



# The Perils and Prospects of Southern Black Leadership



Gordon Blaine Hancock  
1884-1970

Raymond Gavins

# Perils And Prospects