disorder and violence. The state legislature, Craig recalled, therefore had accepted a request "for a measure that would guarantee law and order."[282] The disenfranchisement amendment was this measure.

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[278] "White Supremacy Club Organized," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, June 16, 1900,1.

[279] "Anglo-Saxon's Clarion Call," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, June 22, 1900, 2.

[280] "John H. Martin's Speech at the Mass Meeting," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, June 22, 1900, 2.
[281] "Anglo-Saxon's Clarion Call," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, 2.
[282] "Anglo-Saxon's Clarion Call," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, 2.

Intimidation and threats by whites likely had some effect in African Americans' willingness to register to vote. The Asheville *Semi-Weekly Citizen* reported three days before the election that the number of registered African American voters had been nearly halved, down to 690 from 1157 in the 1896 national election, while the number of whites registered had increased by nearly 200 to 1993.[283] Nonetheless, African Americans in Asheville, like elsewhere around the state, sought to protect their voting rights. According to a front-page story in the *Citizen*, African Americans took issue with a black preacher who advocated they accept disfranchisement and no longer "meddle with politics." Given H. C. Williams' views, it is not surprising that the *Citizen* accorded him favorable coverage, describing him as "a man of venerable appearance, with a powerful voice and an earnestness and force which have drawn large crowds around him" everywhere he preached. In his offending sermon Williams had apparently decried "the low standards of morality existing among his people," and particularly in the church. The *Citizen* chose to quote Williams directly when it came to suffrage: "'it will be best if the ballot is taken from the race, and not given them again until they are fitted to exercise the right to vote intelligently.'" After he spoke, a group of African Americans apparently pursued the preacher to where he was staying and threatened him. Notified, the police "hurried to the scene," apparently intent on protecting Williams, but he had already fled only to later emerge at City Hall, where he sought and found shelter and protection from the city's police.[284]

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[283] "Facts Shown by the Registration Books," *The Semi-Weekly Citizen*, August 3, 1900, 1.
[284] "Threatened With Death," *Asheville Citizen*, June 23, 1900, 1.

If accurately reported, the decision by African Americans to pursue Williams may have at least partly stemmed from his status as a geographical outsider. Williams, who resided in nearby Waynesville, was in town to preach for a limited time. Significantly, Williams was not preaching at a church in town but instead had spent several days "preaching in the afternoons and evenings on the square between the monument and the courthouse."[285] His message was therefore accorded a space of regulated sanction in the public landscape. As the next chapter demonstrates, by 1900 city authorities were licensing who could say what in this central space, which was an important site for crafting representation. Asheville's African Americans objections to Williams may also have stemmed from his potential status as a "representative" of his race, a perception that would have been facilitated by this location.

The disenfranchisement amendment passed in Asheville by a vote of 1504 to 913.[286] Its passage statewide, in conjunction with white threats and violence, excluded almost all African Americans from voting in the state. The vision of race relations that Campbell and other white paternalists advocated required such political inequality. Four years after the amendment's passage, for instance, Confederate veteran Robert Bingham incorporated disfranchisement in his definition of race relations in an address delivered first in front of the New York Southern Society and next at Asheville's Pen and Plate Club, an organization of

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[285] "Threatened With Death," *Asheville Citizen*, 1.
[286] "From the Mountains to the Seashore White Men of North Carolina Speak," *The Semi-Weekly Citizen*, August 3, 1900

locally prominent white men that met to hear and discuss lectures from its members.[287]

Bingham, who oversaw an eponymous military school in Asheville, recognized that the imperatives of colonialism and imperialism left them with the political opportunity to define race relations. Whites in the United States were confronted "with the black man and with the remnant of the red man at home" in addition to the other races over which it aspired to exercise authority. According to Bingham, the nation's imperial tasks and experiences had convinces whites that African Americans were not "Anglo-Saxon[s] in a black skin, whose African disabilities could be removed by stuffing him with a little book-learning." Ignoring whites' systematic violence and reliance on black labor, Bingham applauded the tolerance of white southerners within the context of the history of colonialism. White southerners were the "only section of the Anglo-Saxon race which has ever in all time conserved any weaker race… in anything like equal numbers."[288]

He employed the language of social evolution in delineating whites' tolerance, which encompassed their individual and collective judgments of the characters of African Americans. Like other Southerners, Bingham expressed warm feelings for African Americans who did not challenge white racial power, noting, "we like him, except as a politician and as a criminal." Like Campbell, Bingham assumed responsibility for African Americans' progress. He envisioned white southerners

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[287] *The Pen and Plate Club of Asheville N.C., 1904-1929* (Asheville, N.C., Inland Press 1929).
[288] Robert Bingham, "The Status of the South in the Past; the Decadence of that Status; Its Restoration" December 14, 1904, North Carolina Collection, Pack Memorial Library, Asheville, NC. For more on the international dimensions of segregation, see Carl H. Nightingale, "The Transnational Contexts of Early Twentieth-Century American Urban Segregation," *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 39, no. 3 (Spring, 2006): 667-702.

"putting him, with proper guidance, on his own responsibility and helping to develop along the line of his capabilities."[289] This included the eventual restoration of the franchise. Whites such as Bingham would restore the ballot to African Americans "when by sobriety and intelligence [they] has reached that political majority which it has taken our race centuries of moil and toil and blood to be prepared for."[290] He emphasized that whites would exercise individual and collective judgment over the fitness of African Americans for full citizenship. He framed this judgment within a putative "narrative of development" that defined African Americans' deficiencies as operable, much as Campbell had.

Indeed, while Robert Campbell's suggestion for color-blind disfranchisement proved ineffectual, he directly influenced other white elites in their understandings of the necessary "adjustment" between the races. For instance, the future newspaper editor and local official D. H. Ramsey sought and received Campbell's advice, sources, and pamphlet when composing his graduate thesis on the topic of black "criminality." Ramsey most likely was referring to Campbell's published and republished "The Negro Problem" when he praised the minister's "paper," which he claimed to have read "with the keenest interest. He wrote a lengthy letter to the middle-aged minister, thanking him for his assistance in the topic.[291]

Ramsey summarized his dissertation for Campbell. It was an interrogation of African American criminality that aspired to explain and rectify African Americans' presumed deviance from white norms. The work included the subject of "the

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[289] Robert Bingham, "The Status of the South."
[290] Robert Bingham, "The Status of the South."
[291] D. Hiden Ramsey to RFC, Robert F. Campbell Records.

attitude of the law toward the negro" and the reciprocal "attitude of the negro toward the Law." Ramsey, who in the mid-1910s served as a youthful commissioner of public safety and thus oversaw the city police force, focused in his thesis on this "problem" of African Americans' attitudes towards the law as a key to improving relations.[292]

Ramsey's graduate thesis work at the University of Virginia was funded in part by the Foundation for the Study of Southern Race Conditions, an arm of the recently established Phelps Stokes Foundation. Ramsey's work was included in a 1915 volume of lectures delivered by foundation fellows at Virginia. The study was concerned with the identification and management of black deviance from white norms. His work "suggest[ed] quite clearly where the negro is breaking down as a law-abiding citizen." He characterized his work as an analysis of "negative values." In Ramsey's terms, his study examined and highlighted the areas "where the negro has failed to square with the dead-level average of organized society."[293] In other words, it was a study of deviance and norms that aspired to "furnish the most concrete evidence of the failure of the negro to measure up to the demands of an ordered civilization." To hammer home this point, he notes that the "problem is not: why do negroes commit crimes? It is rather: why do negroes contribute a heavier criminality than the white man?"[294] Ramsey, then, was placing assumed white norms at the center of his piece and attempting to account for African Americans' deviance.

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[292] D. Hiden Ramsey to RFC, Robert F. Campbell Records.

[293] D. Hiden Ramsey, "Negro Criminality," in *Lectures and Addresses on the Negro in the South* (Charlottesville: The Michie Company, 1915), 99.

[294] Ramsey, "Negro Criminality," 123.

Ramsey named multiple causes for this deviance, but consistently sought a racial explanation as a first cause. The "racial frailties" of African Americans, in conjunction with the "unfavorable conditions" confronting African Americans as they sought to "work out [their] status with respect to the advanced race" were the reasons Ramsey cited. He claimed to consider the wider political and economic contexts while maintaining that African Americans themselves were as yet not fit to take part in American society on an equal basis.[295] Indeed, Ramsey identified "the criminal negro" as the "real negro question" and the source of much of the post-disfranchisement "friction" between African Americans and whites. Even more than Campbell, then, Ramsey sought to rhetorically structure race relations through a concern with black deviance and its management.

Ramsey focused on African Americans' relationship to law enforcement. His thesis stressed their anomalous position within governance and their resulting suspect performance as agents of surveillance and order. According to Ramsey, African Americans held no reverence for "the ideal of the majesty of the law." Furthermore, they were less willing than whites to participate in law enforcement and had to be taught that they were "equally as responsible" as whites were "for its enforcement." More specifically, Ramsey complained in his address that African Americans declined to help authorities by "giving information of" the location of suspects or by "rendering any assistance in his detection."[296] Ramsey assumed a unity among African Americans when he berated them for not promptly delivering

[295] Ramsey, "Negro Criminality," 123. Ramsey allowed that in researching this study, the white scholar was apt to forget the "peaceful, thrifty ways of the better class of negroes."
[296] Ramsey, "Negro Criminality," 111-113.

up transgressors identified as black. He expected this fictive unity, which he believed derived from their common experiences in slavery, to facilitate communication, knowledge, and surveillance, ultimately flowing to whites in positions of authority.

Ramsey also cited events in Asheville in the previous decade as an example of African Americans' unwillingness or, at the very least, reluctance to be a part of the enforcement of law. Though not by name, Ramsey recounted the story of Will Harris, an outlaw "crazed with cocaine," who was responsible for the murder of two policemen while injuring the third. In his retelling Ramsey mentioned neither that Harris had murdered three African Americans on the same night nor that African Americans formed themselves into posses to search for Harris after submitting to inspection of their domestic spaces. Instead, Ramsey claimed that after Harris was killed and his body hung on Pack Square, the city police "received several anonymous letters from negroes threatening to kill every policeman in the town."[297]

Ramsey disclosed to Campbell that he hoped to return to Asheville "to live my life in a purposeful manner."[298] And indeed, only a few years after he delivered this address he served several years as the commissioner of public safety in Asheville before becoming co-owner and the editor of the Asheville *Times* and, later, the *Citizen.* In his capacity as commissioner, Ramsey participated in such "race relations" forums as the traveling University Commission on Southern Race Questions in early September 1916. Ramsey appeared in the afternoon session set

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[297] Ramsey, "Negro Criminality," 119. I have yet to find mention of such letters in the Asheville newspapers.
[298] D. Hiden Ramsey to RFC, Robert F. Campbell Records.

aside for whites. The city health officer as well as Campbell and other clergy spoke. Ramsey remained convinced that the great majority of African Americans—the "masses"—did not "recognize any social obligation on their part to help enforce and keep the law."[299] Moreover the threat of jail time, according to him, was not as effective a deterrent for African Americans as it was with whites. As he did in his fellowship lecture, Ramsey suggested that "the better class" of African Americans were more reliable.[300] Owning property, Ramsey believed, had the effect of mitigating African Americans' tendencies toward criminality.[301] He prescribed individualistic uplift, then, as a means by which African Americans could potentially transcend the ostensible danger they presented to white communities. Ramsey, then, did not acknowledge that African Americans who did accumulate property often became targets of whites' violence. His prescription bemoaned African Americans' anomalous positions and unsatisfactory incorporation in structures of surveillance, order, and governance.

Paternalistic whites like Ramsey, Campbell, and Bingham, then, employed "race relations" rhetoric in making their arguments for white supremacy. Each supposed some measure of black deviance to be responsible for poor relations. They focused on mitigating and attenuating that deviance through a variety of means,

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[299] *Minutes of the University Commission on Southern Race Questions*, 40. No publication information given. See http://archive.org/details/southernrace00univrich (accessed February 5, 2013).

[300] Ramsey, "Negro Criminality," 123.

[301] *Minutes of the University Commission on Southern Race Questions*, 38-40. The Commission held an evening session at the City Hall where African Americans spoke. While providing summaries of the whites speakers' comments, the printed minutes did not record those of the African American speakers. The speakers included clergy, school principals, doctors, and a "business man." The minutes noted that twenty African Americans were present as well as "a number" of whites, "including several city officials."

including the incorporation of African Americans into white-controlled structures of authority. This incorporation, furthermore, would facilitate and reflect whites' exercise of judgment of the characters of African Americans.

We can see these dynamics in practice by examining Campbell's race relations work in the early 20th century in Asheville. Campbell's efforts demonstrate how the logics of tolerance informed his and others' attempts to reform the geography of vice in the city. In particular, Campbell and his supporters invoked the threat of what he called "sensual outbreaks" to argue against the presence of brothels for whites only in black neighborhoods. Whites explicitly acknowledged their racial and political privilege in shaping race relations and urban spaces. At the same time, they cast African Americans as objects of suspicion whose threat to urban order needed to be managed. As we shall see, the work incorporated African Americans into structures of authority in very specific and limited ways. The campaign to rid black neighborhoods of brothels imagined African Americans as continual threats to be managed within and with a landscape of white-controlled governance. This project may have furthered long-standing concerns of African Americans, who participated in this effort.

In his letter to Campbell detailing his dissertation, Ramsey noted that he planned to feature "the fight made in Asheville for the removal of brothels" from African American neighborhoods that took place earlier in the decade. This movement, according to Ramsey, helped African Americans grasp the "god-given right of living in the right moral atmosphere." This topic may be one reason why he

sought Campbell's advice. The preacher had played a prominent role in this "fight."[302]

Campbell had initially responded to an editorial in the *Citizen* that appeared on December 31, 1911. The *Citizen*'s editorial acknowledged that the "social evil," or prostitution, was "accepted as a necessary condition," in most places, and even accounted for "vital" funding for "public institutions, such as schools" in some places. While the editorial expressed its frustration with the continued existence of the sex trade, it emphasized that if such things were to continue, they had to be spatially circumscribed and could not spread "into the very center of city life," underneath the "very shadows of church and home." The "outskirts" of town were appropriate spaces for the disorder and vice that apparently had to be contained but could not be wiped out.[303]

Campbell responded to this moral geography of vice. He first questioned whether the sex trade could not, in the end, be eradicated. Moreover, he called his readers' attention to the racial blind spot of the *Citizen's* denunciation. The "outskirts" of Asheville, Campbell reminded the *Citizen*, also constituted "'the residence district[s]" of African Americans in the city. He compared the maintenance of prostitution houses for whites in African American districts as one expression of a malignant urban infrastructure, suggesting it was akin to the systematic directing of a city's sewer system to empty into and contaminate black districts. He asked whether it would not be fairer "that the residence districts of the white

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[302] D. Hiden Ramsey to RFC, Robert F. Campbell Records.
[303] "Should be Investigated," *Asheville Citizen*, December 31, 1911, 4.

people…should endure this 'necessary evil'" since the houses of prostitution were reserved for whites only.[304]

Campbell argued for action on the basis of the weakness and susceptibility to negative influences of African Americans, whom he termed a "helpless people." The placement of houses of prostitution in black neighborhoods was particularly harmful, he held, because theirs was a "class of our population which needs special protection from this kind of moral contagion." Campbell, furthermore, claimed that houses of prostitution located in black neighborhoods also harmed race relations. He suggested that the region's lynchings and supposed sexual assaults were the supposed result of this kind of moral contagion. They were "sensual outbreaks," a term that underscored the notion of a constant threat.[305] He thus recommended reform in part for the benefit of whites—to curb the danger presented by African Americans.

The geography critiqued by Campbell was immortalized and fictionalized by Thomas Wolfe. The Asheville native located the house of prostitution which the Gant family patriarch patronized in "Eagle Crescent," which like many of the streets named in *Look Homeward, Angel*, had a real-life analogue, Eagle Terrace. Eagle Terrace was a street in the black neighborhood just off the square. An Asheville city directory displayed in *Thomas Wolfe: An Illustrated Biography* listed five madams on Eagle Terrace, including Elizabeth, who shared the same name as the kind-hearted

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[304] Robert Campbell, "The Social Evil," *Asheville Citizen*, January 1, 1912, 4.
[305] Campbell, "The Social Evil," 4.

madam of Wolfe's novel.[306] The location of these houses is significant for what it tells us about the imagined geography at work in the initial *Citizen* editorial that rhetorically consigned prostitution to the "outskirts" of town. In fact, these "bawdy" houses were located very close to downtown.

Campbell's letter drew immediate responses. The *Citizen* backed away from what had sounded like an endorsement of the continued role for prostitution in the city, as long as it was spatially and morally circumscribed. And indeed, "public immorality," the editorial reply now agreed, was "no more a necessary evil than murder." The *Citizen* also graciously conceded the point that the presence of lewd houses near schools, whether the latter be for white or black children, was "not a condition to be disregarded."[307]

A more substantial answer came in the form of another letter to the editor, which appeared in the *Citizen* the same day as the paper's editorial reply. William Garrott Brown, whom the *Citizen* introduced as an "eminent writer" and "professor of history at Harvard [U]niversity." Brown applauded the moral imperative to which Campbell called the city's whites. Like the pastor, he emphasized whites' responsibilities of power. He characterized their control as "practically unlimited" and "as complete as it can ever be under democracy, with slavery barred." The state, he said, is "ours, is WE." Brown appealed to paternalistic sentiment by reminding his audience of southern Democrats' opposition to Reconstruction. During that period,

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[306] *Thomas Wolfe: An Illustrated Biography,* ed. Ted Mitchell, (New York: Pegasus Books, 2006), 124-125, 120. City directories indicate that madams resided on Eagle Terrace. Wolfe was criticized for painting portraits of people and places recognizable to local residents. *LHA* was published in 1929.
[307] "The Social Evil," *Asheville Citizen*, January 11, 1912, 4.

when "things were different, and so much worse," whites claimed that they "would do better by the black man if he and we were only left alone." Harkening to Lost Cause notions of the exemplary character of Robert E. Lee, Brown asked his readers to consider what the general would do.[308]

Like Campbell, Brown mixed fear with responsibility, warning that whites' "indifference, neglect, ignorance" would not "shield us from the abiding risks of the situation." Brown in effect called for greater surveillance of African Americans and that population's incorporation into authority. He observed that the only protection was "ceaseless watchfulness and knowledge." Moreover, he defined clear limits to elite whites' paternalism, which was predicated on their continued power over the relations between themselves and African Americans. Whites should do all "all we can do without sacrifice of…our own substantial control of the situation."[309] Constant surveillance, however, was not feasible, and so whites relied on African Americans whose goals aligned with theirs in this project.

African Americans in the state also took notice of Campbell's appeal. W.J. Trent, the former secretary of the Young Men's Institute in Asheville, thanked Campbell for his letter, which Trent characterized as an "appeal to the Christian conscience" of the city. He wrote to Campbell a week after the initial letter appeared in the *Citizen*, informing the pastor that his response had been widely broadcast.[310] In addition, the Charlotte, North Carolina black newspaper *The Star of Zion,* an organ of the American Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, complimented Campbell on his

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[308] William Garrott Brown, "An Open Letter," *Asheville Citizen*, January 11, 1912, 4.
[309] Brown, "An Open Letter," 4.
[310] W. J. Trent to Dr. R. F. Campbell, January 8, 1912, box 7, Robert F. Campbell Records.

efforts and reprinted his initial response to the *Citizen*. The *Zion* called Campbell's words "as wise as they are brave and rare."[311] Interestingly, the paper informed its audience that the minister "wrote for the readers of the *Citizen* and those readers are nearly all white men and women." This notice may have served to contextualize Campbell's message by making clear his audience or to further underline the significance of his message. The *Zion*, furthermore, noted similar geographies in other North Carolina cities. It is likely that this was an issue that had concerned African Americans in Asheville for some time, but like Darin Waters has noted, their appeals to the city government to improve black neighborhoods were often ignored.[312]

As Trent remarked, Campbell's plea reached a wide audience. *Harper's Weekly* reported on the reform effort, for example.[313] According to *Harper's*, significant progress had been made in the months since his letter to the editor. An interracial coalition worked to rid African American neighborhoods of prostitution houses. African American ministers played an important role, building support and sharing knowledge with whites. They crafted a "simple statement of the facts, addressed to the white minsters," who then turned the information over to a local judge.[314] *The Independent* elaborated somewhat on this description of African Americans' roles. The black ministers had "made complaint in a formal document"

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[311] "A Welcome Voice," *The Star of Zion*, January 4, 1912, in box 7, Robert F. Campbell Records.
[312] Waters, "Life Beneath the Veneer," 210-211.
[313] "Race Problem and 'Social Evil' Combined," *Harper's Weekly*, March 2, 1912, 5, in box 7, Robert F. Campbell Records.
[314] "Race Problem," *Harper's Weekly*, 5.

and were supported by "the white clergy and the decent public opinion."[315] The black ministers thus played an important role.

Because of this effort and support, there was a change of policy. The local procedures previously had in effect countenanced prostitution while placing a small tax on it. Police had targeted prostitution houses "at stated times, imposing moderate fines on the women as a sort of license, and letting the men go under assumed names."[316] According to the Chicago *Independent*, which followed the progress of these efforts, brothels were now being raided unpredictably, fines were increased, "and the men taken to court personally and compelled to plead under their own names, and the proceedings published."[317] *Harper's* claimed that with the eager support of the judge of the city police court, "there was not left a single social-evil establishment in sight of" a black educational or religious institution only a short time after Campbell raised the issue. For *Harper's*, the result vindicated white paternalism. It applauded the example of the "prompt rising of a Southern white community to a sense of its responsibility to the practically helpless negro community within its borders." Whites' own beneficent "heart and consciences," the magazine suggested, were the only reliable motor for positive change in interracial relations and African Americans' living conditions.[318]

It was a model of elite paternalism that *Harper's* endorsed. With efforts such as Campbell's, "decency can be made, to towns as to men, the imperative fashion."

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[315] "An Example from Asheville," *Chicago Independent*, February 29, 1912, in box 7, Robert F. Campbell Records.
[316] "An Example from Asheville," *Chicago Independent*, February 29, 1912.
[317] "An Example from Asheville," *Chicago Independent*, February 29, 1912.
[318] "Race Problem," *Harper's Weekly*, 5.

The magazine asserted that the success of this effort depended on Campbell's and other whites' privileged positions and standing in the city. This privilege gave them access to authority. These protests "came from people who knew how to secure and a hearing and whose wishes counted with any city government." Because of this standing of those bringing the objection, there had been "comparatively little doubt of getting action from the authorities." Likely overstating the work done by this recent reform effort and definitely overlooking the other inequalities of urban racial geography in Asheville's own "Hell's Half-Acre," *Harpers* held that henceforth African Americans in Asheville would have "an equal chance" with whites to raise their children "in decent surroundings."[319] This narrative of prostitution identified it as a "race relations" problem and African Americans as objects of whites' tolerance. Campbell and his allies publicly presented the effort as an attempt to minimize the potential for urban disorder by spatially managing African Americans' supposedly questionable and susceptible characters. Even more than Campbell, Brown framed reformers' efforts as necessary to more completely incorporate African Americans into urban governance. This incorporation occurred to some extent, as the crackdown on prostitution houses was carried out with the help of a number of African American clergy.

<u>The YMI, Respectability, and Representation</u>

Harper's optimism that both the "social evil" and its racialized geography were successfully repressed in Asheville proved premature. In 1915, the *Citizen*

[319] "Race Problem," *Harper's Weekly*, 5.

asserted that the policy of the previous two years, which focused on arresting, jailing, and/or fining prostitutes, had failed to wipe vice and the "social evil" from the streets.[320] In the same year, a local vice commission appointed by the police court judge J. Frazier Glenn described the apparently robust state of the local sex trade. According to the committee, there were 225 "women [in Asheville] who earn their livelihood through the social evil."[321] As was the case with other cities that attempted to stamp out prostitution, the crackdown on a previously tolerated red-light district resulted in a dispersal of prostitutes.[322] As a consequence, they were "under no police control," which meant that they could mix and mingle with the city's populace, "who do not know them" and so could not perform as agents of surveillance. According to Judge Glenn, police were finding it more difficult to locate the "disorderly houses under" the current regime of repression.

In response, some participants raised the possibility of once more having a "segregated" vice district in the city. The *Citizen* advocated for containment by invoking a very vaguely defined public opinion. As it had several years earlier, the paper suggested that "there are many here who believe that since vice must exist, because it is vice, it should be regulated by law rather than be paraded up and down the streets, flaunted in the residential districts and permitted to go at large among unsuspected youth."[323] Campbell himself, still engaged with the issue, did not personally accept the permanence of vice on the landscape and urban space,

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[320] "Our Vice Problem," *Asheville Citizen*, June 25, 1915, 4.
[321] "Vice Conditions Here Are Discussed At Conference," June 26, 1915, *Asheville Citizen*, 12.
[322] Other reform efforts aimed at ending a segregated vice district similarly dispersed prostitutes through the city. Sherry Lamb Schirmer, *City Divided: The Racial Landscape of Kansas City, 1900-1960* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2002), 20.
[323] "Our Vice Problem," *Asheville Citizen*, 4.

although he conceded that if "an evil cannot be suppressed or abolished it should be restricted in the wisest and most effective way" until its complete abolishment. He also echoed African Americans who objected to the location of such a district in black neighborhoods and asked that such a district would not be located, "as it formerly was, in the part of the town occupied by our negro fellow-citizens."[324]

The *Citizen* also included a rare letter to the editor from an African American, Reverend Dusenbury. Dusenbury framed his objection to a vice district in black neighborhoods as a "race relations" measure aimed at managing urban disorder. Dusenbury claimed to be representative of "the better class" of the city's African American population.[325] By printing the letter, the *Citizen* lent its authority to this claim. The letter cited the harmful effects of placing prostitution houses in black neighborhoods: first, because "we have already of our own, too many of that class," and second because of the "demoralizing" effect of such places. Third, Dusenbury claimed such places could cause tensions between blacks and whites, as such places inevitably would gather the "worst elements of both races," resulting in a "serious menace to friendly racial relations, and to the place and order of the community."[326] The last point reminded his audience that such places were "for the convenience" of whites, and questioned this apparent exception to whites' imposition of segregation. Dusenbury justified his resistance by appealing to African Americans' own frailty and weakness: "our race is too far down the moral scale now."

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[324] "Dr. Campbell's Position," *Asheville Citizen*, June 28, 1915, 4.
[325] "Colored Man's Plea," *Asheville Citizen*, June 27, 1915, 4.
[326] "Colored Man's Plea," *Asheville Citizen*, 4.

As Dusenbury's letter to the editors of the *Citizen* suggested, African Americans participated in "race relations" management. In Asheville, the Young Men's Institute (YMI), with which Dusenbury was affiliated, played an important, if circumscribed, role in its practice. The race relations regime privileged a narrowed, masculinist African American representation. The YMI was an engine for the creation of that representation, which favored "uplift ideology" and seemingly accepted "race relations" rendering of African Americans as objects of tolerance called on to demonstrate their worth. By promoting this ideology, African American men claimed a place within urban governance as agents of order whose manhood was expressed but not solely defined through this participation.[327]

Accounts of the YMI composed around the turn of the century presented it as an artifact of white paternalism that owed its existence to the beneficence and initiative of whites, including George Vanderbilt and local wealthy elites. The 1891 headline "For the Colored People" in the *Citizen*, for instance, informed readers of the plans for the building.[328] In 1896 the *Citizen* scolded African Americans in Asheville for not showing as much appreciation" to Vanderbilt as did the "ministers of their race."

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[327] The YMI largely appeared to foster a manliness that valorized character, respectability, and self-discipline. As Gail Bederman and Martin Summers have noted, ideas of manhood were changing during this period, a change Bederman charted as one from manliness to masculinity. Summers characterized the shift in terms of the male subject's relation to the consumer economy. Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 16; Summers, *Manliness and Its Discontents: The Black Middle Class and the Transformation of Masculinity, 1900-1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2004), 8-*9,* 28; Leslie Brown, *Upbuilding Black Durham: Gender, Class, and Black Community Development in the Jim Crow South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 20.

[328] "For The Colored People: New Buildings To Be Erected In Asheville," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, September 10, 1891, 1.

The YMI, however, was the result of African Americans' initiative.[329] It represented African Americans' own claims and aspirations to urban space, civic membership, and economic advancement. Before the building was planned, for instance, a group of African American met to establish an African American YMCA in the city. The long-time secretary of the YMI, W. J. Trent, pointed out that its existence was the consequence of black initiative and claims on Asheville's urban space. Trent traced the beginning of the YMI to the efforts of Edward Stephens, a graduate of Cambridge and a British "native of the West Indies" who was principal of the African American Catholic Hill School in Asheville. Stevens "persuaded" George Vanderbilt to build a center for African American men, hundreds of whom were engaged in building the latter's Biltmore estate.[330]

The institutions to be housed in the building, the *Citizen* reported, would represent and further black progress and demonstrations of worth. The first floor of the YMI, the *Citizen* reported, would be divided into "five or six splendid storerooms."[331] The institution represented an opportunity for African Americans to prove their worth. The *Citizen* boasted that the future building would become the "most important step ever taken in the interest of the colored people in the south." All sections in the country, the paper predicted, would watch closely the example

[329] Waters, "Life Beneath the Veneer," 152. Waters observes that historians in the past have assumed that African Americans in the Southern Appalachians played little active role in such ostensibly paternalistic endeavors. He argues that the YMI was the result of African Americans' organization and advocacy.
[330] W. J. Trent, "The Young Men's Institute: Asheville, North Carolina," North Carolina Collection, Pack Memorial Library, Asheville, NC.
[331] "For The Colored People," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, 1.

and effort.[332] After its construction, the *Citizen* intermittently tracked the progress of the YMI, which it referred to as a "Christian Institute" in 1892.

Even before it came into existence, the institute figured into the rhetoric of race relations. The *Citizen* assured its readers that the YMI would help discipline African American masculinity. The building, the *Citizen* claimed, was being built in particular to attract the "young men" who might otherwise succumb to one of the many temptations offered by Asheville.[333] The goal was, in short, to "make the colored men studious, healthy, cleanly, and godly" by providing a concrete, well-appointed institution to keep them from "temptation and away from the evil resorts."[334] The paper identified the YMI as a source for the creation of urban order and middle-class norms of manliness. As one historian has observed, the leaders of the institute sought to make it an instrument for the "development of respectable manhood."[335]

Black supporters of the YMI employed similar themes in the last decade of the century. At the third "anniversary reunion" of the YMI in 1896, the African American reverend J. S. Morrow maintained that the structure stood for "a virtuous and upright life."[336] This vision was tied to a masculine freedom. Morrow's topic was "Man's Right." His right, Morrow maintained, was to "go where he pleased and do what he pleased." This expansive, autonomous, and masculine vision was

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[332] "For The Colored People," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, 1; W. J. Trent, "The Young Men's Institute."
[333] "The Christian Institute: The New Building for Colored People," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, North Carolina Collection, Pack Memorial Library.
[334] "The Christian Institute," *Asheville Daily Citizen*.
[335] Waters, "Life Beneath the Veneer," 156.
[336] "Three Years In The Institute," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, February 13, 1896, North Carolina Collection, Pack Memorial Library.

conditional, however, as these rights only applied so long as the man "pleased to do right."[337] Morrow, then, tied this freedom explicitly to self-regulation. As Hornsby-Gutting has noted, Morrow's "construction of manhood" owed much to the "politics of respectability."[338]

Speakers described the institute as both resource and responsibility for African Americans. It represented an opportunity for blacks to prove their worth. The featured orator at the same 1896 event was minister W. T. Minter. Minter framed the institute as a marker of the merit and character of those men for whom it was an intended benefit. Another speaker, Reverend Tate, noted that although Vanderbilt had "put the splendid building there," it was up to African Americans themselves to create value in the building, for "they could not get the real good of it unless they came into the institute and obtained the goodness by hard work." The theme that the institute was a test of the manhood and worth of the African American men for whose benefit it had been erected was repeated throughout the event. The general secretary of the YMI, C. H. Baker, noted that Vanderbilt "had given the building to the people to see what sort of stuff they were made of."[339]

The event also provided a forum for a call for unity among African Americans in Asheville. The Reverend Dusenbury bemoaned a lack of "unanimous spirit" among African Americans "to make of the institute what its founder intended." Significantly, then, Dusenbury in effect called on his listeners to make of the institute an engine for unanimity and thus a technology of representation. Their actions could

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[337] "Three Years," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, February 13, 1896.
[338] Angela Hornsby-Gutting, *Black Manhood and Community Building in North Carolina, 1900-1930* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2009), 84-85.
[339] "Three Years," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, February 13, 1896.

empower the institution to create representational opportunities and legitimacies for African Americans. Hornsby-Gutting agreed that the YMI was perceived to be a "unifying force for the black community."[340] As we shall see, this role would be important in the post-disfranchisement era because of the interpersonal and local dimensions of "race relations."

Even before disenfranchisement, however, whites attempted to limit the representation the institute could provide. In 1895, Charles McNamee, the estate manager for George Vanderbilt, asked African Americans to refrain from holding political meetings at the YMI The newly formed "Colored Republican Club" had been meeting there preciously. Darin Waters has argued that McNamee did so because he was trying to account for white southerners' dislike of African Americans' political activity. Regardless of his motives, McNamee was attempting to restrict the uses and meanings that it could represent to both African Americans and whites, as he restricted it from explicit political meetings. He wanted to depoliticize it.[341]

This third anniversary came with the institute carrying a deficit of $1,205.95, which was made up by Vanderbilt. While Vanderbilt had financed the construction of the $32,000 building, African Americans soon took over the expense. In 1905 Vanderbilt offered to sell the YMI to African Americans for $10,000. If they failed to raise this amount within six months, Vanderbilt warned that he would put the building up for sale for $15,000. With $2,500 of their own funds as well as loans and

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[340] Hornsby-Gutting, *Black Manhood*, 82.
[341] Waters, "Life Beneath the Veneer," 212.

contributions from whites, African Americans were able to meet Vanderbilt's terms. Working to "save the building 'for the race'" galvanized some African Americans.[342]

Paying off the mortgage notes for the YMI was a continual challenge and afforded opportunities for enactments of good race relations. In appealing for contributions, spokesmen for the YMI emphasized its representational status. In March 1904 an editorial in the *Citizen* served as a preface to an appeal by the YMI on the same page. Payment on the next note was due May 1. The editorial applauded the African Americans and whites who had already contributed to the fund while urging both to continue to do so. The editorial also supported the notion of localist and locally-defined "race relations": the *Citizen* noted the exceptional nature of Asheville's African Americans, citing a sentiment expressed by "a prominent physician" that the city "had the best negroes to be found South." This appeal was cast in the terms of paternalism. The *Citizen* promised that "the Southerner will never turn a deaf ear to the deserving negro when he appeals for aid." As with other calls for white support of the YMI, this editorial framed the institute's benefit as a curb on the danger African Americans presented to racialized spatial order: increasing literacy of African Americans and the enclosing function of keeping "many more off the streets."[343]

In seeking to raise funds, the YMI appeal made clear the institute's centrality to diverse organizations and activities that often symbolized middle-class values. Well before it would hold a formal "branch" of the city library, the building held the only "reading room" which African Americans could use. Its auditorium served as a

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[342] Hornsby-Gutting, *Black Manhood*, 85.
[343] "The Y.M.I.," *Asheville Citizen*, March 13, 1904, 4.

gathering place for both public and private black schools as well as a space for concerts, dances, banquets."[344] The Minsters Union, WCTU, and a "night school for young men" were also listed as activities or organizations that depended on the YMI space. The appeal also listed the services and businesses that used the first floor of the institute, including physician's offices, a drug store, and an employment bureau.[345] According to Hornsby-Gutting, other businesses at the YMI included "a realty company, cabinet shop, beauty shop, barber, shoe shop, drugstore, and undertaker."[346]

Like the editorial in the *Citizen*, the YMI appeal also pointed out its benefits for whites. The institute, after all, was meant to improve "the condition of our people, who compose, to a very large extent, the laboring class of the community." Doing so would help make black workers "become more proficient and do intelligently with the interest of the employer at heart, the work in hand."[347] Thus the appeal sought to place black self-improvement within a sphere circumscribed by labor relations beneficial to whites. It suggested that black self-improvement would not bring with it a disruptive change in those relations.[348] The YMI worked towards a beneficial "adjustment" of race relations in other ways. Men in leadership

[344] Hornsby-Gutting, *Black Manhood*, 84-85.
[345] "An Appeal Is Made For the Y.M.I.," *Asheville Citizen*, March 13, 1904, 4; The YMI was not exclusively for men. Instead, there were mass meetings attended by men and women, programs for children, and businesses. It included a boarding house, a "school of domestic science for girls, a bathing department, a Bible school, a gymnasium, and a kindergarten. The YMI also housed a night school and the city's first black library. It offered meeting spaces for civic organizations, clubs, schools, and churches; Hornsby-Gutting, 84-85.
[346] Hornsby-Gutting, *Black Manhood*, 84-85.
[347] "An Appeal Is Made," *Asheville Citizen*, 4.
[348] "Nearly Thousand Dollars For Y.M.I.," *Asheville Citizen*, May 23, 1910, North Carolina Collection, Pack Memorial Library.

positions at the YMI took leading roles in public observances. For instance, the institute helped organize Emancipation Day commemorations. The 1904 Emancipation Day Committee was composed of the YMI general secretary WJ Trent and two other prominent African Americans, Douglas Clark and Benjamin Jackson. The Reverend Samuel Orner, a speaker at the celebration, urged that both African Americans and whites practice a mutual respect and understanding based on an empathetic consideration of each other's experience in American white supremacist culture. His, then, was an alternate vision of tolerance based on empathy.

Specifically, Orner asked his audience to imagine themselves inhabiting the other race's manhood. To what was likely an overwhelmingly black audience, Orner asked that they place themselves "'in the white man's stead.'"[349] He asked African Americans to, among other things, imagine the cultural and political echo chamber of white supremacy.[350] He also called on whites to envision themselves in the situation of African Americans, "'liberated yet not free, privileged yet no right to exercise those privileges…a titled citizen without legal protection." Once whites understood this vulnerable and unprotected citizenship, they would "get an idea of the things that trouble the negro's inner soul and stir his manhood."[351] It was, as

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[349] Hornsby-Gutting, *Black Manhood*, 130.

[350] Grace Elizabeth Hale, for instance, has examined the heterogeneous elements that were responsible for the construction of this culture and economy that affirmed white supremacists' identities and their assumptions of African Americans. Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998), xi.

[351] Hornsby-Gutting, *Black Manhood*, 130. Orner "stressed that white and black men needed to envision themselves as their racial opposites to grasp and feel the reality of racial inequality."

Hornsby-Gutting observed, a "gendered rhetoric of interracial outreach" deployed at the Emancipation Day ceremonies.[352]

By making broad claims about the YMI's effect on African Americans in Asheville, the appeal's author was implicitly defining it as a representative institution. One 1910 article similarly insisted on the institute's ability to facilitate representation: "if there are any who have doubts as to how the YMI stands in the estimation of the people," those doubts should be laid to rest by a recent "large and enthusiastic" turnout at a fund-raising rally. Such appeals also reminded whites of their past contributions and African Americans' gratitude. It pledged that African Americans would "always feel grateful" to those white supporters "for this lift in the time of great need."[353]

Furthermore, leading African Americans associated with the institute were accorded representational status. Whites affixed such a label to those figures. Charles B. Dusenbury, for instance, was recognized as a representative figure by whites, who "dubbed him a race diplomat." Like any skillful diplomat, "many proclaimed him a 'peace-maker and peace-keeper.[354] And indeed, when Reverend Dusenbury died in 1920, the *Citizen* held him up in its editorial pages as a figure "respected and esteemed by the white people of the city: his word had weight with all classes." According to the elegiac editorial, Dusenbury also stood as an example of African American achievement and ability—he has proven his worth- and demonstrated to African Americans the "capacities" of their race. Furthermore,

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[352] Hornsby-Gutting, *Black Manhood*, 131.
[353] "Nearly Thousand Dollars For Y.M.I.," *Asheville Citizen*, May 23, 1910, Vertical Files, Pack Memorial Library.
[354] Hornsby-Gutting, *Black Manhood*, 12.

Dusenbury's life also proved to whites the "wisdom and the fruits of co-operation and understanding for a race that by fate has been and must still be a ward of the white man's civilization."[355]

This representational meaning of the YMI and its prominent officers was inseparable from its gender work. According to Hornsby-Gutting the YMI at times "presented itself as a pillar of racial solidarity" through its availability to different local black organizations and social events as well as male and female activists. The "YMI men" however, "were also careful to fortify and demonstrate their manhood through exhibitions of business and professional prowess, male networking, and the mentoring of young boys."[356] The claims of the YMI to represent African Americans in Asheville likely facilitated the action of men in leadership positions at the YMI to bar women "when they felt it was necessary."[357]

The YMI's involvement with the "boy problem" demonstrates the relationship between "race relations" work, masculinity, and representation. By addressing this "problem," YMI leaders presented themselves "as role models for male youth and distinguishing themselves from boys and women by displaying bold

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[355] "Rev. Dr. Dusenbury," *Asheville Citizen*, August 28, 1920, p. 4; "Funeral Service of Dr. Dusenbury Held," *Asheville Citizen*, August 31, 1920, p. 11. [355] As this sentence suggests, Dusenbury's death, in the *Citizen*, became a vehicle to both reassert a racial hierarchy and to preach tolerance to the paper's white readers. It was "no disgrace to the Negro," the Citizen reminded its white readers, "that he is not as far along in the scale of achievement as his white neighbors." The *Citizen* laid this gap at the feet of "natural environment, with whose selection he had nothing to do, handicapped him in the beginning. It is incumbent upon the colored man now to make the most of opportunities that come to him in a new environment. It is the plain duty of the white man to remember the obstacles the black man has had to overcome."

[356] Hornsby-Gutting, *Black Manhood*, 94.

[357] Hornsby-Gutting, *Black Manhood*, 94.

gender leadership."[358] In particular, the institute offered "wholesome diversions, counseling temperance in thought and behavior, and instructing them in how to lead virtuous and manly lives."[359] Such work was also part of the practice of "race relations." It sought to manage conflict and carve out a role for African Americans as agents of order through the demonstration and development of self-regulation. The *Citizen* reported on these efforts. A March 1904 meeting at the YMI discussed "How to Solve the Problem" of race relations. At the meeting, the principal of the African American Hill Street School advised her audience that "'social regeneration'" was a necessary step for "hasten[ing] better race relations."[360] At the same meeting, W. J. Trent called for regeneration through a renewed manliness that nevertheless did not demand equity. *The Citizen* favorably reviewed Trent's call for "racial integrity, purity, manliness and moral force, leaving the result with God."[361]

Claims and performances of representation were significant to the localist practice of race relations. This importance was in part due to disfranchisement, which had eliminated electoral avenues of representation for African Americans.[362]

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[358] Hornsby-Gutting, *Black Manhood*, 81.

[359] Hornsby-Gutting, *Black Manhood*, 56. As Hornsby-Gutting, Gaines, and others have noted, "this type of uplift was informed by a desire to reify their manhood." In the midst of a "race relations" crisis in 1925 in Asheville, the *Chicago Defender* reported on the city's Y.M.C.A.'s efforts to address the "boy problem." By the "Eagle St. YMCA," the article almost certainly was referring to the YMI The institute employed a "boys' work secretary" and organized camping trips for youngsters. "Asheville Y 'Majors' in the Boy Problem," *The Chicago Defender* (national edition), October 24, 1925, A2, ProQuest.

[360] Hornsby-Gutting, *Black Manhood*, 130. Hornsby-Gutting makes a connection between "social regeneration" and ideas of "self-help," thereby placing the principal's speech within the uplift ideology critiqued by Kevin Gaines. "The problem," according to Hornsby-Gutting, referred to "race relations."

[361] Hornsby-Gutting, *Black Manhood*, 210, Notes 1 and 2.

[362] Darin Waters has argued, however, that the relatively small percentage of African Americans in Asheville meant that they had rarely been able to exert any influence on the Republican party in the area. See Waters, "Life Beneath the Veneer," 170.

One committee that emanated from the YMI, for instance, transferred that representation to the board of commissioners. The president and secretary of the league pledged support to the board and swore "that your interest is ours."[363] This transmission rhetorically affirmed whites' paternalistic governance.

The YMI served as a source for the creation of committees that appeared before the city's board of commissioners. These committees sought to shape African Americans' participation in networks of authority. One such organization that made claims to being representative was the "Colored Betterment League," organized in 1916. Like other efforts associated with the YMI, this organization sought to "foster the law and order" of African Americans. The league announced its desire to "encourage the peace and prosperity of the city."[364]

There were additional committees that claimed a measure of representational authority. In May 1917 the Law and Order Improvement League appeared before the city commissioners. The league played an important representational role in this context. It had had initially approved a resolution that, while thanking the commissioners for "establishing an Industrial Training Course" in the city's black school, also requested "a high school course or its equivalent" as well as a "kindergarten training" program for African Americans in the city. In response, the mayor charged them with explicit representational responsibility, asking them which of the three educational programs were most important to African Americans in Asheville—they could have only one, apparently. Faced with

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[363] "Law, Order & Improvement League," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, no. 14, p. 111, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville, NC.
[364] "Colored Betterment League Is Organized," *Asheville Citizen*, November 18, 1916, 3.

this choice, the League "unanimously expressed the opinion" that an industrial training course was the first priority and would "be far more beneficial" than either of the two other programs. Echoing the late Booker T. Washington, the league took the position that "industrial pursuits" would be the future for "the great majority" of African American children. Reinforcing middle-class gender norms, the league also asked that preference be given to single rather than married women for teaching positions.[365] The Law & Order League also employed its ostensible representational character in participating in the policing of urban space. For instance, in 1918 the League protested the board's decision to grant a dance hall to two black proprietors in the African American neighborhood adjacent to downtown and Pack Square. Three representatives of the league, including Reverend Dusenbury, argued that the dance hall was too close to both a church and the YMI Thus they pushed for a respected and respectable space for the institute as an instrument of urban order. The League also employed the language of "race relations" by arguing that the dance hall would harm the characters of African Americans. The league invoked the possibility that the dance hall "would be detrimental to the moral and spiritual welfare of the colored race."[366] Restricting it would thus contribute to the management of "race relations."

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[365] "Colored Schools—Law and Order Improvement League," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, no.* 14, *November 1, 1917 to January 31, 1919*, May 11, 1917, 208, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville, NC. This inadequacy resulted in students being able to attend only on a "half time" basis.

[366] "Douglass Clark & Joe Sisney—Dance Hall Market Street," *Minutes of the Board of Commissioners, no. 14: November 1, 1917 to January 31, 1919*, February 23, 1918, 110-111, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville, NC.

The person who rented the building to the proprietors of the dance hall denied that it was a nuisance, in part by denying its "public" character. Dancing was "only on invitation" rather than "admitting anyone regardless of their character and reputation."[367] Thus the proprietors asserted that they would play some role in judging the characters and fitness of patrons. In response to these competing narratives, the board held that there had not been sufficient evidence necessary to overturn the permit. However, the commissioners promised that they "would not hesitate to take action and revoke the license…at any time it was shown that the place was" indeed a "detriment to the church and the moral and spiritual welfare" of African Americans.[368] The board in effect charged the League with maintaining a measure of surveillance on the space.

The YMI, then, played an important role in creating representational claims, which was central to practices of "race relations." The institute and those who spoke for it employed those claims in their attempts to influence African Americans' involvement in networks of authority. The Howard University sociologist Kelly Miller in the early 1900s critiqued whites' insistence that leading African Americans be held accountable for the actions of others identified as black. There was no such mechanism for authority, he insisted, to justify such an unreasonable expectation. Furthermore, this lack of authority was due to the political exclusions demanded by

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[367] "Douglass Clark & Joe Sisney," *Minutes of the Board of Commissioners, No. 14: November 1, 1917 to January 31, 1919*.
[368] "Douglass Clark & Joe Sisney," *Minutes of the Board of Commissioners, No. 14: November 1, 1917 to January 31, 1919*.

white supremacists.[369] In this context, the YMI served as a means to approximate that authority after disenfranchisement by making implicit and explicit assertions about the institution's representational nature. These assertions were intertwined with and often expressed through concern with developing the characters and demonstrating the worth of young African American men. Those concerns involved the YMI and the organizations it nurtured in networks of authority and surveillance. This involvement was limited, undemocratic, and informed by whites' assumptions of black deviance.

Conclusion

Robert Campbell continued in his role as an "ambassador" and intermediary between Asheville's white elites and leading African Americans in Asheville throughout the 1910s. During World War I, he was chairman of the committee "to promote the sale of war savings stamps" by African Americans. An "advisory committee" charged with counseling Campbell's group was "composed of some of the leading colored people of the city," including Reverend Dusenbury as well as Dr. J. W. Walker, Prof. John Michael, and Rachel Battle, the only woman on the advisory committee and the principal of an African American elementary school. The advisory committee played a representative role, then, in helping to organize African Americans' contributions. Members organized a mass meeting at the YMI in

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[369] Kelly Miller, *Race Adjustment: Essays on the Negro in America* (New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1909), 80. As historian Khalil Gibran Muhammad has observed, "without institutional resources and political support from whites," leading African Americans' practices of surveillance proved ineffectual. See Gibran, *The Condemnation of Blackness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), p. 228.

February and sent pairs of African Americans and whites "to address the various colored congregations on the subject of the thrift stamp campaign" in February 1918.[370]

The meeting at the YMI was apparently a success. Attendance, the *Times* claimed, was "large and enthusiastic" as blacks and whites called for members of the audience to demonstrate their loyalty to the nation. Congressman James J. Britt "told of the support colored people have always given the nation in times of crisis" and expressed his faith that the city's African Americans would support the fund-raising effort. This was likely one of the few times that the city's congressional representative addressed African Americans after disfranchisement.[371]

While not explicitly termed "race relations" work by the *Citizen*, this episode was nonetheless illustrative of how tolerance worked within and through the "ideological formation" of race relations governance.[372] First, the effort operated through claims and performances of representation and influence among both blacks and whites. Campbell likely assumed this position because he had worked with African Americans in the past. The African Americans on the advisory committee held an adjunctive position displaced from regularized structures of authority. This representation occurred then, in the context of exclusion. There were no African Americans on the committee to which Campbell belonged. Instead, those

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[370] "Profitable Meeting of Thrift Committee," *Asheville Citizen,* January 16, 1918, box 7, Robert F. Campbell Records.
[371] "Colored People Rally for Thrift Stamps," *Asheville Times*, February 11, 1918, box 7, Robert F. Campbell Records.
[372] Barbara J. Fields, "*Origins of the New South,*" 811-826.

serving in an advisory capacity worked to enact their representativeness by organizing African Americans' response and support for the fund-raising drive.

This drive was also a movement designed to answer some whites' suspicions that African Americans were disloyal or not fully supportive of the war effort. Wartime propaganda and popular demands for one hundred percent Americanism called into question the citizenship of multiple peoples, including recent immigrants and socialists. Jim Crow regimes enacted blacks' status as suspect objects of governance during peacetime as well as war. Southern whites in particular interpreted almost any assertion of African Americans' rights as citizens or any statement highlighting American hypocrisy as subversive. As historian Mark Ellis has recently demonstrated, the federal government, unsure of their loyalty, intensely surveilled prominent African Americans and publications like the NAACP's *Crisis* and the Chicago *Defender*.[373]

Some African Americans saw their participation as a chance to transcend what race relations purported to manage by demonstrating their loyalty and worth to the nation.[374] They expected that such demonstrations would pave the way to greater protection of their rights. Like blacks' fighting on the battlefield, then,

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[373] Mark Ellis, *Race, War & Surveillance: African Americans & the United States Government During World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 106-107. Woodrow Wilson's administration was dominated by white Southerners.

[374] Ellis, *Race, War & Surveillance*, 2-4. Immigrants in Asheville also saw the war as an opportunity to prove their loyalty and citizenship. The local Y.M.H.A. also engaged in fund raising, and the Jewish Welfare Board was active in Asheville, urging Jews to show the American character of Judaism. See Jewish Welfare Board, "Prominent Jews Urge Generous Support of United War Work Campaign," Beth Ha-Tephila Collection, Special Collections, D. H. Ramsey Library, University of North Carolina-Asheville; Jewish Welfare Board to David Levitch, November 1, 1918, Beth Ha-Tephila Collection; Christopher M. Sterba, *Good Americans: Italian and Jewish Immigrants During the First World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

fundraising efforts relied on a universalistic measure of worth. In Asheville, as elsewhere in the nation, white resistance disappointed African Americans' hopes that their military and monetary performance of the burdens of citizenship would facilitate the exercise of its rights and bring greater opportunities to create the lives they wished to lead.

As this chapter has demonstrated, "race relations" work in Asheville during the early 20th century ostensibly attempted to manage conflict between African Americans and whites. Paternalistic whites' formulations and practices of race relations cast African Americans as objects of their tolerance, because whites located conflict in African Americans ' presumed deviance. Spatial governance was central to these practices—as reformers' efforts to remove whites' houses of prostitution from black neighborhoods illustrated. The next chapter examines the development of the spatial governance of the central civic space of Pack Square during the early 20th century. It does so in order to argue that the extension of the licensing power by city authorities was central to the development of such valorized public spaces. In particular, it interrogates the role of race relations governance as one of several licensing practices that contributed to the aspirational construction of order.

Chapter 3:

Public Square, Court Square, Pack Square: The Ordering of Order in Public Space, 1898-1924

Introduction

Zebulon Vance's death in 1894 and commemoration four years later at Asheville's central civic square created a Lost Cause monument to the state's most recognizable and famous figure from the Civil War. The space, called Pack Square after 1903, provided opportunities and focus for the ritualistic iteration of Lost Cause ideology and interpretations of history. The dedication of Vance's obelisk also helped inaugurate a more intensive regulatory regime on the square that was inseparable from white racial radicalism. The monument became a focal point for the organization of space at that location. His memorialization and other augmentations helped ensure that the location, situated at a high point in downtown at the intersection of three major streets, would remain a "predominant" courthouse square. Such squares, according to Robert Veselka, served as a "gathering point for community life" as well as a site for "symbolic structures.[375] In Veleska's words, these kinds of public spaces "exerted a strong 'centripetal'" influence on the civic and economic life of the community.[376]

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[375] Robert Veselka*, The Courthouse Square in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 144.

[376] Several factors influenced the intensive regulation on the square. It was a site for tourism, commerce, transportation, civic identity, and the elaboration of white male supremacy. These uses carried with them conflicting, overlapping, and harmonizing logics. According to historian Hal Rothman, the "process of scripting space" was a labor central to the appeal of tourist destinations. As Rothman concedes, this process was not limited to tourist towns. Instead, "the scripting of space is essential to the organizing of the physical and social world for the purpose of perpetuation." Creating a spatial and moral order was

Vance's memorialization also facilitated the square's reproducibility in the early 20th century, as the towering granite obelisk was featured in circulating commercial images of Asheville. Varied advertising genres, including pamphlets, paintings, photographs, and motion pictures transmitted visions of the square.[377] Multiple representations of the square portrayed it as not just as a site but a source for order. These images pictured a square seemingly self-regulating while obscuring the techniques that helped to manage order on the square.

This chapter focuses on those techniques. The square was contested space, and this contestation was fundamental to its development.[378] Whites and African Americas defined, defended, and nourished their claims to this key commercial, ideological, and symbolic space. Often, the city Board of Aldermen (later Board of Commissioners) extended its licensing power and created regulation in response to these claims. This was accomplished through an augmentation of the ability of empowered whites to make judgments of residents' characters and claims to the main civic space of the city. The board made judgments of the character of those individuals seeking to occupy the square and the potential for disorder they represented. City authorities attempted to create and manage a social, moral, and spatial order on the square.

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essential to this goal of "perpetuation." Hal Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence, 1998), 12.

[377] *The Conquest of Canaan*, based on the Booth Tarkington novel of the same name, was filmed in downtown Asheville in 1921. *The Conquest of Canaan (*Los Angeles: Paramount Pictures, 1921). Film register for *Conquest* at http://toto.lib.unca.edu/findingaids/film_video_audio_music/film/conquest%20of%20canaan/default_conquest%20of%20canaan_.htm.

[378] Warren Magnusson, *Politics of Urbanism: Seeing Like a City* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 32.

The circulating images of the square masked the important ways in which authority was delegated. This chapter focuses on practices of governing "at a distance" that underpinned these visions of self-regulation. The management of this order took as its problem not only the mitigation of disorder but also its incorporation into the changing landscapes of everyday life. This management proceeded through what government studies scholars Peter Miller and Nikolas Rose have termed "alliances" that enlist subjects in their own administration. Those alliances consisted of relationships between the projects of political authorities and the practices of supposedly self-regulating liberal subjects.[379] They proceeded what government studies scholar Colin Gordon has termed the "delegation of regulatory oversight (and power) to the micro-level."[380] This chapter focuses on three such projects meant to manage threats of disorders by incorporating them into everyday life and enlisting subjects in their management: the licensing and investiture of taxi drivers with surveilling duties on the square; the placement of traffic signals to guide pedestrians; and the creation of segregated spaces on the square.

Indeed, as this chapter argues, interrogating the administration of the square presents an outstanding opportunity to place "race relations" governance within the context of other attempts by authorities to manage the potential for disorder

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[379] Nikolas Rose and Peter Miller, "Political Power beyond the State: Problematics of Government," *The British Journal of Sociology* 43, no. 2 (June, 1992): 173-205; Rose and Miller, *Governing the Present;* Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (New York: Verso, 2003).
[380] Colin Gordon, "Government Rationality: An Introduction," in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in* Governmentality, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller (Chicago, 1991), 26; Lydia Morris, "Governing at a Distance: The Elaboration of Controls in British Immigration," *International Migration Review*, 32, No. 4 (Winter, 1998): 949-973.

represented by suspect subjects. Segregation was one of multiple practices involved in creating a racialized, gendered, and class-conscious organization of the square. The seemingly neutral language of "race relations" employed by white paternalists privileged their oversight of space and interracial encounters. Whites sought to weave segregation into the management the square as the rationalized expression of racial feeling. Whites often imagined segregation, in the words of historian Mark Smith, as a technology to "make interaction between the races so automatic, so structured, that white and black would live tranquilly."[381]

The myths that nurtured this belief, like those that nurtured formations of distanced governance, were informed by the ideological boundaries of liberal government. Segregationists asserted that well-administered segregation was an expression of natural antipathies and preferences of society. The legal landmark of segregation, 1894's *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, preserved what Saidiya Hartman calls the "innocence" of liberalistic law by maintaining that the law could not interfere with those ostensibly natural inclinations and instincts.[382] Commenting on this fiction, Hartman has observed that "the social" was not so much "an autonomous zone" as it was "an arena of collusive, contradictory, and clandestine practices between the state and its purported other, the private."[383] The development of networks of

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[381] Mark Smith, *How Race Is Made: Slavery, Segregation, and the Senses* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 56.
[382] Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 201.
[383] Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 201.

distanced government also preserved this fiction while involving subjects in their "own government."[384]

In Asheville, conflict over the extension of segregation on the square to water fountains in 1924 demonstrated that segregation relied on and enlisted whites as its immediate and potentially violent agents. As we shall see, the remedy suggested by an editorial in one of the city's two daily newspapers sought to repair the interwoven fictions of liberalism and segregation. It imagined a different vision of segregation that attempted to restore its automaticity. In this vision, whites enrolled in its enforcement appear as improper subjects whose enforcement and regulating actions were unnecessary.

The first section of the chapter examines the development of the square in the late 19th and early 20th century. As a site for contested performances of citizenship, the square became an important place for white supremacist Lost Cause performances during this period. Vance's obelisk facilitated the square's prominence in these invocations. The second section examines written and visual representations of the square. These images of the square were aspirational. Multiple media presented the square as not just orderly but as a source for order. Images and descriptions portrayed it as a site of self-regulation. The final section explores the steps taken to make the square resemble such images. It makes the regulation legible that had been obscured in images of the orderly square. In particular, it focuses on city authorities' attempted to construct order and manage disorder at the square. This was accomplished in part through the extension of

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[384] Morris, "Governing at a Distance," 949-973.

licensing practices to define and limit subjects' ability to occupy the square. At the same time, the management of space on the square distributed responsibility for order to subjects.

I. Memorializing Vance and Transforming the Square

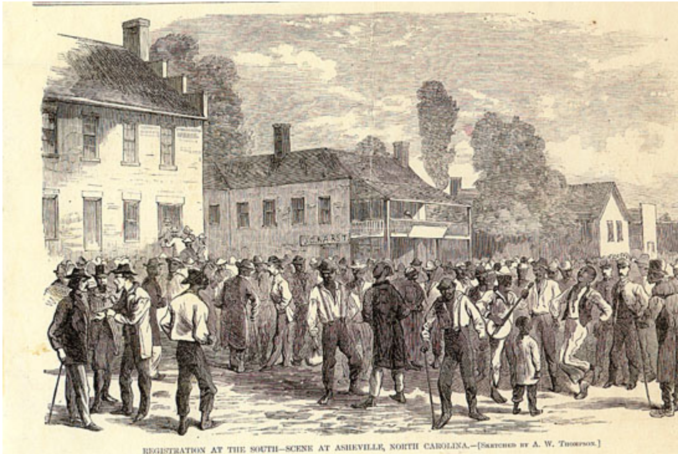

Figure 1: An image of African Americans registering to vote at the square in Asheville that appeared in *Harper's* in 1867.[385]

Like other Southern towns, Asheville experienced violence and tension during and after Reconstruction.[386] Post-Civil War tensions took shape at the square in the form of contested demonstrations of political citizenship. In 1867, *Harper's* published the above rendering of the square that seemingly captured the political tumult and possibility during Reconstruction. Entitled "Registration at the South—Scene at Asheville, North Carolina," the picture shows an interracial crowd. There

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[385] A. W. Thompson," Registration at the South—Scene at Asheville, North Carolina," *Harper's*, September 28, 1867, 621. Also at http://toto.lib.unca.edu/web_exhibits/WNC_pack/pack_default.htm.
[386] Richard Starnes, *Creating the Land of the Sky: Tourism and Society in Western North Carolina* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 67.

does not appear to be any sort of governing order. There is even a note of gayety, as a musician and a dancer occupy a prominent place. The conversations pictured appear to be taking place between whites only. One year later after *Harpe*r's published this illustration, a "riot broke out" on what was then called "Public Square" after a newly enfranchised African American man tried to vote there. According to historian Richard Starnes, for two weeks afterwards "a posse of three hundred white men occupied the center of town." One year later, a Republican district attorney shot the Democratic editor (and local KKK leader) of the *North Carolina Citizen* on the steps of the courthouse, adjacent to the square itself. The provocation was "an argument over politics."[387] As the basis for the city's tourist industry shifted from health to leisure in the 1880s, the square's status as a gathering site for tourists also influenced the racialized performances of citizenship that took place there.

As was the case with other visitors, the promise of entertainment drew writer Charles Dudley Warner to what by 1888 was called "Court-House Square" due to the construction of a county courthouse at the location twelve years earlier. Warner's travelogue *On Horseback* voiced a measure of ambivalence about the city. He noted the "predetermined and willful gayety" that pervaded its atmosphere, similar to the atmosphere of similar vacation destinations.[388] Warner thereby alluded to the amount of work and effort that went into the city's self-presentation. He was correct to suggest that the amusements were in part the product of

[387] Starnes, *Creating the Land of the Sky,* 67.
[388] Charles Dudley Warner, *On Horseback: A Tour in Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee, with notes of travel in Mexico and California* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1889), 112.

conscious effort on the part of both local elites and northern capitalists, who had financed several of the hotels that opened during the 1880s.[389] According to the writer Wilma Dykeman, the blending of North and South observed by Warner on his visit would only grow more significant to the city's development later in the 20th century, keeping it "from ever being completely Yankee or Deep South."[390]

Despite his misgivings about the effort expended by residents to make Asheville a joyous place, Warner found himself on the square as part of an interracial audience for a minstrel-like show headlined by "Happy John," who performed as a former slave of the Confederate governor and South Carolina Redeemer governor Wade Hampton. The freedman wore blackface. A "bright" female singer atop a lighted stage accompanied him. While admission was not charged, Warner noticed that the appreciative audience raised a collection several times during the performance.[391]

Warner's comments caught something of the complicated cultural politics of Happy John's routine. The author, who was Mark Twain's collaborator on *The Gilded Age: A Tale of Today*, was aware that the show created a particular image of African American citizenship appealing to those whites eager to reaffirm white supremacist assumptions.[392] Happy John's performance contained the possibility of equal black

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[389] As Starnes notes, the prevalence of northern capital worried some Ashevillians, who perceived and resented their "colonial relationship with outside interests." Starnes, *Creating the Land of the Sky,* 71-72.
[390] Wilma Dykeman, *The French Broad* (Newport, TN: Wakestone Books, 1999), 192. This supposed blending, formulated in different ways, would come to play a role in residents' and visitors' claims of the city's tolerance in the mid-20th century.
[391] Warner, *On Horseback*, 115.
[392] As one recent critic has noted, although Warner did not perceive a difference, there was almost certainly a distinction in how whites and blacks in the audience received John's

citizenship by portraying it in a comical and non-threatening manner. Warner overheard an African American woman observe that the performer was "'good looking when he's not blackened up.'"

Happy John's show blended "impudence, deference, and patronage," with the first of these dependent on the demonstration on the latter two.[393] Happy John sang, played the guitar and banjo, and kept up a patter between songs, all while wearing a "flaming suit of calico, the trousers and coat striped longitudinally" that Warner described as "Punch's idea of 'Uncle Sam.'"[394] Warner claimed that this "conceit of a colored Yankee" amused the audience. In Warner's estimation, the show took "the comical view of" African Americans by John's racial "burlesque."

Popular though it was, the show ended early. John informed the audience that he had given his word to the mayor that he would end his show before a scheduled political debate began in the adjacent courthouse.[395] Warner's account suggests early regulation of urban, tourist space in Asheville. The show's place on the square was secured through an agreement with the mayor. Furthermore, Happy John's performance itself contained the threat posed by black citizenship to whites' own identities by rendering as comical the enactment of that citizenship.

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performance. One African American woman in the audience, for instance, commented that John was much more handsome when he did not blacken up. As later critics have pointed out, Warner's reading of the performance left no room for double-speak. As S. Spencer Davis noted, while Warner perceived this minstrel-show like performance as playing to the expectations of whites, he did not note "the possibility of double-meaning" in John's performance. See S. Spencer Davis, "Ma Rainey: Mother of the Blues," in *The Human Tradition in the New South*, ed. by James C. Klotter (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 81.

[393] Warner, *On Horseback*, 116.

[394] Warner, *On Horseback*, 116.

[395] Warner, *On Horseback*, 119.

After the show Warner observed a Democratic political meeting at the county courthouse, which bordered the square. The courthouse also served as a site for different enactments of black citizenship that encompassed a defense of political rights. In May 1894, between 150 and 175 African Americans met there "in the interest of the Reform ticket" before a local election. Whites attended, the newspaper noted, but did so only as silent onlookers.[396] One speaker, the Democratic *Citizen* reported, lamented that the *Citizen* was the city's only daily newspaper and pledged to do "all he could to see that every man could vote without interference and have his vote counted as he intended it."[397]

The mass meeting in the courthouse suggests some of the political tumult in the state in the mid-1890s, which was symbolized by the death of Zebulon Vance. Vance died on April 14, 1894, a tired leader of a sickly Democratic party facing a challenge more direct than anytime since the end of Reconstruction. The challenge was mounted by the interracial alliance between Populists and Republicans known as Fusion. Shortly after his death, the Democratic *Daily Citizen* immortalized Vance in its pages and posted a quotation attributed to him in all capital letters at the top of its editorial page: "Democracy Is Immortal! The word Democrat stands for Human Liberty and Human Freedom and Cannot Die."[398] The quotation's residence on the editorial page began less than a week after Vance died and lasted into May. It was one of the first attempts at constructing his posthumous legacy.

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[396] "Colored Men's Meeting," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, May 5, 1894.
[397] "Colored Men's Meeting," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, May 5, 1894.
[398] *Asheville Daily Citizen*, April 19, 1894, 2.

His burial afforded another opportunity for elites in Asheville to define his significance. The internment of Vance's body in Asheville on April 18 afforded residents the opportunity to showcase the city's famed hospitality. Mayor Thomas Patton assigned a committee to "courteously" greet and direct prominent visitors at the train depot.[399] Stores closed during the day of Vance's memorial service, and for two consecutive days the *Citizen* printed an extensive list of business "draped in mourning."[400] The county courthouse was pressed into service as a makeshift monument, as a large portrait of Vance hung on its façade.

Event organizers arranged a large progression composed of many organizations, including the Grand Army of the Republic, Confederate Survivors' Association, Knights of Pythias, and Masons. The planners assigned particular places on the square for these and other groups to congregate. The procession was so large that its organizing committee issued a request to "all persons having private conveyances" to assist in transporting members of the movement. The procession initially moved from the square to the First Presbyterian Church, where Vance laid in state on the morning of the 18th of April. Upon leaving the church several hours later, the funeral procession wound back to the square on the way to his burial at Riverside Cemetery outside the business district.[401]

The funeral service was widely reported. The South Carolinian *State* newspaper noted that although the train carrying his body arrived at dawn, it was nonetheless met by "large crowds" that "pressed into the funeral car and demanded

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[399] "To Meet Strangers," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, April 17, 1894, 1.
[400] "The People Mourn," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, April 17, 1894, 1.
[401] "To Lie In State Here," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, April 17, 1894, 1.

to see the remains." "The demonstration" in Vance's native city, the writer observed, was the "greatest" along the route traveled by the body. There was an "immense crowd of Confederate veterans," and the writer estimated the size of the procession making its way to the cemetery at 10,000, with thousands supposedly looking on.

Vance's death supposedly marked an occasion for unity that fulfilled Lost Cause expectations and representations of both elitism and slavery. According to the *Citizen*, those who paid respects to Vance represented virtually the entire community: "rich and poor, white and black, high and low, the classes, the masses."[402] Furthermore, both Confederate soldiers under Vance's command and "several" of his former slaves paid respects.[403] Afterwards, The *Citizen* complemented the organizing committee for carrying off the complicated procedures and maintaining order without "a single incident to mar the proprieties or solemnities."[404]

Vance's subsequent memorialization at the outset of the 1898 Democratic White Supremacy campaign would help to define the square as a site of white supremacy, both at the time and in the years that followed. As biographer and historian Gordon B. McKinney has noted, Vance died in the middle of a decade "in which the Confederate heroes were being honored all over the South."[405] Vance,

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402 "Honor to Whom Honor Is Due," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, April 19, 1894, 2.
403 "On the Sunny Side the Hill Zebulon Vance Sleeps His Eternal Sleep," *South Carolina State*, April 19, 1894.
404 "Honor to Whom Honor Is Due," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, 2.
405 Gordon B. McKinney, *Zeb Vance: North Carolina's Civil War Governor and Gilded Age Political Leader* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 406. For more on the Lost Cause, see Karen Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2003); David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard

McKinney points out, benefited from the relative lack of revered military leaders from North Carolina.[406] Shortly after his death, many Democrats around the state called for the construction of a monument to the former governor. The Charlotte *Observer* called for the first monument in the state to be erected over Vance's grave in Asheville. The *Citizen* printed several initial calls by residents for his memorialization. Several residents expressed their interest in memorializing him in what one called the "heart" of the city.[407]

At least one Jew in Asheville quickly recognized the opportunity that the memorialization of Vance offered Jews to demonstrate their gratitude and appreciation to him. In April 1894, the *Citizen* re-printed a letter originally published in the Richmond, Virginia-based *Jewish South.* Penned by prominent local merchant Solomon Lipinsky, the letter scolded the periodical for ignoring Vance's passing and thus failing to acknowledge the debt that all Jews in the nation owed him for his oft-delivered philo-Semitic address "The Scattered Nation." Further, Lipinsky's letter suggested that Jews should repay that debt by helping to make the prospective Vance monument "one of the handsomest monuments in the country."[408] He reminded readers in his letter to the editor of Samuel Wittkowsky's kindness towards Vance and the governor's reciprocal respect for Jews.[409]

University Press, 2001); *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory*, eds. Cynthia Mills and Pamela H. Simpson (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003); Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980).

[406] McKinney, *Zebulon Vance*, 406.

[407] "A Vance Memorial," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, April 28, 1894, 2.

[408] "Jews Esteemed Vance," *The Asheville Daily Citizen*, April 30, 1894, 2.

[409] "Jews Esteemed Vance," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, 2. Wittkowsky retold his story of taking Vance to Salisbury on his buggy.

Asheville's own "merchant prince" and future alderman also repeated an anecdote regarding when Vance delivered his famous address in Asheville in the late 1870s. The governor had chided his audience regarding the city's near complete lack of Jews. Until "they had some Jews amongst them," Vance prophesied, the city would not prosper. Lipinsky thus connected a Jewish presence in Asheville to its prosperity and staked a claim to the monument at the same time. As the letter makes clear, at least some in the city almost immediately conceived of the future monument as a symbol of both the man and Jews' collective gratitude to him.[410] The extent of Jews' contributions to the construction of the obelisk is unclear, however.

The discussions regarding a monument in Asheville continued into the next month among the city aldermen, who commissioned the Asheville Light Infantry to raise funds for a city monument. In response to the mayor's support for such a monument in his annual message, the board also committed $50 to the project.[411] The construction of the monument initially languished, however. When the first of two Asheville chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy was established in April 1897 with more than a hundred members, there had been little progress.[412] However, that same year saw an agreement between the county commissioners and George Pack, a wealthy Republican industrialist drawn from Ohio by the health benefits of the area. Pack struck a deal with the county; if the county commissioners gave the land for the square to Pack and his family to be held in trust for the public,

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[410] "Jews Esteemed Vance," *The Asheville Daily Citizen*, 2.
[411] "Their Annual Reports," May 5, 1894, p.1; also see "Monument Hon. Z.B. Vance," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen*, *1893-1896*, May 4, 1894, 127, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville, NC.
[412] "Around Town," Asheville *Daily Citizen*, April 8, 1897; "Auspicious Beginning," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, April 9, 1897.

Pack would donate $2,000 toward the construction of the monument. Pack also donated some of his own land holdings to the county for a new courthouse, adjacent to the now-expanded square.[413] In the words of an early-20th century account, Buncombe County "conveyed to Mr. Pack the present public square for the use of the public."[414] It was only after the agreement was made, in 1897, that the county commissioners appointed a monument association to organize the effort to erect the monument to Vance.[415] The $2,000 Pack donated was almost two-thirds of the $3,300 necessary for the construction of what would become a seventy-foot tall granite obelisk.[416]

With Pack's support, the monument was dedicated on Confederate Memorial Day, May 10, 1898. The *Citizen* reported that never before had so many attendees "compressed" into the square, including "hundreds of handsomely dressed ladies."[417] Vance's memory had charged political meaning in 1898, the year of the Democratic White Supremacy campaign aimed at defeating state Fusionists. As Glenda Gilmore has noted, in the hands of Democrats Vance functioned as a "convenient symbol to convince poor white populists that they had failed to uphold manhood's duties."[418] The dedication speech delivered by the Democratic governor of Tennessee, Robert Taylor, was not overtly political. Nevertheless, as one of the

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413 "History of Pack Square—A Permanent Possession," *Asheville Citizen*, August 4, 1916, Vertical File, Pack Memorial Library, Asheville.
414 "History of Pack Square—A Permanent Possession," *Asheville Citizen*, August 4, 1916.
415 "History of Pack Square—A Permanent Possession," *Asheville Citizen*, August 4, 1916.
416 John Preston Arthur, *Western North Carolina: A History (from 1730 to 1913)* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Printing Company, 1914), 508.
417 "The Monument Is Dedicated," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, May 13, 1898, 1.
418 Glenda 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), 85.

most well-known and popular state Democrats, Vance was still a politicized figure who was often invoked to signify Democrats' own identification with the state's white "common people," some of whom had recently supported the Fusion ticket.

The dedication also occasioned a show of strength by the Vance camp of the United Confederate Veterans, who marched onto the square from their headquarters located on one of the main roads that intersected the square. The band played several songs, including "Yankee Doodle." It was their rendition of "Dixie," however, that, according to the *Citizen*, produced a "shout that rattled the leaves of the trees about Monument Square."[419] Robert F. Campbell, who was about one-third of the way into his half-century tenure as pastor of downtown's First Presbyterian Church, gave the invocation.

The monument facilitated Lost Cause rhetoric in ensuing years. Theodore Roosevelt, who did his own work in reconciling the nation through appeals to masculinity and imperialistic white supremacy, spoke in Asheville in 1902 but a short distance away from the monument. Greeted by 10,000 people, he was escorted to the square by the Vance Company of Confederate veterans and later "shook hands with a number of confederate veterans" while inspecting George Vanderbilt's palatial Biltmore estate. During his speech, Roosevelt testified to "the pleasure it gave him to speak before the monument." After referencing Vance's obelisk, Roosevelt recounted his recent salutary visit to the Civil War battlefield of Chickamauga. He asserted that "he did not care what section of the country a man came from." What counted, instead, was whether a man had made "himself a worthy

[419] "The Monument Is Dedicated," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, May 13, 1898, 1.

citizen of the government."[420] Stating that "character is what counts" in a man, Roosevelt anticipated later participants in Vance ceremonies, who similarly praised the man as well as the idea of manly individual merit and its judgment his memory represented.[421]

The construction and dedication of the obelisk may have facilitated the impulses to remember Vance and perform the Lost Cause on the square, but did not represent the culmination of these impulses. The obelisk's preeminence as the city's Lost Cause monument was not necessarily clear, although the square, its space, and its attendant civic buildings were always incorporated into observances of Confederate Memorial Day and, later, Vance's birthday, which coincidentally fell only three days after the state's May 10th Memorial Day. In late 1912, for example, there was a movement by the local UDC to place a more explicitly Confederate monument on the square. The city aldermen granted permission for this addition, with both aldermen as well as the Board of Trade consulting.[422] While it is not clear why the monument was never erected, the impulse suggests that among some of those who sought to inscribe the Lost Cause in the landscape and ritual and ideological life of the community, the Vance monument in its early years was not sufficient. It was not until the 1920s that Lost Cause ceremonies revolved around both the obelisk and Vance's memory. In addition, the obelisk was not even necessarily to be the only monument to Vance on the square. In 1913, the city

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[420] "Roosevelt Says South Aids All," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 10, 1902, 5.
[421] "The President at Asheville," *The Augusta Chronicle,* September 10, 1902, 1.
[422] "Confederate Monument," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen*, *No. 7*, December 6, 1912, 329, Office of the City Clerk. The Board of Trade, the forerunner to the Chamber of Commerce, was responsible for publicizing attractive images of the city.

government instructed its legal counsel to acquire Vance's old law office in order to move it to the "Court House grounds."[423] The office was never moved. A local newspaper later alleged that this was because the old office had become a "storehouse for [thieves'] plunder." An alderman, however, denied this was the case, citing instead the "soft condition of the ground" where it currently stood.[424]

The obelisk was but one way that the square was changing. The main civic space became more capacious and simultaneously, as we shall see in the next section, more exclusive. In addition to supplying the majority of funds for its obelisk, George Pack expanded the space in several ways through his largesse. As part of the agreement with the board of aldermen, he donated land for the new county courthouse, built in 1903, while the land on which the old courthouse was standing was converted into part of an expanded square, which the city gave to Pack and his heirs to preserve as a public space.[425] Pack also donated land for the city's first

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[423] "Gov. Vance – Office," *Minutes of the Board of Aldermen*, *no. 8*, April 11, 1913, 80, Office of the City Clerk.

[424] "Vance's Office Thieves In," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen*, *No. 9*, December 4, 1914, 343. Office of the City Clerk.
In addition, the square was the setting for additional celebrations in the 1910s. For instance, in 1913 the "first municipal Christmas celebration" in the city was held at Pack Square, with an estimated crowd of 4,000 in attendance. See "A Municipal Christmas," *The Augusta Chronicle*, December 26, 1913, p. 1.

[425] The WPA guide to Asheville write noted this. The editor suggested that the writer do two things with this information: first, emphasize it more because of its unusual character and second to double check on the veracity of it. The editor noted that it was quite possibly "the only 'public' square privately owned in the State…It might be the only privately owned 'public' square in the country. Perhaps this fact should be checked more closely." See "Recommendations," January 11, 1938, box A323, United States Work Projects Administration Records, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. See http://toto.lib.unca.edu/web_exhibits/WNC_pack/default_pack.htm for a more detailed explanation of the deed transfers and agreements between Pack and the county commissioners.

permanent library on a corner of the square. His actions were crucial to the civic augmentation of the space as the city grew.

Pack also sought to increase policing of the square in 1902, the same year he donated land for the courthouse. The square had become, in the words of historian Richard Starnes, a "den of prostitutes, vendors, livestock, and vagrants," and Pack urged that the space be cleaned up.[426] The philanthropic Pack gave and received land to ensure a permanent public space while simultaneously working to limit economic and social access to that space—in effect, to limit the definition of that public. This dual movement of expansion and contraction was influenced by the tourist economy as well as white supremacist ideology. Several years before Pack engaged in his development of the square, for instance, the posh Battery Park Hotel published a pamphlet that formulated the hotel's strategic geographical proximity and social distance from the square. While the hotel was "scarcely a stone's throw away from the public square," it was literally and metaphorically above the square's tumult. More than a hundred feet above the square, the hotel was "so secluded in its own environments" that guests would find "perfect restfulness and repose."[427] While the square was a desirable place, it was also a disorderly space from which participants sought escape.

II: Visions of Order on the Square

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[426] Starnes, *Creating the Land of the Sky*, 73.
[427] E. P. McKissick, *Battery Park Hotel* (Philadelphia: Press of Loughead, 1896), 6. Digital Publisher Ramsey Library, University of North Carolina at Asheville. The hotel, which opened in 1888, was one of the first large hotels built with capital from northern investors in the town.

Figure 2: An Image of Pack Square from an 1892 advertising pamphlet, *Souvenir of Asheville or the Sky-Land.*[428]

Nonetheless, commercial and artistic renderings of the square imagined the space not only as a site but a source of urban order. As historian Allison Isenberg has argued, patrons and creators of images of the square often altered photographic reality to create the kind of scene they desired. In particular, artists "repair[ed]" the images of downtown captured in photographs to make the visions reflect that ideal. The ideal reflected the impulse to portray the area "as an ordered, regulated, dignified civic destination." There were, however, few visible signs of sources of regulation in these images. Instead, subjects appeared self-regulating.[429] The extent to which these images obscured regulation will become clear in the third section, which examines how city authorities extended their licensing power over this space.

Such pre-Vance monument images of the square as the one above appeared in advertising literature in the late 1880s and early 1890s. Images like this emphasized

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[428] *Souvenir of Asheville or the Sky-Land,* 1892, 15, (St. Louis: Nixon-Jones Printing Co., 1892; Digital Publisher Ramsey Library, University of North Carolina at Asheville. The pamphlet described as its purpose to describe "a few of the salient points which make Asheville pre-eminently desirable as a place of resort, either for health, or pleasure," 7.
[429] Alison Isenberg, *Downtown America: A History of the Place and the People Who Made It,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 42.

the central role of the square to commerce as well as its ability to draw visitors from the surrounding area. It was a picture of apparent disorder, however, as well. A scene from the New York-based periodical *Christian Union* similarly captured a sense of democratic disorder on the square. The story presented the "'The Square' and Court-House" as the focus of "public congregation, where all classes meet and discuss business, politics, and little 'nothings.'"[430] An 1895 Trenton, New Jersey newspaper painted an interracial and disreputable picture of the square, noting that the space was always surrounded "by a squad of lazy, half dressed" African Americans and whites who supposedly have "done nothing but this for several years."[431] The description linked interracial gathering to a lack of order and productivity.

The obelisk and its surrounding greenery augmented the square's service as a representational space—as a space in which representations of the city could be crafted by organizations such as the Board of Trade, often in congress or competition with other organizations or individuals. The forerunner to the city's Chamber of Commerce, the city's Board of Trade played a leading role in attracting both vacationers and potential residents to the city by printing pamphlets and other

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430 "In the North Carolina Mountains," *Christian Union*, June 21 1888. The quotation is excerpted from a longer article posted at the Western North Carolina website. The *Christian Union* was published in New York, and in 1893 became the Outlook. It was a social gospel religious periodical edited during this period by Lyman Abbott. See http://www.wcu.edu/library/digitalcollections/travelwnc/1890s/1890asheville.html.

431 "Asheville, N.C.," *The Times: Trenton, N.J.*, May 3, 1895. The paper also noted that the city drew its visitors from the northern and southern sections of the country. Although the writer observed that city residents "are an hospitable body," there were rare times when "the lines between northern and southern people are very closely drawn."

advertising efforts.[432] The Board claimed that Asheville was "probably the first city in the country to create an advertising fund through taxation."[433] In successive years in the mid-1920s, it even sent a selection of Asheville's leading businessmen to different regions of the U.S. on "goodwill tours" in the service of a Babbittish brotherhood.[434]

Shortly after the dedication of the obelisk, various organizations sought to capitalize on the possibilities of this representational space. The *Citizen*, for instance, asserted the space was key to visitors' first impressions of the city. The monument in particular quickly captured "the eye of the new arrival."[435] While the paper claimed the city was proud of the obelisk, its surrounding greenery had not been well maintained. To remedy this condition, the *Citizen* informed its readers that it had offered to maintain the greenery "in first-class shape and to keep it in such shape that it would be a decided ornament to the square." In return, the paper only asked for the privilege of erecting on one corner [of the square] a bulletin

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[432] Its authority to tax residents of Asheville for advertising expenses did not go unchallenged. Apparently, a "mass meeting of citizens" in February 1905 objected to taxation for this purpose. In response, the board passed a resolution promising to "reduce the general tax rate" for the city in the future, "so that there shall be no increased tax rate" overall. This promise, then, would potentially cancel out the advertising tax, which was "not less than 5 cents or more than 10c cents on the $100 valuation of table property." See "In – Re Advertising Asheville," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen*, no. 2, February 25, 1905, 24, Office of the City Clerk.

[433] "Asheville's Publicity Pays," *Printers' Ink*, Vol. 75, No. 1, April 6, 1911, New York, p. 53; See "In—Re: Advertising Asheville," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen*, No. 2, February 25, 1904, p. 24. The aldermen promised to reduce the "general tax rate" prevailing in the city "as much as the proposed advertising tax," thereby canceling out any potential increase.

[434] "The Board of Trade of Asheville, NC: What it has done, What It is Doing, What It is Trying to Do"; "Asheville's first Annual Goodwill Tour, 2/1925,"; "Western North Carolina's Second Annual Goodwill Tour, 3/16-28/1926/ under the Auspices and Direction of the Asheville Chamber of Commerce,"; "WNC's 3rd Goodwill Tour, 9/28-10/10/1926," North Carolina Collection, Pack Memorial Library, Asheville.

[435] "For Beautifying Monument Square," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, April 24, 1901, p. 4.

board for its own use."[436] However, the *Citizen* was rebuffed in its offer, a rejection that the paper blamed on one member of the Vance Monument Association. Somewhat peevishly, the *Citizen* suggested that the dissenting individual must have been in favor of rubbish, "or at least" left the question in doubt.[437] In addition to the Vance Monument Association, the city Board of Aldermen continually sought to protect the image of the square. In 1906, the board asked its Parks Committee to effect the removal of a "business or medicine advertising sign on [the] wall" of the "Legal Building" on the square's south side. The board asserted that the sign was "offensive to the eye" and "detract[ed] from beauty City Hall Park."[438]

Representational space on and even bordering the square was clearly precious, and something hoarded by the city government. Some fifteen years later, during World War I, the city commissioners allowed a soda company to sponsor a "Save Food" sign on the square, while significantly circumscribing how the company could advertise itself on the billboard, even specifying how large the company's logo could be on the sign and what the six-inch by six-feet advertising matter could read: "Donated to the United States Government by the Pepsi-Cola Company."[439] Clearly,

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[436] "For Beautifying Monument Square," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, 4.
[437] "For Beautifying Monument Square," *Asheville Daily Citizen*, 4.
[438] "Legal Bldg—Pack Square," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen, No. 2*, March 2, 1906, 263, Office of the City Clerk. For more on the attempts by local governments to regulate advertising in public space, see Laura E. Baker, "Public Sites Versus Public Sights: The Progressive Response to Outdoor Advertising and the Commercialization of Public Space," *American Quarterly* 59, no. 4 (December 2007): 1187-1213. Asheville's city government also sought to limit what Baker calls the "commercialization of public space" by defining the allowable size of advertisements outside stores.
[439] "Pepsi-Cola Bottling Company—Sign on Vance Monument," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of* Commissioners, March 21, 1918, 135, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.

other residents shared the *Citizen*'s perception that the square was fundamental to visitors' impressions of the city.

The limited physical space on the square led to symbolic stacking or augmentation. After World War I, there was a movement by the local American Legion to make their claim to the space of the square by placing a German cannon captured by Asheville soldiers on the square. The plan was for the cannon to displace the fountain that, as we shall see, figured prominently in commercial images of the square. While there had been an earlier fountain supplanted by the Vance monument, in 1904 another fountain was installed just to the east of the obelisk. Multiple letters printed in the *Citizen* in 1920 entreated "please, please, good Mr. Commissioners, don't take the fountain off the square" only to replace it with "a thing made in Germany."[440] The letter writer made sure to praise "the boys for capturing that gun" but suggested that it should not be a part of everyday life and thus did not deserve a place on the square "where we would have to see it every day." Instead, the writer suggested its appropriate place was either a park or a museum, "where we can go and see it when we want to."[441] The fountain, the writer held, "has long been Asheville's most beautiful and telling advertisement of her greatest attraction—her incomparable water."[442] The writer, further, recalled a

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[440] "Save The Fountain," *Asheville Citizen*, September 16, 1920, 4.
[441] "Save The Fountain," *Asheville Citizen*, 4.
[442] "Annual Report of Committee on Parks," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen, no. 1*, *October 29, 1903-January 6, 1905,* June 10, 1904, 209, Office of the City Clerk. Just several months earlier, the board of aldermen passed an ordinance prohibiting the sale of alcohol in "any theatre, opera house, auditorium, public parks or any public place of amusement." See "Ordinance Prohibiting Drinking in Public Place of Amusement," March 25, 1904, *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen*, no. 1, October 29, 1903-January 6, 1905, p. 137-138, Office of the City Clerk.

vision of the square in years past, even before the Vance monument when there was a fountain "about where the monument now stands."[443] The writer recalled the "loafers" that even then congregated around the green space. There, the members of what the writer called the "Asheville Society for the Prevention of Abolition of Leisure" rested.[444]

Awash in the "floods of complaints" that protested their initial decision, the city commissioners shortly reversed their decision of several weeks earlier to replace the fountain with the cannon. According to the city commissioners, many of the complaints asserted that the fountain "attracted as many people" to the square "as any one thing there." Still, there was reluctance on the part of the commissioners to snub the soldiers, who were "said to have expressed a desire on the battlefield that the cannon be placed" on the square.[445] The cannon would eventually be placed at the base of the obelisk, facing west toward busy Patton Avenue, until the need for metal during World War II led to it being melted down. Clearly, the fountain held some importance for some residents.

The conflict over the fountain and cannon underscores how symbolically dense the square was. The space was undoubtedly easier to manipulate in the commercial images that circulated in the early 20th century. The square was used repeatedly to sell the city through the replication and manipulation of the possibilities it offered. Many postcards and tourist pamphlets prominently displayed the square.[446] The

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443 "Save The Fountain," *Asheville Citizen*, 4.
444 "Save The Fountain," *Asheville Citizen*, 4.
445 "Fountain Will Be Retained On Square," *Asheville Citizen*, September 19, 1920.
446 See for example, the Stafford and Wingate L. Anders Collection*,* D.H. Ramsey Library, Special Collections, University of North Carolina at Asheville 28804.

following three postcards from the early 20th century demonstrate the multiple representations and meanings of the square, but also locates a common thread. These representations make the square legible as a source for order.

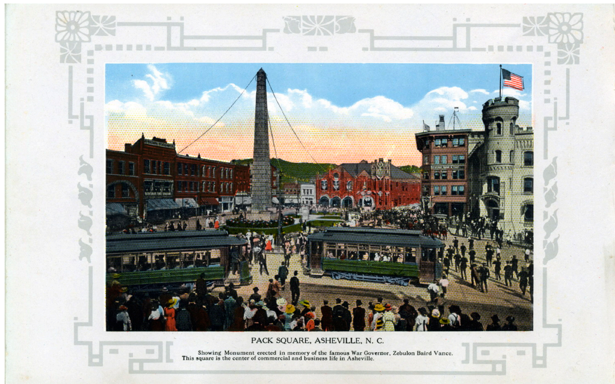

Figure 3: A postcard of Pack Square from a 1915 postcard booklet.[447]

Some pictures of the square expressed the city's vitality even while suggesting an order to that movement. The 1915 postcard above, which faces east, captures morning movement and makes clear that the square was a transportation hub for the city. The obelisk occupies a privileged position amidst the movement. More than that, it is a touchstone for this movement. Direction radiates outward from the obelisk, as suggested by the split trolley cars that frame the structure as well as the wires that reach outward from its top.

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[447] "Pack Square, Asheville, N.C.," *Sixty Four Selected Views of Western North Carolina* (Asheville: Southern Post Card Co., 1915), 12, Ramsey Library Special Collections, University of North Carolina at Asheville, http://toto.lib.unca.edu/booklets/sixty_four_views/default_sixty_four_views.htm.

Figure 4: A postcard from the late 1920s showing the square from Patton Avenue.[448]

In the next postcard, the lines of order extend further out from the square, this time down Patton Avenue, a busy, commercial street. The recently completed twin buildings of local governance and power bracket the monument. To the right of the monument sits the Art-Deco city hall with its circular roof; to its left, the Neo-Classical Buncombe County courthouse. The postcard must have been produced sometime after 1928, when both buildings were completed, and is the latest of the three reviewed here. The streetcar tracks in the foreground appear to lead directly to the monument. The angle of the view in the postcard obscures the fact that the city and county buildings are set at the bottom of the same hill on whose top the monument sits. From its angle the monument towers over the buildings. The physical distance between the monument and the buildings is erased to create a concentrated civic landscape.

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[448] "Patton Ave. Looking Toward Pack Square," 16, Stafford and Wingate L. Anders Collection, Ramsey Library Special Collections, University of North Carolina at Asheville, http://toto.lib.unca.edu/findingaids/photo/anders/default_anders.htm.

Vance's obelisk is the center of order in this visually compressed skyline. The postcard portrays orderly movement, with the pedestrians on the right of the postcard moving toward the obelisk, while those on the left sidewalk largely appear to be moving away from the obelisk, particularly those closest to the viewpoint and thus best-defined. In their movement they of course mirror that of the vehicle traffic, which serves to accentuate the urban order that pivots on the obelisk. This order, which is shown in motion, depends on the obelisk for balance and spatial rationale.

Figure 5: A postcard dated 1912 showing Pack Square at night.[449]

Other postcards emphasized the square as a site of orderly leisure. This last one, for instance, displays the square at night as an expansive, almost yawning, public space. It portrays a restrained, gendered, and class-conscious movement. Situated almost in its corner, the point of view emphasizes the openness of the nighttime space. The picture communicates its subjects' leisurely pace, commensurate with their class position, as the people appear well-attired. Perhaps most prominent is the woman dressed in white in the left foreground of the picture.

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[449] "Pack Square at Night, Asheville, N.C.," at http://longstreet.typepad.com/thesciencebookstore/2010/07/asheville-north-carolina-pack-square-development-in-postcards.html (accessed December 31, 2012).

She is not alone in public space, as being so would be a breach of nighttime propriety. An evening scene like this underscores the square as a site of leisured respectability. A nighttime crowd, such as that which graced the first postcard, would communicate a very different meaning. The expansiveness of the square—its openness, was inextricably tied to the picture's depiction of the evening hour. Moreover, each element was important in communicating an orderly leisure. In this postcard the order radiating from the obelisk is physically represented by the lights, which extend outward to the buildings, whose every window appears lit. The obelisk appears to be electrifying the buildings, which further emphasizes its centrality.

Written renderings of the square in the 20th century also described it as a place of order, despite the continual movement across and around it of persons and vehicles. Likely the most widely-read descriptions of the square were penned by Thomas Wolfe. His autobiographical novel *Look Homeward, Angel* angered many residents for its portrayal of the town and its residents, many of whom were recognizable even in fictionalized form. For several years after its publication, the city library refused to carry the book, and one resident took it as a compliment that Wolfe did not create a character in his likeness.[450] The square plays a large role in Wolfe's narrative, in part because like W.O. Wolfe, the fictionalized patriarch Oliver

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[450] Charles Tennent Oral History, interview by Louis D. Silveri, August 5, 1975, Southern Highlands Research Center, Ramsey Library, University of North Carolina-Asheville; Sidney Schochet Oral History, interview by David Schulman, April 10, 1994, Jewish Heritage of Western North Carolina Collection. Ramsey Library Special Collections, University of North Carolina-Asheville, NC; Florence Iddings Ryan, interview by Dorothy Joynes, June 18 and June 23, 1992, interview two, Voices of Asheville Oral History Collection, D. H. Ramsey Library Special Collections, University of North Carolina-Asheville.

Gant had a monument shop there.[451] In his posthumously published *You Can't Go Home Again*, the square functioned as a dubious instrument for judging the truthfulness of the novel. Its description in the previously published novel had ratified that work as truthful in the eyes of the residents of his fictionalized hometown: "He's written it all down, just the way it happened! Nothing's changed a bit! Look at the Square!" In perceiving the novel as a realistic rendering of life in their city, its residents "always came back to the Square."[452]

The square had appeared as a fixed entity in the changing landscape of "Altamont" in Wolfe's novelization of life in *Look Homeward, Angel*. Echoing the letters of concerned citizens from early in the 1920s, Wolfe featured the fountain in his detailed descriptions, lingering over the "blown sheets of spray" emanating from the fountain in summer. While the square's "flurry of life" attracted Oliver, this bustle concealed a more complicated stillness.[453] Returning home from what was to be his last great wandering journey, Oliver Gant perceived "the cramped mean fixity of the Square: this was the one fixed spot in a world that writhed, evolved, and changed constantly in his vision."[454]

While often portraying the square as a leisurely space, the novel also communicated the order that appeared organic in the square. Examining the square from a nearby mountain earlier in the book, the protagonist and author's *alter ego* Eugene saw that there "seemed to be a kind of centre at the Square, where all the

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[451] "W. O. Wolfe – Draymen Congregating on Steps and Sidewalk in Front of his Place of Business to Public Safety," May 27, 1915, 209, *Minutes of Proceedings of Board of Aldermen, no. 10,* Office of the City Clerk.
[452] Thomas Wolfe, *You Can't Go Home Again* (New York: Signet Books, 1996), 276.
[453] Thomas Wolfe, *Look Homeward, Angel* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997), 10.
[454] Wolfe, *Look Homeward, Angel,* 62-63.

cars crawled in and waited, yet there was no purpose anywhere."[455] There was order without a discernable purpose or, therefore, a legible external source.

Eugene expands on this order in the dreamlike conclusion of *Look Homeward*. Significantly, the square in this passage restricts what seems possible and appropriate, seemingly without recourse to another authority. When confronted at the novel's end with not only the ghost of his brother but with animated angels from his dying father's store, the young protagonist protested by invoking the square. In response to his dead brother's defense of the "right" of the marble statues to fly, graze, and "wag," Eugene protested, "'Not here! Not here!' said Eugene passionately. 'It's not right, here! My God, this is the Square! There's the fountain! There's the City Hall!'" When asked by his dead sibling Ben where the appropriate place was for the exercise of such rights, Eugene named the exotic ancient cities of Babylon and Thebes, and noted "there is a place where all things happen! But not here, Ben!"[456] The square, then, was a space in which such fantastical happenings did not occur, perhaps because of its centrality to everyday life. It is a final measure of the square's symbolic potential that the site inspired some of the book's most densely purple prose. Eugene rebelled at the thought of dancing statues at the square. His resistance is a testament to the work done out of the novel's line of sight to order life on the square. That work is the subject of the last section of the chapter.

III. Regulating the Square

While the images above may have been aspirational, the regulatory regime constructed during the late 19th and early 20th centuries represented attempts to

[455] Wolfe, *Look Homeward, Angel,* 367.
[456] Wolfe, *Look Homeward, Angel,* 504.

approximate those visions of order. The creation of public space entailed its simultaneous ordering and defense. Newly christened with the Vance obelisk and augmented by civic buildings like city hall, the library, and the police headquarters, Pack Square was a focal point for more intensive regulation.[457] City authorities sought to regulate and restrict access to the square in multiple ways, often in response to residents' own claims to its civic space. City commissioners, who were white men often engaged in the professions or in commerce, passed judgment on the threats to the moral, spatial, and social order supposedly posed by those claims. This task was inseparable from organizing the space through racial, gender, and class distinctions.

Authorities' efforts to manage order on the square entailed enlisting subjects and harnessing their own subjectivities in this project. This section examines three examples of "governing at a distance," whereby subjects contributed to the management of order on the square: taxi drivers who wanted to earn a place on the economically vital central square; pedestrians and drivers navigating an increasingly congested space; and whites who participated in the extension and policing of new segregated spaces on the square. Whites' engagement in policing segregated sites violated the fiction that segregation was an automatic technology, based on the claim that segregation simply accorded with the natural preferences of people, with which the liberal state could supposedly not interfere.[458]

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[457] Gregory P. Downs notes that "Progressive statism" emerged from white supremacy in North Carolina. The regulations on the square seems to be a local example of this. Gregory P. Downs, *Declarations of Dependence: The Long Reconstruction of Popular Politics in the South: 1861-1908* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 187.
[458] Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 201.

Various groups and individuals, including the Board of Aldermen, the Board of Trade (forerunner to the Chamber of Commerce), municipal housekeeping groups like the Civic Betterment League, the police, and even private entrepreneurs sought to contribute to the regulation of space on the square. Beyond these efforts, claims on the square were made by many different residents of the city and its surroundings. Regulation was often formulated in response to these claims. Many of the city's efforts at spatial regulation at the turn of the century were responses to how residents had long utilized the square as both an endpoint and a waypoint. The Buncombe Turnpike, which would form one side of the square, connected upland farmers to southward markets. Prior to the Civil War farmers transported produce and thousands of hogs on the route.[459] While the turnpike never saw as much traffic after the war, there was apparently enough that the Board of Aldermen attempted to limit its use in the early 20th century. The square was the focus of efforts by urban elites to erase or at least contain what historian Richard Starnes has called "images of rural life" from the city. The city commissioners attempted to cleanse the square of images that did not fit their conceptions of "high culture, modern urban amenities, and a reputation for southern hospitality."[460]

In 1904, for example, the board restricted but did not wholly outlaw the movement of livestock in the city. Farmers could not drive any kind of livestock, including cattle, mules, sheep and goats, in the downtown area. The ordinance excluded this four-footed traffic from Pack Square, as well as the downtown thoroughfares of Patton Avenue, Haywood Street, and portions of Main Street. These

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[459] Starnes, *Creating the Land of the Sky*, 66.
[460] Starnes, *Creating the Land of the Sky*, 66.

streets were central to the image of "modern" commerce and culture cultivated by the numerous advertising publications distributed by the city's Board of Trade; save for Haywood, all the streets intersected the square. The penalty for violating this spatial zone was five dollars.[461] Despite this penalty, the exhibition of cattle on the square itself one year later raised the ire of an alderman, who introduced a motion that forbade farmers from displaying their cattle on the square.[462]

The board also attempted to regulate not only movement, but its absence as well, identifying bodies at rest as possible dangers and threats to order at the square and elsewhere in the city. In 1897, the board made it illegal "for anyone to sit or stand still upon the streets, side walks or public square" in the city.[463] If the offender did not move after being warned by a policeman, he or she would incur a fine of five dollars.[464]

The board additionally moved to limit when people could collectively gather in public space. Late-night gatherings were suspect. In 1897, the board passed a regulation that formalized the assumption that anyone in public past midnight deserved and demanded scrutiny. Any resident in the streets or in public spaces after that hour would be "required to answer any questions by the police as to their reason and object for being abroad at an unseasonable hour." The ordinance thus put the power of judgment in the hands of the city's police, which, as historian Lisa

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[461] Cattle Ordinance—See page 368," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen, No. 1*, December 9, 1904, 365, 368, Office of the City Clerk.
[462] "Cattle Not to be Exhibited on Court Square," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen,* No. 2, August 18, 1905, 136, Office of the City Clerk.
[463] "No. 3," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen, 1896-1898*, June 25, 1897, 234-235, Office of the City Clerk.
[464] "No. 3," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen, 1896-1898*, June 25, 1897, 234-235, Office of the City Clerk. Repeat offenders were subject to harsher penalties.

Keller has observed, occurred elsewhere as well.[465] Refusal to answer would result in a presumption of guilt of a misdemeanor, arrest, and the levy of a five-dollar fine.[466] Furthermore, any gatherings of three or more persons after midnight was subject to immediate dispersal.[467] Use of the square at night was of particular concern. In the same year, lawyer L. P. McLoud asked the board to assign a policeman to "night duty" on the square.[468]

The board also laid out an extensive list of activities prohibited in the city's parks. It specifically prohibited any person from walking on or injuring the "grass or grass-plots" at Pack Square or, indeed, "any tree, shrub, plant, or vine" on any of the public parks. Coupled with these spatial regulations were moral regulations, including prohibitions against "loud or boisterous cursing, swearing or profane talk" and "lascivious conduct."[469] Additionally, roller skating at the square or on the streets that intersected the square was prohibited in August, 1906 on the motion of Solomon Lipinsky, an alderman whose department store The Bon Marche was located on South Main Street, just off the square.[470]

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[465] Lisa Keller has observed that in cities like New York, "police judgment was crucial in creating the moral compass" in public space. Keller, *The Triumph of Order: Democracy & Public Space in New York and London* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 212.
[466] "No. 3," June 25, 1897, *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen*, 1896-1898, 234-235, Office of the City Clerk.
[467] "No. 3," June 25, 1897, *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen*, 1896-1898, 234-235, Office of the City Clerk.
[468] July 9, 1897, *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen*, 1896-1898, 251, Office of the City Clerk.
[469] "The Following Ordinance," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen*, no. 2, June 9, 1905, 85, Office of the City Clerk.
[470] "Ordinance, Skating on Certain Streets," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen*, *no. 3*, August 9, 1906, 10, Office of the City Clerk; it became an ordinance on August 17, 1906.

Regulation extended beyond these measures and asserted the right of the city government to pass pre-emptive judgment on the right of any messages disseminated on the square. Provoked by unnamed "assemblages" at the square, a 1904 ordinance prohibited any sort of "sermon, lecture, address or discourse…any public demonstration, exhibition or entertainment" that did not secure prior "written permission of the mayor."[471] That permission, moreover, was contingent. If the mayor decided subsequently that the demonstration threatened the "good morals and order" of the city, he could revoke that permission. The ordinance applied to all city "streets, alleys, public squares or any public grounds."[472] What had by then become known as Pack Square, though, was the focus of most subsequent requests for access to public space recorded in the minutes of the city government.

Many organizations attempted to utilize the square, and the board decided which organizations would have access to it as well as the time limits of that access. The board gave a black woman permission in 1911 to preach there, in the same space designated for the Salvation Army, although the board specified that services "be conducted in a quiet manner."[473] Similarly, in 1912 the Board directed the police chief to only allow preaching on the square between 6:00 and 8:00 p.m.

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[471] "Ordinance in Re: Assemblages on Public Square re," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen, Oct. 29, 1903-Jan. 6, 1905*, August 19, 1904, 280-281, Office of the City Clerk.

[472] "Ordinance in Re: Assemblages on Public Square re," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen, Oct. 29, 1903-Jan. 6, 1905*, August 19, 1904, 280-281, Office of the City Clerk.

[473] "Religious Services on Streets," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen*, *No. 6*, August 25, 1911, 238, Office of the City Clerk. One decade later Ricks sought the board's permission to preach on the streets once more. See "Henrietta Ricks- Application to Preach," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, No. 17*, May 12, 1922, 300, Office of the City Clerk.

Furthermore, one half of this time was awarded to the Salvation Army. For the other half, "all denominations shall have this privilege."[474] The Army, in fact, was not altogether satisfied with this temporal limitation and successfully asked that the time be extended a half-hour to 8:30 p.m.[475] This access to the square, however limited, did not last. Later in the year, the board rescinded this privilege in response to the complaints of the residents and businesses on the square. Still, there were occasional large religious meetings on the square. In 1920, for instance, Baptists held an "open air meeting" there to which all were invited.[476] The board, it should be noted, did not give permission to every organization. It did exercise its power to deny certain groups the privilege of using the square. While early in the century it allowed the Socialist Club to hold meetings on the eastern portion of the square, the board refused permission in 1907 to a Mormon Elder who wished to use the square for preaching.[477]

As this section has thus far demonstrated, the square was a site for the elaboration and performance of authority. This authority could be explicit, Beginning in 1915, for example, squads of police officers, at the beginning of their shift, would march "two abreast to the center of Pack square in military fashion."

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[474] "Preaching On the Square," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen*, *no. 7*, May 3, 1912, 101, Office of the City Clerk.
[475] "Preaching on the Square," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen*, *no. 7*, May 3, 1912, 101, Office of the City Clerk.
[476] "Baptists To Have Meeting On Square," *Asheville Citizen*, September 7, 1920, 7.
[477] "Socialist Club," S. I. Bean," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen*, *no. 7*, August 30, 1912, 247; "Socialists," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen*, *no. 4*, July 10, 1908, 147; "Mormons Refused Use of Streets for Preaching," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen, no. 3*, May 17, 1907, 214, all at Office of the City Clerk.

Once at the square, the squad would disperse into individual assignments.[478] Such demonstrations, while undoubtedly impressive, were not as important to the management of order on the square as practices of "governing at a distance" that enlisted multiple subjects in their administration.

The traffic instruments that appeared on the square in this period aimed to manage order by regularizing risk in what was probably the most congested space in Asheville.[479] In 1917 the city installed a traffic device at a busy intersection of Pack Square that warned "pedestrians that a vehicle was approaching" by both a light and a "gong." This technological and governmental innovation apparently had a private provenance.[480] It had come about at the insistence of a local resident, Charles Lyman, who patented the signal and paid for its upkeep out of his own pocket for its first several years. In 1922 a petition of eighty-odd residents, many of them prominent, attested to the helpfulness of the signal and their belief that it had prevented many accidents. Lyman offered to sell the signal to the city and promise that its upkeep would be minimal. He guaranteed its continued operation for the next twenty years.[481] The city likely took over ownership, because two years later Asheville's mayor John Cathey huffily wrote to the *New York Times,* insisting that the

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[478] "Innovations Made In Police Methods," *Asheville Citizen*, June 25, 1915, 16.
[479] John Nolen, *Asheville City Plan*, *1922* (Asheville: Asheville City Planning Commission, 1925), 29, Ramsey Library Special Collections, UNCA.
[480] As historian Barbara Welke observed, in late 19th and early 20th century cities, "the production of safety" was a growth industry capable of rewarding industries, investors, and inventors with monetary reward. More importantly, Lyman's warning system is an example of the development of "ordered liberty," which Welke charts in the late 19th and early 20th century. See Welke, *Recasting American Liberty: Gender, Race, Law, and the Railroad Revolution, 1865-1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 31, 4.
[481] "Chas. E. Lyman,-- Automatic Street Signal," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, no. 17, May 22, 1922, p. 306, Office of the City Clerk.

city's "automatic road signal" predated by several years the French one recently featured in the pages of the paper of record. The signal, Cathey testified, was located "at one of the most dangerous points" of the city. The mayor asserted that only one accident had occurred in the previous four years at the spot, and he blamed that incident on the driver's having combined "alcohol with the gas." The city, moreover, was continuing to expand its authority, knowledge, and presence at the site through automation. The mayor's 1924 letter boasted that the city had also recently installed "an automatic counter" that kept track of the number of cars traversing the "main street" adjacent to the square.[482] This method of maintaining order involved subjects in their own government. It did so by disciplining and making risk predictable through the creation and communication of new forms of knowledge.

Additionally, taxi drivers' continual attempts to claim space on the square ultimately involved them in its administration even while they remained suspect subjects. In fact, the suspicion accorded them as potential agents of disorder and immorality facilitated their engagement in upholding order. In the first several decades of the century, most of the visitors arrived in the city via train and thus were more likely to avail themselves of the city's taxi service than if they had driven to the city. In the 1922 city directory, consequently, the Asheville Taxi Company advertised not only its twenty-four hour service but also that it would "Meet All Trains."[483] What were often called "public service automobile drivers" in the early

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[482] John H. Cathey, "Automatic Danger Signal: Mayor of Asheville Claims Priority on Device Reported in France," *New York Times*, Sept. 11, 1924, 22 (Proquest, 103365152); The mayor of Asheville wrote to the *New York Times* to claim that an "experimental" warning system being tested in France in fact had already been in operation for several years in Asheville.
[483] *Asheville, North Carolina City Directory*, vol. XXI (Asheville: The Miller Press, 1922), 20.

20th century congregated at the square as well as the at train depot. Drivers' opportunities to occupy the congested and contested spaces at both locations were important to their livelihood. The city government set standards for their behavior at both places.

Before automobiles were in wide use, hack drivers had sought permission to occupy space on or adjacent to the square since at least the last decade of the 19th century. This arrangement became more difficult to sustain in the face of increasing crowding on the square. In 1904, the Board directed the police chief to no longer permit the drivers to "stand on Pack Square."[484] This decision pushed the hack drivers, unwilling to be completely banished from this economic space, to the periphery of the square. Their presence there unfortunately proved an annoyance to the owners of the businesses that lined the square itself. A month after the Board requested that the police chief rid the square itself of the drivers' presence, the aldermen received a petition from the "business men of Pack Square," who identified themselves as "taxpayers" and complained that the street hacks were creating a nuisance by "standing in front of their places of business."[485] Hack drivers' unstable, shaky, and contested claim to the space continued through the decade. In July 1911, the Board of Aldermen, on recommendation of the police chief, ordered "all hacks" to confine themselves to the south side of the square, "next to sidewalk south of the Vance monument." By December of the same year, however,

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[484] "No Street Hacks to Stand on Square," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen, No. 1*. June 10, 1904, 218, Office of the City Clerk.
[485] "Complaint of Hack Drivers," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen, No. 1*, July 22, 1904, 252, Office of the City Clerk.

the chief of police was ordered by the board to find a "place other than the square for a hack stand."[486]

The square was too important for the taxi drivers to abandon, however, and in the following years they sought to claim the space, in addition to the railroad depot and hotels. While important to the city's economy, however, the drivers were themselves suspect, both in the 1910s and even more so in the 1920s. The city government was concerned about the characters of drivers and the threat they supposedly represented to the city's moral order through their privatized mobility at a time when most people did not possess automobiles. The cars functioned as a conduit for the movements of tourists and others, and the city sought to police that movement. The suspicion directed at taxi drivers was in part a reaction to the threat presented by automobility to morality.[487]

The board passed two ordinances in 1914 that distributed the penalties for businesses' complicity in "illicit sexual intercourse" as well as "any other immoral or unlawful" activities that had always formed a part of the tourist industry in Asheville as elsewhere.[488] Both the hotels as well as the public service automobiles were subject to these ordinances. The former were subject to a twenty-five dollar

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[486] "Hack Stands," July 14, 1911, 199; "Hack Stand," December 22, 1911, 378, both in *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen, No. 6,* Office of the City Clerk.

[487] When cross-checking the 1922 city directory, 1921 license holders, and the 1920 census, it appears that many of the taxi drivers identified in the 1922 city directory, for instance, were young and single white men. See, for instance, John and Bernard Henderson, both of whom received licenses on July 8, 1921, following the more stringent licensing requirements mandated by the city. John Henderson was 19 and employed as a soda dispenser in the 1920 census. His brother, Bernard, was 22 and an "auto chauffeur" at the time of the 1920 census. Also see Roy Ducker, who was 19 and a waged "office man" for a local company. *Asheville Citizen*, July 9, 1921.

[488] "Ordinance- Hotels and Boarding Houses," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen, no. 9*, July 27, 1914, 48, Office of the City Clerk.

fine for knowingly renting a room for the purpose of such activities; for unknown reasons, though, the fine for public service automobile drivers was twice the amount levied on hotel owners. Furthermore, the second violation would result in the loss of the driver's taxi license for two years.[489] The harsh penalty accorded public service automobile chauffeurs by the Board suggests both the role they played in the interlinked tourist and vice economies and the suspicion under which they performed that role. The importance of taxis to the tourist industry and their visibility at its crucial nodes contributed to drivers' status as objects of anxiety and regulation.[490]

The board first defined the requirements for "public service automobile" drivers to receive a license in 1914.[491] The city exercised its licensing power by

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[489] "Ordinance- Service Automobiles," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen, Vol. 9*, July 17, 1914, 170, Office of the City Clerk.

[490] Taxi drivers were suspect and symbolized potential disloyalty and disorder from local and national perspectives during this period. American involvement in World War I not only prompted the city government to close pool rooms in the name of efficiency and effort and to discourage 'loafing." For the same reason, the city government increased its scrutiny of taxi divers. The politics of national unity focused attention on drivers as potentially disloyal. In service to the war effort, the Labor Board, charged with maximizing the city's mobilization for war, targeted the city's tourist industry. In July of 1918, a representative of the Labor Bureau (later referred to as the Community Labor Board), asked that the city commissioners supply the bureau with the names of local taxi drivers. According to the representative, "more than any town in the state," Asheville's chauffeurs were made up of "able-bodied men." The representative, T.J. Rickman, proposed that future applications for licensure "be subjected to strict censorship." See 'T. J. Rickman—Chauffeurs," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, *No. 14*, July 20, 1918, 237; "T. J. Rickman, Community Labor Board—Labor Census," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, *No. 14*, October 12, 1918, 304, both at Office of the City Clerk.

[491] Regulation of drivers as suspect subjects was augmented in the period of postwar reaction. The city passed severe taxi driver regulation in 1921, in part because of the belief that drivers were transgressing prohibition by transporting alcohol. While drivers still needed others to attest to their good character, only three "reputable citizens" were required to testify to the driver's "character and sobriety" instead of five freeholders. However, the law also required proof beyond that provided by associations and testimonials: the applicant also had to obtain a "certificate showing the court record of the applicant, including the date of all arrests" since 1915. In addition, drivers newly had to

compelling drivers to demonstrate their moral worth and perform their commitment to order. Drivers' personal reputation was paramount to demonstrating these qualities. The reputation could only be secured, however, by the social and economic standing of the driver's associations. The board mandated that in order to obtain a public service automobile license, drivers had to provide a "certificate of character signed by five reputable citizens of the City of Asheville who are free holders," a Jeffersonian echo in a Rooseveltian age of regulation.[492]

This concern of the board for the taxi drivers' roles in both the image and economy of Asheville shaped their participation in networks of surveillance. Like the hack drivers previously, automobile drivers petitioned for a consistent presence on the square in 1916.[493] In order to obtain this spatial privilege, the chauffeurs first pledged to behave in a manner appropriate for the square. The economic behaviors they promised to practice suggest that they sought to ease the Board's fears that their presence would be chaotic. To allay these fear, the drivers promised that each

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"furnish a health certificate from [a] licensed physician every 90 days." According to an editorial in the *Citizen,* "[i]f the chauffeur is infected his license is suspended," although it did not specify which illnesses would signal the chauffeur's unsuitability. The original form of the ordinance, however, specified that the drivers had to be free of venereal diseases. See "To Require Health Certificates From Taxicab Operators," *Asheville Citizen*, June 15, 1921; "Taxicab Regulations," June 15, 1921, 4; "Drastic Requirements Proposed for Drivers of Taxicabs in City," June 9, 1921, *Asheville Citizen*, 16. According to the commissioner of Public Safety R. L. Fitzpatrick, these measures were "necessary to ensure the good character of" the drivers in the service of this mission. See "City Commissioners Take War Path After Dance Halls and Taxi Drivers," *Asheville Times*, June 3, 1921. Even after World War II, a taxi driver found it necessary to insist that "not all cab drivers are criminals." Several, in fact, were veterans of the recently concluded war. See "H. L. Talley, "A Taxi Driver Speaks," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, April 28, 1946, 4.

[492] "Ordinance—Service, Automobiles," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen*, *No. 9,* July 10, 1914, 162; "Ordinance—Service Automobiles," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen*, *no. 9*, July 17, 1914, 170, both at Office of the City Clerk.

[493] "Public Service Cars—Petition to Stand on Pack Square," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, *No. 12*, April 8, 1916, 83, Office of the City Clerk.

one would "stay in arm's distance of the particular car which he is driving." In addition, only one driver at a time would address a potential customer, and only in a "low tone of voice," thus demonstrating the cultured manners that city boosters advertised as an attribute of the city.[494]

Beyond promising to regulate themselves, the drivers additionally swore to act as agents of the city's police power, much as the city's pawnshops that stood adjacent to the square would shortly be required to do. The drivers pledged to "report all persons around [the public service automobile stand on the square] who are guilty of disorderly conduct" and other offenses to public order. They were also willing to "swear out warrants" against those who violated the decency of the square.[495] Drivers, then, sought to both surveil the space and contribute to a prevailing vision of order.

Three days after drivers' appeal in April 1916, the city commissioners agreed to reserve a space on the square for taxis for one week. The conditions they specified mirrored the ones earlier promised by the drivers themselves. The commissioners also noted that the privilege of their Pack Square presence could be immediately revoked should the drivers fail to comply with the conditions.[496]

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[494] "Public Service Cars—Petition to Stand on Pack Square," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, *No. 12*, April 8, 1916, 83, Office of the City Clerk.
[495] "Public Service Cars—Petition to Stand on Pack Square," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, *No. 12*, April 8, 1916, 83, Office of the City Clerk.
[496] "R. R. Williams- Chauffeurs and Owners of Pubic Service Automobiles," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, *No. 12*, April 16, 1916, 84, Office of the City Clerk. Their presence on the square continued to be contested and an issue through at least the rest of the decade. See "Petition to Park Cars on North Pack Square," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, no. 12*, April 13, 1916, 88; " See "Public Service Automobiles—Pack Square, *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, No. 15, May 24, 1919, 116, Office of the City Clerk.

Drivers, then, were involved in managing order even while they represented possible threats to that order. This participation represented a means for those drivers to demonstrate their character.

Finally, the extension of racial segregation on the square in the early century depended on those empowered by their whiteness for its enforcement. Just as "governing at a distance" kept liberal subjectivity as not just plausible but central to government, this enrollment of whites in segregation troubled for white paternalists who sought to "perfect" segregation in part by suggesting that it did not empower and enlist whites' violence in its regulation and defense. The conflict in 1924 over the extension of Jim Crow to the water fountains on the square demonstrated how white paternalists imagined segregation to manage conflict. The fictions of liberalism facilitated their denial that that the delegation of power and privilege to whites was foreign to its true administration.

The recognition of the square's limited space likely guided the city's investment in the most expensive and elaborate construction project at that location in the early 20th century, the underground men's and women's "public comfort station" restrooms. These restrooms were for whites only. The creation of new spaces on the square like the restrooms entailed greater regulation and the extension of racial segregation. In 1913, the board adopted the recommendation of one resident that it undertake the construction of a "public comfort station" on the square, although the bathrooms were not completed until 1920.[497] As was the case with larger cities, Asheville's public comfort station was meant to be a showpiece,

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[497] "Pack Square – Station," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen*, *no. 8*, June 13, 1913, 152, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.

located in a prime tourist and commercial area.[498] While the estimated cost of Asheville's station would delay the project for some time, New York City commissioned a $40,000 station in 1909.[499]

The Asheville's Civic Betterment League also provided support, albeit conditional, for the comfort station. The League organized itself in 1912, one year prior to the beginning of the quest for the comfort station. It took as its mission the improvement of the city's "health, cleanliness, attractiveness and social education" and therefore was concerned with the management and regulation of public space.[500] By 1915, the organization had vowed to turn Asheville into "the cleanest [city] in the state."[501]

Like some other women's organizations during this time, Asheville's Civic Betterment League practiced a politics of "municipal housekeeping" based on the notions of feminine virtue, difference, and domesticity. They appealed to the public by dramatizing this difference. "Men want good roads, women want clean streets and alleys" was one of their slogans.[502] In addition, the League used public pressure to shame reluctant merchants. Apparently, during one of its clean-up campaigns,

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[498] "Atlantic City Comfort Station," *Municipal Journal and Engineer* 26, no. 1, January 6, 1909: 1-2.
[499] "News of the Municipalities—Miscellaneous," *Municipal Journal and Engineer* 26, no. 1, January 6, 1909, 399.
[500] "Women Organize the Civic League," *Asheville Citizen*, January 4, 1912.
[501] "For the Cleanest City in the State," *The Survey* 35 (October, 1915-March 1916), 346.
[502] "For the Cleanest City in the State," *The Survey,* 346. This was not a meaningless slogan when Asheville's Good Roads Association was one of the most active in the state. It was dominated by men who desired to increase the city's draw as a tourist destination. *Road Maps and Tour Book of Western North Carolina* (Raleigh: North Carolina Good Roads Association, 1916).

"the appearance of a camera in the hands of a woman campaigner" led formerly recalcitrant property owners to beg for "three days grace in which to clean up."

The group also took a special interest in the square. In 1915, the league appeared before the board of commissioners to voice both their support for a comfort station as well as concerns regarding its planned subterranean construction.[503] The league expressed its preference for an above ground comfort station. In the same year, it also helped to bring the "most approved" kind of garbage can to Pack Square.[504]

Despite the misgivings of the league, the commissioners were initially enthusiastic about placing a public bathroom under the square and directed a local architect to study Salt Lake City's own recently installed comfort station. Although they initially adopted the plans presented by civil engineer Charles Parker and hoped that work could begin after the 1916 summer tourist season, the commissioners later dismissed all construction bids as too expensive.[505] However, the project ultimately went forward after World War I at a projected cost of almost $30,000 and opened in June 1920.[506]

Like others before it in Seattle and Atlantic City, Asheville's public comfort station received a write-up in a professional journal upon completion. *Domestic*

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[503] "Women Organize the Civic League," *Asheville Citizen*, January 4, 1912.
[504] "For the Cleanest City in the State," *The Survey,* 346.
[505] "Plans for Public Comfort Station," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, No. 12*, May 29, 1916, 141, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville, N.C.
[506] "For the Cleanest City in the State," *The Survey,* 346. Asheville, as with other cities, borrowed ideas and regulations previously implemented elsewhere. In 1916, the city's newly hired smoke inspector traveled to Chicago to observe that city's smoke regulation before writing Asheville's city ordinance. See "A. H. Vanderhoof—Smoke Inspector—To Visit Chicago," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, No. 12*, February 26, 1916, 44, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville, N.C.

Engineering ran a laudatory feature less than one year after its opening. The underground structure was greater than 70 feet in length. There was a mix of pay and free toilets in both the men's and women's sections: there was a "row of nine free pay toilets," as well as "three pay compartments," each of which held a "closet and lavatory."[507] The structure had been constructed for the city's visitors as much as for its residents. The former population, "being the better class of Americans," would be awake to such progressive improvements as the bathroom.[508] The facility functioned, the journal surmised, as an advertisement for the city as well as a spur to similar construction projects in other cities.[509]

The city extended its police and licensing power to the new space it had created. Only several months after the bathrooms opened, the City Commissioners felt compelled to "investigate certain conditions in connection with the conduct" of the stations.[510] Speaking in March 1921, the Commissioner of Public Works, R. J. Sherrill, noted that he had received "many unfavorable reports coming to me from citizens and patrons" regarding the station.[511] Sherrill recommended that the board dismiss the current "manager" of the station and hire a "competent and suitable" man and women to look after the respective stations. It appears that the stations

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[507] J.S. Whitney, "Asheville, N.C., Has Fine Public Comfort Station," *Domestic Engineering and the Journal of Mechanical Contracting* 95, no. 1, April 2, 1921, 2-3.
[508] Whitney, "Asheville, N.C.," 2-3.
[509] Whitney, "Asheville, N.C.," 2-3.
[510] "Pack Square Public Comfort- Investigation Into Conditions," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, No. 16*, December 15, 1920, 218, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.
[511] "Public Comfort Station," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, No. 16*, March 11, 1921, 300, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.

were not sufficiently clean, since Sherrill emphasized that the stations had to be kept "in a clean and sanitary condition at all times."[512]

The city also sought to regulate behavior of patrons within the comfort stations as well. In what was likely a reaction to a report of homosexual activity occurring there, the city commissioners in 1924 passed an "emergency ordinance" that provided a $25.00 penalty "for each and every" instance of masturbation in any public comfort station.[513] As an emergency ordinance "for the immediate preservation of the public peace and safety," it went into effect as soon as it was published in the city's newspaper.[514]

Excluded from this showpiece, African Americans asserted their right to a comfort station in the same area. A committee of African Americans, appearing in front of the Board, noted that the new comfort station was "marked exclusively for white," and asked "that some place be prepared for our citizens."[515] The committee juxtaposed the construction of the comfort station with the delayed construction of a black secondary school, an issue they had repeatedly raised in front of the

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[512] "Public Comfort Station," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, *No. 16*, March 11, 1921, 300, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.
[513] "Ordinance Regulating Conduct of Public Comfort Station," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, No. 19*, May 22, 1924, 178, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville. The public comfort station may have become a site for homosexual encounters. Other cities' comfort stations, including ones in New York's City Hall Park and Times Square, also became meeting places for sex between men. See George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York, 1994), 196-197.
[514] "Ordinance Regulating Conduct of Public Comfort Station," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, No. 19*, May 22, 1924, 178, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.
[515] "A. P. Brooks, S. J. Howie—Colored Committee," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, *No. 16*, March 1, 1921, 292, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.

board.[516] The petitioners assumed a respectful tone that implicitly acknowledged the imbalance of power and paternalistic myth of disenfranchisement: "we are mindful of the many times our interest has been looked after by this board." This accommodating tone was balanced by an assertion of their expectations: "we respectfully ask that we will not be ignored in these matters."[517] In addition, the local chapter of the Federation of Colored Women's Club asserted their right to a comfort station "for our women and children near the shopping district" in the downtown area.

The board attempted to contain those claims by temporarily leasing "quarters" in a nearby building rather than committing to a permanent space in the downtown landscape.[518] The building was located on Eagle Street in an African American neighborhood adjacent to Pack Square. While the women's club appreciated that the board had acted upon their request, they had nonetheless formed a committee to judge the quality of their comfort station and "see what is needed to set it up for use." They asked the commissioners for several items, including "a movable screen to be placed in front of the toilets," chairs, a mirror, and a cot or other "lounge" items. If the commissioners supplied the comfort station with these items, "the club will add the other necessities if allowed to do so."[519]

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[516] "Mass Meeting—Colored Citizens," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, *No. 16,* June 7, 1920, 75, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.
[517] "A. P. Brooks, S. J. Howie—Colored Committee," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, *No. 16*, March 1, 1921, 292, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.
[518] "A. P. Brooks, S. J. Howie—Colored Committee," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, *No. 16*, March 1, 1921, 292, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.
[519] "Colored Women Public Comfort Station- Eagle Street," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Commissioners, No. 20*, February 14, 1925, 30, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.

The Federation of Colored Women's Club of Asheville, in their letter to the city commissioners, did not mention the white women's comfort station, rather focusing on what they considered necessary for a ladies' comfort room. It was the city commissioners themselves, however, who invoked the white women's station as a model. They chose to decide what to supply the new comfort station with by reference to the white station. They ordered that the black station "be furnished with the same furnishings in the way of screens, mirrors, chairs and lounge now provided" in the white station.[520]

The city continued to create new spaces on the square through more extensive racial segregation. In 1924, shortly after a Ku Klux Klan convention met in the city, the city segregated its water fountains on the square for the first time. African Americans were required to use a fountain located on the eastern edge of the square. The water fountain constituted another Jim Crow artifact on the downtown landscape that African Americans were forced to negotiate. Some African Americans minimized their contact and reliance on such markers of white supremacy. They practiced what tolerance they could by mitigating the danger, humiliations, and inferior services of Jim Crow rather than directly defy those expressions of whites' racism. Mary Elizabeth Robinson Sligh, for instance, refused to drink from the fountain while not directly challenging its fixture in the landscape Similar to African Americans in Durham and elsewhere who chose to walk to work rather than ride segregated transportation, hers was a choice made out of limited options. She "never did drink in the black water fountain," she averred. Sligh

[520] "Colored Women Public Comfort Station- Eagle Street," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Commissioners*, *No. 20,* February 14, 1925, 30, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.

attempted to manage the place and influence of this disagreeable segregation in her life while she "went about [her] business."[521]

Other African Americans challenged this extension of segregation more directly, Indeed, the segregated water fountains sparked conflict at that location shortly after its installation. This conflict, as reported by the *Asheville Times*, illustrates how the square functioned as a disciplinary space for the city's black and white residents, even while the latter were enlisted in surveillance of African Americans through segregation's delegation of power. In July of 1924, a lengthy *Times* editorial criticized disreputable, shiftless whites for the rough language and taunts they directed at African Americans who violated the new ordinance. The writer found no fault with the law itself, which was "in line" with the city government's policy of segregating the square and additionally promised to facilitate movement through its congested space. In particular, the editorial applauded its effect of discouraging "loitering negroes who heretofore have cluttered the curbstones about the fountains."[522] The author therefore echoed the

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[521] Mary Elizabeth Robinson Sligh Oral History, interview by Sylvia Robin, September 14, 1993, Voices of Asheville Oral History Collection, Ramsey Library Special Collections, UNCA; Leslie Brown, *Upbuilding Black Durham: Gender, Class, and Black Community Development in the Jim Crow South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 216. Refusing to ride the bus, however, was in effect an economic boycott and was a more visible expression of protest than not drinking from the water fountain designated for African Americans. Other African Americans similarly attempted to limit their exposure to Jim Crow spaces. For instance, Erline McQueen herself stopped going to the movies for this reason, but her son wanted to continue to go. Despite the economic strain it entailed, she and her husband "bought a tv as soon as [they] could" because they did not want their son to go to the segregated movie theater, which separated whites and African Americans by a "white curtain." See Erline McQueen Oral History, interview by Dorothy Joynes, March 16, 1995, Voices of Asheville Oral History Collection, Special Collections, D. H. Ramsey Library, University of North Carolina, Asheville.

[522] "Color Line on the Square," *Asheville Times,* July 20, 1924, Vertical Collection, Pack Memorial Library, Asheville.

concerns of John Nolen's recently published plan for the city of Asheville. Hired to suggest how the city could best progress, Nolen noted that Pack Square was "the center of activity" in the city and would likely remain so. His report lamented, though, that the square was "very crowded" with insufficient "open space."[523] As the architectural historian Catherine Bishir and others have pointed out, while the city government did not follow all of Nolen's suggestions, it did expand the square as he had urged.[524]

The recent ordinance's desire to congregate African Americans on the eastern portion of the square had a longer history than Nolen's 1922 plan, however. Acting at the request of the chief of police, in 1915 the board directed the commissioner of public safety to equitably segregate seating there. Seats on the east side of the square were designated for African Americans. Just because it was a square, moreover, didn't mean that it didn't have a back and a front. In *Look Homeward, Angel*, Thomas Wolfe described the seats on the square "reserved" for African Americans as occupying "the back" of the square.[525] Thus segregation of the water fountains was one step in a longer—running project to solidify whites' claims to the western part of the square and its associated sites of civic power and representation. These included Vance's obelisk, the new comfort stations, a

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[523] *Asheville City Plan*, *1922*. Ramsey Library Special Collections, University of North Carolina-Asheville; Kevan D. Frazier, "Big Dreams, Small Cities: John Nolen, the New South, And the City Planning Movement in Asheville, Roanoke, and Johnson City, 1907-1937," (PhD diss., West Virginia University, 2000).

[524] Catherine W. Bishir, Michael T. Southern, and Jennifer F. Martin, *A Guide to the Historic Architecture of Western North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 263.

[525] Wolfe, *Look Homeward, Angel*, 62.

Travelers' Aid kiosk, and after World War I, the German cannon captured by Asheville soldiers.[526]

However, the current flawed regulatory regime, supplemented by suspect whites whom the article compared to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*'s sadistic Simon Legree, could lead to greater conflict at the square. An African American man who in the article's telling did not notice the new segregationist signs, drank from whites' fountain. In response to the white loafers' "taunts," he "courteously mentioned that he pays taxes" and "thought he had a right to drink" from the now off-limits fountain. The protestor thus asserted his individual worth, imagining the square to function as a site of tolerant judgment to which he could appeal. This assertion of individual worth, the article noted sorrowfully, identified him as a "smart Alex" to those whites.[527]

To properly implement the new segregationist measure, the author of what amounted to a long and unsigned editorial suggested "larger signs" posted "near the top of the fountain." Replacing the current "small, out of the way signs," the article held, would prevent more serious conflicts and therefore ensure the city's continued racial "harmony." The author closed with a warning: tourists had witnessed these whites' methods of enforcing segregation multiple times.[528] While the risk was small, visitors might "carry erroneous impressions back home of this city's methods

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[526] "Division of Pack Square For White And Colored Citizens," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, *no. 13*, June 17, 1915, 33; "Division of Seating Arrangement On Pack Square Divided Between White & Colored," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, *no. 13*, June 18, 1915, 36, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.
[527] "Color Line on the Square," *Asheville Times,* July 20, 1924. Nan K. Chase, *Asheville: A History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2007), 147; Starnes, *Creating the Land*, 84.
[528] "Color Line on the Square," *Asheville Times,* July 20, 1924.

of enforcing race segregation on Pack square."[529] The writer closed by assuring readers that it was not the feelings of an "unimportant citizen, a [N]egro" with which it was concerned as much as the potential damage to Asheville's reputation as a place with peaceful race relations.

The editorial, by claiming that larger signs were indeed the solution, was attempting to cast segregation as a regime that reflected natural racial "affinities" and therefore need not depend on the delegation of authority to whites. In effect, the writer denied that segregation was a practice of "government at a distance."[530] The supposed innocence of the law was reflected in the editorial's vision of how segregation should work—not through distanced and delegated authority, but through a clearer instruction of what was supposedly natural.

The *Asheville Times'* objections also attempted to restore the claims of whiteness to its non-relational nature as an identity "realized in the absence of an Other."[531] The anger of those men on the square demonstrated the deeply embedded relational work done by segregated space and facilities. Their heated defense of segregation— in the *Times'* view their improper administration of it—suggested that whiteness was relational and constituted by whites' own characterizations and persecution of African Americans. The editorial consequently

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[529] "Color Line on the Square," *Asheville Times,* July 20, 1924.
[530] Rose and Miller, "Political Power beyond the State," 173-205.
[531] Owen J. Dwyer and John Paul Jones III, "White socio-spatial epistemology," *Social & Cultural Geography* 1, no. 2 (2000): 209-222; Catherine Nash, "Cultural geography: anti-racist geographies," *Progress in Human Geography* 27, no. 5 (2003): 637-648. Put another way, these white men were making their whiteness all too visible. The *Times* attempted to resolve what historian Grace Elizabeth Hale has identified as contradictory desire by whites for "race to be visible—blackness—and invisible—whiteness." See Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998), 9.

ridiculed and marginalized the actions of those white men who took it upon themselves to enforce the boundary of segregation on the square. These men, the article suggested, did not pay taxes and were unfit to wield that authority. They "cooperate[d] in the enforcement of laws and rules in no other way."[532] In contradicting those surveiling white subjects, the *Times* editorial made use of the fictions of liberalism as they applied to segregation. In other words, the fictions of liberalism, whiteness, and segregation reinforced one another.

Conclusion

Figure 6: An 1899 image of the square. The city library is on the right.[533]

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[532] "Color Line on the Square," *Asheville Times,* July 20, 1924. Just one week later, the *Times* published a letter supposedly written by a visitor. The letter complained about the conditions of the square, pointing to the problems that the recently instituted further segregation was supposed to solve. The author called Asheville the "most unattractive town I had ever been in," so bad that it had nearly moved the writer to tears. The writer in particular criticized the square, where "all the seats [were] filled with loafers." She thus identified the crowd there in a class-conscious way that recalled the World War I language of disloyalty. See "A City Beautiful," by "Mrs. A, (A Tourist)," *Asheville Times*, July 27, 1924, 8.

[533] H. Taylor Rogers, *Rogers' Asheville* (Brooklyn: The Albertype Company, 1899), 6, Ramsey Library Special Collections, University of North Carolina at Asheville, http://toto.lib.unca.edu/booklets/rogers/jpg/rogers0006.jpg.

As government studies scholars Peter Miller and Nikolas Rose have pointed out, "government is a problematizing activity: it poses the obligations of rulers in terms of the problems they seek to address." The "race problem" whites claimed segregation would solve was one of several projects of government on the square.[534] Multiple projects coalesced around white authorities' attempt to construct an order that drew on racial, class, and gendered distinctions. The efforts to discipline disorder on the square, unsurprisingly, drew on those same distinctions. As this chapter has suggested, the logics of tolerance that informed race relations governance also shaped the management of the city's main civic space.

From the view at the top of the city library pictured above, the square may have approximated the images presented by the postcards discussed in this chapter. A short discussion of the library serves as an able conclusion for this chapter. It demonstrates the different influences on the development of the square, including the investment of northern capital, a display of culture and cultivation, racial privilege that accrued to whites, and a technology for policing and surveillance. Each was vital to the construction of order on the square. The library combined these different influences.

The library building, formerly a bank, was given to the city by the industrialist George Pack in 1899, one year after the dedication of Vance's obelisk. The library, which had previously not had a permanent location, was now ensconced in a three story-structure with a tower jutting out into the space of the square. Its striking, castle-like image figured prominently in renderings of Pack

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[534] Miller and Rose, *Governing the Present,* 61.

Square in advertising material such as postcards and pamphlets, as pictured above. The library helped to communicate the city's cultural vitality. One advertisement, for instance, listed the city's landmarks of culture: "an opera house, a fine social club, a country club, a golf club, an art gallery, and a public library."[535] Even after Pack's building was replaced with an art deco structure at the same location on the square in 1926, the library continued to play a role in advertising the city. According to a pamphlet published by the city's chamber of commerce, "the volume of books lent by its library, which was located at the city's civic and geographic center, spoke "very highly of Asheville's cultural standing."[536]

It was also a library for whites only, as the only city library for African Americans was located in the Young Men's Institute, off the square in a black neighborhood, and then not until the 1920s. This exclusionary power rested in the hands of white employees and patrons of the library to enforce, as in other southern towns.[537] In a pattern of development found elsewhere on the square, the exclusion practiced at the library increased as the library's holdings expanded. Upon his death in 1931, the historian and lawyer Forester Sondley willed his collection of "many, many thousand[s]" of books, of which a significant number were rare and valuable, to the Pack Library. However, Sondley attached exclusions to his bequest. Only "well-conducted, non-smoking white people" could use the collection." His restriction carried weight. According to one former member of the library's

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[535] Frank Presbrey, *The Land of the Sky: Western North Carolina, Asheville Plateau* (Buffalo: Matthews-Northrup Co., 1920), 9. It was produced for the Southern Railway.
[536] Starnes, *Creating the Land*, 38.
[537] Richard Wright, *Black Boy: A Record of Childhood and Youth* (New York: Harper & Row, 1945), 270-271; James Robert Myrick, "The History of the Asheville Public Library," (master's thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1977).

governing board, even during desegregation "we were afraid to violate the will because the heirs could require the collection to be sold and lost to the library."[538]

The library served as an outpost for multiple formations of authority. Pack's gift of the building also became an outpost of the city's police power. One Asheville resident remembered that in the 1920s the library served as a watchtower for the city's police force. In the late teens or early 20s, a policeman stayed in its "little tower" on the square all evening. The spot was a commanding viewpoint, as the policeman could "look down Broadway, or across the Square, or down Patton Avenue."[539] Thus a policeman's vantage point afforded him a view of two of the largest streets of downtown as well as their intersection at the square. From this vantage point, the officer could alert colleagues by blowing his whistle. Employed as an arm of the city's police power, the library seemed to a young resident employed on the square as a "soda boy" to be "like a fort."[540]

The library embodied multiple developments at play in the early 20th century, even down to its reincarnation in the mid-1920s in a new, impressive building. A gift of a wealthy donor intent on augmenting the civic centrality of the square, the institution was featured in advertising projects meant to brand the city

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[538] Anthony Lord, interview by Dorothy Joynes, January 18, 1993, Voiced of Asheville Oral History Collection, Ramsey Library Special Collections, University of North Carolina-Asheville.

[539] George Roberts, interview by Sharon Fahrer and Jan Schochet, June 15, 2005, Jewish Businesses in Western North Carolina Oral History Collection, Ramsey Library Special Collections, University of North Carolina, Asheville.

[540] George Roberts, interview, Jewish Businesses in Western North Carolina Oral History Collection.

as cultured. Second, it was an important site for racial order and privilege. The increase in its holdings only served to deepen this exclusion. Third, it served as an outpost of police surveillance. Each of these characteristics contributed to the organization of order on the square.

Chapter 4:

Surveillance and Policing Beyond the Square

Introduction

As noted in the conclusion of chapter three, the placement of a night policeman in the library overlooking Pack Square was a vivid demonstration of the city government's determination to surveil downtown space. However, those attributes that made the policeman's astral beat an impressive symbol also suggest its limitations in a rapidly expanding urban landscape. It was, after all, a formation of authority that was difficult to replicate or deploy on a larger geographical scale. This chapter moves beyond the methods of governance and surveillance on the square to consider how regulation, surveillance and distanced governance extended throughout the 1920s following World War I. It focuses on the multiple ways that suspect commercial spaces became increasingly involved in the management of potential disorder.[541] This development played an important role in the city's economy during this period.

This expansion of networks of surveillance took shape in the context of local and national changes and challenges to established authority. As historian J. Douglas Smith has noted, elite whites' paternalistic authority weakened during the decade after World War I. This decline was in part due to urbanization, which disrupted the personal arrangements and relationships on which paternalism relied. In contests

[541] This panoptic model was limited. Urban historians and theorists have instead posited the development of what has been termed the "oligopticon" model to denote the policing actions of many. See Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom* (New York: Verso, 2003), 147; Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift, *Cities: Reimagining the Urban* (London: Polity Press, 2002), 92.

over shared and desired urban spaces, racial "unrest" and violence threatened the presumptions to power of white elite-managed "race relations."[542] In Asheville as well as other southern locales, increased migration to the city of both African Americans and whites served to call into question paternalistic claims to power and ability to keep order. Violence committed by whites against African Americans, and particularly black veterans, spiked in the years after World War I, including in the vicinity of Asheville.[543] At the same time, African Americans, including those who had served in the recent war, were more willing to openly question whites' claims to power.

Paternalistic authority was destabilized in multiple ways beyond race relations. As historians have noted, land loss and the spread of "dependent" waged factory labor in the South had weakened white men's power in the lives of their children, particularly their daughters, since at least the end of the 19th century.[544] Challenges multiplied in the decade after World War I. Commercialized sites such as movie theaters provided greater opportunities for privacy. Greater mobility, mass

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[542] J. Douglas Smith, *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politics, and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 46. Smith notes that in growing urban areas "traditional means of racial control had begun to erode and friction threatened to escalate into riotous proportions." Smith was speaking of the increased urban migration of both blacks and whites and the competition for jobs, housing, and space that accompanied this urban growth. This signaled a strong challenge to paternalism as practiced by white elites. Also see

[543] In the summer of 1919 in adjacent Hendersonville, North Carolina, a black veteran was nearly lynched. According to newspaper reports, he retaliated after being knocked down by a Confederate veteran irked at the young soldier's refusal to "make room for some white women on one of the street benches." In response, he hit the Confederate veteran—"a blow which brought him to his knees." Apparently both the crowd and the police pursued him, but the police got to him first. "Negro Is Threatened By An Angry Crowd," *Asheville Citizen*, July 5, 1919, 1.

[544] Nancy MacLean, "The Leo Frank Case Reconsidered: Gender and Sexual Politics in the Making of Reactionary Populism," *The Journal of American History* 78, no. 3 (Dec., 1991): 917-948.

entertainment and the spread of a credit economy in different ways weakened this power. The automobile, for instance, embodied all of these forces and their ability to break down older notions and practices of paternalistic power. In one indication of the perceived danger posed by automobiles to parental prerogatives and womanhood, the judge of the city police court, J. Frasier Glenn, of Asheville urged city commissioners in 1918 to pass a city ordinance forbidding any woman under the age of eighteen from riding in an automobile "for purposes of pleasure without the written consent of their parents or guardians."[545]

Reformulations and extensions of networks of authority and the distribution of responsibility for surveillance were important responses to these challenges.[546] These changing systems of connections did not remove the suspicion that attached to suspect economic spaces but rather normalized and institutionalized it. Arrangements that distributed the responsibility for surveillance and management took a variety of forms. Formations of distanced governance conserved and utilized participants' own judgments to regulate urban danger. The local Y.W.C.A. and its sub-agencies such as Travelers' Aid facilitated the movement of young female workers to the city by finding them work as well as offering living facilities and education**.** Representatives of the organization also judged the quality of boarding houses in the city on the basis of the facilities' preservation of their occupants' virtue. Low-wage clerking and administrative positions increased in the city during

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[545] "The request of Judge J. Frasier Glenn*," Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, No. 14: Nov. 1, 1917 to Jan 31, 1919*, 252, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.
[546] In contrast to paternalism, which ostensibly relied on personal relationships to temper, moderate, and rationalize inequalities of power, these responses relied on more distanced governance and arrangement of authority.

the 1920s, a decade in which the city's population grew significantly. The Y.W.C.A. facilitated this growth by working, with other authorities, to manage the dangers of anomie, corruption, and immorality ostensibly posed to white womanhood by the city.[547]

While the Y.W.C.A. strove to regulate intimate spaces as well as the labor market, suspect subjects took part in their own government by surveilling others. Pawnshops and dance halls both garnered suspicion from city authorities in the early 20th century that they were weak links within the urban moral, racial, and social order. The proprietors of these economically important spaces worked within networks of surveillance. They claimed the responsibility of making regulatory judgments to demonstrate that their spaces in fact contributed rather than threatened social order. For pawnbrokers like Leo Finkelstein and dance hall operators like Clarence de Haven Laferty, placement within these networks of tolerance offered them opportunities to perform their subjectivity through the judgments they made.

Pawnshops were more regularly incorporated into networks of surveillance during the 1920s. By the mid 1930s, at least one pawnshop was more closely connected than ever to the city's police department through a secret alarm.

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[547] The Y.W.C.A., of course, engaged in similar activities in many other cities. Sarah Heath, in her study of the Cincinnati Y.W.C.A. noted that the organization "attempted to prescribe and protect an ideal of womanhood" among its membership although definitions of womanhood were changing after World War I. The Y. paid particular attention to the characters of wage-earning women. Sarah Heath, "Negotiating White Womanhood: The Cincinnati YWCA and White Wage-Earning Women, 1918-1929," in *Men and Women Adrift: The YMCA and the YWCA in the City*, ed. by Nina Mjagkij and Margaret Sprat (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 87. The activities that the Asheville YWCA engaged in did not significantly differ from the activities by branches in other cities.

However, the manner of this connection generated possibilities for the pawnbroker to make judgments about threats in his store and thus act autonomously, though this action was mediated by the alarm itself. In contrast, the city board of commissioners banned dance halls in 1921 because it did not believe that proprietors could adequately police their establishments. The board rejected the claims of dance operators who embraced their own regulatory work and the judgment that work entailed. When "public" dance halls reopened one year later, city authorities instituted a significantly different formation of authority. They removed a significant portion of the responsibility for surveillance and regulation from the dance hall operators themselves, instead creating more regular inspections and minutely specifying what kind of mannerisms and dances were allowable. Particularly after this shift, the dance halls and pawnshops offer contrasting examples of the incorporation of suspect economic and social spaces into urban surveillance. The networks that facilitated and communicated this surveillance looked different from one another. Nonetheless, each was informed by the logic of tolerance and organized to manage the disorder that these suspect spaces were thought to foster.

Anxieties of Growth

Since before the turn of the century the city government had bestowed the position of "Special Policeman" on employees of businesses. This was cost-free to the city, while incorporating security guards or "watchmen" employed by the businesses themselves into the city's police power. In the 1890s, for instance, the

board appointed special policemen at key sites for tourism, including well-known hotels like the Battery Park as well as the train depot.[548] In doing so, the board was careful to spatially circumscribe the responsibilities of these liminal members of the police force. In 1915, for instance, the board appointed W. R. Messer as a Special Policeman, "his duties as such to be restricted to the Battery Park Hotel and grounds."[549] This practice continued in the early 20th century, including in the city's department stores.

Local efforts at prohibition also provided opportunities for the dispersion of police power, sometimes with unhappy results. In a narrow election, the county became dry in 1907. One year later, two detectives employed by the "Good Government League" to locate "violators of the prohibition law" were themselves arrested. Their arrests stemmed in part from this responsibility. One, A. T. Bridges, was arrested for perjury, "it being alleged that he had sworn falsely in his testimony" against an alleged violator, Frank Johnson. Johnson was initially convicted by the police court before being freed by the Superior Court. Another detective, H. B. Adams, was "arrested on the charge of carrying concealed weapons."[550]

Private detectives continued to occupy a role as adjunct of the city's police power in ensuing years, but this place was anomalous and contested. In 1915 the

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[548] "Special Policeman—Battery Park Hotel," July 19 1895, p. 335; "Special Police- Request at Depot," July 5, 1895, p. 327; and "Fred R. Cardell- Spec. Policeman," June 14, 1895, 310; all in *Minutes of Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen, 1893-1896*, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.
[549] "W. R. Messer Special Police," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen*, *no. 10*, January 29, 1915, 39, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.
[550] *Trenton Sunday Advertiser*, April 19, 1908, 1.

city government passed an ordinance requiring the registration of private detectives. In addition, the ordinance required that detectives "make report of all business transacted by them…and if required give a bond in a reasonable sum." The next month, the board accepted the recommendation of the Commissioner of Public Safety and began charging a $10.00 tax on all private detectives. Private detectives in turn protested the tax on their occupation by arguing that they augmented the city's surveillance power. Therefore, they reasoned, their positions should be tax-exempt. Judge W. P. Brown, representing one such detective agency, made multiple appearances before the board to argue the merit of private detectives. Brown asserted that a "good clean Detective Agency…was a safeguard to any community, and should not be taxed." The judge also attempted to advantageously define detectives' place in the structure of surveillance and law enforcement in the city: detectives such as those he represented "operated as Deputy Sheriffs, and were responsible to the Sheriff for their actions."[551] The tax and licensure were simultaneously measures of private detectives' displacement from the official structure of police power as well as the instruments of their incorporation.

Private detectives may have been considered suspect representatives of the city's police power. This was suggested by the city's insistence on oversight and registration. These measures stood in contrast to the placement in privatized spaces in the city of special policemen, whom the city named, even if at the suggestion of the proprietor. The city regulated private detectives due to their employment. They

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[551] "Ordinance Controlling Private Detectives," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, no. 11*, July 14, 1915, 91; "Tax On Private Detectives," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, *no. 11*, August 10, 1915, 152, both at Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.

drew notice because they were *de facto* adjuncts of the city's police authority. As we shall see, the elaboration of this authority proceeded along different courses later in the century, when objects of surveillance were incorporated into surveillance precisely because they were objects of suspicion.

The expectation by the city government that the proprietors of suspect spaces function as part of the urban police apparatus was likely informed by the recent insistence of federal, state, and local governments and organizations that each individual was responsible for the success and security of the American effort in the first world war.[552] Also significant was the tremendous demographic growth and geographical expansion of the city during the previous and upcoming decade. The multiplying number of commercialized and suspect sites that this development entailed likely strained the formal police power of the city and helps explain the coercive dispersal of responsibility of surveillance.

In the 1920s, Asheville saw dramatic population growth, economic development, and a booming land market.[553] Between 1900 and 1910 the city's population grew by 27%, from 14,694 to 18,762. In the 1910s, though, the city's population increased almost 10,000—more than fifty percent—to 28,504. In the next decade, though, it would grow even more dramatically, springing forward to slightly more than 50,000.[554] It was, according to one scholar, "a period of

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[552] Christopher Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 119-123.
[553] Kevan D. Frazier, "Big Dreams, Small Cities: John Nolen, the New South, And the City Planning Movement in Asheville, Roanoke, and Johnson City, 1907-19937," (PhD diss., West Virginia University, 2000), 63.
[554] Frazier, 68. Also see *Fifteenth Census of the United States – 1930 – Population: Vol. III, Pt. 2 Montana-Wyoming*. Washington D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1932. p. 367.

unprecedented growth" in the urban area, with more than sixty-five buildings constructed between 1918 and 1928.[555] A significant portion of the population growth came just to the south of the city limits, where housing developments for the well-off proliferated in the first subdivision carved out of the estate of the late George Vanderbilt.[556] According to the Central Labor Union (AFL) labor newspaper the Asheville *Advocate*, in fall of 1923 there was "more building activity is in progress in the City of Asheville than at any time in its history."[557] There was also migration from rural areas, including migrants drawn by the service industry jobs offered by the tourist industry. Black and white farmers displaced by the boll weevil infestation in South Carolina in the years after World War I accounted for some of the population growth. By 1930, Asheville was the fifth largest city in North Carolina. At just over 50,000, it had a population only marginally smaller than Durham and Greensboro, although Charlotte and Winston-Salem were significantly larger.

African Americans accounted for a significant portion of this growth in the 1910s and 1920s. Since the beginning of the century, the African American population consistently accounted for between one-fourth and one-third of Asheville's total population. Of a total recorded population of 18,762 in 1910, more than twenty-eight percent, or 5,359, were counted as African American. In 1920,

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http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/10612982v3p2ch04.pdf

[555] Mary Bennett Greene, "The Transformation of the Battery Park Landscape in Asheville, North Carolina: 1900-1930," (master's of science thesis, University of North Carolina-Greensboro, 2008), 9.
[556] Greene, "Transformation," 9.
[557] "All Big Contracts In The City Being Done By Union Men," *Asheville Advocate*, September 27, 1923, 1.

after a decade where the city grew by nearly 10,000, the African American population grew by 1,786, which put the black percentage of the total population closer to twenty-five. By 1930, however, at 14,255, the black population of Asheville again accounted for about twenty-eight percent of the whole.[558]

Additionally, while North Carolina attracted very few immigrants (like much of the rest of the South), Asheville was a minor exception to this pattern. In 1910, there were 965 people classified as first generation immigrants with either wholly foreign or mixed parentage. In addition, there were 386 foreign-born whites in Asheville. Buncombe County in 1910 was home to 49,798 people. While this was slightly more than two percent of the entire state population of 2,206,287, the county nonetheless accounted for close to ten percent of the state's relatively miniscule population classified as foreign-born or native-born foreign or mixed parentage. In 1930, Asheville once again had the second highest population of foreign born or native-born, mixed or foreign parentage in the state—1,506, this time behind Charlotte, which counted 1,778. Even so, in Asheville the proportion of foreign-born or foreign or mixed parentage to the whole population was much greater than that of Charlotte. While not the state leader for immigration overall, many of the "new immigrants" and their children found their way to Asheville, as census counters consistently found the state's greatest number of Russian immigrants in Asheville—120 in 1920 (just slightly over Durham's 118), and 107 in

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[558] *Fifteenth Census of the United States – 1930 – Population: Vol. III, Pt. 2 Montana-Wyoming* (Washington D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1932), 367. See http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/10612982v3p2ch04.pdf

1930. These numbers paled in comparison with cities in other states, particularly in the North. However, the number of immigrants in Asheville was disproportionately large in comparison with the rest of the state even though the city was still somewhat isolated.[559]

There were many enthusiastic proponents of growth. For most of the 1920s the *Citizen* daily included on its editorial page a list of ten ambitious goals it set for the city. Many of these were steps to make "The Land of the Sky" a more attractive tourist destination, including "a central park with a system of smaller parks." The *Citizen* also set a goal of a population of 75,000 for the city by 1930.[560] That number represented a would-be gain of more than 100% from 1920. John Nolen's city plan, introduced in 1922, was in part an attempt to plan for a city that could accommodate such a number and envisioned a city that had invested heavily in tourist facilities—whose imperative to be a resort city shaped its development. The plan was not completely implemented, in part because the city's land bubble burst later in the decade, preceding the onset of the Great Depression by several years. These twin financial crises led to multiple suicides as well as the bankruptcy of not only several local banks, but also the city itself in 1930.

Well before this outcome and the ruin of the city's finances, residents were concerned about the impact of this growth. Reformers had long blamed Asheville's tourism and health industries for harming the moral character of the

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[559] *Fourteenth Census of the United States: State Compendium: North Carolina* (Washington D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1921), 22, 32, 47. See http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/06229686v32-37ch1.pdf

[560] "Some of the *Citizen's* Ambitions For Asheville and Western North Carolina," *Asheville Citizen*, November 2, 1925, 4.

city. At a "mass meeting" and fundraiser for the construction of a YMCA building, Robert Campbell praised the work of the institution "as a valuable auxiliary" to the work of the church. While in many communities the young men "of a community are far from their homes," this was particularly true in Asheville. Furthermore, Campbell identified those young men in imperfect health who sought out the city for its salubrious condition as particularly worrisome: "we have in our resort town hundreds of young me who live lives of enforced idleness." The Y.M.C.A., however, could provide important opportunities for "harmless and healthful recreation." Due to the city's "peculiar conditions," then, Campbell urged his listeners to join in the effort to construct a Y.M.C.A. whose beauty and capability "cannot be surpassed" by anywhere else in the country. Campbell, then, urged that residents dedicate themselves to building an exceptional structure as a means of limiting or neutralizing the idleness that was inextricably bound to its economy.[561]

Reformers and activists continued to critique the consequences of tourism and the city's rapid growth through the 1920s. Reporting on her visit to Asheville in 1919, an official for the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work dryly noted that "[s]ocial problems have developed" in the city "in proportion to the city's growth and advertising."[562] Moreover, the observer remarked that Asheville's Associated Charities could not adequately respond to "the social needs of the

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[561] "Rev. Dr. Campbell on Y.M.C.A. Work," box 7, Robert F. Campbell Collection, Ramsey Library.
[562] Hilda K. Mills, "To the Members of the Executive Committee, American Association for Organizing Family Social Work," May 8th, 1919, box 175, Family Service Association of America Records, Social Welfare History Archives, Anderson Library, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities.

community."[563] In the opinion of Adela Ruffin, the African American director of the Phyllis Wheatley Branch of the YWCA in 1927, Asheville was "a small town grown quickly—too quickly—to the size of a city—it has the problems and the responsibilities of a city—without wide vision."[564] While the major daily newspapers, the *Times* and the *Citizen* applauded growth (the latter co-owned in the 1920s by George Stephens, a prominent real estate developer and friend of John Nolen who moved from Charlotte to Asheville in 1921 and Charles Webb, a longtime resident who also championed the city's tourist industry), as Ruffin's letter suggests, there was also concern over the effects of that growth.[565] Native son's Thomas Wolfe's rendering of the rabidly pro-growth and boosterish population of the fictional city of Altamont likely partly engendered his hometown's negative reaction to *Look Homeward, Angel*. Wolfe's private views were similarly critical of the spirit of development, which he felt often put the "welfare of city residents second to that of visitors."[566] The narrator's mother, Eliza Gant, embodied the spirit of instable property speculation that helped plunge the city into financial distress in the late 1920s. She shrewdly saw Altamont as an "enormous blueprint."[567] Wolfe's *You Can't Go Home Again* fictionalized in greater breadth the rampant speculation of "Libya Hill." The protagonist, George Webber, perceived in residents' eyes the "fear and

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[563] Mills, "To the Members of the Executive Committee," Family Service Association of America Records.
[564] Letter from Adele Ruffin to Lieut. L. A. Oxley, January 13, 1927. North Carolina State Archives. Public Welfare Division. Raleigh.
[565] As Kevan Frazier has argued in his dissertation, Nolen's city plans in general and his plan for Asheville in particular "offered tools the commercial-civic elite needed to sustain their prosperity." Frazier, "Big Dreams, Small Cities," 165.
[566] Starnes, *Creating the Land,* 75.
[567] Thomas Wolfe, *Look Homeward, Angel*, (New York: Scribner, 2006), 12.

guilty knowledge of the" city's coming financial catastrophe.[568]

Furthermore, historian Richard Starnes has noted how development in the city exacerbated the pre-existing tensions that constituted the city's social fabric.[569] While celebrating the downtown construction boom, for instance, the Central Labor Union also complained that rental prices in the city were still at "war-time levels and the trend seems yet to be upward." As a consequence, the "rental figures are prohibitive to the wage worker."[570] In addition, there was concern over the adequacy of Asheville's police force in light of the city's recent expansion. The police force itself, meanwhile, counted among its duties not only safeguarding but also representing the city's image of civility. A 1922 editorial in the *Citizen* asserted that the city's future prosperity and development were "dependent upon the service that she can give to those who visit her."[571] The editorial narrowed the responsibility to provide such assistance from an undifferentiated public to the city's police force, whose public personnel should embody "what Asheville stands for in her reception of visitors."[572] Hospitality should be a "graceful art, a happy religion, an incessant privilege" for its practitioners.[573] The editorial claimed that "it is with the policeman as with every other man: to succeed, he must be the embodiment of his town's best

[568] Thomas Wolfe, Y*ou Can't Go Home Again* (New York: Signet Books, 1966), 255.
[569] Richard Starnes, "A Conspicuous Example of What is Termed the New South": Tourism and Urban Development in Asheville, North Carolina, 1880-1925," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 80, no. 1, (2003): 52-80.
[570] *Asheville Advocate*, March 1, 1923, 1.
[571] "Asheville's Police," July 18, 1922, *Asheville Citizen*, 4. This concern also predated the 1920s. In 1916, the city police chief "attributed Asheville's crime problem to the tourist industry." Starnes, *Creating the Land,* 77.
[572] "Asheville's Police," *Asheville Citizen*, 4.
[573] "Asheville's Police," *Asheville Citizen*, 4.

spirit."[574]

Clearly, making the right sort of visitor feel welcome and safe was part of the duties of the city's police force. In May 1916, for example, the entire force apparently bought themselves new uniforms earlier in the year than usual. The "sole reason" for this move the *Citizen* noted approvingly, was "the approach of the big convention" of Southern Baptists. Even more important than their sartorial readiness, however, the *Citizen* also announced that the city had filled "the vacancy which has existed on the force for many months" in anticipation of the crowds. Policemen were busily studying information on "pickpockets and other light-fingered gentry" in the hopes of recognizing and pre-emptively detaining them once the convention convened.[575]

Well-to-do white tourists recognized and appreciated the treatment policemen accorded them in downtown. In 1925, the *Citizen* printed a glowing letter from a traveler, who wrote to applaud the actions of the city's representatives of law and order. Lost in the city's downtown, close to one of the upper-class hotels in the city, the sojourner appealed for help from a helpful "traffic man on duty." Furthermore, a police officer, stationed "on the sidewalk at the hotel," approached the visitor unbidden and "rendered desirable courtesies" to him. Of all the places the author had been on his southern trip, he declared the most "polite and helpful" public authorities to be located in Asheville.[576]

While downtown may well have been suffused with helpful policemen polite

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[574] "Asheville's Police," *Asheville Citizen*, 4.
[575] "Asheville Police Don New Uniforms" *Asheville Citizen*, May 9, 1916.
[576] "Asheville Police Lauded By Visitor," *Asheville Citizen*, September 13, 1925.

to well-to-do tourists, residents complained about the lack of police presence and surveillance outside the central area. The *Citizen* broadcast fears about the effectiveness and size of the city's police force. One complaint was that other than "the business district," there was little police presence after dark.[577] Furthermore, after midnight, "if you phone for one…he is hard to find." Many residents, the *Citizen* asserted, felt the force was "inadequate to meet anything in the nature of emergency." The *Citizen's* editorial claimed to be speaking for "many" who had expressed their concern with the visibility and effectiveness of the police force. The police force could be strengthened, the editorial noted, but that would necessarily involve the "question of higher taxes."[578] This was not an insignificant consideration at a time when the city's forerunner to the Chamber of Commerce advertised Asheville to potential residents partly by trumpeting its relatively low tax burden, at times even ahead of the city's climate.[579] Thus, there were concerns about the reach and viability of Asheville's police presence and power.

Residents' awareness and perception of crime were also likely heightened by dramatic news coverage of the occasionally salacious proceedings of the city's police court. The Asheville *Times*, which was co-owned by the former Commissioner of

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577 "Our Police Protection," *Asheville Citizen*, May 9, 1925, 4.
578 "Our Police Protection," *Asheville Citizen*, 4.
579 See, for instance, Asheville Board of Trade, "Asheville, North Carolina: America's Beauty-Spot in the Land of the Sky," (Asheville: Asheville Board of Trade, n.d.). Even before describing the climate, this pamphlet noted that "city taxes are restricted by law to $1.50 and State and county to $1.00 on the $100.00," p. 4. For another example, see Asheville Chamber of Commerce and Asheville Real Estate Board, "Live and Invest in the Land of the Sky" (Asheville: Asheville Chamber of Commerce and Asheville Real Estate Board, n.d.). This pamphlet also noted that "the average total of State, county and municipal ad valorem tax rates in America is $3.07 per $100 valuation. The highest average is $7.64, being found in Florida. The lowest, $1.47, is that of North Carolina. Taxes in Asheville and Buncombe County are levied on 65% of the valuation," 7.

Public Safety D. Hiden Ramsey, in particular began devoting more print space to these proceedings. It ran eye-catching headlines like 1922's "Maximum Penalties Are Imposed On White Woman and Black Consort," and "Seamy Side of Life in Asheville Exposed Following Saturnalia." The former article painted a vivid picture of a white southern woman's conviction, in front of a packed interracial courthouse audience, for violating the state's ban on interracial sex with an African American chauffeur. The latter article promised tales of "orgies" transpiring in the city. In addition, the dispatches from the police court were under the byline of Theodore Harris, as were other articles written by Harris. While Harris was a gifted writer, more significant than who was writing these articles was the fact that bylines were extremely rare in the paper at the time. Illustrating the entertainment and shock value of these crime pieces, the *Times* was attempting to brand their coverage of the police court by attaching Harris' name to it on a consistent basis.[580]

Despite being run on what *Times* reporter Charles Tennent called a "shoestring," the *Times* "just gave [The *Citizen*] fits."[581] Tennent held that the *Times'* success "was all because we had the confidence of the people in key positions," including those in the sheriff's office. This access as well as its sensationalistic features likely contributed to the paper's success; the *Citizen* acquired the *Times* in the early 1920s, and D. Hiden Ramsey became the editor of the former paper as well

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[580] See Theodore Harris, "Maximum Penalties Are Imposed On White Woman and Black Consort," *Asheville Times*, 1922; Harris, "Seamy Side of Life in Asheville Exposed Following Saturnalia," *Asheville Times*, 1922.
[581] Charles G. "Buzz" Tennent Oral History, interview by Louis D. Silveri, August, 1977, Louis D. Silveri Oral History Collection, Ramsey Library Special Collections, University of North Carolina-Asheville.

as its general manger and business manager.[582]

The Distribution of Surveillance

The perception of urban disorder and vice in Asheville in the 1920s prompted white elites to urge greater citizenry surveillance. National prohibition affected this call. Ministers in a minimum of five pulpits in November 1920 argued that prohibition was not being effectively enforced in the city. In response, they called on "the public to aid in the detention and prosecution of all violators." They ministers pledged support to an organization called the "Buncombe County Law Enforcement League." The churches collected "large contributions" from congregants for the League's operation. The funds were to pay for the "rounding up [of] liquor dealers and manufacturers in this county and city."[583]

Significantly, some of the ministers warned that elected officials could not be trusted to enforce the law. This charge facilitated their calls for citizens to police others. At least one of the five ministers charged officials with being accomplices in the evasion of prohibition. Dr. E. K. McLarty of the Central Methodist Church, stated that there was an estimated "'40 or 50 men and women selling liquor in Asheville, and that 25 to 100 automobiles are engaged in transporting liquor.'" McLarty charged "every well meaning citizen" and particularly every Christian with doing

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[582] Tennent Oral History, August 1977, Louis D. Silveri Oral History Collection. Tennent makes clear how closely interwoven the paper was with the city's authorities. He was scolded after writing a story concerning the president of a local bank. The owners of the *Times* owed the banker "about eighty thousand dollars" and told Tennent that he wasn't to "write anything unless you show it to us." It was then, Tennent claimed, that he knew "that I wasn't a free man."

[583] "Lax Enforcement of Dry Laws Here Is Charged By Ministers," *Asheville Citizen*, September 13, 1920, 2.

what they could (such as cooperating "with the officers in stopping the traffic") to address the trade in liquor, which he labeled the "destroyer of American manhood and chivalry."[584]

The league sought to "conduct a campaign for the education of the people" as outlined by a second minister, Dr. W. F. Powell of the First Baptist church. Education appeared to mean encouragement to take an active role in law enforcement—"it is an obligation of every good citizen…not only to observe but to enforce the law." Doing so, he stated, amounted to a test and definition of good citizenship. Like McLarty, Powell emphasized how vehicles were crucial for the liquor trade, as prohibition had transformed the "highways" of the county into "rendezvous for vice and crime."[585]

Ministers' calls for citizens to participate to a greater extent in surveillance was acted upon by other Christian organizations, notably the YWCA. While the organization had worked to protect and educate the young women who had made their way into the city since opening in 1906, the 1920s marked an increase in their activity. The YWCA sought to make urban growth consonant with the extension of practices of surveillance by providing assistance to the young women drawn to the city for employment opportunities.[586] The Y.W.C.A. also worked to simultaneously protect and police the women making their way to the city for employment.[587] The

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[584] "Lax Enforcement of Dry Laws," *Asheville Citizen*, 2.
[585] "Lax Enforcement of Dry Laws," *Asheville Citizen*, 2.
[586] For more on the role of the YWCA in urban surveillance, see Nina Mjagkij and Margaret Spratt, eds., *Men and Women Adrift: YMCA and the YWCA in the City* (New York: New York University Press, 1997);
[587] Georgina Hickey has noted the dual meanings of protection as it applied to working-class white women in early 20th century Atlanta. At times they were afforded protection. At other

organization promised to help re-impose a measure of authority and order in their lives. For instance, it offered to put lonely women in touch with "worth-while pals" and to bring them some measure of "home life," which suggests a re-assertion of some measure of authority. Additionally, the Y.W.C.A. let it be known that they would "notify pastors of their presence here in the city."[588] It would thus awaken and inform the familiar institutions of moral guardianship and surveillance for these young women. A letter ostensibly penned by a "lonely girl," expressed a need for some kind of guardianship. The author, as befitting her designation, announced "I am the loneliest person in the word." Her letter noted receipt of "many invitations to 'come out and have a good time. Why should you care? Nobody in this town cares about you.'" The Y, the article boasted, would be able to give her "suitable friends."[589]

The employment and boarding services offered by the Y made the city a more attractive possibility for mobile female workers. Mary Parker, a longtime member and leader of the local chapter, emphasized that young women came the city "because there was the YWCA and there were people of spotless character" there.[590] One woman, she recounted, said that she had been able to leave her family's farm in nearby Fletcher "and come to look for work in Asheville because her family knew

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times, they were seen as threats to the city's social, moral, and racial order. Georgina Hickey, *Hope and Danger in the New South City: Working-Class Women and Urban Development in Atlanta, 1890-1940* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003), 74.

[588] "Y.W.C.A. Gets Many Appeals From Girls," *Asheville Citizen*, July 25, 1921, 5.

[589] "Y.W.C.A. Gets Many Appeals From Girls," *Asheville Citizen*, 5.

[590] Mary Parker Oral History, interview by Sarah Judson and Helen Wykle, December 5, 2001, Ramsey Library Special Collections Oral Histories, University of North Carolina-Asheville.

she'd be safe living at the Y."[591] The female clerks at the Bon Marche department store, for example, were dependent on the YWCA service. Such women found lodging at the YWCA on Biltmore Avenue. It was "a working girl's residence, but of good character."[592]

The first arm of the Y's urban surveillance apparatus that newcomers to the city were likely to encounter was the Travelers' Aid Society. With representatives stationed at both Pack Square as well as the train depot, Travelers' Aid sought to help young women just arrived in town to find work and respectable housing. The society had some measure of official mandate. In late 1916, the society appealed to the city board of commissioners for funding, claiming that its "work was now becoming so heavy that it was impossible" for private donors to wholly support it. In response, both the city and county board of commissioners each pledged monthly subsidies of twenty-five dollars.[593] In its July, 1921 report, the agency emphasized its worth to the young women who traveled to the city looking for work. In that month the agency had assisted "more than 2,286" travelers at the train station.[594] Of that number, more than twice as many women and girls were helped than men and boys.[595]

Travelers' Aid explicitly focused on female travelers. In the mid-1920s the chairwoman of Travelers Aid, Mrs. Charles S. Bryant, counseled those women who

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[591] Mary Parker, "Speech to the YMCA Membership in Spring, 1990," Asheville YWCA Collection, Ramsey Library Special Collections, University of North Carolina-Asheville.
[592] Mary Parker Oral History, December 5, 2001, Ramsey Library Special Collections.
[593] "Travelers Aid Society—Donation," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, no. 12 and a half,* December 22, 1916, 33, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.
[594] "Travelers Aid Society Gives Assistance To 2,000 In July," *Asheville Citizen*, August 4, 1921, 3.
[595] "Travelers Aid Society Gives Assistance To 2,000 In July," *Asheville Citizen*, 3.

greeted newcomers on behalf of the organization. While encouraging a "backward, would-be questioner" to ask her question was taxing, more challenging was to "watch the case that is trying to avoid you—the secret meetings, the runaway girls, or the homeless girl who needs a mother's care." Such cases, Bryant advised, "requires a trained mother's care."[596] A *Times'* editorial even called for Travelers Aid to keep watch at their train station post in the wee hours of the morning, which represented the time of greatest danger for newly-arrived migrants.[597]

As a sign of the increasing prominence of the YWCA in the city's economy, in November 1920 a new building opened adjacent to downtown. The building allowed the organization to provide "accommodations for girls and women in business" as well as those who "cannot or do not care to go to the large hotels." Since the building began operating it "enjoyed the patronage of many of the working girls" of the city. In 1925 the Y had between thirty-two and thirty-five boarders at their establishment each month.[598]

The need for these accommodations was a function of the city's economy. According to a survey conducted in 1920, one-quarter of the female employees of a variety of businesses boarded. For some businesses, the percentage was higher. Of the 67 women employed by downtown's Bon Marche department store, twenty were boarding somewhere in the city. Furthermore, because the city was a tourist

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[596] "Enormous Progress of Asheville YWCA Is Reported at Annual Meeting by Retiring President," *Asheville Citizen-Times,* February 1, 1925, Asheville YWCA Collection, Ramsey Library Special Collections, University of North Carolina-Asheville.
[597] "Caring For Strangers," *Asheville Times*, November 16, 1916, 4.
[598] "Enormous Progress," *Asheville Citizen-Times,* February 1, 1925, Asheville YWCA Collection.

destination, boarding prices and the cost of living were relatively high.[599] The wages offered for many of the positions available to young female labor were "exceptionally low" due to surplus labor. It is not surprising, then, that the Y.W.C.A. saw itself as providing essential services.

The YWCA also played a disciplinary function by licensing particular living spaces. It directed women to "reliable and inexpensive boarding places."[600] This entailed the organization conducting its own inspection and regulation. The organization provided a "room registry," which was a "list of inspected rooms," free to those offering and those seeking rooms.[601] The rooms were inspected to make sure that they were not in disorderly houses, or even in those houses "where no one cares and where she may be subjected to annoyances of various sorts." Beyond these requirements, the YWCA also judged the aesthetics of the rooms they recommended, as "[u]nattractive hall bed rooms have driven many girls to seek unhealthful diversions."[602]

When the Travelers' Aid agency could not locate respectable housing for female workers, it encouraged them to leave the city. In this way too the organization regulated the city. In its July, 1921 report, the agency emphasized its

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599 Maria Miller, "A Study," 4-6, microfilm reel 199, YWCA USA Records, Smith College, Northampton, MA.

600 "Average Of Sixty Guests Are Expected At Y.W.C.A. Home," *Asheville Citizen*, August 7, 1921, 11.

601 As historian Sarah Heath notes, this service was provided by many YWCAs around the nation. Sarah Heath, "Negotiating White Womanhood: The Cincinnati YWCA and White Wage-Earning Women, 1918-1929," in *Men and Women Adrift: The YMCA and the YWCA in the City,* ed. by Nina Mjagkij and Margaret Spratt (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 87-88; also see Joanne J. Meyerowitz, *Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 121.

602 "Average Of Sixty Guests Are Expected At Y.W.C.A. Home," *Asheville Citizen*, August 7, 1921, 11.

worth to the young women who traveled to the city looking for work. The report told a story of "a girl of 20 years" who arrived on the 3:30 morning train. She was "looking for employment, as she was entirely without means."[603] A worker found her at 6:00 in the morning. The agency soon found employment for her at a local mill, but could not find an appropriate boarding house with an immediate vacancy. In the end, Travelers' Aid convinced the girl to "return to where she had previously worked and had lived at the home of a relative."[604]

The Y.W.C.A.'s claimed to serve the employers' and workers' needs in equal measure.[605] It served as a referral service, matching employees with employers. A 1925 article claimed that the organization had earned the appreciation of employers in the city "because it has so increased the spirit of cooperation and of good will

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[603] "Travelers Aid Society Gives Assistance To 2,000 In July," *Asheville Citizen*, August 4, 1921, 3.

[604] "Travelers Aid Society," *Asheville Citizen*, 3.

[605] The Y also played a role in labor relations. In 1925 the YWCA claimed that its "Industrial" section had earned the appreciation of employers in the city "because it has so increased the spirit of cooperation and of good will between them and their employees." It termed the young female workers for which the YWCA cared the "very pulse of the commercial life of the community." The "trustworthiness of young women," the article reminded its readers, was essential to the success of business conducted in the city's "stores, banks, industries, telephone and telegraph offices." The Y also provided self-improvement opportunities to these women, including "classes in English, music, citizenship, educational lectures on current events, pageants and plays." See "Enormous Progress," *Asheville Citizen-Times,* February 1, 1925, Asheville YWCA Collection.

The role of the YWCA in labor relations is intriguing, given that clerks had only recently organized into an AFL union in the city, and white women often found employment as clerks. It is not known whether the Y played a role at all in dissuading or encouraging unionization among clerks, but if its representatives worked closely with employers, it is likely that the organization was not perceived as being union supporters. For information on the unionization effort of the city's clerks, see "Central Union Not Endorsing Any City Primary Candidates," *Asheville Advocate*, March 29, 1923 p.1; "Clerks Will Elect Officers Tonight," *Asheville Advocate*, April 26, 1923, p. 1; "Clerks' Organization Still Gaining In Point of Membership," *Asheville Advocate*, May 3, 1923, p.1; for information on female clerks likely fired due to union sentiment, see "Woolworth Clerk Discharged, Prior to Joining Union," Asheville *Advocate,* May 24, 1923, p.1; "A Boomerang," *Asheville Advocate*, May 24, 1923, p. 4;"Woolworth Attitude To Unions Up again In Central Session," *Asheville Advocate,* July 5, 1923, p.1.

between them and their employees." Members of the organization's Industrial committee had recently visited "all the industries in the city" to establish and strengthen connections between themselves and various employers. To further cement these connections, the committee put on an "employer's banquet" for the employers of the women who relied on the Y. The organization was a crucial instrument of referral because the characters of these women were crucial. The "trustworthiness of young women," the article reminded its readers, was essential to the success of business conducted in the city's "stores, banks, industries, telephone and telegraph offices." The Y also provided self-improvement opportunities to these women, including "classes in English, music, citizenship, educational lectures on current events, pageants and plays."

The Y.W.C.A. continued to play a key role in employment networks in the 1930s, both judging the fitness of women and placing them in employment positions. These roles of the YWCA continued through the Depression and the city's bankruptcy. It may have even become more important. In 1934 the organization opened a new and larger building, capable of offering affordable and respectable accommodations to a greater number of women. The Moorhead House, named for the donor whose bequest made the building possible, augmented the Y's ability to play a role in the service economy. At its dedication, one speaker asserted that it would be a residence "for those [young women] who earn their own livelihood." In return for this assistance, the speaker suggested that it was reasonable that the organization expect that "womanhood should maintain for us certain standards that will help us to" preserve civilization. Thus the expanded facilities had multiple

purposes. In addition to aiding women looking for work, the building would ideally have a disciplinary function. By invoking [white] "civilization," moreover, the speaker appealed to not only a gendered duty but a racial one as well. The building, then, would facilitate the goals of the protection of "womanhood" and of "civilization."[606]

The YWCA also collaborated with extensions of state social government that formed in the context of the Great Depression. In 1937, the Y.W.C.A. collaborated with the North Carolina Employment Service to offer training to "high-type white waitresses" at its facilities. Twenty-seven women enrolled for the inaugural training session.[607] This training answered a shortage of trained waitresses. Even with this course, there was an anticipated shortage for the summer, so that the state service would "be able to place in employment a large number" of participants.[608] Only after "sufficient experience or previous training" would waitresses be recommended and placed by the Employment Service. The *Citizen* eagerly endorsed this program, which would create waitresses trained in the art of going "through the motions of showing [travelers] some special consideration."[609] In the same year, a "business man" testified in the *Citizen* that he was able to trust the YWCA to meet his employment needs for secretarial work. The Y would not rest, he boasted, "until

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606 "Moorhead House Is Dedicated," *Asheville Citizen*, November 19, 1934, Asheville YWCA Collection.
607 "27 Enrolled In Special Course For Waitresses," *Asheville Citizen*, February 18, 1937, 7.
608 "Shortage Due to be Greater This Summer," *Asheville Times*, February 3, 1937, Asheville YWCA Collection.
609 "School For Waitresses," *Asheville Citizen*, February 5, 1937, 4.

they found the right" employee for him.[610]

Self-Regulating Suspect Spaces

The Y.W.C.A. clearly, then was responsible for much informal regulation during the 1920s and 1930s. During the same time, suspect spaces—those potentially generative of disorder—were linked more closely to surveillance and to authorities through a variety of means. This section examines two such spaces: pawnshops and dance halls. The city board regulated these industries partly by incorporating both into urban surveillance, although in significantly different ways. That is, what was at issue was whether the proprietors of these spaces could police themselves as part of the city's police power. Ultimately, the city government decided that dance halls could not do so, resulting in a yearlong ban on their operation early in the decade. When they re-opened, it was with a reformulated authority more directly tied to the city government.

Pawnshops, however, while still suspect, were able to bear the increasing burden and demands of surveillance. As Wendy Woloson's recent study of 18th and 19th century pawnbrokers makes clear, the regulation of pawnshops, as a necessary and ineradicable evil had a long history. Pawnbrokers for many years had to cultivate "good relations with the police who surveilled them."[611] In many locales proprietors were required to not only renew their licenses annually but to also "meticulously document their transactions" as a supplement to authorities' own

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[610] "Twenty First Birthday Anniversary of the Y.W.C.A.," *Asheville Citizen*, January 26, 1937, Asheville YWCA Collection.
[611] Wendy A. Woloson, *In Hock: Pawning in America From Independence to the Great Depression* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 129.

attempts at surveillance.[612] Regulation in Asheville proceeded along similar lines, including the requirement of bonds for good behavior.

As noted in chapter two, the Will Harris episode in 1906 demonstrated how the pawnshop could function both as a source for racial disorder and an auxiliary outpost of white authority early in the century. Harry Finkelstein was the pawnbroker who sold Harris his rifle and supplied firearms to the white men who tried to hunt him down. His nephew, Leo Finkelstein, reminisced that his uncle had proudly provided guns to those *ad hoc* sheriff's deputies, although the younger Finkelstein understandably did not mention that he had also sold Harris the rifle.[613] Two of the longest-tenured pawnshops in Asheville were owned by Jews and located adjacent to one another in downtown: Uncle Sam's Pawn Shop and Finkelstein's. In fact, all three pawnshops listed in the city's 1922 directory, were situated between 15 and 25 Biltmore Avenue South, close to an African American neighborhood just south of Pack Square.[614] Each was subject to the same regulation. In 1915, the city commissioners required a bond of $1,000 from their owners. The Argintor Brothers presented a bond for that amount, signed by three sureties, including two Jewish businessmen engaged in commerce in the city's downtown, where many Jewish-owned businesses were located. This bond was in

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[612] Woloson, *In Hock,* 132.
[613] Leo Finkelstein Oral History, interviewed by David Schulman, February 10, 1994, Jewish Heritage in Western North Carolina Oral History Collection, Ramsey Library Special Collections, UNCA.
[614] *Asheville, North Carolina City Directory, 1922*, vol. XXI (Asheville: The Miller Press, 1921), 557

addition to the pawnbroker's license, which itself was only fifteen dollars.[615] The bond served as a guarantee that the applicant would "faithfully perform the requirements and obligations" attendant to the position.[616]

The Asheville city government went beyond this model of surveillance after World War I. During the 1920s the city increased regulation of pawnshop, moving from a negative to a more affirmative, active, and constant regulation. Instead of requiring that the pawnbroker not do anything illegal, beginning in 1922 the city commissioners made pawnshops perform their own regulation and function as a part of police surveillance. Harry Finkelstein's 1923 application for his annual renewal of his pawn broker's license, for instance, the application affirms that Finkelstein would "make daily reports" to the police.[617]

The city continued to tie pawnshops more closely to its police power. This greater entanglement allowed pawnbrokers to make claims to respectability precisely because they could claim status as agents of surveillance. By the 1930s, the city was employing a relatively sophisticated system. At a 1934 meeting of the Jewish Reform temple's Brotherhood, Leo Finkelstein spoke about his pawnshop, which he had inherited from his father. Finkelstein's speech at the Temple Club

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[615] "Argintor Bros.- Uncle Sam's Pawn Shop", *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, *no. 11,* June 5th, 1915, 4, Office of the City Clerk. The three were L. H. Pollock, M. Levell, and Ike Swartzberg. Sidney Schochet, who also owned a business in downtown, remembered that Jewish merchants competed with one another but also would help one another. Sidney Schochet Oral History, interview by David Schulman, April 10, 1994, Jewish Heritage of Western North Carolina Collection. Ramsey Library Special Collections, University of North Carolina-Asheville, NC

[616] "H. L. Finkelstein- Pawn-Brokers Special License Tax," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners no. 16*, June 30, 1920, 89, Office of the City Clerk.

[617] "H.L. Finkelstein----Pawn Brokers License," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners no. 18*, November 17, 1923, 574, Office of the City Clerk.

sought to portray his profession as equal to those of his audience, many of whom were businessmen. He acknowledged that the general public believed that "the majority of pawnbrokers are crooked" and thus objects of suspicion.[618] Perhaps feeling that the image of the pawnbroker could not be completely separated from that of his customers, Finkelstein sought to portray the latter in a positive light while admitting their occasional swindles. He lauded the selflessness and good characters of his customers, sixty percent of whom he estimated were black and ninety-five percent of whom were men. "How many of you," Finkelstein asked his audience rhetorically, "would part with your coat on a cold day to get some one you know out of jail?"[619]

His speech aimed to convince his audience that the pawnshop, "properly conducted" with proper technique, was a benefit rather than a necessary evil that had to be tolerated. For instance, Finkelstein stressed his shop's cooperation with the police, which by then had moved well beyond filing daily reports. Celebrating his shop's role in the city, Finkelstein described the system in detail, which intensified the shop's participation in surveillance while at the same time obscuring that role.

Beyond receiving daily reports of stolen articles and making daily reports of transactions, the pawnshop was also literally connected to the city's police power. Should a suspicious customer come into the store, Finkelstein could employ a hidden "private wire" that led to an "ordinary automobile horn" installed at the

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[618] Leo Finkelstein, "A Poor Mans' Bank in America Instead of Raising Kangaroos in Australia," 4, Temple Club, series 5, Beth HaTephila Congregation Collection, Ramsey Library Special Collections, UNCA.
[619] Finkelstein, "A Poor Mans' Bank," 4, Beth HaTephila Congregation Collection.

nearby police department.[620] Furthermore, there were multiple messages Finkelstein could communicate. One blow, for instance, meant "Hurry Over," which signified a robbery or the attempted pawning of stolen items. Three tones, however, merely meant that there were suspicious characters in the store and police should "come over as soon as possible." Official reaction, according to Finkelstein, was quick; "plainclothes men" would come to the store within a minute of the sounding of the automobile horn. Finkelstein noted that through this system the pawnshop could function as a part of police surveillance while avoiding any blame or apparent complicity in the act or process of policing. He could not be held liable for any false arrest stemming from their alert, he assured his crowd.[621] His role, then, was obscured to an important extent. The technological device allowed him to make consequential judgments about his patrons without fearing legal repercussions should those judgments turn out to have been wrong.

The pawnshop thus contributed to the management of order in the city through its surveillance. Finkelstein went on to argue that the pawnshop contained potential political radicalism through the store's normal operation. It was not a necessary evil, he suggested, but actually contributed to peaceful social relations. In times of depression such as the current one, the pawnshop, as the "poor man's bank," kept the desperate and needy from committing crimes by making accessible "the necessities of life."[622] His institution, he concluded, was a "salvation" to those who struggled. The pawnshop reduced rather than produced crime and disorder.

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[620] Finkelstein, "A Poor Mans' Bank," 5, Beth HaTephila Collection.
[621] Finkelstein, "A Poor Mans' Bank," 5, Beth HaTephila Collection.
[622] Finkelstein, "A Poor Mans' Bank," 5, Beth HaTephila Collection.

This technology of surveillance did not remove the stain of suspicion from the city's pawnshops. In 1936, for example, Martin Moore, an African American accused of killing a young white woman staying in one of the city's finer hotels, claimed to have purchased the automatic pistol found under his house at Uncle Sam's pawnshop. The *Times* noted that Moore lacked a firearms license, but also carried the owner's forceful denial of Moore's assertion. Sam Argintar's emphatic rebuttal, and its reporting in the *Citizen*, suggests that pawnshops continued to represent potential sites for disorder as the suspicion focused on their disproportionately African American clientele could potentially be transferred to them.[623]

Despite the suspicion they drew, the city government never shut down "the poor man's bank." The same could not be said for dance halls, which were closed for one year beginning in the summer of 1921.[624] This action stemmed largely from doubts that dance operators were able to police themselves as part of the city's surveillance structure. When they were allowed to reopen in summer of 1922, it was with a reconfigured network of surveillance. The political practice of tolerance—judging whether and how a potentially dangerous presence would exist within the city—depended on how satisfactorily the suspect space was incorporated into an existing apparatus of surveillance.

[623] "Denies Negro Bought Pistol From Pawnshop," *Asheville Times*, August 10, 1936, 9.
[624] Elisabeth I. Perry, "'The General Motherhood of the Commonwealth': Dance Hall Reform in the Progressive Era," *American Quarterly*, 37, no. 5 (Winter, 1985): 719-733; Ralph G. Giordano, *Satan in the Dance Hall: Rev. John Roach Straton, social dancing, and morality in 1920s New York City* (New York: Scarecrow Press, 2008).

The debate over whether to close the dance halls began on June 4, 1921, the day before the board was to grant licenses to dance halls for the coming year. Addressing the City Commissioners on that day, the deacons of the First Baptist Church asked that the city delay granting licenses until the Board heard "the wishes and desires of the majority of our fellow citizens."[625] The deacons also took this opportunity to communicate their own opinions on the matter. They made their case that the dance halls were "veritable cess and suck-pool[s]" that were particularly dangerous to the "virtuous young women" of the city, due to the practice of dressing "in a suggestive manner" while dancing with a man they likely did not know well.[626]

As an essential part of defining them as intolerable spaces, the deacons sought to de-naturalize dance halls and thus destabilize their place in the urban landscape. They emphasized that these businesses did not serve or satisfy a pre-existing desire or need of its patrons; instead, "the dance hall creates, rather than satisfies, a demand for a certain vulgar form of amusements."[627] This was a significant assertion. If dance halls were the product of and answered a supposed ineradicable desire or need, their place in the city landscape and economy, while

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[625] "Public Dance Halls—First Baptist Church," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, *No. 16*, June 4, 1921, 413, Office of the City Clerk.
[626] "Public Dance Halls—First Baptist Church," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, *No. 16,* June 4, 1921, 413. In Atlanta, the scrutiny of the effects of leisure activities on non-elite women's morality served as a vehicle for the incorporation of suspect commercial spaces into the city's "larger social structure." That same process was delayed in Asheville, as dance halls resumed in 1922, their apparent danger to women's morality mitigated by closer regulation. Georgina Hickey, *Hope and Danger in the New South City: Working-Class Women and Urban Development in Atlanta, 1890-1940* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003), 77.
[627] "Public Dance Halls—First Baptist Church," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, *No. 16*, June 4, 1921, 413.

still suspect, was as irreducible as the human needs they served. The only question was management. As Wendy Brown and others have noted, this has been a theme of the constitution and defense of tolerated subjects.[628] Framed in this way, dance halls worked to contain those needs and impose some commercial and regulatory order on them. The deacons denied this claim, however, and instead blamed dance hall spaces for creating dangerous desires in the first place. The deacons' petition helped set the terms for the debate by trying to destabilize dance halls as a concrete manifestation in the urban landscape of an independent need.[629]

The deacon's appearance and petition initiated a two month long debate over dance halls through which people examined deviance, class privilege, and the distanced management of threats to moral order as an central aspect of urban governance. The ensuing discussion would largely revolve around the possibility of regulating "public" (as distinct from the "private" dance halls with guest lists that were a common feature of the city's posh hotels) dance halls and incorporating them into the city's surveillance. Dance operators sought to influence the debate by asserting that they had already been acting as part of a disciplinary and surveillance apparatus of their own accord. Clarence de Haven Laferty, who by his account had had operated "one hundred and ten public dances," in Asheville over the course of the previous four years, maintained that his dances were respectable. He allowed

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[628] Wendy Brown, *Regulating Aversion: Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 35-36; Janet R. Jakobsen and Ann Pellegrini, *Love the Sin: Sexual Regulation and the Limits of Religious Tolerance*, (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 3.

[629] "Public Dance Hall Ruled Out By Asheville Commissioners Following Two Hours of Spirited Debate," *Asheville Times*, June 13, 1921, box 7, Robert F. Campbell Papers, Ramsey Library Special Collections, UNCA.

that while many modern dances were revolting, they were "not tolerated" at his establishment.[630]

Laferty was the most vocal of dance hall proprietors, continuing to protest after the board of commissioners' prohibition of dance halls went into effect on July 2, 1921. He defended his respectability, which he held was demonstrated by his practices of making judgments of customers' moral worth and character. Those attempting to gain entry "who are known to be immoral, and persons of questionable character," were not allowed in. He had apparently turned away as many as fifty for one dance event. Those who slipped by the initial check were supposedly identified and removed later. The small town nature of Asheville made

[630] Clarence de Haven Laferty, "Should Dance Halls Be Abolished in Asheville," Letter to the Editor, *Asheville Citizen*, June 11, 1921, 4. The public and private distinction made by many elites, including commissioners, was consequential, controversial, and instructive. "Private" dances, associated with the city's upscale hotels, were not banned. From the very beginning, class resentment informed the lengthy debate over the claim of dance halls to the urban landscape. For instance, in the first week of the debate in early June, a Methodist minister, Thurston Price, laid the blame for the potential harm and corruption embodied by the dance halls at the feet of the "rich youths who went [to dances] 'to find their victims.'" See "Public Dance Hall Ruled Out By Asheville Commissioners Following Two Hours of Spirited Debate," *Asheville Times*, June 13, 1921.

More common than outright attacks on the corrupting influence of the wealthy, though, was respondents' criticism of the commissioners' apparent readiness to distinguish between public and private dances. Commentators before the board and those given a voice by the *Citizen* and *Times* perceived commissioners' willingness to allow private dances as an indication of the privileged spaces of hotels in which private dances were largely held. This distinction undermined support for closing dance halls. At whites' public dances, all that was necessary was the price of admission. A system of regulation to limit the clientele, such as that boasted by Laferty, was thus necessary to keep such spaces proper and to maintain their place in the city. Private dances, however, limited possible attendees through invitations only or to guests at the hotel where the dance was being held. The debate over private dance halls identified them with privileged spaces, especially the posh hotels in the city.

policing easier, Laferty held, made it easier for him to "bar out practically all the undesirable persons."[631]

Furthermore, there were multiple layers of regulation. In addition to each dance having a chaperone, "a plain clothes city official" observed most functions. Because of these measures, Laferty further argued that Asheville's dances were superior to those in larger cities, which allowed "all kinds of vulgar dancing."[632] His wife, he noted, was a chaperone, and would be happy to welcome any critics to the dances. He stated in a different letter to the editor that while he was just an electrical engineer, he knew the difference between "proper and improper dancing, the difference between refinement and vulgarity and the application of each to dancing."[633]

Significantly, Laferty also engaged the debate over what kind of spaces dance halls were. Were they spaces of containment, into which potentially disruptive urges could be channeled, or were they sites of production responsible for those urges? As was the case with other supporters of dance halls, Laferty posited that the danger as well as the natural desire and instinct to dance pre-existed establishments such as his. Immorality was not, he claimed, "a direct outcome of the public dance." Instead, he asked, "would not the same individual be immoral if the public dance were discontinued? Would not these same persons, be immoral in their own homes, or any other place they may chance to be?"[634] Other supporters argued along similar

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[631] Clarence de Haven Laferty, "Should Dance Halls Be Abolished in Asheville," *Asheville Citizen*, June 11, 1921, 4.
[632] Laferty, "Should Dance Halls Be Abolished," 4.
[633] C. DeHaven Laferty, "The Public Dance Hall," *Asheville Times*, July 7, 1921, 4.
[634] Laferty, "Should Dance Halls Be Abolished," 4.

lines. Charles Neal, a native Ashevillian, similarly denied that the dance halls created sin. Decrying what he called the "un-American tendencies" of the city's anti-dance hall reformers, Neal warned that their lofty goals would ultimately fall short: "'You may break up the public dance halls, but you do not thereby break up the immorality of the men and women who got there."[635] Despite their arguments Laferty and other supporters of dance halls lost the privilege to operate in Asheville in June 1921 because they failed to convince the board of commissioners that they were able to adequately police themselves.

Ultimately unsuccessful briefs for the appeal of dance halls to tourists also asserted that they were only fulfilling a pre-existing need. In early July the *Times* printed "The Asheville Blues" which boasted that the blue sky for which the city was famed was "not half so blue as our laws."[636] The narrator wants to dance, but is told by the "solemn" "City Dads" to "hunt a town and there you will have to stay." To an imagined tourist from Florida who asked him to justify why he should come to Asheville, the narrator could only respond, "If you had to die/There's no better place to go." Needless to say, this did not satisfy the visitor.[637] A shorter but similarly poetic contribution to the *Times* imagined a tourist choosing the nearby city of Hendersonville, rather than Asheville. The poem's narrator was a mother who had decided to "never again" send her daughters to Asheville. "Girls must have amusement," the narrator asserted, once again positing that dance halls served pre-

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[635] Quoted in Guy Weaver, "The Individual, The Community, and Reform," *Asheville Citizen*, June 9, 1921, 4. Weaver responded to Neal by asking whether "Would Mr. Neal oppose the abatement of a sanitary nuisance that would endanger the community health and germinate typhoid[?]"
[636] Charles H. Neal and Shorty Payne, "The Asheville Blues," *Asheville Citizen*, July 9, 1921, 4.
[637] Neal and Payne, "The Asheville Blues," 4.

existing desires. Even the *Citizen* got into the creative spirit, suggesting that the city adopt the slogan "Sleep it off in Asheville" to describe the attractions and entertainment offered by the city.[638]

The participants in the debate did not mention race or the possibility of blacks and whites dancing together. African Americans and whites danced together rarely enough in Asheville that the *Chicago Defender* took note in 1932 when whites "crashed the color bar" to dance at a jazz concert organized and attended by African Americans.[639] Nonetheless, an August 1921 editorial in the Citizen suggested the implicit role of racialist thinking in this argument over the kinds of dancing. It noted that the National Association of Masters of Dancing predicted a return to popularity of the waltz "and similar old steps," eclipsing the more recent dances.[640] The Citizen characterized these newer dances as a "medly of animal imitations, interspersed here and there with stuff stolen from the religious rituals of barbarous tribes, the jumpings up and down that accompany the tom-tom."[641] According to the editorial, such a "mix-up of motion" led to a disagreeable democratization of dancing: "Everybody could dance because dancing was not dancing in the true sense of the word." Were the waltz to return, it would herald the return of "gracefulness,

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638 "If the Rich Dance Why Not the Middle Class," *Asheville Citizen*, June 14, 1921, 4.
639 "Music Breaks Color Barrier In Asheville," *The Chicago Defender*, December 24, 1932, 4, Proquest.
640 "On With the Dance!" *Asheville Citizen*, August 12, 1921, 4.
641 "On With the Dance!" *Asheville Citizen*, 4.

symmetry and beauty of figure."[642] These were common tropes of the naturalization of whiteness carried on in different media and institutions during this period.[643]

When dance halls were allowed to operate once again in 1922, it was with more significant regulations that removed a good portion of responsibility for judgment from the hands of proprietors. The resumption of dance halls did not occur without protest.[644] Evangelist Bob Jones, in town for a revival, declared dance halls to be ungovernable. When the mayor came down in favor of regulation, though, he did so on the basis of the supposed innate drive to dance among the young. If they were sure to do it, Mayor Gallatin Roberts held, "they might as well do it decently."[645] This argument was a key strategy of those favoring the resumption of public dance halls. Supporting this contention, in the mayor's view, was that the city's previous attempt to "prohibit public dance halls was 'pitiful, a disgrace, and a miserable failure.'" According to Roberts and as objectors had predicted a year before, those wishing to dance had only been forced "out of town to see amusement elsewhere" in Hendersonville or other nearby communities.[646] The city, then, was losing valuable tourist trade.

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[642] "On With the Dance!" *Asheville Citizen*, August 12, 1921, p. 4.

[643] This language makes clear that although racial difference was not specifically invoked, the judgments about what kind of dancing was proper, normal, and respectable were racialized. Tim Cresswell, "'You Cannot shake that shimmie here': producing mobility on the dance floor," *Cultural Geographies* 13, no. 1 (2006): 55-77; Julian B. Carter, *The Heart of Whiteness: Normal Sexuality and Race in America, 1880-1940* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

[644] The nearby Greensboro *Record*, indulging in hyperbole, applauded Asheville mothers' enlisting in the city's "dance hall war." According to the editorial, the city's mothers "ought to settle the thing." The editorial also suggested that "an investigation" was in order in the event that the city government did not bow to the wishes of the mothers. "Mothers And Dance Halls," *Asheville Times*, May 22, 1922, 4.

[645] "Mayor Favors New Dance Law; Sherrill Opposes," *Asheville Times*, June 30, 1922, 1.

[646] "Mayor Favors New Dance Law," *Asheville Times*, 1.

The new conditions governing the operation of dance halls represented a more defined and formal network of surveillance than had existed previously. Written by the commissioner of public safety R. L. Fitzpatrick, the ordinance "regulated the hours of dancing, provide[d] for an inspector, and regulate[d] the modes of dancing, setting age limits of those attending," in addition to licensing dance halls."[647] The commissioners belatedly followed the suggestion of one resident during the previous year's controversy that Asheville should follow the lead of "real cities" that successfully regulated dance halls by using "either policewomen…or a committee of local ladies."[648] The new position of dance inspector would be "clothed with police powers."[649] The inspector position assisted the board in judging the individual merit and worth of particular spaces. This was a role that was previously performed to a greater extend by proprietors like Clarence de Haven Laferty.

In the summer of 1922, for example, the city commissioners appointed a woman to be the inspector for a public dance hall bordering Pack Square.[650] Significantly the new regulations called for inspectors to be paid from the license fees of dance halls themselves. While this provision caused one commissioner to vote against the ordinance, it also represented a message that dance halls were still responsible for their surveillance in some measure.

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[647] "New Ordinance Regulating Dance Halls Will Be Introduced Soon," *Asheville Times*, June 17, 1922, 8.
[648] "Commissioners Are Cheered When Dance Hall Licenses Are Refused," *Asheville Citizen*, June 14, 1921, box 7, Robert F. Campbell Papers, Ramsey Library Special Collections, UNCA.
[649] "Dance Inspector Will Be Appointed," *Asheville Sunday Citizen*, July 2, 1922, 11.
[650] "Mrs. C. N. Lominac- Dance Hall Inspector," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, no. 17*, August 4, 1922, 412, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.

African Americans who operated dance halls likely labored under particular suspicion. In 1923, for instance, Herbert Sanders applied to the Board to "grant [him] the privilege to operate a respectable" dance hall for African Americans. He asked for a trial period of six months to illustrate that he could "keep good order from start to finish." He asked that the city "appoint me an officer each night," and he would "pay the officer whatever price you Commissioners ask for each night." He promised 'first class order." The Board referred the matter to the Public Safety Commissioner "with power to act."[651]

At other times, the board justified denying an African American dance hall because its physical distance placed it beyond the scope of available and effective urban surveillance. For instance, in November 1922 the city revoked the license of the black Roseland Garden Dance Hall in West Asheville on the advice of the city's police chief and solicitor, who asserted that the site "was so remotely located that it can not have proper police protection, and is a disorderly place, where we have more or less drinking and disorder." They cited the "numerous complaints" filed by nearby residents of late night disturbances to buttress their argument.[652]

An attorney, representing the dance hall, asked that the board reconsider its decision. As part of its plea the attorney suggested that the dance hall could in effect become more "private"; its owner promised to "organize a club and issue cards and thereby cut down the membership." Furthermore, while the hall already paid for one inspector for the inside of the dance hall, its lawyer now offered to hire an

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[651] "Herbert Sanders—Application to Operate Dance Hall," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, *no. 18*, October 29, 1923, 547, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.
[652] "Roseland Garden Dance Hall—License Revoked," November 1, 1922, 26, *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, *no. 18*, Office of the City Clerk.

additional "Inspector or a special Policeman to maintain order on the outside." Commenting on this request, African American inspector John Hicks noted that while the "perfect order" had been the rule within the dance hall, he conceded that there had been "considerable disorder" outside the hall. With this testimony, the board declined to cancel the revocation despite the promises of greater regulation and exclusivity.[653]

Conclusion

Chapter three examined the increasing regulation on the square and particularly the networks of distanced governance that purported to manage the square. This chapter has traced the operation of these networks of surveillance beyond the square. It pays particular attention to the actors for whom this participation grew out of their status as objects of suspicion in a moral and social urban order. Their performance of policing responsibilities was a mark of their status as both regulated and regulating subjects.

One last example demonstrates this dynamic contradiction. As the library on the square served as a fitting conclusion for the development detailed in chapter two, this chapter closes with one last example from the dance hall saga that focuses on a hitherto overlooked source of potential disorder: the musicians themselves. As we have seen, having instituted several measures designed to regularize their inspection, the board of commissioners voted to allow "public" dance halls once

[653] "Roseland Garden Dance Hall," November 6, 1922, 34, *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, *no. 18*, Office of the City Clerk. The only John Hicks listed in the 1920 census was a 47-year-old African American man. *14th Census of the United States: 1920-Population*, Sheet No. 8051, Asheville, N.C.

more in 1922. Additionally, the musicians playing in Asheville clubs publicly pledged to regulate themselves only two months after dance halls were once again allowed to operate. The New York *Tribune* carried a resolution of Local 128, which it characterized as a "strident attack upon jazz." The union's message had "pledge[d] musicians to oppose 'catcalls, squawks of the clarinet and wheezes from the saxophone, especially in connection with dance music." Elaborating on their pledge, the members specified that

> "orchestra musicians playing any engagement must conduct themselves as if they were on a professional engagement and refrain from making any unnecessary or unusual noises not indicated in the music, or making movements conspicuously noticeable that would tend to detract from the dignity of their profession.'"

It appeared, then, that the resolution banned any improvisation. The gesture was apparently "the first movement in this direction" by any local chapter of the American Federation of Musicians.[654] The *Tribune* lampooned the resolution's ambition to establish order on the stage as a vain attempt to banish the "hectic cries of the jazz hounds." Despite the humor the *Tribune* found in their declaration, the members of Local 128 emphasized that it was their own decision, freely made and "of their own solemn volition."[655] Musicians, then, maintained that they were performing this self-regulation as liberal subjects.

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[654] "'Jazz' Barred By Musicians," *Adair* [Ky.] *County News,* September 26, 1922, 7, Chronicling America Database, Library of Congress (Accessed December 31, 2012).
[655] "Broadway and Asheville," *New York Tribune*, August 13, 1922, 1, Library of Congress Chronicling America Database (Accessed December 31, 2012).

While local musicians may have undertaken this effort by their own free will, they were not doing so alone. Instead, the National Federation of Music Clubs announced that the virtual ban on jazz music in Asheville was "based upon a plan of co-operation with various civic organizations to bring the standard of music to a higher level." Thus Asheville musicians were engaged in a project of governance in conjunction with others, in particular the Asheville Saturday Morning Music Club, headed by president Kate H. Hamilton. Appropriately enough for this tourist town, the step was apparently taken in preparation for a biannual music festival to be hosted by the Asheville chapter of the National Federation of Music Clubs the following spring.[656]

Several newspapers picked up the story. The *Columbia Evening Missourian*, for instance, ran commentary from the daily *Philadelphia Public Ledger* in its editorial section regarding the "ban" on jazz music in Asheville. The *Ledger* called Asheville musicians' declaration "an 'obit' for jazz." The *Ledger* shared the enthusiasm of the Music Club and advocated that the "uncouth and violent rhythm" of jazz be kept away from the concert venues "as the sounds of the stable can be separated from the…parlor." The editorial closed by calling musicians to perform their duty of defending music "against debasing influences."[657] The editorial, then, formulated the expectation that musicians would both produce and police music.

Musicians' pledge to police music, was, of course, a pledge to regulate themselves. As possible producers of the disagreeable rhythms and sounds of jazz,

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[656] "'Jazz' Barred By Musicians," *Adair* [Ky.] *County News,* September 26, 1922, 7, Chronicling America Database.
[657] "The Refiners' Fire," *From The Philadelphia Public Ledger*," *Columbia Evening Missourian*, August 21, 1922, 2, Chronicling America Database.

they were themselves suspect. By promising to regulate themselves and abstain from improvisation, musicians were assuming their place within a recently established structure to surveil and govern potentially disorderly spaces. This pledge may have represented an effort by musicians to respond to the concerns of those troubled by the re-regulation of dance halls. The resolution communicated that musicians could regulate themselves and help produce musical and social order.

Both the city government and sanctioned organizations sought to construct, adapt, or augment networks of authority in a rapidly growing city. Multiple organizations sought to participate in governance. The YWCA sought to augment and strengthen their claims to the exercise of authority and surveillance on a young, mobile, and female labor force. The Buncombe County Law Enforcement League sought to participate in the enforcement of prohibition and attempted to individualize the responsibility for enforcement. Musicians' enrollment in social order, however, reminds us that objects of suspicion themselves played key roles in these networks. Their pledge helps illustrate the elaboration and augmentation of management in the early 20th century.

The incorporation of suspect subjects into networks of authority was a strategy of governance not limited to "race relations." Instead, this development expressed a logic that took the management of disorder as its object. This arrangement could be fashioned to conserve the notion of the self-regulating liberal subject within these networks. The pawnbroker Leo Finkelstein presented himself as eagerly participating in regulatory judgments through his silent alarm. Dance hall

operations like Clarence de Haven Laferty similarly claimed a role as a self-regulating actor within a network of surveillance, although the city government rejected this claim. To claim a place within such arrangements meant claiming the role of a liberal subject who both regulated others and was regulated himself. This contradictory subjectivity played an important role in race relations governance. As the next chapter demonstrates, the expectation and performance of self-surveillance played a constitutive yet contradictory role in the construction of "race relations."

Chapter 5:

’Race Relations’ and Paradoxes of Personhood in Crisis

Introduction

The previous chapter examined the multiplying formations of urban governance in Asheville during the 1920s and 1930s that managed spaces and subjects considered to constitute weak links in urban order by white authorities. This extension occurred, at times, through the incorporation of objects of suspicion as agents of order. For suspect subjects like the pawnbroker Leo Finkelstein and dance hall operator Clarence de Haven Laferty, the assumption of this responsibility to judge the fitness of others provided an opportunity to demonstrate their worth and, more than that, their status as liberal subjects capable of self-regulation. Finkelstein pointed with pride to his pawnshop’s status as a secret outpost of observation when making the case for its value to the city.[658] While the city regulations compelled him to make reports to authorities, the extension of an electrical alarm in the pawnshop in some ways increased Finkelstein’s autonomy, facilitating this ability to make consequential judgments about the threat represented by those in his economic space. Suspect whites’ performances within networks of policing authority provided them with opportunities to demonstrate their worth and simultaneously claim status as liberal self-regulating subjects. After a war in which citizenship was often formulated in terms a civilian’s duty to keep an

[658] Leo Finkelstein, “A Poor Mans’ Bank in America Instead of Raising Kangaroos in Australia,” 4, Temple Club, series 5, Beth HaTephila Congregation Collection, Ramsey Library Special Collections, UNCA.

eye on others, the assumption of this responsibility articulated a subjectivity that both violated and shored up the fictive borders of liberal government. Involvement in networks of policing authority paradoxically could facilitate the articulation of a self-mastery and autonomy that white authorities and the culture of segregation were meant to deny to African Americans. As this chapter demonstrates, this contradiction was central to race relations governance. The ideology of race relations took as its subject the management of African Americans' supposed deviance and claims to citizenship.[659] The practices that defined and gave shape to this ideology, however, purported to distribute the responsibility for policing to suspect subjects themselves.

The most publicized racial crisis in Asheville during the 1920s offers an important opportunity to demonstrate the paradoxical demands that this mode of governance made on African Americans. In their public statements, white authorities in Asheville asserted that African Americans were particularly obliged to police themselves as a condition of their status as objects of an explicitly white and conditional tolerance. Leading African Americans were called upon to demonstrate their worth, merit, and loyalty by policing their own community. The chain of events that began with the alleged sexual assault of a white woman by an African American man in September 1925 would expose the contradictions in whites' expectations. Their calls for Asheville's black residents to prove their worth through involvement in these Jim Crow networks of surveillance demonstrated what Grace Hong has

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[659] Michael Rudolph West, *The Education of Booker T. Washington: American Democracy and the Idea of Race Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 14; Barbara J. Fields, "*Origins of the New South* and the Negro Question," *The Journal of Southern History* 67, no. 4 (Nov., 2001): 811-826.

termed African Americans' "simultaneous object-subject position."[660]

In the fall of 1925, two young African American men who had recently migrated to the city, Alvin Mansel and Preston Neely, were accused of sexually assaulting a white woman in two separate incidents. In response, some whites decried African Americans for failing in their duty to adequately police their communities. The *Asheville Citizen* in particular became more strident in its threats to the safety of African Americans in the city, although there was disagreement amongst whites as to the blameworthiness of Asheville's black population and its leading "representatives" for the recent sexual assaults. The paper's claims that African Americans refused to police themselves revealed the threat and reality of violence upon which tolerance was based. In response, black residents of Asheville both accommodated and critiqued whites' expectations and demands for surveillance. Afforded some anonymity, African Americans in the white press explicitly exposed the contradictions involved in whites' demands of black self-surveillance as the definition of their moral worth.

The initial section of this chapter examines conflicts between African Americans and whites in the late 1910s and early 1920s. These conflicts were presented and to some degree mediated by networks of activists, black and white, whose influence derived from their claims to be representative. Representation entailed an implicit claim to oversight for organizations like the Employment Club of the Phyllis Wheatley Y.W.C.A., which channeled African American female labor to whites while also attempting to represent those workers' interests.

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[660] Grace Kyungwon Hong, *The Ruptures of American Capital: Women of Color Feminism and the Culture of Immigrant Labor* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 26.

Such representative networks were called upon in the 1925 crisis, which is the focus of the second and third sections. The arrangements of representation detailed in chapter two and in the first section of this chapter were important to relations governance because they were the channels through which authority was supposed to flow. First, I analyze whites' expectations that African Americans police themselves within white-controlled urban structures of surveillance. Participating in such networks, whites asserted, was how African Americans could demonstrate their merit and character. In their public statements, white elites in Asheville asserted that African Americans were particularly obliged to police themselves as a condition of their status as objects of conditional tolerance. The white-controlled newspapers in Asheville became more strident in their threats to the safety of African Americans in the city, although there was disagreement amongst whites as to the blameworthiness of Asheville's black population and its leading "representatives" for the recent sexual assaults. Black residents of Asheville both accommodated and critiqued whites' expectations and demands for surveillance. Leading African Americans sought to enact their "representative" status at mass meetings at the YMI and with the city Board of Commissioners. In this role they assured whites that they held no sympathy and provide no shelter for any criminals, suggested actions that the city could take to mitigate threats in public space, and attempted to dampen other African Americans' frustration with the racist threats of whites. However, African Americans also exposed the contradictions involved in whites' demands of black self-surveillance. They argued that those demands

entailed African Americans' performances of manhood and self-mastery that racist whites themselves found unacceptable.

The final portion follows the legal aftermath of the crisis. It narrates the trials of Mansel and Neely. Each received quick trials, resulting in Mansel's conviction and Neely's acquittal although both had seemingly strong alibis. Neely was immediately spirited away from the city for his safety. Saved from execution just minutes before his sentence was carried out in 1926, Mansel was finally paroled in 1930. Through the acquittal of one African American man accused of assault and the eventual commutation of another's death sentence, white residents in Asheville asserted their tolerant nature and the tolerant performances of the city's and state's legal machinery.

This episode, then, revealed white expectations that blacks both transcend and contain the danger they ostensibly embodied. Whites' statements yoked the value of tolerance to the injunction that leading African Americans police their own community as part of a larger system of white authority. This episode offers insight into how whites' demands that African Americans surveil themselves helped define the contested and contradictory terrain of "race relations."

Management, Representation, and Spatial Conflict

The racial violence, tension, and disappointments following World War I that occurred elsewhere appeared in Asheville and its vicinity as well. On July 4th, 1919, a mob in adjacent Hendersonville (close enough so that when Asheville banned public dance halls in 1921, critics responded that residents and tourists would simply

migrate there) had attempted to lynch an African American WWI veteran. According to Asheville newspaper reports, he retaliated after being knocked down by a Confederate veteran irked at the young soldier's refusal to "make room for some white women on one of the street benches."[661] The black soldier in response hit the Confederate veteran—"a blow which brought him to his knees." Apparently the police reached the young soldier just before the crowd did.[662] In early November of the same year, an African American man was accused of sexually assaulting a white woman in Asheville. Apparently "searching parties, including practically every available officer…continued shortly after midnight in the attempt to locate the unknown" alleged assailant.[663]

Attempts by African American domestic workers in Asheville to organize signaled the potential for disruptions of white-managed "race relations," which rested in part on low wages and minimal opportunities, particularly for black women. In October of 1919, African Americans announced "a plan of union." The union, one report predicted, would ask for a "100 per cent" raise.[664] Such a plan would likely have concerned many white elites, who often sought to control the labor market and keep wages low for black domestic laborers, while resenting those who paid their workers higher wages.[665] This plan imagined a very different

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[661] "Negro Is Threatened By An Angry Crowd," *Asheville Citizen*, July 5, 1919, 1.
[662] "Negro Is Threatened," *Asheville Citizen*, 1.
[663] "Negro Attacks Asheville Woman," *The Augusta Chronicle*, November 7, 1919, 1.
[664] "Asheville's Negro Cooks Plan to Organize Union," *The Times-Picayune*, October 13, 1919, 2.;
[665] Michael Robinson, who grew up in Asheville, claimed that his mother paid the family's "household help twice what any of the neighbors did." The domestic workers were aware of this pay difference, which annoyed the Robinson's neighbors, who "didn't like it." Rabbi Michael Robinson Oral History, interview by Sharon Fahrer and Jan Schochet, July 3, 2003,

organization of representation than the efforts to manage race relations facilitated by institutions such as the Young Men's Institute, detailed in chapter two.

Some prominent white paternalists opposed this movement. The scrapbook kept by the minister of the First Presbyterian Church, Robert F. Campbell, suggests that he was an anonymous opponent of the movement. Campbell's scrapbook included many newspaper clippings of Campbell's letters to the editor. In the scrapbook is a copy of a letter to the editor titled "A Cook's Union" signed only by "Fair Play." Underneath this pseudonym in handwritten letters are the initials "R. F. C"— the same initials as Campbell's. While the title of the newspaper is not mentioned in the scrap, the letter was addressed to "Editor Citizen," suggesting that it appeared in the *Asheville Citizen.* The editorial called on Asheville residents to "encourage" the "talk of organizing a Cook's union…for the stabilizing of wages" while not mentioning wage raises. The letter also pointed out that cooks objected to their status as objects of suspicion whose work was carefully regulated and controlled by their employers. The cooks' additional demands included that they have access to supplies so that housekeepers would no longer "give out the portions to be prepared for each meal."[666]

Jewish Businesses in Western North Carolina Oral History Collection, Ramsey Library, Special Collections, University of North Carolina-Asheville.
Furthermore, African Americans' demands for higher wages and better working conditions often led to deadly white reprisals throughout the Jim Crow South. African American domestic workers had attempted to organize previously in other Southern cities. See Tera W. Hunter, *To Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors After the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

[666] "A Cook's Union," October 13, 1919, *Asheville Citizen,* box 7, Robert F. Campbell Records, Ramsey Library Special Collections, University of North Carolina-Asheville.

The letter to the editor preserved by Campbell was defensive in tone and suggested that cooks could not regulate themselves. It argued that housekeepers' "united action" in the form of their own "league" was necessary to answer the threat to their liberty represented by the cooks' demands. The league could standardize whites' management of their kitchen labor and thereby "correct this great and growing evil" of an apparent relaxation of housekeepers' control over the kitchen materials. The letter spoke in oblique terms of the "waste in many of our kitchens" and invoked the post-World War I food shortage to justify housekeepers' continued vigilance and control over food stocks. Housekeepers' management of supplies, the letter stated, would ultimately benefit the cooks. As objects of suspicion, the workers would suffer from "so loose a system" that did not closely patrol and divvy out food stocks.[667]

Perhaps influenced by these incidents and movements, in November of 1919 African Americans in Asheville sought to define new lines of communication between "representative" members of their community and elite whites. In November, a committee self-consciously "representing" the black population of the city appeared before the board. The committee was made up of three men who regularly appeared on such representative committees: the Reverend C. B. Dusenbury, Dr. J. W. Walker, and Professor J. H. Michael. They reported to the board that "reputable white citizens" had proposed that "fifty or sixty of the best citizens of each race" attend a large conference to discuss the city's race relations. The request referred to the racial violence in the summer of 1919 by stating that the meeting

[667] "A Cook's Union," October 13, 1919, *Asheville Citizen*, box 7, Robert F. Campbell Records.

would aim to prevent "any outbreaks such as have occurred in other sections of the country."[668]

The committee assured the city commissioners that they "had absolutely no grievances to air." They doubted that such a meeting was necessary, but because the suggestion had come from "reputable white citizens," the committee thought it best to bring it to the attention of the commissioners. The commissioners, themselves representative, felt that "there were no grievances on the part of the white people." They themselves were happy with the "spirit of cooperation" between African Americans and whites in Asheville.[669] The meeting was shelved, but the commissioners noted that it might be resurrected in an attempt to defuse a crisis.

While both representative whites and African Americans denied having any grievances, this was extremely unlikely. African Americans and whites continued to make competing claims to urban spaces throughout the period, turning to the city commissioners for resolution. These spaces included cemeteries and parks. In September 1918, African Americans, represented by Judge George A. Shuford, asked permission to "establish and maintain" a cemetery adjacent to the current, white-only cemetery. In initial opposition to this request was "interested property owners," forty-four of whom signed a petition asking that the board not give

[668] "Rev. C. B. Dusenbury, Dr. J. W. Walker & Prof. J. H. Michael," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, no. 15*, November 15, 1919, 338, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.
[669] "Rev. C. B. Dusenbury, Dr. J. W. Walker & Prof. J. H. Michael," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, no. 15*, November 15, 1919, 338.

permission to African Americans' request. After hearing these initial, competing requests, the board promised to "go over and view the ground" in question.[670]

The city board of commissioners set aside November 6, 1918, as the date to hear "discussion pro and con" regarding African Americans' request. At this discussion, the representatives for the white property owners claimed that the proposed cemetery would harm neighborhood property values. John M. Campbell, Thomas Oglesby, and Reverend Nelson represented those African Americans who wanted the cemetery placed in that location. To white objections, they rejoined that the property they wished to use "adjoined the present cemetery." Furthermore, they had no adequate burial ground, as the space previously accorded them "was unsuitable and objectionable…being low and marshy and hard to get to." In its decision, the board directed the Commissioner of Public Safety to work with the Asheville Cemetery Company to try to find "more suitable ground to be used for burial purposes."[671] In other words, the board denied African Americans the option of using their preferred land for a cemetery. While seeming to agree that the present cemetery was located on unsuitable land, it placed the process for finding new land entirely in the hands of whites.

The board decided other contested claims in favor of whites as well. The 1920s likely saw an intensification of claims to urban space, given the expansion of the city's population. At times, both African Americans and whites forcefully

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[670] "Application & Permission To Establish & Maintain A Colored Cemetery," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, No. 14: Nov. 1, 1917 to January 31, 1919*, September 24, 1918, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.
[671] Application & Permission To Establish & Maintain A Colored Cemetery," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, No. 14: Nov. 1, 1917 to January 31, 1919*, November 6, 1918.

expressed their claims to contested spaces. For example, in June 1921 a group of African Americans appeared before the board, representing forty-five families who lived around Magnolia Park. According to the group's spokesman attorney Henry Austin, for the previous eleven years black children had used the park. In June of that year, though, a former police chief appeared at the park with a police officer at his side. Together they "forced" the children out of the park. The board chose to refer the incident to the Commissioner of Public Safety, who oversaw the police department. The conflict over the park continued at least into the next summer.

In May 1922 two attorneys presented a petition to the city board of commissioners signed by 185 whites. The petition asked that the city ban African Americans from Magnolia Park.[672] Attorneys J. B. Anderson and J.Y. Jordan argued that the park was located in what was then a largely white residential area, and that therefore allowing the park to remain a black park would "tend to create considerable disorder." According to the white people's petition, the land was "beautiful and located in the best resident section" in town.[673] The black users of the park were not without representation themselves, however, and made their own argument regarding property and the park. A committee composed of Austin and others argued that African Americans "owned property more than half way around the park." They held that more than 200 black children depended on the park for their only recreational space. Moreover, they asked the city to build a tennis court

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[672] "Magnolia Park—Petition For White People," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, no. 17*, June 28, 1922, 337, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.
[673] "Magnolia Park—Petition For White People," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, no. 17*, June 28, 1922, 337.

and "shower baths" for their use.[674] Although its records are quiet on the subsequent decision, the city government very likely decided in favor of the white petitioners. In 1938, African Americans dedicated what was repeatedly referred to as the first black park in the city, which suggests that they were deprived of this earlier park.

While the large meeting envisioned by Dusenbury, Walker, and Michael to address such conflicts likely did not materialize, the city, like others in the South, shortly established a Committee on Interracial Cooperation that brought together leading African Americans and whites.[675] A white resident suggested that the committee was a measure designed to facilitate discussion in times of tension. By 1923, the committee was apparently quiescent. Meetings were rare "'because of the good feeling…between the races in this Community.'"[676] The committee, while apparently not the most active, nonetheless established lines of authority. By virtue of their placement on the interracial committee, its black and white members made implicit claims of being representative.

The Phyllis Wheatley Branch of the YWCA also cultivated more regular links between white and black women.[677] Among its many activities, the branch

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674 "Magnolia Park—Petition For White People," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, no. 17*, June 28, 1922, 337.

675 J. Douglas Smith, *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politics, and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 46.

676 William A. Link, *The Paradox of Southern Progressivism: 1880-1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 254.

677 Glenda Gilmore has noted that the white women who participated in post-World War I Commissions on Interracial Cooperation sought to "refine" Jim Crow and make it function more smoothly. These commissioners largely did not become vehicles for dismantling segregation. Glenda 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), 178.

functioned as an employment service for African American women after Adele Ruffin assumed leadership of the branch in the early 1920s. Ruffin formalized attempts to secure employment for club members by a precursor to the Branch known as the Employment Club.[678] In fact, residents credited Ruffin with inaugurating the employment agency through the YWCA.[679] The employment opportunities differed significantly from those available to white women. The positions available for black women were almost wholly in domestic service as well as low-paid work in hotels and restaurants.[680] Ruffin, according to one oral history, “managed to contact the wealthy people in Biltmore forest” who furnished the demand for domestic labor.[681] The Phyllis Wheatley Interracial Committee of Work, composed of three black and three white women, might have been more active than the city’s Interracial Committee. By 1928, the former was meeting monthly.

White women in Asheville had periodically complained about their “help” in years past.[682] Given habitual white concerns over black workers, Ruffin likely played an important role in recommending workers for employment. She earned the trust

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678 "History,” microfilm reel 199, Y.W.C.A. USA Records, Smith College, Northampton, MA. While smaller than those serving white women in the city, the Phyllis Wheatley branch was able to house up to seven women prior to World War I. Also see Heather Whisnant, “Eliminating Racism, Empowering Women: The Phyllis Wheatley Branch of the YWCA’s Struggle to Advance the African American Community in Asheville, NC.,” Undergraduate Thesis, 2006.

679 Lucy Mae Harrison Oral History, interview by Dorothy Joynes, March 12, 1994 and March 15, 1994, Voices of Asheville Oral History Collection, Ramsey Library Special Collections, UNCA.

680 "Colored Survey, Asheville, NC." microfilm reel 199, Y.W.C.A. USA Records, Smith College, Northampton, MA.

681 Harrison Oral History, March 12 and 15, 1994, Voices of Asheville Oral History Collection.

682 “Asheville Cooks and Housekeepers,” *Asheville Daily Citizen*, April 24, 1898, 2.

of wealthy whites who "wanted reliable, honest help."[683] This strategy worked for some time, as Ruffin earned "the good will of the power structure" in Asheville until the mid-1930s, when the white Y.W.C.A. began attempting to force her from the position.[684] She also acted as a spokesperson for domestic workers. At a 1929 meeting at the white Y.W.C.A. addressing "the relationships of mistress and maid," Ruffin interpreted "the viewpoint of the employee" while a white counterpart represented those of the white women who employed black female labor.[685] They discussed reasons for dissatisfaction on both sides.

Ruffin's reputation and influence was in part based on her ability to marshal and channel African American women's labor. For instance, her December 1925 report as secretary of the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA noted a seasonal winter labor shortage that year. She reasoned that many workers planned to take vacations during the holidays. More importantly, she observed that "we are not in touch with many girls who might be helped thru our service." In diagnosing this labor shortage, then, the report recommended that Ruffin, as secretary of the PW YWCA, "should have the time—and the means—for visiting and cultivating near-by towns and districts." Ruffin named this as one of her goals for the coming year.[686] The answer then, for Ruffin, was to expand her representational power. She continued to attempt to regulate the labor market in times of a labor surplus as well. With the city

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683 Harrison Oral History, March 12 and 15, 1994, Voices of Asheville Oral History Collection.
684 Annie-Kate Gilbert to Mrs. Gibson D. Packer, April 17, 1936, microfilm reel 199, Y.W.C.A. USA Records, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
685 "Committee on Colored Work – 1929," microfilm reel 199, Y.W.C.A. USA Records, Smith College, Northampton, MA.
686 Adela Ruffin, "December 1925 Report," box 10, Phyllis Wheatley Branch, Asheville Y.W.C.A. Archive, Ramsey Library Special Collections, UNCA.

already experiencing an economic downturn in 1928, she discouraged the movement of "country girls" into Asheville by distributing letters to ministers outside the city, warning them that there was very little work available. Ruffin may have taken this approach to protect the workers already in Asheville as much as those who might have been contemplating movement there. If the labor market was filled with newcomers who "have never earned anything and think $3.00 a week fine wages," it would only lower wages further.[687]

The interracial links being cultivated and regularized, then, were structured on representational power. This power, in turn, rested on the supposed ability of white and black members to influence the behavior of their respective "races." The structures of regularized interracial contacts, then, facilitated white demands that leading blacks exercise not just influence but police other African Americans as a confirmation of their representative characters.[688]

The Threats of Tolerance

The remainder of this chapter examines a series of events that began in late September 1925 with an alleged rape of a white woman by a black man. This and a subsequent alleged assault led to a state of crisis in Asheville that exposed the centrality of whites' threats of violence and expectations of African American self-

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[687] "1928," microfilm reel 199, Y.W.C.A. USA Records, Smith College, Northampton, MA.

[688] This entanglement did not define the purposes and activities of the Phyllis Wheatley Branch nor the women, like Adela Ruffin, who worked to make the Branch a vehicle for their aspirations as well as an economic resource. Those aspirations at the same time facilitated the institution's incorporation into networks of surveillance.

surveillance to notions of tolerant "race relations."[689] The first alleged assault occurred on September 19, when a woman was assaulted on Sunset Mountain, about a mile and a half northeast from downtown. She claimed that an African American man was the culprit. Self-consciously white representative institutions like the *Citizen* initially called for interracial cooperation. On the day after the alleged assault, the newspaper appealed to unity in the enforcement of the law. Dehumanizing the as yet unidentified culprit, the paper recalled the fate of an earlier "wild beast," the African American "outlaw" Will Harris, who, as we saw in chapter two, murdered five people in 1906, including two white policemen and three African Americans. The *Citizen* framed Harris' subsequent lynching as a moment of interracial "common cause" in which African Americans participated as posse members.[690] This "common cause" was characterized by the devolution of authority, so that it was "the right and even duty of every citizen to kill him if opportunity

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[689] What Todd Lewis wrote about many Arkansas whites' perceptions about African Americans in the 1920s applied as well to whites in north Carolina as well: whites "believed that black men possessed brooding passions that could explode at any time," resulting in sexual assault. This and other assumptions about the non-modern, primitive natures of African Americans made whites' injunction that African Americans surveil other members of the imagined black community continual. Todd E. Lewis, "Mob Justice in the 'American Congo': 'Judge Lynch' in Arkansas During the Decade After World War I," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 52, no. 2 (Summer 1993): 156-184.

[690] "A Wild Beast," *Asheville Sunday Citizen*, September 20, 1925, 4. D. Hiden Ramsey, as editor, may have penned the editorial. As we saw in chapter two, Ramsey delivered a lecture on African Americans' criminality that formed part of his master's thesis. This lecture did not mention that Harris had killed African Americans or that African Americans had also searched for the killer in posses of their own. Instead, he portrayed the incident as an example of African Americans' stubborn criminal tendencies. The *Asheville Times,* later noted that Mansel was arrested in Asheville on September 19. "Preston Neely is Safe in Prison," October 27, 1925, 1.

offered." The editorial, written from an explicitly white point of view, defined Harris' death as a "good lynching."[691]

This memory of supposed interracial cooperation in hunting and lynching an outlaw served as a preface. The *Citizen* proceeded to appeal to the city's black population to give their "zealous aid" in capturing the as yet unknown assailant. The paper acknowledged that Southern courts had treated African Americans unjustly in years past. With this no longer the case, however, blacks could prove their loyalty, worth, and character by policing their community. By swift action, leaders in the black community could prove the "unthinking" class of whites to be wrong in their assumption that blacks "sympathize[d] with most fugitives, even in serious cases." This message was not coupled with an explicit threat. It was implicit, however, in the form of the assumptions and opinions of "unthinking whites."[692]

Quick action kept this threat implicit for the time being. Seventeen-year-old Alvin Mansel was arrested for the assault on the same day the editorial appeared. Mansel had recently migrated to the city from Pickens, South Carolina less than three months earlier and had worked at a local sanitarium for the previous three weeks as a "servant in the kitchen." Reported by the *Citizen* to be "thoroughly frightened," Mansel nonetheless "stoutly denied his guilt."[693]

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[691] "A Wild Beast," *Asheville Sunday Citizen*, 4.
[692] "A Wild Beast," *Asheville Sunday Citizen*, 4.
[693] "Hundreds Move On the Jail But Find Negro Gone," *Asheville Citizen*, September 21, 1925, 1.

That evening, a mob estimated at between 500 and 1,000 people formed.[694] Witnesses later noted that "a good portion of the crowd members were drinking." Seeing the group congeal on the square, the city solicitor J.E. Swain had spoken with Sheriff Mitchell, who quickly transported Mansel from the city before the mob acted.[695] Assured that Mansel was no longer held in Asheville, the mob nonetheless demanded access to the county jail. The commissioner of public safety, Henry C. Bartlett, sought to manage the mob by allowing into the jail a committee of twelve, including the brother of the victim. This strategy proved unsuccessful, however, as additional members of the mob entered the prison shortly after the committee, searching the jail for Mansel. The crowd broke the "heavy iron gates" that served as an entry, its bars "badly bent and lock forced."[696] According to the *Citizen*, participants "ransacked every cell in the building." Since they could not identify the prisoner by sight, they held "lights in the faces" of black prisoners and demanded their names.[697] Encountering a police officer, members of the mob demanded that he prove his whiteness by complying: if he was "a white man," they called, he would hand the prisoner to the mob.[698] As noted earlier, Mansel had already been taken from the city, and so the mob's effort was ultimately in vain. Undeterred, approximately three hundred members of the mob departed for the jail in nearby Hendersonville to look for the accused there. They arrived there in the early hours

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[694] "Sheriff Takes Negro From the City as Big Crowd Begins to Form," *Asheville Sunday Citizen*, September 20, 1925, 1.
[695] "Will Prosecute Participants In Crash on Prison," *Asheville Citizen*, September 22, 1925, 2.
[696] "Mansel Alibi 'Being Worked Up,'" *Asheville Citizen*, September 21, 1925, 1.
[697] "Sheriff Takes Negro From the City," *Asheville Sunday Citizen*, 1.
[698] "Sheriff Takes Negro From the City," *Asheville Sunday Citizen*, 1.

of Sunday morning and surrounded the jail, eventually sending in a committee of three to satisfy themselves of Mansel's absence.[699]

Whites writing in the major city newspapers signaled their disapproval of the mob. A *Citizen* editorial scolded the "officers of the law" for "not forcibly resisting" the crowd. While the editorial allowed that the decision not to engage in a forceful defense of an absent prisoner might have been the correct decision, it nonetheless called for the swift punishment of "those who engaged in an unlawful and riotous demonstration." The editorial claimed that some members of the mob were not motivated by righteous indignation at the crime itself, but were themselves "ex-jailbirds and a criminally inclined element" who sought only to release other criminals. Their actions included breaking the locks of various jail cells and encouraging their inhabitants to escape. Despite its indignation, the editorial did not directly address the morality of the mob, instead focusing on its identity and action as a counterfeit mob of sorts.[700]

However, that concern did not mean that authorities did not take the threat of mob violence seriously. The editorial invoked the damage that the incident could do to the city's reputation if not responded to properly with the reassertion of the "majesty of the law."[701] The city solicitor, J. E. Swain, quickly signaled his intent to "prosecute mob members to the limit.'"[702] Swain, whose turn to read about himself in the *Times* would come shortly, quickly subpoenaed officers who might be able to

[699] "Mansel Alibi 'Being Worked Up,'" *Asheville Citizen,* 1.
[700] "The Law's Duty," *Asheville Citizen*, September 21, 1925, 4.
[701] "The Law's Duty," *Asheville Citizen*, 4.
[702] "Will Prosecute Participants In Crash on Prison," *Asheville Citizen*, September 22, 1925, 2.

identify members of the mob.[703] Eventually, the city indicted thirty members of the mob that damaged the jail in its effort to lynch Mansel. Echoing the *Citizen's* sentiments, Swain asserted that the "real motive was an outbreak," with the county's "lawless element" using the lynch mob as a cover.[704]

Events in the next month increased calls for African Americans to act as agents of surveillance while whites' threats of punitive, intolerant retaliation moved from implicit to explicit. A second alleged assault occurred in West Asheville on October 23rd, when an African American, armed with a gun, allegedly assaulted a woman in the morning or afternoon as she walked across a field on the outskirts of the city towards her home. She "gave the alarm and a wide search" began, but the unknown assailant escaped capture for the moment.[705] There was a vigorous attempt on the part of the police to find the perpetrator. During the trial, the victim testified that "25 or 30 suspects had been brought before and released upon her statement" before on her own she spotted the person she believed was her attacker.[706]

This occurred one week after the assault. Having endeavored to locate her assailant since the assault, she believed she had succeeded while at the downtown Woolworth's. Following him to the post office, she caught the attention of a nearby police officer, who "commandeered a West Asheville bus, and ordered the driver to pursue" the suspect. The driver "cut in front" of Preston Neely on Grove Street, one of the downtown's main thoroughfares, and the officer arrested the twenty-three

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703 "The Law's Duty," *Asheville Citizen*, 4.
704 "Will Prosecute Participants," *Asheville Citizen*, 2;
705 "Woman Causes Arrest," *Asheville Times*, October 26. 1925, 1.
706 "Alibi Is Given Preston Neely By Witnesses," *Asheville Times*, November 6, 1925, p. 1.

year old Neely, who asserted his innocence, the *Times* noted portentously, "before the officer had said a word."[707]

The woman identified him at the post office and again at the jail, where a crowd of approximately 100 had gathered by the time Neely arrived. At the jail, the woman asserted, "If I had a pistol I would blow your brains out." She thereby transgressed assumed gender norms, as she expressed the desire to perform the lynching.[708] In response, Neely respectfully asserted his innocence: "No, Misses, I'm not the man." This response, however, only served to confirm his guilt in her eyes: "That's the same way you said 'misses' to me before," she rejoined. Like Mansel, Neely was a recent migrant to the city; they both came from smaller communities in South Carolina, Neely only in August. They also worked in low-wage custodial positions, Mansel at a sanitarium, Neely at the Moxley Sandwich shop.[709]

While sheriff deputies dispersed the crowd of 100 from the vicinity of the jail, there was another attempted lynching that evening. Sheriff officers, however, had taken Neely on a "frantic drive to carry the prisoner away to safety." Deputy sheriffs "whisked" Neely away from Asheville while reportedly "some 50 cars set out in pursuit." This pursuit notwithstanding, " crowds began gathering" at nightfall in Asheville, the largest gathering adjacent to Pack Square "in front of the city hall, and on the courthouse lawn." This mob was seemingly more peaceful; having been

[707] "Woman Causes Arrest," *Asheville Times* October 26, 1925, 1.
[708] Crystal Nicole Feimster has demonstrated how white newspapers sought to obscure white women's roles in lynching. Crystal Nicole Feimster, *Southern Horrors: Women and the Politics of Rape and Lynching* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 61.
[709] "Woman Causes Arrest," *Asheville Times* October 26, 1925, 1.

invited into the jail to search for Neely, it minded its manners to the extent that Solicitor Swain afterwards declined to indict anyone.[710]

There was also immediate support for Neely, as there had been for Mansel; on the day after the arrest, the former's employer, C. T. Moxley, made a statement that Neely "was on duty all of last Thursday, when the assault occurred." Nonetheless, the second assault greatly heightened tension and whites' sense of fear and of threat. On the same day that Neely was arrested, a third African American, Leroy Reeves, was nearly lynched for a purported attempted assault, the only one of the three to occur in the city's central district. On October 26th, Reeves, whom the *Citizen* identified as an ex-convict, apparently "was standing near" the intended white victim "with his arms outstretched toward her" on Broadway, one of the central streets of downtown. The woman "screamed and fled to her husband, who was walking a few steps ahead of her." Reeves apparently fled after seeing her husband. After his capture, a mob attempted to take possession of Reeves, but the woman apparently declined to identify him for the mob. One day later, Reeves was charged, tried, convicted, and sentenced to two years on the county chain gang.[711]

The presumption of Reeves' guilt on seemingly flimsy evidence and his quick trial reflected white fears and led to more explicit threats directed at black citizens of Asheville. Nonetheless, the rhetoric that accompanied these episodes continued to be conducted within the register of "race relations," which was built on the management of supposed racial animus, black deviance, and white power in the

[710] "Preston Neely Is Safe In Prison; Leroy Reeves Is Sent to Chaingang; Will Rutherford Is Bound Over," *Asheville Times*, October 27, 1925, 1.
[711] "Developments in Assault Cases," *Asheville Times*, October 27, 1925, 1.

context of restrictions on black citizenship. The rhetoric of tolerance valorized demonstrations and judgments of worth and thus highlighted its contingent nature. Force and violence was always a possibility within the spectrum of "tolerant race relations."

Shortly after the arrest of Reeves, the daily newspapers in Asheville took a significantly harsher editorial line regarding these disturbances. On the 29th of October, The *Citizen* noted its own supposed extension of practices of tolerance while simultaneously threatening Asheville's black population with reprisals from whites. The *Citizen*, the editor believed, had been an instrument of the construction of "cordial relations" and "endeavored to keep down friction." It asserted that African Americans "as such" were not targets "of jest in this paper." In addition to this oddly conditional but still false claim,[712] the editorial also claimed to have stood up for the defendants' rights to receive "as fair a trial as a white man of the same means and influence," which suggested the kind of "vertical segregation" that some Jim Crow reformers had advocated.[713] Unwilling to unequivocally support African Americans in Asheville, the editorial page nonetheless noted it had a "high regard" for the "respectable majority" of that population.[714]

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[712] The *Citizen* presented African Americans as objects of derision and ridicule. Such is the view from a latter-day perspective. Caricatures of African Americans populated the comics' page. African Americans were described in comic terms in the lengthy reporting of proceedings in the Police Court. Some whites may not have understood these and many other portrayals as derisive.

[713] "To Asheville Negroes," *Asheville Citizen*, October 29, 1925, 4; Kimberly Johnson, *Reforming Jim Crow: Southern Politics and State in the Age Before Brown* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 29.

[714] "To Asheville Negroes," *Asheville Citizen*, 4.

However, according to the *Citizen*, black leaders had betrayed that trust by not locating the alleged lawbreakers in their midst despite the *Citizen*'s plea that they do so. African Americans were not fulfilling their civic responsibilities to the city and to its white residents. Whites believed that African Americans were refusing to act as agents of order and of the law. The editorial claimed that the "respectable Negro mechanic [sic], merchant, laborer, teacher—you the preacher—the white people readily believe that you do not know who is guilty, but they likewise know that if you bestir yourselves you can find out." The *Citizen* traced this ability to police themselves to African Americans' experiences as slaves. Such provocation—African Americans' ostensible failure to identify suspects in the assaults cases—left them outside the protection of the law in the view of those with whom "the law rests." In case of any more attacks on white womanhood, the *Citizen* warned of a wave of white violence that would "be no respecter of persons – the powers and influences which have restrained it will no longer avail." Thus, the *Citizen* conjured—while also implicitly licensing in its event—an ever-present white dislike and readiness for violence that white elites (perhaps referring to the city solicitor and the sheriff) had previously been responsible for checking.[715]

Other voices joined in, claiming that African Americans constituted an intolerable threat due to their supposed unwillingness to police themselves. The *Times* printed a lengthy white demand that African Americans locate their "criminals and deliver them to justice." If they did not do so the threat stated, whites

[715] "To Asheville Negroes," *Asheville Citizen*, 4.

would be forced to "let loose the bloodhounds of race war," including lynching.[716]As with other practices of tolerance, this warning expressed the expectation that blacks' status as objects of tolerance entailed their participation in surveillance within their neighborhoods and even their homes. The white appeal asserted that "the greater responsibility lies with the Negro population of the city" to police itself for the benefit and safety of whites.[717] The appeal highlighted the apparent danger posed by this population by terming it the "backward inferior race among us."[718] This description imagined an undifferentiated mass within a white body politic, working to erase the (however fragile or complicit) interracial bonds that had only recently been strengthened or formalized.

In likely its harshest editorial of the whole episode, the *Citizen* amplified, sharpened, and capitalized its earlier warning in its October 30th issue. The paper included an editorial from the Charlotte *Observer,* which also located the primary responsibility for surveillance and abating crime with African Americans on the assumption that "the evil is born in [the black community's] household." The *Observer* named the institutions charged with this regulation: "the Negro papers and the Negro pulpits." The *Citizen,* seconding the Observer editorial, perceived the recent assaults as a failure on the part of the "leaders" of the black community, who, the editorial thundered, had "'failed in your duty—you have not risen to the trust imposed in you.' This paper asked you for your help after the previous crime—and YOU DID NOTHING." The *Citizen* continued, "Are you doing anything NOW to help?"

[716] *Asheville Times*, October 30, 1925, 4.
[717] *Asheville Times*, October 30, 1925, 4.
[718] *Asheville Times*, October 30, 1925, 4.

the *Citizen* made clear its conception of the basis of white power in the city, which it termed "the motive power of the Law—in the last analysis are the law itself." This human, racial embodiment of law-- "the community"—according to the *Citizen*, was "stirred to the depths" and would "stop at nothing to protect its women." thus the *Citizen* reinforced the separation of African Americans from the authentic community of Asheville.[719]

Having expressed itself in the most forceful terms yet and once again expressing the possibility of violence by whites, the *Citizen* expressed its belief that African Americans could as yet redeem themselves. In part, this was because the newspaper distinguished between longtime black residents of the city and newcomers, who arrived in the city "largely unknown to the stable Negro population," for the recent troubles. The editorial therefore acknowledged and applauded the "sentiments expressed in the resolutions passed by a number of high-class" African Americans in Asheville, who "whole-heartedly abhor outrages against women."[720] The present situation still represented an "opportunity" for African Americans to "show themselves worthy of the trust" the newspaper displayed by appealing earlier for their assistance to the city's police power as agents of surveillance and enforcement.[721] Time was running out, though, for local African Americans "to prove themselves worthy of friends." The time, the editorial declared, was "NOW!" An additional *Citizen* message several days later continued to insist that the African American community had a "special measure of" responsibility to police

[719] "A Warning Repeated," *Asheville Citizen*, October 30, 1925, 4.
[720] "A Warning Repeated," *Asheville Citizen*, 4.
[721] "A Warning Repeated," *Asheville Citizen*, 4.

itself. Supposedly, greater African American activity – what the paper called an "awakening"—was necessary to ensure the "safety for the [white] women of the community."[722]

Other whites disagreed on the amount of blame deserved by African Americans, but not the expectation of self-surveillance. The *Times*, for instance, disavowed the more explicit threats letter as unrepresentative of the authentic "voice" of the [whites in the] city, which was supposedly more moderate. To make this point, the *Times* pointed to those who stood to profit from increased tourism: the city boosters who had invested monetary and social capital in attempting to advertise and develop the city. The editorial confidently predicted that those who "love community righteousness and desire to enjoy the fruits of sound culture" would disavow the printed remarks. Such people also sought to maintain Asheville's reputation "as a place where order and impartial justice to all men shall reign beside mercy and charity." However, the *Times* could only return to the belief that African Americans could and would contribute to policing and surveillance. The Times made known that it yet had "confidence in the responsibility of the responsible majority" of the black population, whose pledged support for "law and order" demonstrated their "sincere determination on their part to play the part of good citizens."[723]

In response to the generally escalating rhetoric of whites, African American residents held at least three mass meetings in the city by early November to address

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[722] "Conditions Bettered," *Asheville Sunday Citizen*, November 1, 1925, 4.
[723] *Asheville Times*, October 30, 1925, 4.

cascading white fears and accusations.[724] Each meeting was self-consciously representative and sought to respond to whites' expectations of black surveillance. On the 28th, a meeting of "leading" African Americans at the YMI passed resolutions expressing what the *Citizen* called "profound regret" over the recent assaults and pledged cooperation "in any way."[725] The signees self-consciously considered themselves "representative" African Americans in the city, noting that they stood for the black "home, school, church, business and professional life" in the city.

Like others, this statement responded to whites' demands that blacks police their own community. It assured whites that African Americans "desire[d] the apprehension of the criminal" and ensuing punishment. As a marker of their citizenship, they also pledged to aid in "upholding the law and order in our community." In a more subdued tone, the statement reminded readers that they had proven their loyalty repeatedly in past years. The statement also recommended several steps that the city's police force could take to protect "womanhood" as well as "the life of every citizen."[726]

Foremost among these was the "more rigid enforcement of the vagrancy law."[727] The meeting also criticized "loitering [on] Pack square by vagrant

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[724] "Negro Citizens of Asheville Call Huge Mass Meeting for Sunday to Consider Situation," *Asheville Citizen*, October 31, 1925, 1.
[725] "Leading Negroes Express Regrets," *Asheville Citizen*, October 29, 1925, 8.
[726] "Leading Negroes Express Regrets," *Asheville Citizen*, 8.
[727] "Leading Negroes Express Regrets," *Asheville Citizen*, 8. The declaration also suggested that "motormen on one-man street cars should be advised by the management of the traction company as to the custom here." This was to prevent "trouble," according to the *Citizen,* as the previous months "complaints" had been "unheeded," though the article did not explain the nature of the complaints or their source.

negroes."[728] The article used the person-less passive voice by noting that it was "pointed out" that "scores" of African Americans were "'hanging around on the square' with apparently no desire to work. This population supposedly refused work from contractors who were engaged in the development of the city during the 1920s. These complaints about the "congestion" of the square recalled the increasing segregation of the square earlier in the century detailed in the previous chapter. These suggestions, then, were meant to demonstrate "their desire to assist the authorities in preventing further crime among members of their race" as well as managing conflict in contested spaces.[729]

A committee was appointed at the mass meeting, charged with appearing before the Board of Commissioners the next day. Its purpose was to repeat the black community's "desire to co-operate with the authorities in the enforcement of all laws."[730] The committee secured statements of support from both the city's board of commissioners as well as the city's Inter-Racial Commission. However, each body lent only conditional support while refusing to whole-heartedly endorse the loyalty of the African American population.

In pressing its case, the YMI committee made clear its disapproval of recent alleged assaults and "pledged themselves to furnish the authorities with any information which they can secure leading to the apprehension and conviction of any member of their race, who commits such a crime." The committee stated its willingness to "do anything the Commissioners may desire to promote enforcement

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[728] "Square Loitering By Negroes Scored," *Asheville Citizen*, October 29, 1925, 8.
[729] "Square Loitering By Negroes Scored," *Asheville Citizen*, 8.
[730] "Resolution, Colored Citizens of Asheville," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, No. 20,* October 30, 1925, 439- 440, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.

of all laws." The committee's petition noted "if there is anything further we can do, please advise us, and it is yours to command and ours to obey." It thus reaffirmed their subordinate status as objects of tolerance while paradoxically reaffirming their ability to self-police, a confirmation of their status as subject-citizens. The committee also took the opportunity to protest the recent threatening editorial of the *Citizen* from the day before, which "shocked [them] beyond expression." Members of the committee asserted that the editorial encouraged "the possible shedding of blood" if there was another crime attributed to an African American.[731]

The committee deputized by the mass meeting at the YMI "secured the endorsement" from the city commissioners. The board disavowed any representational significance on the part of the *Citizen* editorial, claiming it represented neither their members' views nor the views of "the thinking white people of this city." The YMI committee received particular support from Public Safety Commissioner C. H. Bartlett, who stated that the *Citizen*'s recent "editorial attack" on the city's black population was "unfair and unjust." Bartlett, who was in charge of the Police Force, invoked the creed of individual judgment in expressing his distaste for the editorial. When whites committed crimes or did not turn in those suspected of crimes such as bootlegging, "we cannot hold the whole white race responsible for their crimes." He also asserted that whites and blacks gave equal assistance to the police in terms of "where law violators may be found." While citing past examples of the "better element" of the city's African Americans assisting the

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[731] "Resolution, Colored Citizens of Asheville," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, No. 20,* October 30, 1925, 439- 440, Office of the City Clerk. There were at least two women on the committee, including Adela Ruffin and Maggie Jones.

law, he pointed out that the same class of whites had often protected those engaged in bootlegging.[732]

Still, the board sought to qualify its praise and trust in ways that underscored the selective, earned, and proof-dependent nature of tolerant race relations. The board unanimously declared its "faith in the patriotism of the loyal colored citizens" of the city. This declaration thus subtly distinguished between loyal and disloyal African Americans. The board also noted its belief that the "the majority" of the city's African Americans "would co-operate…in enforcing all laws."[733] This endorsement thus preserved the privilege of judgment for whites and suggested that not all African Americans were trustworthy and worthy objects of tolerance. The city's Inter-Racial Commission issued a similarly conditional statement.[734]

Other meetings at the YMI functioned to restrict black representation and were attempts, at least in the press, for leading blacks to exert influence on the rest of the black population. A large meeting of an estimated 700 met at the YMI shortly before the trials of Mansel and Neely. At the meeting, African Americans again pledged their assistance in policing and surveilling their community but also expressed their frustration with whites' expectations, assumptions, and biases,

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[732] "Commissioners Affirm Confidence in Negroes; Resolutions Accepted," *Asheville Times*, October 30, 1925, 24. Also see "Negro Citizens of Asheville Call Huge Mass Meeting for Sunday to Consider Situation," *Asheville Citizen*, October 31, 1925, 1.

[733] "Resolution, Colored Citizens of Asheville," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners, No. 20*, October 30, 1925, 439- 440, Office of the City Clerk.

[734] The Inter-Racial Commission similarly offered a guarded endorsement. It commended "certain members of the negro race" for their late conduct. The commission affirmed the characters of the "better element" of the black population, as demonstrated by their effort and performance as instruments of law and order. They had expended all their effort in attempting to locate and capture "the guilty parties." This "better element," the commission assured other whites, would not and did not "harbor any member of their race" wanted for the alleged assaults. "Negro Citizens of Asheville Call Huge Mass Meeting for Sunday to Consider Situation," *Asheville Citizen*, October 31, 1925, 1.

particularly those expressed in the city's white newspapers. The *Times* noted that unnamed attendees voiced "much criticism" towards the "written attacks made in certain quarters" on African Americans in the city for their supposed failure to assist police.[735] Several speakers at the meeting displayed "open resentment," according to the *Citizen*, regarding whites' charges that blacks had not "been sufficiently active" as instruments of police power, surveillance—in short in "bringing the guilty members of their own race to justice."[736]

Overall, however, the meeting as reported in the *Citizen* and the *Times* appeared accommodating in tenor. Leaders urged the audience "not to believe" that the blacks arrested for the alleged assaults were innocent, but to trust in the authorities.[737] Leaders sought to tamp down emotion and popular attitudes. For instance, Dr. L. O. Miller, one of the "representative" black men of the community, asked that there be no applause following any speakers. This imparted what an article in the *Citizen* called a "sober silence on the audience."[738] Despite this dissatisfaction with mouthpieces of white elites like the *Citizen*, leaders in the black community in charge of the meeting suggested that individual African Americans not assert their status or opinions in the city forcefully.[739] Miller urged African Americans to avoid conflict and to "stay off the streets at night, go to your homes, and keep your mouths shut." Acknowledging the likely frustration of some in the

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735 "Negroes Will Assist Order," *Asheville Times*, November 2, 1925, 13.
736 "Negro Leaders Advise Race of Present Duties," *Asheville Citizen*, November 2, 1925, 1.
737 "Negroes Will Assist Order," *Asheville Times*, 13.
738 "Negro Leaders Advise Race of Present Duties," *Asheville Citizen*, 1.
739 "Negroes Will Assist Order," *Asheville Times*, 13.

audience at whites' attitudes, Miller advised his audience not to "go around the streets of this city with a chip on your shoulder."[740]

Maggie Jones, a leader of the Asheville branch of the North Carolina Federation of Negro Women's Club, had a specifically work-related message that recognized the importance of labor-related networks of communications in which some black workers worked. "We tell the white folks where we work, everything they ask." She encouraged black women workers, who overwhelmingly worked in either domestic or hotel service, to "hold their tongues" and not speak to their employers about the current situation, "lest it get innocent people in trouble." Thus she sought to further narrow possibilities of representation and tightened networks of communication. The article listed the names of African Americans who spoke in accommodating terms (while leaving unnamed those who expressed ideas more challenging to white power) and counseled the demonstration of citizenship through accommodation.

The attempt by leading African Americans to narrow and control representation and whites' stated expectations that African Americans act as agents of police power came together in calls by African Americans for a black police officer.[741] The meeting produced a demand that Asheville's blacks "be represented" by a black officer, who could in effect do what the whites editorials demanded and had "placed at the door of negro citizens in general."[742] The meeting did not couch

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[740] "Negro Leaders Advise Race of Present Duties," *Asheville Citizen*, 1.

[741] This was likely not the first time that African Americans in Asheville had requested a black police officer, but it may have been the first time that the request appeared in the pages of the city's white newspapers.

[742] "Negro Leaders Advise Race of Present Duties," *Asheville Citizen*, 1.

its request in the language of equality but in the language of tolerance, to better police the black community. The spokespeople of the meeting sought, rather than generalizing this supposed responsibility, to have one person embody these expectations. This request, too, demonstrated the contradictions of whites calls for self-policing, as Asheville would not employ an African American policeman for more than twenty years after this public request in 1925. This request hinted too at a critique of tolerant race relations and its imperative for policing.

These contradictions were fleshed out in a more complete statement that more directly critiqued whites' assumptions and demands appeared in the paper, though the exact ownership of the voice was obscured. While the white author of the lengthy article, Theodore Harris, assured his readers that the article expressed the ideas of "representatives of the better class" of the city's black population, he also declined to name them. The speaker went unnamed because, Harris admitted, "white people might resent the presumption that would attach to colored men's interviews." As the article dramatically begins: "Here's the negro's side of it." At its end, the article reiterated its disclaimer that the reporter was simply transmitting the black community's appeal.[743]

The article responded to whites' assertions that African Americans were not fulfilling their duties of surveillance. One unnamed spokesperson, for instance, assured readers "'we are striving to be of all aid we can.'" Significantly, however, the response questioned one of the central claims of whites angry with African

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[743] Theodore Harris, "Negroes Present Their Side of the Situation: Say They Cannot Control Their Race," *Asheville Citizen* October 30, 1925, Vertical Files, Pack Memorial Library, Asheville.

Americans: that they had not sufficiently sought out lawbreakers. Other statements by "representative" African Americans emphasized that the community had done what they could. However, this was the only public statement made by African Americans during this episode that explicitly pointed out the contradictions in whites' expectations. The statement exposed the absurdity of the expectations in the context of whites' racism and subordination of blacks. To act as agents of surveillance was to act with an agency and authority that many whites found objectionable.

According to Harris, African Americans "pleaded for a word" in response to the *Citizen* after the paper had asserted that blacks had failed in their responsibility and thus invited white retribution. Harris paraphrased African Americans' message by invoking a central theme of tolerance. Those representatives perceived a "general negro-baiting tendency" among whites in the city, which dismayed them and which, they claimed, had betrayed the city's heritage of "distinguish[ing] between their better types and their low specimens." He characterized theirs as a "poignantly pathetic plea for Asheville to distinguish between the race and the individual." The appeal strategically employed whites' claims to "a long lineage of civilization and poise" by asserting immediately that such a people should pay attention to the "efforts and characters" of individual people.[744]

The statement allowed some limited "racial responsibility" for recent arrivals on the part of the long-term resident "Asheville negro," yet this population could not

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[744] Theodore Harris, "Negroes Present Their Side of the Situation," October 30, 1925, *Asheville Citizen*, Pack Memorial Library.

"assume a personal guarantee of [newcomers'] good behavior."[745] Listing the steps taken by leading African Americans, the statement pointed out that many whites either ignored or were not satisfied with these actions. More significantly, the article pointed out the reasons why they could not act properly as agents of order incorporated into the city's police power. It called attention to the hypocrisy in whites' expectations, which ran counter to the subordinate status in which they sought to keep African Americans. They suggested the power to police was inextricably tied to their social status by highlighting whites' racism and their own exclusion from political authority. They had insisted earlier, for example, that they could not voice "their views of the ways laws are enforced against vagrancy except in the mildest terms."[746] Blacks were in "no position," they protested, "to tell white folks how they should run down the culprits or try them."[747] African Americans, after all, lacked "the access to white circles that some white men seem to attribute to them." The statement thus alluded to but did not directly address, their political exclusion, disfranchisement, and marginalization.

To make whites' contradictory expectations clearer, the black committee's statement imagined a scenario in which an African American man took part in enforcing the law. Should an (armed) African American man "join a posse to bring a black to justice," Harris paraphrased, "it requires no very vivid imagination to picture the nature of his welcome." Furthermore, the statement drew attention to

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[745] Theodore Harris, "Negroes Present Their Side of the Situation," October 30, 1925, *Asheville Citizen*, Pack Memorial Library.
[746] "Negro Citizens of Asheville Call Huge Mass Meeting for Sunday to Consider Situation," *Asheville Citizen*, October 31, 1925, 1.
[747] Theodore Harris, "Negroes Present Their Side of the Situation," *Asheville Citizen*, October 30, 1925, Pack Memorial Library.

whites' fears about crowds of African Americans: "a swarm of them out looking for a criminal would quickly be dispersed." In other words, because of white assumptions and prejudices, African Americans were prevented from properly acting as agents of the city's police power and surveillance. [748]

The statement, moreover, expanded on the role of economic development in creating the context for this crisis. As earlier editorials had, the statement distinguished between the city's longtime African Americans and a newly-arrived population. Economic development, the article held, had drawn "multitudes" of "strange" African Americans who were unused to a "tolerent" [sic] place like Asheville. The relative newcomers, according to the spokesperson, "are of the so-called 'boll weevil' type." They were there to build the "gigantic developments" and "the white man's residential paradise" that characterized Asheville's growth in the 1920s. Unfortunately, they exerted a "bad influence" on their colleagues, in part by their patronage of "dives and rendezvous" that had "a wicked sway" upon other black Ashevillians. The spokesperson distinguished between the newcomers among an estimated black population of 9,000.[749]

Seemingly supporting the statement's claims about whites' contradictory expectations, the *Times* received at least one letter disagreeing with elites' calls for African Americans to police and surveil themselves. According to the writer, J. F. Stevens, whites' status as the "dominant race" meant that they should not appeal to African Americans "to rise in their way in an attempt to suppress crime by any

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[748] Theodore Harris, "Negroes Present Their Side of the Situation," October 30, 1925, *Asheville Citizen*, Pack Memorial Library.
[749] Theodore Harris, "Negroes Present Their Side of the Situation," October 30, 1925, *Asheville Citizen*, Pack Memorial Library.

extraordinary measure." Doing so, Stevens maintained, was an "unwise and hazardous experiment." In other words, exhorting African Americans to prove their citizenship by becoming more active and surveilling instruments of the city's police power was dangerous. Stevens likened this request to encouraging mob action, asking when would "the race feeling end, if continually paraded before the public?" Stevens asked.[750]

As this letter suggested, whites were not unified over the proper course of action to take. The city appeared to take steps to control public order at the end of the month. On the day before Halloween, the city commissioners passed an "emergency ordinance" banning anyone over the age of fourteen from wearing a mask or concealing their face "by paint or stain" on Halloween. The penalty was either a minimum fine of $50.00 or thirty days in jail.[751] The *Citizen* claimed that this ordinance, introduced and passed only one day before Halloween, was necessary due to the police force's difficulty the previous year "in identifying marauders on the night of the witches."[752] Mayor Cathey called for the city's children to be kept "off the streets," even though children were not subject to the ordinance. Neither the mayor's message nor the *Citizen* mentioned the context of recent white mob violence. The commissioners' call for a "safe and sane" holiday, however, was likely a reaction to the recent racial conflict and urban disorder.[753]

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[750] J. F. Stevens, "Stirring Up Strife," *Asheville Times*, November 1, 1925, 4.
[751] "Ordinance Prohibiting Wearing of Masks on Halloween," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners*, *no. 20*, October 30, 1925, 439, Office of the City Clerk.
[752] "City Puts Ban on Masquerade," *Asheville Citizen*, October 30, 1925.
[753] "City Puts Ban on Masquerade," *Asheville Citizen*, October 30, 1925.

Nor were whites somehow united by analyses of the causes of the situation. The city solicitor, J.E. Swain, who had already pledged to prosecute mob members, exposed regulation of white women's and black men's sexuality and behavior at work in the rape/lynch myth in his explanation of the recent alleged assaults.[754] On October 27, the *Times* reported Swain's opinion regarding the recent troubles in the city. Swain voiced notions about the un-modern nature African American men in order to critique "modern" women fashions. According to Swain, women's "immodest modes of clothing" was responsible for the recent alleged assaults, including corset-less bodies, rolled-down stockings, and exposed "portions of the legs." African Americans, Swain asserted, could not control their emotions when confronted with such immodesty because they did not have the "culture and understanding of white men." Confronted with modernity in the form of daring feminine clothing, African Americans supposedly could not adapt.[755]

Initially relegated to page sixteen of the *Times*, the solicitor's comments quickly garnered greater attention. The next day, the *Times* reprinted Swain's letter to the newspaper. In what we might today term call a "non-apology apology," the solicitor stated that he regretted the "publication of [his] interview" and was "astonished" to find his remarks in the *Times* the previous day. Had he known that his remarks would be published, he would not "have expressed the opinion at all because of the possibility of the erroneous impression" given by the statement that

[754] Crystal Nicole Feimster examines the rape/lynch myth, which worked to simultaneously regulate African American men and white women. Feimster, *Southern Horrors,* 6.
[755] "Women's Attire Is Criticized," *Asheville Times*, October 27, 1925, 16.

he blamed white women for the recent assaults.[756] Despite his attempt at clarifying his intention, the remarks drew wide attention as well as angry editorials and letters to the editor.[757] His clarification was also meant to reassure his white constituents that he was vigorously pursuing the prosecution of the recent assault cases.

The Trials And Their Aftermath

The subsequent trials became a means for Asheville boosters to claim that the city had restored its honor, as the city newspapers valorized the judicial processes and minimized whites' passions and prejudices. The trials drew significant interest and likely heightened tension in the city, coming as they did very soon after the alleged crimes. Not only did Asheville's daily newspapers cover each day's proceedings in depth, but the trials were also very well attended and took place amidst a show of force. A 54-member detachment of the National Guard guarded Mansel during the trial and at night guarded the county jail.[758] He was surrounded in the courtroom by "some 15 troopers and armed deputy sheriffs."[759]In addition, each member of the courtroom audience (an estimated 700 persons some

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[756] "Statement Is Made By Swain," *Asheville Times*, October 28, 1925, 13.

[757] The *Citizen* weighed in on its editorial page; it criticized the solicitor and asserted that it was the "nature of the individual" that determined his or her actions, rather than any "external stimuli." See "Clothes and Crime," *Asheville Times,* October 28, 1925, 4. Moreover, the newspaper published letters criticizing Swain from readers. Irwin L. Caton called on a tradition of "protection" for white women offered by the south while rejecting any explanation other than black freedom and criminality. Caton cast blame on the "flappers" who visited the city "during the Tourist season." See "A Reader's Comment" and "Criticises Solicitor," both in *Asheville Citizen*, October 29, 1925, 4; "More About Styles Crimes," by "A Modern Young Girl," *Asheville Times*, November 1, 1925, 4. At least one African American newspaper also reprinted Swain's original statement. "Immodest Dress Is Cause of Crimes," *Pittsburgh Courier*, November 7, 1924, 9.

[758] "Three Negroes May Be Tried For Assaults," *Asheville Times*, November 2, 1925, 15.

[759] "Alvin Mansel Goes On Trial For His Life At Special Court Term, Guards Accompany Him To Court," *Asheville Times*, November 3, 1925, 1.

days) was searched for weapons.[760] The county jail, the *Times* noted, had "taken on a military aspect."[761] Furthermore, the crowd appeared a bit recalcitrant, ignoring a request from the sheriff that men either "find seats or stand in the rear of the room" rather than crowd and clog the aisle. The judge finally imposed a fine of $2 on those who refused to move.[762]

The major Asheville newspapers asserted that the trials were fair by emphasizing the court's fidelity to process and by imagining that the courtroom constituted a sphere separate from its surroundings. The *Citizen* stated in an editorial that both Mansel and Neely should be "represented by lawyers of high standing," a development that should be welcomed by "every fair-minded person."[763] There were apparently reports that each had retained counsel; if this was not the case, the *Citizen* urged that counsel be appointed them as soon as possible. The credibility "of the community and the prestige of the courts" demanded that "the truth must be brought to light." This could be done supposedly because courts were free of the "color line" where "prejudice is dumb and the blood lust powerless."[764] The editorial urged the "law-abiding" citizens of the city to "accept the verdicts of their juries as the final and governing word." The *Citizen*, however, did assure its readers that the verdict would unequivocally communicate

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[760] "Alvin Mansel Goes On Trial For His Life At Special Court Term," *Asheville Times,* 1. On the 2nd of November, the *Citizen* estimated that of the 700 in the audience, about 450 were white men, 100 white women, and 150 African Americans, who were not distinguished by sex. At Neely's trial, there were smaller but still substantial crowds, an estimated 400.
[761] "Alvin Mansel Goes On Trial For Life At Special Term" *Asheville Times*, , 13.
[762] "Mansel and Neely Are To Be Tried This Week At Special Court Term," *Asheville Times*, November 2, 1925, 15.
[763] "Justice For The Accused," *Asheville Citizen*, November 2, 1925, 4.
[764] "Justice For The Accused," *Asheville Citizen*, 4.

that "above all things, the white man holds the virtue of white women sacred."[765] The view that the trial would be fair was likely not shared by some members of the audience. The presiding judge, A. M. Stack jailed an African American member of the audience for interjecting during Mansel's trial, "Now watch that white man go up there and swear to a [damned] lie" during a witness's testimony.[766]

Mansel's defense attempted to establish an alibi, using the testimony of coworkers, patients, and employers at the sanitarium. An African American coworker, Robert Hamilton, testified that Mansel "was not out of his sight" more than half an hour during the morning in question. Hamilton himself needed a character witness, a Judge Thomas A. Jones, who "said Hamilton bore a good reputation in the community." Other white law enforcement authorities spoke on Mansel's good character, including the chief of police and sheriff of Pickens, South Carolina, from where Mansel hailed. Indeed, before his trial began, the superintendent of the sanitarium stated that several people there "were willing to swear" that Mansel was innocent and could not have committed the crime, as he was working "under the direct supervision of the head nurse…and another white woman" during the alleged crime.[767]

Mansel was found guilty and sentenced to death. As historian Seth Kotch pointed out in his study of the death penalty in North Carolina between 1910 and

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[765] "Justice For The Accused," *Asheville Citizen*, 4.
[766] "Negro's Remarks in Judge Stack's Court Land Him in Bastille," *Asheville Citizen*, November 4, 1925, 1. Cited in Seth Kotch, "Unduly Harsh and Unworkably Rigid: The Death Penalty in North Carolina, 1910-1961" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, 2008), 89.
[767] "Mansel Alibi 'Being Worked Up,' Fairview Superintendent Says Negro Was Working at Time of Crime," *Asheville Citizen*, September 21, 1925, 1.

1961, Mansel's trial "reflected the new standards" which reformers had sought to enact in the state's courts since the early 20th century.[768] Judge Stack's charge to the jury, according to Kotch, expressed such standards. His charge included a reminder to the all-white "gentlemen of the jury" that they "[b]anish from your minds the fact of whether the accused is white or black."[769] As Kotch noted, however, Mansel's conviction appeared to fly in the face of such color-blind aspirations; first, it was an exceptionally quick proceeding, with the trial Wednesday and sentencing Thursday. Furthermore, the accused did not have an opportunity to converse with his attorney until very shortly before the trial began. Finally, while Mansel was a teenager and dark in color, "the survivor had described her assailant as a thirty-five year-old light-skinned black man."[770]

Preston Neely's trial began very shortly after Mansel's ended. His legal strategy similarly attempted to establish a work-related alibi. Multiple coworkers testified that Neely was at work during the time when the assault was committed. For instance, a black cook "in the employ of the eating place for two years" noted the newspaper, testified that the accused was "not out of his sight" for longer than a few minutes before late afternoon. A white woman testified for Neely as well, in a move that the newspaper characterized as a "surprise." This woman, Mrs. J. C. Alberts, stated "that she did not desire to testify in such a case, but…had decided at noon to come in court and go upon the stand for the defendant." In addition, Neely had at

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[768] Kotch, "Unduly harsh," 89. In addition, his conviction symbolized the kind of "legal lynching" that white anti-lynching reformers had yet to confront despite the protests of their African American allies. See Johnson, *Reforming Jim Crow*, 63-64.
[769] Kotch, "Unduly Harsh," 89.
[770] Kotch, "Unduly Harsh," 90.

least five character witnesses testify on his behalf. Finally, his defense team introduced a "statement signed by a dozen or more citizens of Laurens, S.C." testifying to Neely's good character.[771]

The Neely trial resulted in an acquittal, celebrated in the Asheville and Raleigh papers as a demonstration of the tolerant judgment of the white juries and "color-blind" justice.[772] The *Times* also claimed that Neely's acquittal was an effective response "to those who often say that a black man can not receive justice" from whites, including an all-white jury.[773] Perhaps seeking to quiet any white objections, it reminded its readers that the jury "could not see their way clear to ignoring the alibi offered for Neely by reputable and responsible white citizens."[774] The *Times* also carried an editorial appearing in the *Raleigh Times* that acknowledged the pull of prejudice for those sitting on a jury faced with a case such as the one that the Asheville juries recently faced. According to the Raleigh paper, the acquittal was a victory of "conscience" over what it termed "every racial instinct" in whites," which "clamored for [the defendant's] obliteration."[775] The *Asheville Times* seconded the editorial, calling it a "splendid tribute" to the jury. This *Times* editorial pronouncement of acceptance and pride did not necessarily reflect many whites' perceptions of the outcome of the trial. What the *Citizen* described as a tense atmosphere" descended on the crowd after Neely's acquittal was announced. Judge Stack,also indicated that Neely,, would be escorted back to jail by the National Guard

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[771] "Alibi Is Given Preston Neely By Witnesses," *Asheville Times*, November 6, 1925, 1.
[772] "'An Honest and Courageous Verdict,'" *Asheville Times*, November 11, 1925, 4.
[773] "Neely's Acquittal," *Asheville Times*, November 8, 1925, 4.
[774] "Neely's Acquittal," *Asheville Times*, 4.
[775] "'An Honest and Courageous Verdict,'" *Asheville Times*, 4.

despite being free. Whether this was intentionally misleading is unclear, but instead of returning him to jail, the National Guard brought Neely back to South Carolina and freed him there.[776] Additional security measures were also enacted after the trial, as the ”local Guardsmen were stationed in the Armory and plainclothes men placed on the street cars.”[777] This measure, according to the Chicago *Defender*, was to “keep crowds moving” in a show of “strict street policing.”[778]

The Chicago *Defender*, in fact, framed Neely’s acquittal and quick exit from town in more dramatic fashion—its narrative of the courtroom scene following the verdict painted a picture of “bayonets, fixed to puncture human flesh,” that “calmed the spirit” of a mob with lynching on its mind. According to the *Defender*, there was a plot to snatch Neely from his escort and lynch him among those who had “watched the trial with keen interest.” The anger of some whites extended beyond Neely to the whites who spoke for his alibi and character. The owner of the sandwich shop, Charles Moxley, was threatened for his support and prospective role as witness for the defense, although he did not actually take the stand. The testimony of his wife and several of his employees, however, had supported Neely’s alibi. The *Defender* asserted that ‘indignation with the verdict of the jury was expressed in many quarters.” As Neely was being escorted to a vehicle and until he was out of the city,

[776] “Preston Neely Is Acquitted and Rushed to South Carolina under Guard,” *Asheville Citizen*, November 9, 1925, 1. Cited in Kotch, “Unduly Harsh,” 91.
[777] “Citizens Who Did Not Lead,” *Asheville Times*, November 10, 1925, 4.
[778] “Call Troops To Hold Off Angry Mob: Avert Mob Rush By Troops,” *The Chicago Defender* (National edition), November 14, 1925, 1, Proquest (492076127).

"hundreds of spectators in the courtroom were prevented from leaving the building."[779]

In attempting to protect the city's reputation, the *Times* may have downplayed the tension after the acquittal. The *Times* defensively noted that other than "one or two newspaper articles, there has not been here any public indictment of the whole Negro population." In its own words, only "a few citizens" had made "unjust demands and…wild threats" aimed at the city's African Americans. It also stood up for white elites in Asheville against other North Carolina newspapers by noting that Asheville's white "leaders of thought and opinion" had neither sought to inflame other whites to violence nor believed, as the *Greensboro Daily News* suggested, that "'only a good lynching will teach the local Negro population its lesson."[780]

While Neely was acquitted, Mansel was sentenced to death by electrocution in January, 1926, two months after his guilty verdict. His defense team appealed the verdict, arguing among other things that the heavy presence of the National Guard, ostensibly there to keep the peace and protect the prisoner, had in fact prejudiced the jury.[781] Apparently, some whites in Asheville, several months after the trial, aided this appeal effort. A lengthy article from the *Southern Tourist,* a monthly magazine published in Asheville and dedicated to advertising the city's tourist industry, appeared in the *Citizen* in June of 1926. Similar to the Mansel's Supreme Court appeal, the *Tourist* emphasized the role of the National Guard and an aroused,

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[779] "Call Troops," *Chicago Defender*, 1.
[780] "Citizens Who Did Not Lead," *Asheville Times*, November 10, 1925, 4.
[781] Kotch, "Unduly Harsh," 91.

prejudicial spirit in the city in delivering a faulty verdict.[782] According to the *Southern Tourist*, more than "half of [the] convicting jury would be willing to reconsider its verdict anew—and give the evidence calmer and saner consideration. The *Tourist* said that the original verdict was one of a "frightened jury" that was apparently influenced by the "clamor of a mob and the clash of arms."[783] The author, James Caine, warned that the state would commit what amounted to "judicial murder" and that Mansel in fact had a "perfect alibi" established by "indisputable evidence." The *Southern Tourist* framed the effort of Asheville's leading whites to intercede on behalf of Mansel in heroic (and decontextualized) terms, boasting that there likely was never such a "concerted effort to save the life of a condemned" black man. Interestingly, the *Tourist* declined to go into the details of the crime or even state the charge for which Mansel was condemned. The *Tourist* also described Mansel in terms very different than those used during his trial; the condemned prisoner was but a "luckless eighty-five pound negro boy." The article expressed faith that the governor, Angus McLean, would commute Mansel's sentence, the North Carolina Supreme Court having declined to review the case.

The same day that the lengthy article from the *Tourist* appeared, the *Times* carried a letter from "A Visitor" that lauded the city for its tolerance and "fair-mindedness."[784] The actions of Asheville's "leading" (white) citizens had altered the "falsely pre-conceived ideas of treatment of such matters" in the region.[785] The

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[782] James H. Caine, "To Save a Negro," *Southern Tourist*, reprinted in *Asheville Times*, June 26, 1926, 4.
[783] Caine, "To Save a Negro," *Asheville Times*, June 26, 1926, 4.
[784] "A Visitor Approves," *Asheville Times*, June 26, 1926, 4A.
[785] "A Visitor Approves," *Asheville Times*, June 26, 1926, 4A.

visitor noted that "no fairer conditions would exist for any prisoner than now exist" for Mansel. The "visitor" claimed that the publicity attending the case would generate more good will and business for the city than any "advertising conceived by your Chamber of Commerce."[786]

As had been the case previously, the *Chicago Defender's* coverage of this episode exposed harsher attitudes as well as sharper divisions between whites in Asheville. On the same day as the *Southern Tourist* excerpt and letter to the editor appeared, the Chicago *Defender* reported on the effort by "a few prominent citizens" in the city who "braved the wrath of" other city residents to advocate justice for Mansel. The *Defender* also noted that Mansel's case was but one in a long list—"dozens of others of his Race who have suffered worse than legal lynching." The *Defender* also quoted Theodore Harris' *Citizen* article at length. According to Harris, "substantial citizens" were unwilling to see a "an innocent man…slaughtered as a sacrifice to a city's hysteria." They apparently helped Mansel's attorney, A. Hall Johnston, by providing him "with belated opportunity to secure evidence" that proved Mansel's alibi. Johnston had collected a series of affidavits that collectively demonstrated that Mansel could not have possibly committed the crime.[787] According to Harris, this demonstration of Mansel's innocence would itself not be enough for the governor to act. Johnston would also need to show "that many Asheville people of good repute feel [Mansel] ought to be saved."[788]

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786 "A Visitor Approves," *Asheville Times*, June 26, 1926, 4A.
787 "'Legalized Lynching' Meets Protest in N.C.," *Chicago Defender* (National edition), June 26, 1926, 13, Proquest (492103346).
788 "'Legalized Lynching' Meets Protest in N.C.," *Chicago Defender*, 13, Proquest.

Those prominent local figures were just a few of the four thousand who wrote to McLean. The governor visited Mansel in the penitentiary in July 1926 just a few hours before the prisoner's scheduled execution to personally assure himself of the young man's innocence.[789] McLean commuted the sentence to life imprisonment only a few hours before the execution was scheduled. Mansel was eventually paroled in 1930, having served five years.[790] For the *Times*, Neely's acquittal and, more perversely, Mansel's belated vindication appeared to confirm the tolerant character of the city's whites and the satisfactory status of its "race relations."[791]

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the contradiction in white expectations that sat at the heart of "race relations" governance. Whites' demanded that African Americans police their own neighborhoods and spaces not as autonomous units but as part of a larger structure of urban white authority. This injunction testified, as

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[789] "N.C. Youth's Prayer Is Answered," Pittsburgh *Courier*, July 17, 1926, p. 2.
[790] McLean was harsher, however, on the fifteen men ultimately convicted in connection with the mob that damaged the Asheville jail. Faced with a petition signed by six thousand people, he announced shortly after their conviction in February 1926 that they "would have to serve out their full sentences."[790] Twenty-nine participants in the mob that attempted to lynch Mansel were tried in November, after his and Neely's trials concluded. Twenty were convicted; of these, four received sentences in prison, eleven on road duty, and five received suspended sentences. Two who were sentenced to jail received sentences of five years each. Kotch, "Unduly Harsh," 92; "Sentence 20 For Part In Storming Jail: N. Carolina Takes Steps Against Mob," *Chicago Defender* (National edition), November 21, 1925, 3, Proquest (492059624).
[791] In cities where lynchings or near-lynchings had occurred, trials of mob members offered a way for communities to reclaim their "honor." William D. Green, "'To Remove the Stain': The Trial of the Duluth Lynchers," *Minnesota History*, Vol. 59, No. 1 (Spring, 2004): 22-35. Cassandra Lucas calls the trial of the Duluth lynchers an attempted "redemption" of the city, which in the end consisted of "a few token convictions." Lucas, "Rape, Race, and Redemption: A Northern Translation of the Southern Script in the 1920 Duluth Lynching" (PhD diss., University of Minnesota-Twin Cities, 2006), 171.

African Americans anonymously rejoined, to whites' contradictory demands on African Americans' subjectivity within urban Jim Crow relations. Their performances of policing duties within these networks were both desired and feared by white authorities.

Focusing on this contradictory injunction makes tolerance legible as a practice involved in race relations governance meant to distribute the responsibility of policing deviance and containing the potential for disorder. The distributed management of disorder, and the extension of that management to suspect subjects, helped define race relations as one of multiple formations of urban governance informed by the logics of tolerance. Whites insisted that racialized objects of suspicion demonstrate their worth by containing the danger they themselves embodied. They maintained that this expectation was a technique of organization a mark of both their tolerance of African Americans and of the good race relations that the city possessed. Tolerance, then, was an explicit act of authority and of whiteness engaged in the management of deviance and the containment of disorder. As we shall see in the next chapter, however, in the 1930s and 1940s tolerance became a less obvious marker of privilege and authority.

Chapter 6:

Vance Redux: Public Memory, Tolerance, and Articulations of Authority

Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, African Americans held mass meetings in late 1925 in response to whites' threats of retributive violence in the wake of two alleged sexual assaults on white women. Most of the speakers whose words were recorded in the newspaper were local "representative" men and women. This was not the case with all the speakers, however. Lieutenant Lawrence Oxley addressed the audience during at least one of the meetings. Oxley, who had served as one of the few African American Morale Officers in the U.S. Army during World War I, explicitly represented the state as the first director of the recently created Division of Work Among Negroes, a department of the state Board of Charities and Public Welfare. Like other speakers whose speeches were recorded in the white newspapers, Oxley delivered a conservative message. He counseled cooperation "in every way with the law" and assured the crowd that he had faith in the county officials to deliver a "fair trial" to both of the accused.[792] The social work historian N. Yolanda Burwell has noted that in his career as director of the state agency Oxley served as a "mediator between the races" who was expected to explain "the attitude of the state to his people." In her brief history of the Asheville episode, Burwell credits Oxley with having "placated" an infuriated audience of African Americans.[793] Adela Ruffin, the

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[792] "Negroes Will Assist Order," *Asheville Times*, November 2, 1925, 13.
[793] N. Yolanda Burwell, "Lawrence A. Oxley: Defining State Public Welfare among African Americans," in *African American Leadership: An Empowerment Tradition in Social Welfare*

secretary of the Phyllis Wheatley Y.W.C.A., later thanked him for his assistance in "our darkest hour."[794]

The tense situation in Asheville was not the only reason for his nearly weeklong visit.[795] He was also there to extend the influence of the new department and enlist people in its mission. Oxley called a conference "for the purpose of studying…present conditions" in the African American community in Asheville. Oxley's presence and goals represented the more extensive and formal incorporation of African Americans into Jim Crow networks of authority that took place between the 1920s and 1940s. By more formal incorporation I mean African Americans' involvement in lines of authority that were characterized by regularized bureaucratic procedures and institutional purchase. At times these networks represented the extension of social welfare policies. At this chapter's horizon, however, stand Gilbert Sligh and Delaney Horne, the black policemen we met in the introduction of this dissertation. The city government's investment of racially and spatially bounded authority in them demonstrates the resilience of tolerance as an instrument of white supremacy. African Americans' challenges to the logics of tolerance were contained and those logics administratively affirmed by the conditions under which Sligh and Horne embodied authority.

This resilience can be partly attributed to whites' reformulations of tolerance during the interwar period. The opportunities and limits encountered by African

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History, ed. by Iris B. Carlton-LaNey, (Washington, D.C.: National Association of Social Workers Press, 2001), 105-106.

[794] Adela Ruffin to Lieut. Lawrence Oxley, December 15, 1925, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.

[795] Oxley to Colonel W. A. Blair, November 6, 1925, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.

Americans who propelled this more formal incorporation were shaped by the reformulations of tolerance that took place in Asheville and around the country in the interwar period. These changes included the racial erasure of tolerance, its apparent disengagement from power, and recourse to sometimes vaguely-defined American ideals and standards. This chapter first traces the contingent manner in which these changes emerged in Asheville.

As the previous chapter demonstrated in its narrative of the Mansel and Neely cases, whites' and African Americans' invocation of tolerance in the 1920s framed it as an act and responsibility of white authorities. That is, its relationship to power was explicit. In the same decade, white Protestants and Jews similarly celebrated tolerance as a responsibility of elite whiteness and simultaneously as a characteristic of the rapidly growing tourist destination. As we shall see, this boosterish tolerance was threatened in the 1930s by the arrival in town of William Dudley Pelley, the would-be "American Hitler" whose disreputable reputation, elite Christian whites feared, would migrate to the city itself. In response, white Protestant and Jewish leaders worked to disassociate the city from Pelley, in part by formulating a seemingly different kind of tolerance.[796]

Although there were irregular public ceremonies in the 1920s, public demonstrations of tolerance became regularized and ritualized by the mid-1930s. Brotherhood Day, affiliated with the National Conference of Jews and Christians, received significant coverage when Asheville clergy first observed it in 1934. In

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[796] In other cities around the country, tolerance was being similarly reworked, but Pelley's presence in Asheville seemed to have been important as a precipitating condition for this process.

addition, the obelisk erected in honor of Zebulon Vance came to mediate its elaboration by the end of the decade in yearly ceremonies that took place between the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) and the B'nai B'rith. Race Relations Day in Asheville, in contrast, garnered little attention by Asheville newspapers in the 1930s. It was not until later in the 1940s that Brotherhood Day and Week addressed racial difference.

As historian Wendy Wall has argued, Brotherhood ceremonies celebrated differences they placed within an imagined circle of consensus. If participants imagined an America safe for differences, they also wanted to make difference safe for America. Ceremonies in Asheville valorized tolerance as a national and local value during the 1930s and 1940s and conflated it with justice. Participants lauded it as a characteristic indicative of individual self-restraint, obscured its formerly explicit link to whiteness, and imagined a set of race-neutral norms on which to base judgments about what was and what was not tolerable.[797] The injunction to both demonstrate and judge the worth of objects of suspicion, then did not disappear from expressions of tolerance.

These reformulations of tolerance informed how African Americans operated within Jim Crow networks of governance. These networks were shaped by whites' assumptions of African Americans' departure from norms that were increasingly race-evasive. Oxley's Department for Work Among Negroes and the local Negro Welfare Council administered projects meant to interrogate, discipline, and correct those departures. As with other arrangements discussed in previous chapters, the

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[797] Julian B. Carter, *The Heart of Whiteness: Normal Sexuality and Race in America, 1880-1940* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

augmentation of the state's social services in a Jim Crow context ultimately did not dispel suspicion but instead created opportunities to make that suspicion operable and regularize its management.

The second portion of the chapter, then, begins by examining the efforts of those who, like Oxley and Adela Ruffin, sought to make these networks tools for blacks' empowerment. Their efforts to do so, which encountered resistance from whites who resented any signal of African Americans' authority, never wholly defined African Americans' activism. The NAACP emerged during this period as a significant force in Asheville. While a chapter had been located there, off and on, since the early 1910s, in the late 1930s and early 1940s the local chapter was involved in several legal actions that challenged the legal and physical instruments of white supremacy, including sanctioned white violence and the exclusion of African Americans from the voting franchise and jury service. Activists' calls for equal protection of their bodies and their rights challenged not so much the logics of tolerance as the white supremacist political tools that empowered those logics to act on African Americans.[798]

While differently oriented towards Jim Crow governance, activists' efforts intersected in African Americans' continued calls for a black policeman. As the previous chapter showed, this request was the subject of public "race relations" discourse since at least the 1925 crisis. At that time, African Americans asked that the city appoint black policemen as a response and a critique of white expectations

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[798] As Khalil Gibran Muhammad has pointed out, activists' efforts to ensure due process and equal protection "did not dissolve the link between race and crime." See Gibran, *The Condemnation of Blackness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 12.

of black self-surveillance. By the 1940s, however, African Americans also publicly argued that a black policeman was necessary to protect their bodies and rights. Their request, then, also represented a challenge to the previous pattern of conservative incorporation. This challenge, however, was contained and the logics of tolerance administratively affirmed by the partial investment of authority in those black officers, who were only authorized to police other African Americans. The limitations on Asheville's first two black policemen demonstrate the continuing contradictions of African Americans' subjectivity within those networks.

Tolerance in the Interwar Years

This section examines how Jews and white Protestants in Asheville formulated tolerance during the 1920s. As African Americans did during the 1925 crisis, Jews framed it as an attribute and responsibility of white Christian authority. Public statements by non-Jewish whites, moreover, emphasized local Jews' previous demonstrations of worth and citizenship when considering their claims to assistance.[799]

Moreover, Protestant whites' judgments regarding local Jews' characters explicitly took into account their departure from a Christian norm. Solomon Lipinsky's death in late March 1925 provided opportunities for multiple actors to define his worth to the city and its residents. Their efforts suggest how expressions

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[799] Examples of public statements about Asheville Jews' demonstrations of loyalty and worth to the community from earlier in the decade include the *Citizen*'s 1922 support for a local Jewish sanatorium planned by B'nai B'rith and for a charity drive to assist Jewish refugees fleeing post-World War I violence. "The Sanatorium For Jews," *Asheville Citizen*, January 27, 1922; "Needs Greater Than Ours," *Asheville Citizen*, Feb. 8, 1922, 4; "Call of Starving Answered in City," *Asheville Citizen*, February 8, 1922, 4.

of tolerance made explicit objects' departure from religious norms. The *Citizen*, in addition to its extensive coverage and editorials praising his contributions to the city's progress and development, printed multiple letters to the editor from residents. According to one writer, Lipinsky's fair and even generous economic dealing extended to African Americans as well as whites, women as well as men. The author, A.L. Darrow, invoked the Jewishness of Jesus Christ to explain the greatness of Lipinsky.[800]

This was not the only editorial that chose to explain the merchant's virtue through recourse to Christianity. A second, published the same day, averred that Lipinsky was "not only a Jew. He was also a Christian." This author recounted a story meant to illustrate the kindness of the deceased in his role as employer— "a kindness no less truly Christian because he was a Jew." In their attempts to not erase his Jewishness but rather render it both intelligible and irrelevant, such commentators were demonstrating that Lipinsky in fact departed from Christian norms. However, his exceptional character made this departure irrelevant and in fact, confirmed him as a Christian.[801]

The letters chosen by the editors of the *Citizen* also did the work of implicitly defining Jewish difference as religious rather than racial. The testimonials marked the recently deceased merchant as white by celebrating the supposed transcendence of his potentially troublesome difference. Tolerance for Jews thus demanded the diminution of their difference. In contrast, whites sought to starkly

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[800] A. L. Darrow, "Solomon Lipinsky," *Asheville Citizen*, March 29, 1925, 4, Lipinsky Family Papers, Ramsey Library Special Collections, University of North Carolina-Asheville.
[801] "A Good Man Gone," *Asheville Citizen*, March 29, 1925, 4, Lipinsky Family Papers, Ramsey Library, UNCA.

define differences between themselves and African Americans. Indeed, the culture of segregation represented the efforts of whites to police differences between themselves and African Americans. Jews could be Christians, but African Americans could not and must not be white.

Largely because of Vance's legacy as author of "The Scattered Nation," city locations associated with Lost Cause ideology, which celebrated paternalistic visions of Christian whiteness, became central to public formulations objects of tolerance in the 1920s and 1930s. The most prominent space involved in these performances was Pack Square. The square, adorned with the obelisk commemorating Vance, offered Jews an opportunity. Remembering Vance was a vital means by which they could present themselves in public space as Jews in the early 20th century. They acted upon the urban landscape, at times through what geographer Owen Dwyer has termed "allied symbolic accretion." In this process, "activists seek to further their position *vis-à-vis* an established memorial presence."[802]

They did so through their public performances as objects of a tolerance offered by Vance, the city itself, and organizations like the UDC who saw themselves as keepers of his legacy. The first such occasion was the 1926 meeting of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, which convened in Asheville. As a locale whose economy depended to a significant extent on attracting convention traffic, the gathering of some ninety rabbis and their families at one of the city's fine hotels represented the financial benefits of tolerance. The city's Jews and newspapers credited Moses P. Jacobson, the rabbi of Asheville's Reform Temple Beth Ha-Tephila

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[802] Owen Dwyer, "Symbolic accretion and commemoration," *Social and Cultural Geography* 5, no. 3 (Sept. 2004): 419-435.

for the convention's presence in Asheville.[803] During the convention, the *Citizen* recommended to its readers that the city should collectively be "proud of its Jewish population" for their contributions to its "social and material advancement." The conference was only the most recent example of their importance to the area's economic development.[804]

Welcoming the convention on its opening day, Jacobson assured his gathered colleagues that the city was a "place of tolerance" free of racial and religious prejudice. To support his point, Jacobson cited local institutions' and individuals' actions the previous year, when Alvin Mansel stood accused of assaulting a white woman. Jacobson noted how "our officers" stopped the attempted lynching of the accused, with the leaders of the would-be lynch mob receiving prison terms. Furthermore, although convicted in what Jacobson termed "expedited" fashion and sentenced to death, Mansel's innocence was established through the later testimony of "white women, born and bred in the south." As a result of this supposedly new evidence, the "best men and women in our city are interceding for the boy's life." In making a case for the city's tolerant nature, then, Jacobson referred to institutions of authority charged with the enforcement of law as well as the representative white Christian elites of the city.[805]

Jacobson did not go into as much depth in demonstrating the city's tolerance of Jews. He did, however, single out for praise James Hay Jr., who was attending the

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[803] The *Citizen* credited Rabbi Jacobson with convincing the conference to hold their annual convention in Asheville. The *Citizen* covered the convention extensively, with front-page stories and multiple positive editorials. *Asheville Citizen*, June 22-26, 1926.

[804] "Tolerance in North Carolina," *Asheville Citizen*, June 23, 1926, 4.

[805] "Race Prejudice Not Rife In State, Rabbi Declares," *Asheville Citizen*, June 23, 1926, 9.

convention in his role as an editor for the *Citizen*. He commended Hay for his astute editorials that illustrated "discriminating recognition of Jewish character and Jewish performance." Hay did so, moreover, "of his own accord, and without other promptings." Jacobson, in other words, complimented Hay on his autonomous and correct assessment of Jews' individual and collective worth to the community and defined this assessment as a form of tolerance. The *Citizen* accepted with pride Jacobson's praise for the city's racial and religious fairness.[806] While it noted the presence of a minority in Asheville dedicated to fomenting "religious and racial bitterness," the paper predicted that presence would wither in time.

During this convention, a representative committee of northern and southern rabbis laid a wreath at the Pack Square monument as a demonstration of appreciation to both Vance and the city. The committee also crafted a resolution stating that Vance was a "'true American…who had earned the love of all fair minded men.'" These actions made Jews' acknowledgement of Vance's efforts on their behalf material though impermanent.[807]

Although Jacobson was ambivalent about what it meant for white Christians to imagine Jews as objects of their tolerance, he also sought to make Jews' gratitude to Vance more widely known. First a "dream" in his mind several years earlier, the

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[806] "Race Prejudice Not Rife," *Asheville Citizen,* 9; "Tolerance in North Carolina," *Asheville Citizen*, June 23, 1926, 4. The article could be referring to the Ku Klux Klan, which was active during this period in Asheville as elsewhere. Jacobson was rabbi from 1922 until 1934, when he became the congregation's first rabbi emeritus.

[807] "Place Wreath On Monument to Zeb Vance," *Asheville Times*, June 25, 1926, 1. The rabbis' honor would be recalled in later ceremonies honoring Vance during World War II. Philip Cocke, "Judge Philip Cocke's Address," May 13, 1942, in the Philip Charles Cocke Speeches, #3248-z, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

possibility of Asheville's Jews erecting their own monument to Vance was apparently raised at the 1926 Central Conference. Two years later, the local B'nai B'rith dedicated a monument to Vance in the courtyard of the Calvary Episcopal Church. The courtyard, known locally as the "Westminster Abbey of the Southland," was located in the adjacent community of Fletcher. It was largely dedicated to setting the Lost Cause in concrete. The monument joined others in the courtyard honoring "memorable geniuses of Dixie," like Robert E. Lee and Sidney Lanier. The man responsible for the courtyard, the church's rector Clarence McClelland, spoke at the beginning of the dedication. He hoped that the space, newly marked by a prominent Jewish contribution to its landscape, would become a place where Jews, Catholics, and Protestants could "meet on a common ground of brotherhood, without prejudice, and without suspicion."[808]

Stephen S. Wise, whom the *Citizen* termed the nation's "foremost Jew," delivered the event's main address before an estimated crowd of 2,000 Jews and non-Jews. Wise, the rabbi of the reform Free Synagogue in New York City, emphasized his representative and exotic "blackgarbed" presence at the ceremony by predicting that "many people in the audience were looking at a rabbi for the first time in their lives."[809] His tribute made clear that tolerance was an act of power in

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[808] "Thousands At Calvary Hear Jewish Leader," *Asheville Citizen*, October 15, 1928, 1-2.
[809] "Thousands At Calvary," *Asheville Citizen*, 1-2. His presence in North Carolina shortly before the close of the contentious 1928 presidential election was telling. Both Wise and *The Citizen* were supporters of Al Smith. The rabbi was a close friend of the New York governor and Democratic candidate, having campaigned for him during that year's presidential contest. The election, in which normally safe post-disenfranchisement Democratic states were in play due to anti-Catholic sentiment, provided a context for this celebration of Vance and its wide coverage. Despite being a reliably Democratic state since the almost total disenfranchisement of African Americans in the early 20th century, North

part by employing language of race and of racial exceptionalism to explain its possession. Wise's speech formulated tolerance as a racial characteristic. The "great racial tradition, the Anglo-Saxon tradition," he asserted, was to treat Jews with justice. By emphasizing its possession and practice as an Anglo-Saxon legacy and heritage, the address implicitly supported whites' claims to political power and their fair treatment of minorities. As a representative Jew, the rabbi invoked the gratitude that "We of the House of Israel" felt towards Vance as objects of his and other Christians' tolerance. He noted that Jews "have never forgotten" those who had demonstrated compassion to them. They were, he told his audience, "grateful for justice," whose expression he equated with the practice of tolerance.[810]

In the 1920s in Asheville, then, those who invoked tolerance confirmed and made legible white Christians' political and social power. The *Citizen*'s editorials and the letters it chose to publish translated the character of prominent Jews like Solomon Lipinsky into terms that erased his difference from the Christian white majority**.** The newspaper's demonstrations of conditional inclusion were in response to Jews' own claims to representation in spaces that also served to memorialize the Lost Cause, such as Pack Square and the Calvary church courtyard. Jews sought to present and represent themselves as proud and deserving objects of tolerance in these spaces. In doing so, speakers like Wise formulated tolerance itself as a possession of those who embodied politicized norms of religion and race. By

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Carolina voted for Hoover in 1928 by a 55-45 split. See The American Presidency Project, University of California, Santa Barbara, "Election of 1928," http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/showelection.php?year=1928 (accessed April 1, 2011).
[810] "Thousands At Calvary," *Asheville Citizen*, 1-2.

invoking the case of Mansel, Jacobson himself suggested that correct individual judgment characterized practices of authority in the city.

William Dudley Pelley, the UDC, and Reformulations of Tolerance

This section outlines important shifts in tolerance during the 1930s and early 1940s, from an explicit act of power and characteristic of whiteness to a characteristic of self-restraint expected of the liberal subject. Divorced from power relations, tolerance became an American value represented by Zebulon Vance and synonymous with justice. The factors that facilitated the public invocations of tolerance largely did not emerge from "race relations" but rather from concerns over the city's reputation and continued viability as a tourist destination. The memory and monuments to Zebulon Vance mediated the invocation and meanings of tolerance. Its public prominence, then, also addressed the concerns and goals of multiple actors, including Jews in the city concerned with the conservation of their status and the United Daughters of the Confederacy, which were dedicated to ensuring the continued relevance and reputation of Confederate figures like Vance.

In the 1930s Jews continued and expanded their efforts to make tolerance a civic value associated with both a national political culture as well as the city's landscape. They undertook these efforts with the support of white Christian elites. Commemorations honoring Vance during the 1930s and 1940s continued to articulate familiar themes of the Lost Cause. These included the claims that Vance himself fought not for slavery but for his state; that in doing so, he represented the highest form of national citizenship; and that as post-Reconstruction governor he

brought about racial reconciliation. Vance's legacy of tolerance was folded into these narratives. Their joint endeavors, however, served to formulate a notion of tolerance less ready to acknowledge its continuing dependence on the privilege accorded to Christian whiteness. While white Christians' and Jews' invocations individualized tolerance, however, its description as a product of self-discipline was implicitly racialized. They framed it not as a trait of the powerful but instead as an act of will whose responsibility resided with the individual.

As visible manifestations of the tolerant natures of both Vance and those dedicated to his vindication, Jews helped to buttress related Redeemer and Lost Cause mythologies of paternalism that justified the political and social repression of African Americans in the past and present. Ceremonies honoring Vance also functioned as a vehicle for Jews in Asheville to both demonstrate their difference while rendering that difference innocuous. These ceremonies should therefore be considered in conjunction with annual Brotherhood Day activities that began in 1934, just four years before Jews took more active roles in observations of Vance' birthday and which defined Jewish difference as religious rather than racial in nature.[811]

While Asheville Jews made known their appreciation for the city's most famous native son prior to Thomas Wolfe, they also perceived the apparent

[811] While Jews' racial status as white was more contested and uncertain in the North than the South during the first half of the twentieth century, notions of the nature of Jews' difference were contested and changing in the region as well, in part because of Jim Crow and the culture of segregation. See Eric Goldstein, *The Price of Whiteness: Jews, Race, and American Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 52-53; Leonard Rogoff, "Is the Jew White?: The Racial Place of the Southern Jew," *American Jewish History* 85, vol. 3 (1997): 195-230.

vulnerability of their position. This was particularly so after the onset of the Great Depression. Many people's perceptions of the causes and beneficiaries of the worldwide economic calamity increased the acceptability of public anti-Semitism in the United States. Jews in many locales in the country felt their positions to be increasingly uncertain. This was also true in Asheville, largely due to the recent arrival there of the fascistic William Dudley Pelley. A novelist and screenwriter known in the early 1930s for his unorthodox religious views, Pelley began broadcasting his political anti-Semitism in his magazine *Liberation* in 1933, shortly after Hitler's ascension to the German Chancellorship. Jewish residents of the city noted these interwoven local, national, and indeed international developments, and became more wary of the contingent nature of tolerance.[812]

The efforts by Jews and white Christian elites to distinguish the city from Pelley's avowedly anti-Semitic politics, however, would reframe the public and civic meaning of tolerance and serve as a significant antecedent to regularized invocations of tolerance. Three years after Pelley was convicted of securities fraud in Asheville in 1935, Jews for the first time joined in Vance commemorations at Pack Square alongside members of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and other "patriotic organizations" like the American Legion. The work accomplished by different actors to repudiate Pelley and associate the square with tolerance

[812] Leonard Dinnerstein, *Antisemitism in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 105; Steve Fraser, *Every Man a Speculator: A History of Wall Street in American Life* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005), 446.

facilitated both its wider circulation as well as its apparent disengagement with power.[813]

Pelley moved to Asheville in 1932 and established the Fellowship of Christian Economics a short distance from downtown. The short-lived school promised to teach the application of "Christ's precepts to our modern industrial problems." Once Hitler became the German Chancellor in 1933, Pelley's anti-Semitism became more prominent in his periodical *Liberation* and his other writings. In the same year, he also created the Silver Shirts, a fascistic organization that took its inspiration from Hitler's Brown Shirts, and established chapters in several cities, including Asheville.[814]

Pelley's political anti-Semitism and messianic, redemptive beliefs prompted Jews to discuss their status in the nation and in Asheville as vulnerable objects of tolerance. Rabbi Jacobson chose the occasion of Purim, March 9 1933, to speak about the seemingly timeless possibility of political and social persecution of Jews. He narrated the Purim story as a timeless fable of demagogic ambition. In an echo of Vance's and others' formulations of intolerance, Jacobson asserted that the villain of the story, Haman, held Jews everywhere accountable for the supposed sins of one, and resolved to rid Persia of their presence. The rabbi drew local and international

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[813] Pelley's biographers, however, have focused little attention on the local reaction in Asheville to his presence. Leo Ribuffo, *The Old Christian Right: The Protestant Far Right from the Great Depression to the Cold War* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983); Scott Beekman, *William Dudley Pelley: A Life in Right-Wing Extremism and the Occult* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2004).
[814] *Asheville Citizen-Times*, June 3, 1932, Vertical Files, Pack Memorial Library.

parallels with the lessons of the Purim fable, one of which was that an ambitious demagogue could always "inflame the passions of the mob against the Jews."[815]

This was the same rabbi who in 1926 had assured his Reform colleagues that Asheville was tolerant and free of prejudice. It was not, however, his opinion of the city or Jews' positions that had changed in the intervening years. He acknowledged during his Purim sermon that Jews in Asheville continued to enjoy a relatively good position in the community, stating that "Jews as a body here are respected. They are classed with the best of our citizenship." Jacobson further conceded that it would be easy to imagine that such a people "would be immune from all danger of a local general uprising."[816]

It was not so much his opinion of Asheville that had changed, then, but rather how he characterized tolerance. Jacobson asserted that even in their city, Jews' position was vulnerable to demagogic distortion. "Any unscrupulous agitator," he claimed, could very quickly turn the previous Christian amity towards Jews "into the very bitterest enmity." The very attributes with which Jews sought to demonstrate their worth and claim to citizenship – the very logic of tolerance – would be turned against them, he warned. This vulnerability was inseparable from being objects of tolerance, defined and perceived as a group who departed from the politicized norms of race or religion that defined the majority.[817]

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[815] Moses P. Jacobson, "Praeterea Conseo Germaniam Esse Delendam," March 9, 1933, 1, 2, Moses P. Jacobson Papers, MS-261, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.
[816] Moses P. Jacobson, "Praeterea Conseo Germaniam Esse Delendam," March 9, 1933, 2, Moses P. Jacobson Papers, MS-261, American Jewish Archives. Jacobson's sermon also referenced Adolf Hitler, whose name he refused to speak in the temple.
[817] "Praeterea Conseo Germaniam Esse Delendam," Moses P. Jacobson, March 9, 1933, 2, 3, Moses P. Jacobson Papers, MS-261, American Jewish Archives.

In light of this possibility, Jacobson urged his congregation to take seriously the threat Pelley represented, if not the man himself. He acknowledged that Pelley cut a seemingly ridiculous figure, a "discredited and crazy" leader of a "crazy movement." It was not that he had a high estimate of Pelley's ability as a demagogue, exactly, but rather a gloomy appraisal of the ease with which others could be inflamed. Pelley was dangerous, for his determination to influence and fool "a presumptive cultured coterie who are open to any sort of fanatical suggestion." Although seemingly insignificant, the rabbi imagined Pelley as a weed that would "eventually choke a whole garden" if not pruned. Jacobson called on his audience to do just that by countering Pelley's lies and hatred.[818]

In fact, Jews and non-Jews labored to bring about Pelley's prosecution. Sidney Schochet, speaking of the threat posed by Pelley, claimed that the B'nai B'rith sought to "get [Pelley] somehow or another." He credited a young Jewish lawyer, Alvin Kartus, for the legal strategy of prosecuting Pelley for violating the state's securities laws. According to Schochet, Kartus "got [Pelly's case] on the docket. He got the charges made."[819] A local judge supposedly allowed Kartus access to Pelley's records for a weekend. According to Asheville resident Sarah Goldstein, she, her

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[818] "Praeterea Conseo Germaniam Esse Delendam," Moses P. Jacobson, March 9, 1933, p. 3, Moses P. Jacobson Papers, MS-261, American Jewish Archives. Jacobson shared this fundamental pessimism about the viability of democracy in an age of mass media with many during this decade. See, for instance, Edward Purcell, *The Crisis of Democratic Theory: Scientific Naturalism & the Problem of Value* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1973).

[819] Sidney Schochet, interviewed by David Schulman, April 10, 1994; Another oral history, indulging in hyperbole, credits Kartus with having "personally destroyed" Pelley's organization in Asheville. See Ed Petterson, interviewed by David Schulman, March 22, 1993, both in Jewish Heritage in Western North Carolina Oral History Collection, Ramsey Library Special Collections, UNCA.

sister, and her friend spent that weekend copying the names of Pelley's subscribers to help build a case of securities fraud. Furthermore, another Jewish resident was reported to have been "sort of like an undercover agent" who had also worked to make possible the prosecution of Asheville's fascistic interloper. Thus Jews likely played important roles in the investigation of Pelley. They would not have been able to accomplish so much, however, if they had been the only ones concerned with his presence in Asheville and the publicity it brought. If Kartus did indeed come up with the charges, for instance, the prosecutor still had to agree to indict him.[820]

Local elites, concerned with the city's image and attractiveness as a vacation destination, also worked to disassociate the city from the "Chief" of the Silver Shirts. Although they likely found Pelley's ideas dangerous and distasteful, it is clear that the importance of tourism to the local economy influenced how city leaders perceived his presence in the town. Even during the Great Depression, as historian Richard Starnes notes, tourism was a crucial element in the city's economy. This continued dependence meant that the maintenance of the city's image as a cultured, cosmopolitan, and hospitable locale was an essential component of its economy. Pelley's presence in Asheville was no secret; the *New York Times* reported on his actions while he lived there. The attention paid to Pelley, already known for his fiction writing and unorthodox religious beliefs before he published his political ideas, might have reflected poorly on the city. Despite his wealthy donors, the media

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[820] Sarah Goldstein, interviewed by David Schulman, March 4, 1994; Ruth Lowenburg, interviewed by David Schulman, April 19, 1994; Anne Michelove Kolodkin, interviewed by David Schulman, March 22, 1994, all in Jewish Heritage in Western North Carolina Oral History Collection, Ramsey Library. In her oral interview, Anne Kolodkin noted that "W. W. Michelove had posed "as a member and operating as an undercover agent for the Secret Service."

portrayed Silver Shirts members as lower-class, unsophisticated, and parochial people. These were the very images and attributes against which the city's boosters and promoters had struggled. Furthermore, the unwanted publicity Pelley could bring to the city was only one of multiple contemporary issues, such as municipal bankruptcy, with the potential to destabilize Asheville's image.[821]

In other words, there likely were multiple reasons why different actors participated in this legal and social repudiation. The County Prosecutor indicted Pelley in May 1934 for securities fraud and tried him in January 1935. The *Citizen* gave extensive coverage to the trial, while the New York *Times* also reported Pelley's indictment and conviction. Most of the counts against Pelley were thrown out, but he was still convicted of advertising stock in a fraudulent company. He received a $1000 fine as well as a suspended sentence for five years, contingent upon his "good behavior."[822]

Jewish and Christian authorities attempted to distinguish the city from Pelley in other ways as well. In the course of doing so they reframed tolerance as a civic value that was simultaneously an expression of individual will and self-discipline. On April 29, 1934, Rabbi Jacobson and clergymen of the Catholic and Presbyterian faiths observed the first annual national Brotherhood Day. They appeared together

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[821] Richard Starnes, *Creating the Land of the Sky: Tourism and Society in Western North Carolina* (Tuscaloosa, 2005), 90; Beekman, *William Dudley Pelley,* 100. The *New York Times* ran eight articles on Pelley and his economic and legal difficulties between April 25th, 1934, and January 23, 1935. See, for instance, "Silver Shirt Head Indicted in South," *New York Times*, May 24, 1934, 12.

[822] Ribuffo, *The Old Christian Right*, 71. Although he traveled a great deal after the verdict, Asheville continued to serve as his publishing headquarters for the next five years, as he ran for president on the "Silver Shirt" ticket in 1936, only gaining access to the ballot in Washington state. He continued to publish his anti-Semitic political programs in a new magazine, *Pelley's Weekly*. See Ribuffo, 72.

on a Sunday at the Imperial Theater in downtown, just a block off Pack Square. The meeting was only one of 33 nationwide Brotherhood Day observances classified by the National Conference of Jews and Christians as a mass meeting, and one of only six such meetings in the south.[823] This ceremony, like others around the country supported by the National Conference, linked the "ideal of religious tolerance to Americanism." The Conference believed that there was "inevitable" disagreement and animus between peoples of different religious faiths. This "natural" animus, however, could be "moderated by rational discourse" and an "attention to shared values," which Wendy Wall has termed "ideological consensus."[824]

The speakers at the first of many Brotherhood Day and Week celebrations in Asheville invoked both naturalized differences as well as the common values supposedly essential to overcoming them.[825] Jacobson, for instance, suggested that religious animus was natural and timeless. Such differences and feelings had been

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[823] Paul Patton Faris, "Report on the Promotion of Brotherhood Day, 1934," 3, National Conference of Christians and Jews Records, Social Welfare History Archives, Anderson Library, University of Minnesota. Of those six Southern "mass meetings," most were in cities either roughly similar in size or smaller than Asheville, which had a population of just over 50,000 in 1930. The exception was Dallas, Texas. The other southern cities included Hot Springs, Arkansas; Augusta, Georgia, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and Columbia, Missouri. See *Fifteenth Census of the United States – 1930 – Population: Vol. III, Pt. 2 Montana-Wyoming*. Washington D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1932. See http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/10612982v3p2ch04.pdf (Accessed April 7, 2012).

[824] Wendy Wall, *Inventing the "American Way": The Politics of Consensus from the New Deal to the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 67.

[825] In February 1934, the Asheville Colored Interdenominational Alliance met with the white Ministerial Association for Asheville and Buncombe County, at the former organization's invitation. See "Pastors of Both Races to Meet," *Atlanta Daily World*, February 17, 1934, 6. Proquest Historical Newspapers: *Atlanta Daily World: 1931-2003*. The letter of invitation noted the "many problems today…unemployment, racial misunderstandings and mistreatments, social unrest, etc.…which confront colored and white ministers alike." The *Daily World* commended Asheville's black clergy for "being broad and unprejudiced enough" to invite the white ministers.

present "'ever since mankind has known itself.'" He asked his listeners to take inspiration from God, who "has borne these differences through the eternal ages." He further assured his listeners that religionists' ideals were complementary even if their beliefs were not. While the *Citizen's* reporting of his speech limited this circle of sympathetic ideals to Jewish and Christian religions, the rabbi's text encompassed agnostics, Muslims, and Buddhists.[826]

Each speaker's affiliation was signaled by a performer's rendition of representative music. Accordingly, a performance of "Ave Maria" prefaced the address of Father F. J. McCourt, of the Joan of Arc Catholic Church. McCourt sought to invoke and enact those supposedly sympathetic ideals. In doing so, he illustrated the close relationship between the demonstration of tolerance and intolerance. He appealed to his audience to take united action against that which was intolerable. McCourt particularly criticized "the salacity and obscenity of 'most moving pictures,' much advertising and social life." He urged Protestants and Jews to "cooperate with Catholics in signing the 'Legion of Decency' pledges." This action was in the service of his goal of creating "good citizens of the church, state and heaven."[827]

The most prestigious member of Asheville's trio and last to speak was Robert F. Campbell, who had been the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church since the 1880s. Campbell spoke on one of multiple topics suggested by the National

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[826] "Speakers Appeal For Religious Tolerance On Brotherhood Day," *Asheville Citizen*, April 30, 1934, 2; Moses Jacobson, "Brotherhood Day Address," n.d., Moses P. Jacobson Papers, MS-261, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, OH. Jacobson was Beth Ha-Tephila's rabbi for only the first Brotherhood Day, and the text is substantially that which was reported in the *Asheville Citizen* on April 30, 1934. I do not know whether he followed his text and extended this respect beyond what would come to be called the "Judeo-Christian" tradition.
[827] "Speakers Appeal For Religious Tolerance On Brotherhood Day," *Asheville Citizen*, April 30, 1934, 2.

Conference, “Making America Safe for Differences,” which, like the other addresses, was also about making differences safe for America. He assured his audience that the practice of tolerance would not disturb the country’s “high standards.” At the same time, he too sought to utilize those shared standards and values. Campbell noted, for instance, that “there are some differences which we must combat as unsafe,” and singled out those who circulated “secret propaganda” and hateful messages.[828]

The Asheville Citizen made more explicit this implicit repudiation of Pelley. It took the opportunity afforded by this celebration to strongly editorialize against him. While not using his name, it is clear that the newspaper’s editorial referred to him when it decried the “stranger in our midst using this city largely as a mailing address.” The article emphasized that the city’s reputation was at stake because the stranger’s intolerant actions had “brought unpleasant publicity to this community in the outside worlds.” The community, the editorial testified, would recognize that Pelley “does not speak the sentiments of our people. He enjoys neither local support nor local countenance.”[829]

The editorial made a pragmatic appeal, stressing the importance of tolerance for the progress and prosperity on both national and communal levels. As an essential component of economic and social development, it is not surprising that the editorial formulated tolerance as an act of individual will. The editorial emphasized that its possession was the product primarily of individual effort and as such, something distinct from political power or privilege. It was instead the mark

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[828] “Speakers Appeal For Religious Tolerance,” *Asheville Citizen*, 2.
[829] “Brotherhood Day,” *Asheville Citizen-Times*, April 29, 1934, B4.

and possession of a disciplined individual. It was not, the editorial asserted, an "instinctive virtue" but instead was the "happy consequence of self-discipline." Intolerance was easier and demonstrated a failure of will and discipline.[830]

The editorial therefore presented tolerance as an aspect of self-making and self-development. As such, it laid the primary responsibility for acting tolerantly at the feet of the individual. It was, ostensibly, something that could and should be aspired to by all. Although the commentary obscured the relationship of tolerance to political privilege, its reformulation of tolerance as the product of individual self-control suggested the continuing relevance of this relationship. This universalistic rendering was in fact implicitly racialized and gendered. This formulation therefore demonstrated its roots in the power that accrued to white male privilege in the South and the nation as a whole.

Like Brotherhood Day, yearly Vance ceremonies became vehicles for the incorporation of tolerance into a racialized American nationalism during the late 1930s and early 1940s. As noted earlier, the Asheville chapter of the UDC had held yearly May 10th Memorial Day observances on the square in front of the obelisk and at adjacent venues like the County Courthouse since the late 19th century. Beginning in the 1920s, Vance's May 13th birthday observances were often but not always celebrated separately from Confederate Memorial Day. However, neither Vance's tolerance nor Jews themselves had a place in these ceremonies until the late 1930s,

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[830] "Brotherhood Day," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, B4. On the same day, the *Citizen-Times* published a front-page article that further disassociated the city from Pelley. "Silver Shirt Forces Meet Difficulties: Asheville Fails To Get Excited Over Being Headquarters," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, April 29, 1934, A1.

after local Jewish and Christian elites worked together to prosecute and denounce Pelley.[831]

While Jews had previously laid wreaths to Vance, their inclusion in UDC ceremonies represented an innovation in representation at a time when the city's Jewish population was increasing despite near-stagnant city population. Both the city's general and Jewish populations increased significantly in the 1920s. After the local and national economy collapsed late in the decade, though, the city's population slowed in the 1930s, only rising by about 1,100 between 1930 and 1940. The Jewish population likely counted for a significant portion of this overall growth. From about 700 in 1927, the number grew to 950 in 1937.[832] In fact, in 1937, Asheville had the largest Jewish population of any city in the state, despite being almost half the size of Charlotte, which had experienced its own population boom and yet was the home of 230 fewer Jews. Temple Beth Ha-Tephila, which had considered disbanding in 1934, benefited from this increase. It reported a 33 percent increase in membership between 1938 and 1939, including a record average of 90 members in attendance at Sabbath services, naturally "not counting Rosh Hasonah [sic] and Yom Kippur."[833]

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[831] "Birth Anniversary of Zebulon Vance Recalled in City," *Asheville Citizen*, May 13, 1925.
[832] Lee Shai Weissbach, *Jewish Life in Small-Town America: A History*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 338. The information is in a table of "Triple-Digit Jewish Communities of the United States in 1927, with Reported Jewish Populations in Selected Years." From a population of 28,504 in 1920, Asheville reached 50,193 by 1930. By 1940, however, that number had only grown to 51,310. Asheville Jewry, on the other hand, went from 250 in 1918, to 700 in 1927, and then to 950 in 1937, which may have represented a high point. In 1950, there was an estimated 600 Jews in the city.
[833] "Asheville Beth Ha-Tephila Has Many Gains During Past Year," *Southern Israelite*, October 13, 1939, 2. In addition, during the mid-1930s membership in Asheville's local B'nai B'rith chapter increased from 14 to 75. See Sol Marshall, "Strength In Unity: New Leader Seeks Increased Unity Among North Carolina Communities," *Southern Israelite*, April 28, 1939, 35.

By participating in Vance ceremonies as spokesmen for the city's Jewish community, B'nai B'rith and rabbinical leaders appeared in public, ceremonial space as objects of white Christians' tolerance in these ceremonies. This position, though, did not necessarily define how Jews conceived of their roles. The prominent local lay and rabbinical representatives of Reform Judaism who participated likely understood their roles as essential to the wider circulation of tolerance.[834]

We can understand their position by studying the context leading to their first inclusion in Pack Square Vance ceremonies in May 1938. Their more prominent participation began with an addition to the monument. In early May of 1937, D. Hiden Ramsey, the general manager of the *Citizen-Times* newspaper, spoke to the local B'nai B'rith at their meeting at a downtown art deco café. A flyer advertising the talk promised that Ramsey would "bring a message of special interest" to the chapter and the Jewish population as a whole. Ramsey urged the B'nai B'rith to again demonstrate its gratitude by erecting "a tribute" to Vance and his speech. Unlike the monument in the Calvary Church courtyard, however, this one would be in the center of town. He thus asked Jews to contribute to public space as proud objects of the tolerance shown by Vance and by the Christian whites who saw themselves as the keepers of his legacy.[835]

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[834] Bringing about greater interfaith understanding and widening the circle of American democracy were fundamental to how many spokespeople for American Reform Judaism defined its historical mission. Lila Corwin Berman, *Speaking of Jews: Rabbis, Intellectuals, and the Creation of an American Public Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

[835] Leo Finkelstein Scrapbook #3, "Asheville Lodge No. 714, B'nai B'rith: Vice-President's Night," Leo Finkelstein Collection, Appalachian State University Belk Library Special Collections; "Ramsey Speaks at B'nai B'rith Meeting Here," *Asheville Citizen* May 4, 1937.

Their contribution would be a bronze tablet that summarized the accomplishments of Vance. Previously, only his surname, carved into the monument itself, identified the structure.[836] The marker more fully explained the monument's significance. Its unveiling was the focus of the 1938 Vance ceremony, which was broadcast over the radio and attracted an audience of "several scores."[837] As in later years, Jews' roles in the ceremony were significant but circumscribed. The same Alvin Kartus who had worked so effectively against Pelley represented the B'nai B'rith and delivered the eulogy. Additionally, the organization was one of several to lay its own wreath at the monument, a vivid representation of tolerance and inclusion.[838] Ramsey's own newspaper gave credit repeatedly to the chapter for the tablet's placement. A story in the *Citizen* about its upcoming unveiling reported that it represented but Jews' most recent attempt to repay the debt they owed Vance. The paper reminded readers that "the gratitude and admiration of the Jewish people for Zeb Vance has been manifested by several generations."[839]

The 1938 service was the start of a tradition of UDC-B'nai B'rith partnership. Such a tradition provided the *Citizen* with a context and opportunity to perform the continual maintenance that tolerance required. Furthermore, the Nazi regime

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[836] It was the UDC who received permission from the city and county commissioners in December 1937 to erect "a suitable descriptive marker" on the obelisk. "Marker for Vance Monument," *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Council, No. 29*, December 2, 1937, 205, Office of the City Clerk, Asheville.

[837] "Tablet is Unveiled to Zebulon Vance In Fitting Exercises," *Asheville Citizen*, May 14, 1938, 1.

[838] "Tablet is Unveiled to Zebulon Vance In Fitting Exercises," *Asheville Citizen*, 1. Kartus at the time was the vice-president of B'nai B'rith's Fifth Grand District Lodge, which covered the southeastern United States. He would be elected president of that organization the next year. Sol Marshall, "Strength In Unity: New Leader Seeks Increased Unity Among North Carolina Communities," *Southern Israelite*, April 28, 1939, 35.

[839] "Bronze Tablet Will Be Unveiled Friday On Vance Monument," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, May 8, 1938.

provided an opportunity for the city's elites to demonstrate a tolerance synonymous with American nationalism and purified of the power imbalances that had characterized its previous invocation. An editorial the day after the ceremony titled "A Tolerant Patriot" critiqued without irony nations such as Germany that "institute racial programs and adopt intolerance as a cardinal principle." The piece thus subtly separated intolerance from "racial programs," a labor that demanded continual attention in Asheville's own urban spaces like Pack Square, as we saw in chapter three. For instance, the same editorial commended Vance for bringing about the "reconciliation" of the races through his tolerance. Remembering Vance was, the editorial asserted, essential to preserving "American democracy."[840]

These trends in reformulations of tolerance were only reinforced by the possibility and reality of world war. The Reform rabbi Robert Jacobs was the main Jewish speaker at the 1941 ceremony. He invoked Vance as a "source of inspiration" for citizens facing the "present crisis" of possible war. After the United States declared war on Germany and Japan, participants invoked Vance's legacy even more urgently. The B'nai B'rith president, Leon Feldman, laid a wreath and introduced the rabbi of the Orthodox congregation Bikur Cholim, David Wachtfogel, who spoke prior to the main address. The orthodox rabbi imagined Vance as one who stood for the "'principles and ideas for which we are fighting today.'" These principles included "justice, truth, liberty and freedom for all."[841]

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840 "A Tolerant Patriot," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, May 14, 1939, 4.
841 "Memory of Zeb Vance Is Honored," *Asheville Times*, May 13, 1941, 8; "112th Anniversary of Vance's Birth Will Be Observed Wednesday," *Asheville Citizen-Times*, May 10, 1942, B3; "Memorial Service Is Held On Square for Zebulon Vance," *Asheville Times*, May 13, 1942, 1.

In an editorial on the day of the next year's observance, the *Citizen* again noted Jews' "undying gratitude" for Vance's speech, which it termed a "ringing espousal of the Jewish cause and an unrelenting denunciation of anti-Semitism." The editorial also drew contemporary parallels, noting that like Vance, the speaker, former state governor Clyde Hoey was a determined opponent of "race prejudice and intolerance" and an untiring advocate of "true democracy." The editors optimistically predicated that the square would be "packed to capacity" for the event.[842]

Tolerance was rhetorically refined during the 1930s and 1940s through Brotherhood Day and Vance ceremonies. That is, compared with the 1920s, its formulation later obscured the explicit racial language that had defined tolerance as the responsibility of white authorities and as an aspect of their practices of governance. Instead, these characteristics were masked through by appeals to self-restraint, consensus, and nationalism. Participation in these ceremonies served the interests and ambitions of the different actors involved. For those invested in the preservation of the tourist city's image as a hospitable destination, public performances of tolerance served as a means to conserve that image. For the UDC, tolerance provided a way to insist on the magnanimity and virtue of Zebulon Vance and white supremacy. Like boosters and the UDC, Jews were engaged in a

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[842] "To Honor Vance," *Asheville Citizen*, May 13, 1943, 4. That year's ceremony attracted regional attention, as a 1943 notice in the Atlanta-based *Southern Israelite* urged "all businessmen" to attend that year's upcoming observance. "Southern News," *Southern Israelite*, May 7, 1943, 2; According to the *Southern Israelite* in 1937, "A census prepared by Mrs. J. L. Emanuel of Raleigh shows 4,637 Jews living in 109 North Carolina communities; this is the first all-inclusive census ever undertaken in the state and is believed to be about 95 per cent complete. Asheville was first on the list, with Charlotte second." See "North Carolina Women Issue Yearbook of Activities," *Southern Israelite*, June 25, 1937, 6.

maintenance operation of sorts. Jews were not necessarily attempting to change their status in Asheville as much as trying to conserve it. In the 1930s and early 1940s, the social exclusions of Jews by elite Christian whites continued, seemingly unchanged by these public performances.[843]

African Americans' public participation in these reformulations of tolerance was limited during this period. "Brotherhood" activities did not extend to African Americans in Asheville until later in the 1940s. The expectation that objects of suspicion should demonstrate their worth continued to occupy an important place in race relations forums. In 1937, for example, African Americans and whites held what the *Citizen* described as "the annual inter-racial meeting" in observance of Race Relations Day. The principal speaker, a teacher at a white normal college in Asheville, emphasized the continual need to demonstrate one's worth as an individual and as a representative of one's race.[844]

This message complimented continued calls for whites to exercise correct judgment of that worth. After the arrest of a young African American janitor, Martin

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[843] Local centers of social discrimination continued during the 1930s, including Jews' exclusion a great deal from certain events, clubs, places, and neighborhoods. These included the Biltmore Country Club, Biltmore Forest neighborhood, and the Junior League. Most prominently, Jews participated in promoting the largest event in Asheville during this period, the Rhododendron Festival, but were excluded from some of its more spectacular festivities, including some dances and the fictional court of Rhododendron. As Mary Parker, a longtime resident, observed much later, Jews were important "underwriters" of the event but were excluded from its most prestigious celebration--- the ball, where white Christian elites were elected to "royal" positions in the Rhododendron Court during the festival. See Phyllis Sultan Oral History; Mary Parker Oral History. That these early demonstrations of tolerance did not appear to significantly shift social relations between Christian and Jewish whites is not surprising, as historians have located shifts in this in the post-World War II period. See, for instance, Stuart Svonkin, *Jews Against Prejudice: American Jews and the Fight for Civil Liberties* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 24; Karen Brodkin, *How Jews Became White Folks And What That Says About Race In America* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press), 34;

[844] "M'Afee Speaks To Negroes Here," *Asheville Citizen*, February 15, 1937, 3.

Moore, for the murder of a white female guest at the Battery Park Hotel in 1936, the *Times* published a letter by Dave Hawkins. Hawkins, purporting to represent the respectable African Americans in the city, called for maintenance of the "good race relations" for which Asheville had "become famous."[845] Hawkins urged whites to judge individuals as such and not extend punishment to "the race."[846] Those African Americans who valued "good neighborliness and friendly community relationship[s]" looked with horror on the crime for which Moore had been arrested.

Asheville's African American newspaper *The Southern News,* which began in the early 1930s, was also a forum for a variety of formulations of tolerance during this period. At times, these formulations centered on the need to educate Americans to practice correct judgment of gendered individual worth. The editor, Eugene Smith, noted in a wartime editorial in the *Southern News* noted the continued need to teach the majority of the country to judge minority men "as men, by their actions and accomplishments."[847] In her regular column appearing in the *News,* Ruth Taylor echoed this emphasis on the necessity for minorities to demonstrate their worth and thus to act as "advertisements for their own people."[848] Both formulations were invested in the argument that education would solve the ignorance and misunderstanding largely responsible, in their views, for prejudice. Other expressions of tolerance voiced in the paper emphasized the need for minorities to

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[845] "Let Good Race Relations Be Preserved," in *Readers' Referendum*, Asheville *Times,* August 13, 1936.
[846] "Let Good Race Relations Be Preserved," in *Readers' Referendum*, Asheville *Times,* August 13, 1936.
[847] "Minority Groups," *The Southern News*, July 10, 1943, n.p.
[848] Ruth Taylor, "We Have a Responsibility Too!" *The Southern News*, July 4, 1942, n.p.

combat all prejudices, a view espoused by many engaged in tolerance talk and the search for consensus talk. In 1938, Floyd Calvin's widely-distributed *Digest* column described the "triple-headed monster" of racial, religious, and class prejudice.[849] To combat the creature, Calvin called on minority groups to combat all prejudices, rather than those that exclusively target their own group.

<u>Part II: Working Within and Outside Networks of Social Management</u>

Expressions of tolerance, then, articulated its relationship to authority in different ways between the 1920s and 1940s. While earlier in the period its practice was tied explicitly to the authority and characters of white Christians, its civic invocation increasingly obscured this connection. This shift, which rendered formulations of tolerance power-evasive, informed African Americans' limited, conditional, and unequal incorporation into Jim Crow networks of authority. The initial portion of this chapter's second half examines the ways in which African Americans gained more formal places within such arrangements, including the statewide Division of Work Among Negroes and the local Negro Welfare Council. The growth of social welfare programs between the 1920s and 1940s facilitated and gave form to this involvement. African Americans occupied ambiguous positions within such networks, which were organized around the measurement and mitigation of African Americans' departures from norms of whiteness. At the same time, participants such as Phyllis Wheatley branch secretary Adela Ruffin construed their work as "constructive" rather than "corrective." Their work within these

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[849] Floyd J. Calvin, "The Digest," *The Southern News*, July 30, 1938, n.p.

networks of social governance created opportunities for African Americans to shape the application of social policies within limits policed by white authorities. As tolerance became rhetorically disengaged from whites' claims to authority, the standards by which authorities judged suspect subjects' "adjustment" also were framed as race-evasive, or race constituted one of several separate "adjustments" to which it was the subject's responsibility to adjust.

As noted in the introduction, in 1925 Lt. Lawrence Oxley appeared in Asheville as a representative of the state. The department he helped create, the Bureau of Work Among Negroes, was an odd augmentation of state authority because it depended on private funds for its administration until the state took responsibility for it.[850] The Laura Spelman-Rockefeller Fund funded it for its first six years beginning January 1, 1925. The social scientist John Kayser notes that this funding significantly increased the incorporation of African Americans into the growing social welfare apparatus of the state, known by some as the "Wisconsin of the South" for its state programs for social welfare. Before the department's establishment, the states social welfare apparatus had administered only one welfare case concerning an African American. The department's first year, however, saw more than one hundred cases opened.[851]

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[850] Lawrence A. Oxley, "North Carolina State Board of Charities And Public Welfare Division of Negro Welfare: For the Biennium ending June 30, 1932," Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.

[851] John A. Kayser, "The Early History of Racially Segregated, Southern Schools of Social Work Requesting or Receiving Funds from the Rockefeller Philanthropies and the Responses of Social Work Educators to Racial Discrimination," available at the Rockefeller Archive Center, rockarch.org. See www.rockarch.org/publications/resrep/kayser.pdf; Anna L. Krome-Lukens, "Rockefeller Support and the Growth of Public Welfare Programs in North Carolina in the 1920s," available at the Rockefeller Archive Center, rockarch.org. See

Oxley conceived of the bureau as an instrument of African American representation and incorporation into the state through the administration of social welfare. A World War II-era description of the department penned by one of his successors, John Larkins, described its original activities as the study of African Americans' "social problems" and the "stimulation of cooperative self-help" by African Americans in specific localities.[852] By the 1940s, the department had augmented its activities to include "[i]nterpretation, research, continuous recording, group discussion of Negro problems, social planning, and Social action."[853]

From the beginning, Oxley insisted that the bureau should provide African Americans with opportunities to administer and influence social welfare work. Whites could not administer social welfare programs with little no or marginal influence from African Americans and expect positive results, he warned. "Welfare work of a constructive nature for Negroes cannot be 'put over' on them," he pointed out.[854]

According to historian N. Yolanda Burwell, Oxley demonstrated the "self-help and empowerment tradition" within African Americans' social work philosophy.[855] Put another way, Oxley insisted that African Americans occupy roles within social

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www.rockarch.org/publications/resrep/krome-lukens.pdf. Both accessed December 26, 2012.

[852] John R. Larkins, "Work Among Negroes," Raleigh State Archives, n.d., 1, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work. It was written after February, 1944, because it mentioned the success of the 18th Public Welfare Institute for Negro Social Workers, held at Raleigh that month.

[853] Larkins, "Work Among Negroes," 1, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.

[854] Oxley to Mr. W. C. Jackson, President of North Carolina College For Women, February 23, 1925, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.

[855] Burwell, "Lawrence A. Oxley," (99).

work projects as subjects rather than only objects. Those projects, Oxley wrote, had to proceed with African Americans "fully understanding and assuming in large measure responsibility as individuals, and as a racial group, in solving their own problems."[856] He hoped that the agency would be an empowering agent for African Americans.

Oxley saw the placement of African-American social workers within this bureau as essential to this function. While whites at times resisted his and his successors' efforts to do so, Oxley did find some success in this area. Before the department began operation, there had been only one African American "welfare worker" employed by the state. By 1933, there were forty-eight.[857] The term "welfare worker" did not necessarily mean social worker, however.[858] At the end of 1936, for instance, there were only 9 black social workers, although a speaker at a 1938 State Interracial Committee meeting stated that the number by then was "nearer 30."[859] Buncombe County employed no African American social worker until 1946 at the earliest.[860]

John Larkins, the head of the bureau during World War II, attempted to hasten this process. He was told by various members of the local welfare structure

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[856] Oxley to Mr. W. C. Jackson, President of North Carolina College For Women, February 23, 1925, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.
[857] "Minutes of the Meeting of the Negro Advisory Committee To The State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, Held During the Eight Annual Public Welfare Institute, May 1-2, 1933," Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.
[858] The term could have referred to workers with less authority within the state bureaucracy.
[859] Untitled Speech Delivered at 1938 Interracial Meeting, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.
[860] Larkins to Mrs. W. B. Aycock, Supervisor, Personnel and County Organization, March 8, 1947, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.

in Asheville in 1943, however, that a black social worker would harm the city's race relations. The Superintendent of Public Welfare in Buncombe County, E. E. Connor, disclosed that he had previously hired an African American social worker several years earlier. Whites in Asheville, however, had "resented this step" and compelled him to dismiss the worker on the same day she began work at her position. Nonetheless, Connor claimed it his ambition to eventually see two African Americans on staff, in part due to their ability to gather information about the black community more efficiently than white social workers. Larkins then met with D. H. Ramsey, the chairman of the County Welfare Board and editor of the *Citizen*. Speaking for the Board, Ramsey admitted that a black worker was needed "but the present time is not conducive to this venture."[861]

Larkins continued to encourage Connor to hire black social workers. His efforts, however, earned him a rebuke in 1946 from the commissioner of public welfare, Ellen Winston. Winston pointedly communicated to Larkins that "the work of the consultant does not include finding jobs for" African Americans, "whether in social work or in other fields." On top of the above injunction, Winston also censured Larkins' apparent attempts to facilitate African Americans' influence in social projects in other ways. She scolded Larkins for "trying to obtain appointments of Negroes upon boards, commissions, etc." Instead, Winston insisted that while Larkins could assist in the selection of participants for these positions, "requests [for his help] are to be initiated outside his office." Winston also tried to regulate

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[861] Larkins, "Conference with Mr. D. Hyden [sic] Ramsey, Editor *Asheville Citizen* and Times, Chairman Buncombe County Welfare Board," June 3, 1943, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.

Larkins' movements as well, requesting a "weekly itinerary in advance."[862] Finally, she insisted that he clear "with this office" any interactions with local leaders."[863] The staffing of social work positions with qualified African Americans was an important part of Oxley's and Larkins' visions of how the bureau should function and how social work should proceed. White administrators, however, contested those visions.

Almost from the department's beginnings, in fact, Oxley encountered resistance from whites who resented any measure of state authority being accorded to an African American. One year after the establishment of the bureau, the crew of a "State Highway truck" threatened Oxley and his traveling party following an accident on the highway, the driver of the truck used "abusive language" in ordering Oxley to move his car immediately. Oxley told him he would do so once the "injured had been cared for." Significantly, it was Oxley's mention of his official position that particularly enraged the white driver, who then escalated the conflict: "when I told him of my official position with the State, he grew more vehement and threatened me with a crowbar."[864]

Oxley reported the incident to W. E. Hawkins of the State Highway Commission and asked him to take action to prevent such threats in the future. He also provided letters from supporting witnesses in the knowledge that Hawkins was likely to discount his uncorroborated testimony. He invited Hawkins to "verify the

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[862] Ellen Winston to Mr. Larkins, memorandum, September 21, 1946, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.
[863] Ellen Winston to Mr. Larkins, memorandum, September 21, 1946, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.
[864] Oxley to Mr. W. E. Hawkins, January 19, 1926, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.

truth of these letters."[865] It was only his experience as a soldier, he asserted, that allowed him to avoid retaliating, as he had "learned to control myself under most trying situations." He himself, then, was an agent of order, but he noted that had the "lawless Negroes that I meet each week in the many prison camps of the State" been in his place, "there would have been without a doubt the most serious outcome of the whole incident."[866] Oxley possessed the self-discipline to not respond in kind to the driver's threats. Working within Jim Crow networks of governance did not keep Oxley from being vulnerable to whites' anger and threats.

Oxley worked to construct networks in other ways beyond the employment of black social workers. He enlisted African Americans in its operation in roles other than as social workers. In the first two months of its existence, he spoke to dozens of black organizations and churches.[867] In addition to using these existing associations, he helped create others. Oxley traveled to Asheville, as previously noted, to extend the still-expanding reach of the bureau and create a new representational body. The first step was the appointment of a local committee of "30 representative" African Americans. The committee included Dr. Miler, the editor of the black newspaper the *Asheville Enterprise*, ministers, and the secretaries of Phyllis Wheatley Y.W.C.A. and the Young Men's Institute. In November 1925, the secretary of the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA, Adela Ruffin, wrote to Oxley, informing him that the local committee's first meeting had "begun well." After the recent crisis in Asheville, the "happy reception"

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[865] Oxley to Mr. W. E. Hawkins, January 30, 1926, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.
[866] Letter from Oxley to Mr. W. E. Hawkins, January 30, 1926, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.
[867] Oxley to Mr. W. C. Jackson, President of North Carolina College For Women, February 23, 1925, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.

that greeted the committee's establishment was "surprising." She confessed to being "a little uneasy when we fill the public eye."[868]

Ruffin did not see her committee's role as disciplinary, in the way the *Citizen* might have suggested. She described her committee to Oxley as one that "works with people rather than for them—which is constructive rather than corrective." It was not dedicated to African Americans' demonstrations of worth or their transcendence of their difference. She placed herself and her committee within a larger network dedicated to this positive construction, but this siting did not diminish its value. The significance of the committee, rather, was defined by its place within a larger association. There was a need for "a voice from the 'other side of the mountain,'" she maintained.[869] Her location was relative rather than absolute, being defined by its displacement from and link to a central location.

Oxley sought to utilize these far-flung networks that he and other activists had constructed. In February 1929 he wrote to Ruffin and asked her to "use your influence with" Asheville's state senator, Guy Weaver, to support a bill effecting the transfer to state authority of the "Industrial Home for Colored Girls" from the North Carolina Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, which administered and subsidized the institution located at Efland near the center of the state. Finding its operation economically trying, the organization offered the state the property free of

[868] Adela F. Ruffin to Oxley, December 15, 1925, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.
[869] Ruffin to Oxley, January 13, 1927 (emphasis in original), Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.

charge.[870] Oxley urged his other contacts around the state to similarly lobby for this more extensive incorporation into state authority.[871]

In turn, Ruffin convinced "white friends" to support her effort. Robert F. Campbell, the president of Asheville's Inter-racial Committee, contacted Weaver to champion this transfer. The secretary of the white Y.W.C.A. also wrote to Weaver. [872] Oxley later complimented Ruffin on her success in contacting "key" whites as well as African Americans to build support for the legislation.[873] Ruffin, Oxley, and their allies were unsuccessful in this effort, however, and throughout the 1930s activists continually urged the state to incorporate the Industrial Home into its social welfare apparatus.[874]

Oxley and his allies like Ruffin conceived of the purpose of the bureau in broad terms. At the same time, the bureau's mission could also be framed in terms of race relations work involved in the management and reduction of African Americans' potential for disorder. In the first year of the bureau's operation, Oxley provided concrete goals of the bureau to Mr. W. C. Jackson, the president of the white-only North Carolina College For Women. These included "[i]mpressing the Negro with his responsibility in the matter of bettering his condition." The

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[870] Oxley to Ruffin, February 11, 1929, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.
[871] See, for example, Oxley to Rev. James H. Holder, February 11, 1929, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.
[872] Letter, Ruffin to Oxley, February 23, 1929, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.
[873] Oxley to Ruffin, February 25, 1929, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.
[874] Apparently, the 1943 General Assembly passed a bill supported by the governor providing for state support and administration of "a training and correctional school for delinquent Negro girls." See "Survey of Some Resources for Negroes in North Carolina," 1, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.

production of knowledge of African American economic and social conditions was essential to this goal. This information would help the bureau address the "causes for large numbers of Negro delinquents, dependents, defectives; and neglected children." Oxley particularly prioritized the "the treatment of mal-adjusted" young African American women. It was, he proclaimed, the "great problem of this office." He cast this population as a "distinct menace to the youth of both races."[875] With no provision for them, they constituted a threat to race relations.[876]

Oxley, however, located the causes of disorder in the larger social, economic, and physical landscape. Like other reformers, the management of leisure time was a pressing concern for him. He recommended, for instance, a "constructive program of wholesome recreation" to help "our many mal-adjusted individuals." In his letter to Jackson, Oxley stated that "the stream must be cleaned out at its source." Oxley coupled such broad reform vistas with uplift strategies that focused on individualistic reform and social education. He posited that African Americans had to be instructed in "certain ideals of family life and the sacredness of the word 'Home'" in order to bring about "their social salvation.[877]

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[875] Oxley to Mr. W. C. Jackson, President of North Carolina College For Women, February 23, 1925, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.

[876] As historian Marlon Ross has pointed out, African American urban sociologists and social workers at times employed the language and methods of sociology to show "their own ability to serve as responsible managers of the masses." See Marlon B. Ross, *Manning the Race: Reforming Black Men in the Jim Crow Era* (New York: New York University Press, 2004), 148.

[877] Oxley to Mr. W. C. Jackson, President of North Carolina College For Women, February 23, 1925, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.

Those ideals underline how the diagnostic tool of "adjustment" facilitated the normalization of standards of behavior pursued by the department.[878] A report issued by the department defined the goal of social work as explicitly normative, with workers charged with the responsibility of guiding an "individual to make the best possible adjustment to his total environment." Because families, the report concluded, were essential to the proper functioning of American democracy, then the health of families was crucial.[879] An additional report composed during World War II pronounced that "all social problems grow out of the problem of the adjustment of man to his universe, and the universe to man." What the report called "maladjustments" resulted in "all of our social problems," including, among others, "disease, poverty, crime, family disorganization." Both reports noted that white prejudice and unfavorable economic conditions stemming from that prejudice made more challenging the process of adjustment.[880]

Race appeared as its own necessary category of adjustment for African Americans. The reports admitted that white prejudice often constituted an obstacle to African Americans' efforts to fashion "a good adjustment." However, the responsibility to do so nonetheless primarily resided with the latter. African Americans, the report acknowledged, had to make three separate adjustments. The

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[878] Ross, *Manning the Race,* 148. The measure of "adjustment" promoted by the Chicago school of sociology facilitated the later focus on personality, which as historian Malinda Lindquist has pointed out, was regarded by some sociologists as a useful category of analysis because of its "purported value neutrality." Focus on this category, however, obscured other factors. See Lindquist, *Race, Social Science and the Crisis of Manhood, 1890-1970: We Are the Supermen* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 153.
[879] "Some Aspects of Work With Negro Families," p. 1, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.
[880] "Some Aspects of Work With Negro Families," p. 2, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.

report admitted no overlap between the economic, social, and racial adjustments African Americans were expected to make. Whites, the report implied, had to make the first two adjustments, but not the last. Black social workers, the report argued, could facilitate African Americans' success "in making adjustments to the existing society in which they must live."[881]

The department, moreover, traced the progress of the adjustments made by those subjects viewed as suspect by virtue of their involvement in correctional facilities. It made a study of the "adjustment" of African American boys recently released from the segregated state reform and "training" school. This was a significant study for Asheville and Buncombe County, whose African American population was significantly overrepresented at the Morrison Training School. Between 1940 and 1945, 272 youths between the ages of 10 and 19 were sent to Morrison from around the state. On average, for every 1,000 young black men in their second decade of life, 2.3 were sent to Morrison. Of the total of 272 during these five years committed to Morrison, seventeen had resided in Buncombe County, for a county ratio of 11.8 per thousand. Only adjacent Haywood County had a higher rate of 13.3, but it had sent only one child from a population of seventy-five.[882] Henderson County, directly south of Buncombe, was the next closest, sending two prisoners to Morrison out of 197 for a rate of 10.2 per 1,000.

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[881] "Some Aspects of Work With Negro Families," p. 2, Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.
[882] "Number of Boys Committed to Morrison Training School July 1, 1940-June 30, 1945 and number of Boys Related to Population of Negro Boys by County," Records of the Department of Public Welfare, Consultant for Negro Work.

The survey made use of a subject's records, a face-to-face interview with the subject, and research undertaken by "investigators." This information was meant to create a narrative of development that allowed objects of suspicion to demonstrate their worth by the kind of "adjustments" they had made since being released. The categories of analysis that served to construct narratives of adjustment included a wide variety of social and economic factors. Queries into the subject's marital status, number of children, the subject's occupation, and weekly pay attempted to construct a picture of stability, family life, and performance of normative gendered and sexual responsibilities. Other categories focused on the subject's associational life, including church membership and activities as well as "favorite recreational activities." With the answers to these questions and information from additional interviews, the social worker was required to pronounce judgment on the subject's adjustment. Despite all these measures meant to convey the researcher to a firm conclusion, interviewers still at times seemed doubtful. For example, one interviewer ventured only that a subject "seems interested in becoming a useful citizen."[883]

The state social welfare apparatus more self-consciously erased markers of race from records during the 1940s for all but the most familiar with the department's bureaucratic procedures. In 1945, E. E. Connor in Asheville wrote to Larkins that Buncombe County was attempting to "make awards on a needs basis" due to new regulations by the State Board of Public Welfare. These regulations called for no racial distinctions in subjects' files. According to Connor, "a person

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[883] "A Study of the Adjustment of Negro Boys Discharged From State Training School, July 1, 1940-June 30, 1945," Interview by Ms. B. D. Franklin, October 4, 1946.

looking into the files could not tell whether a client is white or colored unless he knew exactly where to look."[884]

The more formal incorporation of African Americans into networks of tolerant race relations also occurred on a local level. At times this incorporation entailed the creation of new institutions. The Negro Welfare Council was established in Asheville in 1933 as a new agency within the structure of the Community Chest, an organization itself instituted in Asheville in 1920 to standardize and control social welfare programs and charity.[885] The *Citizen* in 1933, notifying readers of the Council's establishment, claimed that it and the Phyllis Wheatley Y.W.C.A. were the only organizations undertaking "character building and recreation work" with African Americans in Asheville.[886]

The council performed an explicitly supervisory role as an adjunct to the juvenile court. Young African Americans were "placed on probation under the council's supervision."[887] The director of the council, Leander Blackus, linked the mitigation of the threat posed by African American objects of suspicion to the improvement of their physical environment. In 1933 the council already pointed to its positive influence for the city. Blackus made a survey of shops that bordered the black downtown district as well as "the five and ten cent stores" in other parts of the city. Blackus reported that "petty stealing in downtown stores by youths has

[884] Letter, E. E. Connor to John R. Larkins, June 26, 1945. Connor noted that African Americans tended to receive less money for shelter, because "we are accustomed to put as the need for shelter, whatever amount the family have been accustomed to pay." Because African Americans apparently paid "a somewhat smaller rent," they received less aid in this area.
[885] "Many Activities Occupy Negroes," *Asheville Citizen*, September 12, 1933.
[886] "Many Activities Occupy Negroes," *Asheville Citizen*, September 12, 1933.
[887] "Many Activities Occupy Negroes," *Asheville Citizen*, September 12, 1933.

decreased since the playgrounds have opened."[888] Thus the Council was performing a disciplinary function as an agent of order.

In appearing before the Community Chest committee, which subsidized organizations engaged in social governance, Blackus apparently emphasized that the Council "[w]ould Reduce Crime." In presenting their case for "the employment of an assistant, for larger quarters, and for recreational equipment," the speakers employed the language of race relations. The council's future plans included "the encouragement of domestic and recreational activities, teaching personal and home hygiene, and developing character and understanding that will make them better trained for their work, reflecting direct benefits to the white population." Such changes would also facilitate African Americans' adjustment, ultimately leading to a "fuller and happier life."[889] Blackus' appeals may have been shaped by his knowledge of his audience's expectations. He framed African Americans' and whites interests as mutually dependent.

These additions would improve the family and "community life" of African Americans, while "delinquency and crime among the race could be materially lowered." Conscious of the city's financial straits and the continual difficulty in convincing white authorities to support African Americans' social work, he stressed the lower cost of prevention relative to those incurred in the "detection and punishment of crime."[890] Blackus dismissed those who conceived of only punitive measures –"reform schools and prisons"—with which to "make better citizens" of

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[888] "Many Activities Occupy Negroes," *Asheville Citizen*, September 12, 1933.
[889] "Y.W.C.A. Needs are Pointed Out to Chest Group," *Asheville Citizen*, September 15, 1936.
[890] "Y.W.C.A. Needs are Pointed Out to Chest Group," *Asheville Citizen*, September 15, 1936.

African Americans.[891] He reminded his readers that "for the past fifty years this has been tried and has failed."[892] Blackus advocated the development of leisure facilities and stressed the pecuniary advantages of this approach, which he predicted would save taxpayers $19,000 a year.

Challenging the Legal and Physical Tools of White Supremacy

Blackus, the Welfare Council, and the workers in the Department for Work Among Negroes operated within associations whose shape was mediated by Jim Crow political and economic inequalities. Involvement in these projects did not constitute the limits of African Americans' activism in Asheville during this period. This portion examines actions African Americans took in the 1930s and 1940s to more directly challenge the legal and physical tools of white supremacy, which in turn supported the administration of networks of Jim Crow governance.[893] Their actions questioned the lack of protection of their rights afforded by white authorities. Asheville's N.A.A.C.P chapter, whose membership grew significantly

[891] "Negro Problems Here Told By Social Worker," *Daily News*, January 12, 1936, Heritage of Black Highlanders Collection, Ramsey Library Special Collections, UNCA.
[892] "Negro Problems Here Told By Social Worker," *Daily News*, January 12, 1936, Heritage of Black Highlanders Collection, Ramsey Library Special Collections, UNCA.
[893] In addition to the efforts examined more in depth in this section, African Americans also protested against discriminatory hiring in war industries. A mass meeting called on President Roosevelt, the Committee on Fair Employment Practice (which became, in strengthened form, the FEPC) and North Carolina's senator Bob Reynolds to ensure fair hiring procedures. Speakers at the meeting dedicated themselves to the "destruction of racial discrimination, segregation, and jim crowism in Asheville." See "Protest Racial Bias in Carolina Meeting," *Chicago Defender* (National Edition), August 8, 1942, 11, ProQuest. In addition, in 1941 two young women were given sentences of thirty days each. According to the bus operator, the women "'too the third seat from the front of the right and left and refused to move to a rear seat when a white passenger was forced to stand, although there were eight seats in the rear." See "Two Convicted On Jim Crow Charge," *The Carolina Times*, November 22, 1941, 1, http://library.digitalnc.org/cdm/ref/collection/newspapers/id/18152.

during the late 1930s and 1940s, became an instrument for these challenges with support from the national office.

Other African Americans in Asheville during the 1930s and 1940s challenged those inequalities more directly. They questioned the legal and economic conditions that supported those networks of authority and asserted that white authorities did not adequately protect the lives and rights of African Americans. Local members of the NAACP played important roles in organizing these challenges. There had been a chapter in Asheville on-and-off since the 1910s. By 1933, though, it had been "dormant" for several years.[894] Although reorganized in that year, the decade saw continued fluctuations in membership numbers and fractious relations among members.[895] There was both an upward trend and a significant yearly variation in the membership numbers of the Asheville chapter between the late 1930s and the mid-1940s. From 447 in 1941, the number dipped to 150 in 1942, and then a significant increase to 510, and an all-time high of 755 in 1944. The number declined to 409 in 1945, but stayed above 400 for the next two years afterwards.[896] During these years, the NAACP challenged the physical and legal ways in which white supremacist practices left African Americans with little legal protection. This critique would come to form part of African Americans' public appeals for black policemen in the 1940s as well.

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[894] NAACP Department of Branches, to Rev. N. O. Langford, March 3, 1933, box I:G146, MSS 34140, NAACP Records, Library of Congress.
[895] M. Breeding to Walter White, March 26, 1936, box I:G146, NAACP Records.
[896] Lucille Black to Mr. G. Washington Byrd, November 19, 1948, box II:C134, NAACP Records.

In 1933, for example, the local branch advocated for the rights of Beatrice Glover, who was "railroaded" in court and received a prison sentence of between two and three years for shooting and wounding a white man who had attempted to sexually assault her.

She had received neither legal representation nor instruction during her trial in Buncombe County Superior Court. Glover also denied having plead guilty at the trial. Although her sentence was not immediately appealed, Glover's lawyer, Kenneth Smathers, retained after her trial, believed that the denial of "certain constitutional rights" meant that the state Supreme Court would hear her case without it first going to appeal.[897] The defense fees were split between the national and local NAACP. The press release framed it as "another fight to insure Constitutional rights" of African Americans.[898]

The case prompted one Asheville member of the local chapter, Mrs. Thompson, to write an indignant letter to William Pickens of the national office. The author noted that only several weeks earlier a white man received a sentence of only three years for killing a black woman "because she cursed him," while a black woman received a sentence of twice that for theft. Glover received three years "for defending herself." Thompson had harsh words for Dr. L.O. Miller, the black doctor who sat on the city's Inter-Racial Committee and neither "sees nor hears any evil." "Our rights," she protested, "are being sapped out daily." She also complained about Miller's accessibility. "We don't see him," he observed, "until another visit from the

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[897] Kenneth Smathers to Roy Wilkins, October 6, 1933, box I:G146, NAACP Records.
[898] "N.A.C.P. To Seek Pardon Of Bessie Glover," box I:G146, NAACP Records.

home office."[899] The lack of legal protections afforded Glover sanctioned the lack of physical protection.

Later in the decade the NAACP again challenged this relationship by focusing on the political violence of white supremacy. In June 1939, Lawrence Sigmon reported for jury service after receiving a phone call asking him to do so. After reporting for jury service, "he was carried into an elevator" by deputies and beaten while "the car was stopped between floors." According to Sigmon, the white authorities wanted to make him a warning to other African Americans in Asheville "who might have the audacity to report for jury service."[900]

Sigmon was charged with multiple crimes, including "Jury Disorder," the assault of a deputy sheriff, and disorderly conduct. He claimed that Asheville police charged him in order to gain leverage against possible legal action. He received a suspended sentence for assault, a suspension that could conceivably be revoked at a later date. He claimed that "he was offered his freedom if he would agree not to press charges." He refused, and the NAACP became involved "because of the intimidation of Sigmon as a prospective juror." The organization cooperated with the Justice Department, which, according to the Durham-based *Carolina Times*, researched the case and left it "in the hands of the prosecuting attorney in Asheville."[901]

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[899] Mrs. M. E. Thompson to William Pickens, September 12, 1933, box I:G146, NAACP Records.

[900] "Gets Suspended Sentence For Jury Service," *The Carolina Times*, April 27, 1940, 3. After the 1935 United States Supreme Court decision *Norris v. Alabama,* African Americans could not be systematically barred from jury service. As this case demonstrates, though, whites turned to other means to enforce their exclusion.

[901] "Gets Suspended Sentence For Jury Service," *The Carolina Times,* 3.

The local NAACP also contested whites' exclusion of African Americans from the ballot. One member, William Hicks, attempted to organize a "Negro Taxpayers League" that announced its intention to register and vote. The league's manifesto addressed African Americans in Asheville, asking them "are we willing to put execution behind our constitutional rights?" Hicks called for "special committees" made up of black residents of Asheville to "present our program" to local and state candidates and to cast votes accordingly.[902]

The most sustained and organized challenge began in October 1940 and lasted nearly two years. Three African American men pursued a case against the white registrar who denied them the opportunity to register to vote in that year's presidential election. The registrar had demanded that they immediately memorize and write a passage from a book, while white men registering at the same time were asked to complete no such task.

The local NAACP quickly turned its attention to this case.[903] A member of the chapter had first sought assistance from the federal Justice Department by arguing that "any discrimination that affected my civil rights was a federal offense."[904] The chapter also turned to the national office. In a letter to Thurgood Marshall written less than one month after the election, W. R. Saxon, the chairman of the Redress

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[902] W. M. Hicks, "Negro Taxpayers League Incorporation," n. d., box II: B213, NAACP Records.
[903] Raymond Gavins has pointed out that local chapters in North Carolina during the 1930s and 1940s had pursued voting rights cases with some success, as a registrar in Wilkesborro was fined and given probation for refusing to register African Americans in a 1935 decision. Gavins also demonstrates the increased militancy of many of the branches in the state. Raymond Gavins, "The NAACP in North Carolina during the Age of Segregation," in *New Directions in Civil Rights Studies,* ed. by Armstead L. Robinson and Patricia Sullivan (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 108, 114.
[904] W. R. Saxon to Thurgood Marshall, March 15, 1941, NAACP Records.

Committee, asked Marshall to visit, as the "three capable men" wanted to pursue a case against the registrar who had refused to register them. According to Saxon, the practice was "to turn down about two-thirds of those" who attempted to register. The Redress committee of the local chapter decided it wanted "to fight this matter to a finish."[905] Saxon let Marshall know that "a number of prominent white people have an interest in this case."[906] Whether this was meant to indicate support from some whites or not, Saxon later warned Marshall that he believed whites hostile to the cause were "trying to find out whether the case has been dropped in a shrewd way."[907] In October 1941, Saxon again wrote to Marshall, asking for information to relay to the chapter's next group meeting, as members were "anxious that this case be brought up."[908]

As Special Counsel for the NAACP, Marshall in April 1941 passed along affidavits from the three men turned away by the registrar to the United States Attorney General, Robert Jackson. The three men, Marshall informed Jackson, "met all of the lawful requirements for registration and voting." Whites were registered "without examination as to educational fitness" while the would-be black voters were given "impossible tasks."[909] Marshall charged that the tests, absent similar tests administered to whites, violated the 14th and 15th Amendments. The Justice Department initially declined to pursue the case, stating that the registrar had

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[905] W.R. Saxon to Thurgood Marshall, November 25, 1940, box II: B213, NAACP Records.
[906] W. R. Saxon to Thurgood Marshall, July 14, 1941, box II: B213, NAACP Records.
[907] W. R. Saxon to Thurgood Marshall, July 8, 1941, box II: B213, NAACP Records.
[908] W. R. Saxon to Thurgood Marshall, October 14, 1941, box II: B213, NAACP Records.
[909] Thurgood Marshall to Robert H. Jackson, April 28, 1941, box II: B213, NAACP Records.

practiced "permissive discretion."[910] Marshall wrote a lengthy reply, and eventually the federal department decided to pursue it.[911]

The case was tried in Asheville in May 1942. While the jury was initially unable to come to a decision, it eventually voted for the registrar's acquittal by a jury vote of 10 to 2. Saxon was disappointed, not just in the verdict but in what he felt was the lukewarm commitment of the legal arm of the national organization. Scolding Marshall, Saxon informed him that "our branch here feels that we have been mistreated" by the national organization, which had "failed to send a man to any of the cases that we have had here in this section." The acquittal, Saxon gloomily predicted, meant that "we will never get anywhere with our Civil Rights cases."[912]

Containing the Challenges to Tolerance: Asheville's Black Policemen

This last portion joins the forms of activity examined in the two previous sections by tracing African Americans' continued requests that the city hire black policemen. The two black policemen who began work in 1946 demonstrated the increasingly formal incorporation of African Americans in Jim Crow networks of governance.[913] The city's investment of authority in these policemen was

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[910] Wendell Berge to Thurgood Marshall, May 19, 1941, box II: B213, NAACP Records.
[911] Thurgood Marshall to Wendell Berge, July 25, 1941; Marshall to W. R. Saxon, October 24, 1941, both in box II: B213, NAACP Records.
[912] Saxon to Marshall, May 20, 1942, box II: B213, NAACP Records.
[913] In other southern communities after the war, African Americans were enlisted or enlisted themselves in networks of governance in new though informal ways as well. For instance, a group of black businessmen in 1948 in Maury County, Tennessee took possession from the sheriff of an African American prisoner targeted by a lynch mob. Gail Williams O'Brien, *The Color of the Law: Race, Violence, and Justice in the Post-World War II South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 245-246.

constrained by the dictates of white supremacy, however. While African Americans had worked hard over several decades to convince the city to hire black policemen, the public arguments activists like Eugene Smith made shifted somewhat during this period. Smith, an NAACP member and editor of the local African American newspaper *The Southern News*, continued to contend that black police would better surveil suspect black spaces. His editorials also maintained that white authorities had failed to adequately protect the rights and bodies of African Americans.

African Americans repeated their request for a black police officer multiple times since the crisis in 1925. In 1939, Dave Hawkins wrote a letter to the editor that was published in the *Asheville Citizen*. Under the title "Favors Race Segregation," Hawkins criticized whites for violating segregationist practices "wherever the dollar attracts the white man." Whites' readiness to economically exploit and profit from African Americans inhibited the latter's economic independence. Hawkins bemoaned the dearth of "Negro clothing stores, groceries, furniture places and even banks" that resulted. While advocating for not so much racial segregation as economic self-sustainability, Hawkins suggested that "intelligent, relentless, strong-arm Negro detectives" would better "cope" with crimes committed by African Americans than white police.[914]

During World War II the NAACP. and the local black newspaper *The Southern News* each advocated for a black officer. The publisher of the paper, Eugene Smith was a member of the chapter's publicity committee. In the beginning of 1943 the NAACP delivered a petition to Asheville's city manager. It requests that the city

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[914] Dave Hawkins, "Favors Race Segregation," *Asheville Citizen*, March 21, 1939, 5.

supply a public bathroom for black women and hire black men as police officers.[915] These requests often employed the vocabulary of tolerance, continuing to posit that African American officers would better police disorderly black spaces. Shortly after World War II ended, for instance, the *Southern News* printed an editorial noting that half of the city's six recorded murders had occurred on Eagle Street, a prominent street in the black neighborhood adjacent to downtown. The editorial criticized the city government for not acting on African Americans' long-standing request that it appoint black police officers empowered to "break up these dives and joints that" produced crime. In addition to spatially defining sources of disorder, it raised the possibility of a racial and spatial breakout of violence. The next killing might take place on Pack Square, the author warned, "and it may not be a Negro."[916] The editorial also, then engaged in the language of race relations by suggesting a black police officer would benefit both blacks and whites and prevent potential conflict between them.

At the same time, African Americans also publicly argued for black policemen on the basis that white authorities were failing in their duties. This argument was in part a logical extension of the claim that a black police officer would better manage disorder by more efficiently surveilling black spaces. The former did not displace the latter, and the *Southern News* made use of both. In January 1942, an editorial in the paper noted that in the past year, nine African Americans had been the victims of homicide. The editorial observed that "it is evident that the life of the colored man

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[915] Leonara Reid to Walter White, February 7, 1943, box II:C134, NAACP Records.
[916] "Editorial—Another Homicide," *Southern News*, November 24, 1945, box OS77.10.2, Heritage of Black Highlanders Collection, Ramsey Library Special Collections, UNCA.

is not protected by our laws." The editorial charged that the city's police authority was either too scattered or "too indifferent to the crime potentialities of" poor areas. The result was that "the districts needing police protection most," were the most neglected.[917]A second editorial appearing in the same issue criticized the lenient sentences that courts in Asheville granted to African Americans or whites convicted of murdering African Americans as another example of the lack of protection. The sentences were harsher than those meted out for small property crimes, the editorial maintained.[918] On July 4th of the same year, the *News* called for a "Moses"—a local leader who would represent his community's claims "fearlessly before those in authority to see their fulfillment."[919]

In what was likely after World War II had concluded, a group of African Americans led by Eugene Smith, the editor of the *Southern News* and NAACP member, again asked that the city appoint black policemen. While previously the request had been tabled, the city council asked the delegation whether there were African Americans who had served as military policemen during World War II.[920] The delegation responded that there were two. Those two were likely Gilbert Sligh and Delaney Horne. Black veterans in the South after both world wars encountered suspicion and violence upon return, in part because their experiences in defending

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917 "Race Policemen to Help Combat Crime," *Southern News,* January 3, 1942, Heritage of Black Highlanders Collection.
918 "Too Many Killings," *Southern News*, January 3, 1942, Heritage of Black Highlanders Collection.
919 "Where Are Our Leaders?" *Southern News*, July 4, 1942, Heritage of Black Highlanders Collection.
920 "Group Requests Council Employ Negro Policemen," *Southern News*, n.d., Heritage of Black Highlanders Collection.

the nation strengthened their willingness to challenge white supremacy.[921] In this instance, the city government attempted to utilize those experiences as soldiers and police officers, otherwise and in other contexts troubling to white authorities, in the service of urban surveillance.

Sligh and Horne were engaged in what in other locales was called the "Negro Police Experiment."[922] They began work in April 1946. Sligh and Horne's employment was part of an increase in the South in the number of African Americans employed in law enforcement that began during World War II and blossomed in the postwar years.[923] Although assembled from an incomplete survey conducted by the Southern Regional Council, there appeared to be a substantial increase in this number in the decade after the war, from approximately 134 to more than 800.[924] Nonetheless, sociologist Elliott Rudwick characterized African Americans' inclusion in law enforcement as perfunctory. In 1949, the two black police officers in Asheville worked out to .16 black officers for every 1,000 African Americans in Asheville. The ratio in High Point and Durham was nearly triple and double that, respectively, while Gastonia had the highest ratio in the state at 1.04. Asheville's ratio was second lowest in the state.[925]

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[921] O'Brien, *The Color of the Law,* 3.
[922] W. Marvin Dulaney, *Black Police in America* (Bloomington: Indiana, 1996), 55.
[923] The sociologist Charles S. Johnson noted the increase in black policemen during the war. In 1944, he counted 21 cities in the South, whose employment of black police had beneficial effects. See Johnson, "The Present Status of Race Relations in the South," *Social Forces* 23, no. 1 (October, 1944): 27-32.
[924] Elliott M. Rudwick, "Negro Police Employment in the Urban South," *The Journal of Negro Education* 30, no. 2 (Spring, 1961): 102-108.
[925] Rudwick, "Negro Police Employment," 102-108.

As with African American policemen in other Southern cities hired around this time, whites places restrictions placed upon Sligh and Horne's authority and mobility. As was the case in other localities, they were likely subject to additional scrutiny by supervisors.[926] In Asheville, Horne and Sligh worked "on special assignment" from the police chief. Sligh's "beat" was circumscribed by Eagle and Market streets in the black neighborhood adjacent to Pack Square. Sligh was armed but enjoined from arresting whites who might be in that neighborhood. His widow, Mary Elizabeth Robinson Sligh, alluded to several incidents and conflicts between her late husband and the police chief about "him not being able to arrest people on his" patrol, but she noted that he eventually was given a police car.[927]

These restrictions were characteristic of the conditions under which African Americans became part of Southern cities' police forces in the post-World War II period. In 1959, the authority of almost eighty percent of black police officers was restricted to black neighborhoods.[928] Slightly less than two-thirds of African Americans officers were enjoined from arresting whites within those spheres. In Asheville, black officers were expected to contact white policemen, who would then arrest white suspects.[929] This procedure defined African American officers' role within a larger arrangement for authority while limiting their personal

[926] Dulaney, *Black Police*, 54; "First Negroes On Force," *Asheville Times*, April 4, 1946, 9.
[927] Mary Elizabeth Robinson Sligh Oral History, interview by Sylvia Robin, September 14, 1993, Voices of Asheville Oral History Collection, Ramsey Library Special Collections, UNCA.
[928] Elliott M. Rudwick, "The Southern Negro Policeman and the White Offender," *The Journal of Negro Education* 30, no. 4 (Autumn, 1961): 426-431.
[929] Of the 25 communities that responded to the 1959 survey, ten allowed black officers to arrest whites. See Rudwick, "The Southern Negro Policeman," 426-431.

empowerment. As Rudwick observed, "without these restrictive regulations," African Americans would not have been placed within these arrangements.[930]

As we can see, then, the more formal incorporation of African Americans in networks of authority occurred at the same time as others were challenging the legal elements of Jim Crow that shaped and defended those networks. These efforts insisted that white authorities were not providing the interrelated constitutional protections of African Americans' rights and bodies. These strands came together in black activists' continued insistence that the city hire African Americans as police officers. The authority of these officers was circumscribed both racially and spatially. They became part of the city's police power in part through supporters' justification that they would more effectively surveil black spaces. However, African Americans also publicly claimed that those policemen were necessary because white authorities had failed to protect the rights and lives of African Americans.

Conclusion

As historian W. Marvin Dulaney has pointed out, blacks "have always been policed" in the United States.[931]Their places within schemes of surveillance have shifted. In Asheville during the 1930s and 1940s, African Americans made multiple arguments in order to claim recognized positions within networks of social governance and law enforcement. The African American newspaper *The Southern News* formulated these claims. Its editorials maintained that black police officers

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[930] Rudwick, "The Southern Negro Policeman," 426-431. In his 1996 history of African American police, historian W. Marvin Dulaney concurred. Dulaney, *Black Police,* 52.
[931] Dulaney, *Black Police*, 1.

would more efficiently mitigate and contain disorder within African American spaces. The investiture of authority in black officers would lead to improved race relations by more efficiently policing black social deviance. The *News* pursued this line of argument until Sligh and Horne began work as policemen in 1946. At the same time, editorials in the *News* also argued that black officers were necessary responses to the failure of white authorities to protect African Americans' rights and bodies. There was no seamless progression between these approaches, but they did represent significantly different ways of claiming a place within urban networks of governance. The latter argument represented the shifting claims and instruments of activism. For instance, the NAACP, which had previously maintained a marginal and intermittent presence in Asheville, became central to blacks' challenges to the lack of equal protection offered them by white supremacy. Nevertheless, the limits on the officers' authority demonstrated how African Americans' challenges to the politics of tolerance were constrained and contained.

In addition to officers Horne and Sligh, African Americans became incorporated into more formalized networks of authority organized around the management of racialized disorder and deviance between the 1920s and 1940s. In managing the Negro Welfare Council and the Bureau for Work Among Negroes, advocates like Lawrence Oxley and L. G. Blackus worked within associations that took as their subject the management and administration of African Americans' "adjustment." In their appeals to whites, they often stressed the benefits to whites of their programs. Oxley and his successors encountered resistance consistently in their attempts to place African Americans in social work positions, illustrating how

whites placed continual limits on the incorporation of African Americans within these networks of governance.

The first chapter of this dissertation examined the Redeemer governor's best-known formulation of tolerance. The assumptions informing Vance's formulation also informed supremacist governance. Vance's formulation made tolerance legible as an act of empowered judgment of white men. In the 1930s and 1940s, though, the memory of his speech, coupled with other ritualized invocations like Brotherhood Day, facilitated a more power-evasive expression of tolerance. While Brotherhood Day ceremonies acknowledged limits to what could be tolerated, those observances' celebration of American consensus, values, and standards nonetheless helped obscure that power. Additionally, while Vance located tolerance as the explicit province of empowered Christian whites, in the 1930s and 1940s its racialization was implicit rather than explicit, as its possession was framed as a mark of self-restraint and, ultimately, subjectivity. Tolerance and its individuated judgment were conflated with justice in these ritualized ceremonies. This conflation and its erasure of racial privilege provides an important context for African Americans' involvement in the Bureau for Work Among Negroes, the Negro Welfare Council, and the Asheville police force, each of which existed within larger political structures and pursued programs to facilitate African Americans' positive adjustments to society.

Conclusion

As was the case in other North Carolina cities, following World War II Asheville's white authorities touted their moderation and care of the interests of African Americans. In 1951, an editorial in the Asheville *Times* confidently boasted that thanks to its history as a "cosmopolitan tourist" destination, Asheville "naturally is much freer of prejudices and discriminations…than most cities in the South."[932] Nonetheless, as in Greensboro and elsewhere, white authorities in Asheville nevertheless sought to control and channel blacks' challenges to white supremacy.[933] Desegregation was decidedly contentious for a city that had claimed to possess "tolerant race relations" and had been applauded by a columnist in the African American newspaper *The Atlanta Daily News* for its racial liberalism in 1955.

Although Asheville's school board had quickly stated that it would comply with 1955's Supreme Court decision on the directives for desegregation known as *Brown II*, it was not until 1969 that the board combined African American and white students at the previously all-white Lee-Edwards High School, which was formally renamed Asheville High.[934] The first year was difficult.[935] What the *Chicago*

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[932] "Equal Opportunity and Our Negro Problems," Asheville *Times*, May 16, 1951, Vertical Files, North Carolina Collection, Pack Memorial Library

[933] William H. Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina and the Black Struggle for Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

[934] William Gordon, "Moving With Measured Steps," *Atlanta Daily News*, June 12, 1955, 4; Charles Tennent Oral History, interview by Louis D. Silveri, August 5, 1975, Louis D. Silveri Oral History Collection, Ramsey Library Special Collections, University of North Carolina-Asheville. Stephens-Lee, the venerable black secondary school in Asheville, was a casualty of whites' desegregation plans, as the school that had been in operation since the 1920s was closed in 1965. It was dismantled by the city in 1975. "Southern Communities: Listening for a change: Stephens-Lee High School, Asheville, N.C.,: interviews by Kelly Navies, 1998, Southern Historical Collection, University of Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC.

Defender termed a "row" and the *Asheville Citizen* called a "disturbance" occurred at Asheville High shortly after the school year began. On September 29, African American students walked out of the high school. Student activists asserted that the walkout was sparked by the expulsion of a student, Lee Gaines, for "not wearing socks to school."[936] Clark Pennell, the principal of Asheville High, disputed this characterization, noting that Gaines had "repeatedly shown 'defiance' of school authorities on other issues."[937] Pennell refused to speak with students gathered outside the school, instead calling police to disperse them. Both students and police were injured in the ensuing melee, and the city instituted a curfew, during which time residents could purchase neither firearms nor liquor.[938]

At the time of the walkout they presented a "list of grievances" that focused on other such expressions. They asked, for instance, that an African American teach black history and that the school hire a black cosmetology teacher, the resident white teacher having said that she "couldn't do Negroes' hair."[939] The protesters also contested whites' desire to retain the power to define the school's symbolic meaning. They noted, for instance, that despite the formal name change, the school's previous name was still prominently displayed on the building's façade and the

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[935] Nan K. Chase, *Asheville: A History* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland Press, 2007), 156-160. Chase gives a lengthy account of the conflict at Asheville High. Also see Betty Jamerson Reed, *School Segregation in Western North Carolina: A History, 1860s-1970s* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland Press, 2011), 47. Jamerson refers to Gaines as "Leo Gaines."
[936] Ed Seitz, "Open Meeting Is Scheduled in High School Disturbance," *Asheville Citizen*, September 30, 1969, 1.
[937] Ed Seitz, "Open Meeting Is Scheduled in High School Disturbance," *Asheville Citizen*, 1.
[938] Ed Seitz, "Curfew Dropped; Emergency Bans Remain In Effect," *Asheville Citizen*, Oct. 3, 1969.
[939] "Close Schools After Police, Pupil Row," *Chicago Daily Defender*, Oct. 1, 1969, 8.

uniforms of the school band. Inclusion in a white space was not sufficient, their protests suggested.

Despite Pennell's insistence that Gaines' socklessness played no role in the decision to expel him, black student activists perceived the rule requiring socks to be inseparable from other tools of white authority, as white male students received lesser penalties for failing to wear socks.[940] The protesters thus also demanded that male students be no longer required to wear socks. Gaines' expulsion was not simply the 'trigger' that set off the protests, but a continuation of student activists' concern over the exercise of power within the institution. They questioned the neutrality and application of norms of decorum. What white administrators might have interpreted as a necessary marker of cleanliness and decency, African Americans understood as an instrument of whites' power. One student who involved himself in the walkout observed that it was not "integration, but equal rights" for which he and his fellow protesters asked.[941]

In an ironic coincidence, these students were questioning the very application of standards that anti-segregationists in the late 19th century such as George Washington Cable invoked to argue that mandated segregation was unnecessary. In his 1885 work *The Solid South,* the well-known author and reformer Cable acknowledged that white men dearly held their assumed racial right to judge

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[940] Chase, *Asheville,* 157. Chase cites Lucy Mae Harrison's Oral History. See Lucy Mae Harrison Oral History, interview by Dorothy Joynes, March 12, 1994 and March 15, 1994, Voices of Asheville Oral History Collection, Ramsey Library Special Collections, UNCA. According to Harrison, whites were sent home to put on socks and then could return. African Americans were suspended or, in the case of Gaines, expelled.
[941] Mary Cowles, "Call For Changes Aired At Meeting of School Board," *Asheville Citizen*, Oct. 1, 1969, 1.

African Americans. Although they had acceded to African Americans' freedom and franchise with "what seemed to us all proper deference," he wrote that there was one power that whites refused to relinquish. This was the "ancient prerogative of holding under our own discretion the colored man's status, not as a Freedman, not as a voter, but in his daily walk as a civilian." This presumption of the right to judge the worthiness of African Americans ordered everyday life. It was, Cable noted, "the fundamental condition of [white men's] self-respect."[942]

Cable sought to tether this will to judge to supposedly universal measures. He maintained that whites' judgments had been corrupted from the supposedly natural judgments based on personal worth. In the place of the faulty and incorrect distinctions based on race, Cable urged Southern whites to judge and organize their interracial society using "mental caliber, moral worth, and social position."[943] He held up to his audience the model of God, whose individualizing discernment was perfect. He "makes them one by one and judges them one by one."[944] As his comparison to God suggests, Cable called on whites to make correct judgments because their position afforded them the opportunity to do so; their supposed racial superiority required them to demonstrate "the most exalted magnanimity."[945] He urged whites to perform it as an indication of their "high purity" without the aid of the state's enforced segregation.[946] Cable appealed to his readers' standards of

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942 George Washington Cable, "The Silent South," in *The Negro Question: A Selection of Writings on Civil Rights in the South*, ed. Arlin Turner (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1958), 81.
943 Cable, "Segregation in the Schools," in *The Negro Question*, 27.
944 Cable, "The Good Samaritan," in *The Negro Question*, 35.
945 Cable, "Segregation in the Schools," in *The Negro Question* 31.
946 Cable, "Segregation in the Schools," in *The Negro Question* 31.

character and propriety in his argument that school segregation was both unnatural and unnecessary: "If any child, colored or colorless, is dirty or vicious, the rules of the school will compel his expulsion. If he is not, I ask, and appeal to each reader's sense of fairness for his answer, what harm will the child do?"[947]

Cable's query appears color-blind.[948] What happened in the intervening time to produce this seemingly ironic outcome? As historian Grace Elizabeth Hale has pointed out, Cable failed in his effort to substitute "class over race."[949] Literary scholar and historian Saidiya Hartman has observed, however, the "standards of virtue and decorum" Cable valorized "were no less influenced by the aversions of white propertied men."[950] It is not altogether surprising, then, that the presumption of judgment he offered in place of segregation would itself become a flashpoint for protest more than eight decades later.

This dissertation has attempted to begin to bridge the gap in time and in history between Cable's advocacy of putatively color-blind norms and the protesters' rejection of those norms. Students perceived the application of apparently neutral norms of cleanliness as an act of racialized power. These students were disputing their status as objects of tolerance whose deviance from norms they marked as white had to be investigated and measured. Their protests

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[947] George Washington Cable, "The Silent South." in *The Negro Question*, 29.
[948] Mark Elliot has noted that for activists like Albion Tourgee in the late 19th century, "color-blind" law was defined by the outcome of "racial justice" rather than "the abstract principles behind it." See Elliot, *Color-Blind Justice: Albion Tourgee and the Quest for Racial Equality from the Civil War to Plessy v. Ferguson* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 5.
[949] Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998), 47.
[950] Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*: *Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 166.

emerged from a long history of urban governance that had sought to construct and maintain the racial, spatial, and moral order of white supremacy. These forms of governance had distributed to multiple actors the responsibilities and opportunities to judge the worth of objects of tolerance. As we saw in the last chapter, moreover, those judgments could assume a universalistic character by endeavoring to assess African Americans proper "adjustment" to their environment.

The tendency to measure this putatively race-neutral adjustment as a practice of tolerance continued through the era of the Modern Civil Rights Movement.[951] One further example from Asheville may help to draw connections between Cable's celebration of universalistic measures and young protesters' interrogation of those standards. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Phyllis Wheatley branch of the YWCA held a fundraising campaign to assist in the purchase of a new building that opened in 1962.[952] The Y.W.C.A. issued a handbook for speakers engaged in fundraising lectures, although they were warned to "leave your tin cup at home" and not explicitly ask for contributions.[953]

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[951] Thaddeus Russell, "The Color of Discipline: Civil Rights and Black Sexuality," *American Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (March, 2008): 101-128. While Russell argues that Martin Luther King, Jr. worked to discipline black sexuality to demonstrate their proper sexual and social adjustment, Malinda Lindquist notes that King called for "creative maladjustment." See Lindquist, *Race, Social Science and the Crisis of Manhood, 1890-1970: We Are the Supermen* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 49. The Moynihan Report also represented another judgment about African Americans' adjudgments. See Lindquist, 91; Steve Estes, *I Am a Man!: Race, Manhood, and the Civil Rights Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

[952] Thelma Caldwell Oral History, interview by Dorothy Joynes, November 18, 1992, Voices of Asheville Oral History Collection, Ramsey Library Special Collections, University of North Carolina-Asheville.

[953] "Carrying the Torch for the Phyllis Wheatley Branch Y.W.C.A," YWCA Archive, Ramsey Library Special Collections, UNCA.

Instead, the handbook suggested stories that the speaker could recount to demonstrate the value of the Phyllis Wheatley branch to the community as an agent of order. These stories dramatized the role of the branch in correcting the potential disorder of young black women and instead facilitating their happy "adjustment" through the inculcation of self-control. The subject of one anecdote, Ruth, "constantly had a 'chip on her shoulder'" before the branch director counseled her. Eventually Ruth learned to relate with others. This happy story was tempered by Ruth's rhetorical question to the director, "'what would have happened if you hadn't taken a little time with me?"[954] Another story detailed the repair of a dysfunctional and fatherless family and the redemption of an alcoholic mother who, the story insinuates, bore her child "out of wedlock."[955]

These, and other stories listed in the handbook, presented successful "adjustment" through the intervention and informed surveillance of the Y. This adjustment, based on universalistic measures of self-esteem and self-discipline, became the means by which suspect subjects demonstrated their worth.[956] The protest at Asheville High and the appeal for funds for the new Phyllis Wheatley branch building lie outside the temporal scope of the dissertation. It has nonetheless attempted to historicize protesters' resistance to the imposition of universalistic and supposedly neutral measures by demonstrating how forms of racial and spatial

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[954] "Carrying the Torch for the Phyllis Wheatley Branch Y.W.C.A," YWCA Archive, Ramsey Library Special Collections, UNCA. The story was titled "A Turning Point with Little Ruth."
[955] Carrying the Torch for the Phyllis Wheatley Branch Y.W.C.A," YWCA Archive, Ramsey Library Special Collections, UNCA. This story was titled "A Good Investment."
[956] The damage to self-esteem visited on African American children by mandatory segregation was, of course, one of the pieces of evidence employed by NAACP lawyers who argued *Brown vs. Board*.

governance distributed the responsibility of judgment that was later harnessed to these universalistic judgments.

This dissertation has interrogated emerging forms of governance in an expanding city in the urban Jim Crow South. Moreover, it has argued that a new appreciation of tolerance as a technique and logic of management helps us understand how these arrangements of authority distributed to particular actors the expectation, responsibility, and opportunity to make decisions about what and who was acceptable in certain urban spaces and in the context of white supremacist priorities.

As a logic that was rendered in projects of management, tolerance aimed to simultaneously incorporate, regulate, and mitigate deviance and the threat of disorder. This incorporation, as Wendy Brown has noted, did not destabilize the norms that defined objects of suspicion as such.[957] In fact, incorporation of objects of suspicion served to reinforce those stigmatizing norms. Forms of governance organized around techniques of tolerance did not dispel white authorities' suspicion of suspect subjects nor aim to but instead regularized, normalized, and disciplined it.

These networks of governance enlisted objects of white elites' suspicion in their operation as agents of order, engaged in making judgments about what was acceptable in particular sites. This enlistment carried with it the opportunity for those suspect subjects to demonstrate their worth. For some participants, such as the pawnbroker Leo Finkelstein and the dance hall operator Clarence de Haven

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[957] Wendy Brown, *Regulating Aversion*: *Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 36.

Laferty, involvement in these networks allowed them to make claims about their self-regulating liberal subjectivities. For Finkelstein, the technology of an electric alarm simultaneously brought him closer and removed him further from the formal regulatory regime the city government. Closer, because it connected him in a vital and immediate way to the police station; further away, because it provided him with a means to use his judgment of suspicious characters. Enlistment in networks of governance provided participants with the opportunity to claim an identity as a self-regulating liberal subject. By doing so, Lipinsky was able to claim a measure of authority not just over those who patronized his shop but also over his own self and buttress his claims to citizenship. Furthermore, this apparent demonstration of networked autonomy helped maintain notions of liberal governance that were central to the crafting of whiteness. Lipinsky's performance as an agent of order, then, served several purposes.

This dissertation has devoted a significant amount of time and effort in demonstrating that multiple projects of governance attempted to manage disorder by distributing the responsibility for its containment to objects of suspicion themselves. Most significantly, it has shows how race relations governance enacted these logics of tolerance. As an ideology of white supremacy, "race relations" was a vehicle for the shift from "racism to race" that Barbara J. Fields has explored.[958] This move took race as an empirical category of existence. In making this shift, race relations constituted a very fecund ground for governance, because the characteristics whites attributed to African Americans called for multiple projects of

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[958] Barbara J. Fields, "Of Rogues and Geldings," *American Historical Review* 108, no. 5 (December 2003): 1397-1405.

management. These projects similarly incorporated objects of suspicion into their administration. In the context of racial tension in 1925, African Americans critiqued whites' race relations expectations, rightly pointing out that whites' injunction that African Americans police their communities was at odds with their persistent hostility to African Americans' performances of manhood and self-mastery. When the city hired two African Americans policemen in 1946, their spatially and racially limited powers underscored this contradiction.

After statewide disenfranchisement in 1900, representational networks such as the Phyllis Wheatley Committee on Work and the Department for Work Among Negroes became important ways of organizing race relations. Participants in these arrangements purported to speak for their communities and to have influence on those populations. That is, leading African Americans like Lt. Lawrence Oxley both acted for and acted on the population that he was often called upon by the state to represent. The Department, by focusing on facilitating African Americans' positive "adjustments" to society, played a role in regularizing social norms and obscuring their racialization. This occurred at the same time that the public meanings of tolerance were shifting as well, as the last chapter demonstrated. In the 1920s, white participants in tolerance talk such as the editors of *Citizen* and Stephen S. Wise explicitly defined it as a mark of whiteness and a characteristic of authority. In the 1930s and 1940s, these meanings became less prominent and reformulated, as the possession of tolerance was seemingly democratized as a characteristic of self-restraint and self-mastery. We can understand students' protests at Asheville High in 1969 in the context of the proliferation of these forms of governance that took

shape in the first half of the twentieth century and attempted to judge, mitigate, and contain deviance. Protesters contested their status as objects of tolerance by questioning white administrators' authority to decide what was acceptable.

The actions of activists across multiple fields did much to discredit tolerance as a means of naming and managing deviance, Nonetheless, its logics continue to animate how Americans make and contest decisions over the boundaries between acceptable and unacceptable threats. The impulse to incorporate such threats into governance continues to be a part of these conversations. The recent controversies over the placement or expansion of Islamic community centers or mosques in urban spaces across the country demonstrate the continuing influence of the logics of tolerance. The protests and support for community center Cordoba House, now called Park51, demonstrates the continued relevance of notions of threat, deviance, and the management of urban spaces to contested meanings of tolerance. Similar controversies have occurred elsewhere, including Murfreesboro, Tennessee, where a planned mosque encountered arson as well as political opposition. Explicitly at issue is whether Islam, Muslims, and these centers represent sources of threat and deviance, or whether they can be incorporated into projects of American governance and culture. The president of Former Muslims United and founder of Arabs for Israel, Nonie Darwish, defined mosques as sources for disorder, threat and war—as places "'where ammunition was stored.'" Their opponents have argued, though, that mosques were "actually a deterrent to the spread of militant Islam."

That is, these suspect spaces and their leaders in fact played important roles as agents of order through a variety of techniques. [959]

[959] Laurie Goodstein, “Across Nation, Mosque Projects Meet Opposition,” *New York Times*, August 8, 2010, A1; Hendrik Hertzberg, “Zero Grounds,” *The New Yorker*, August 16, 2010, 27.

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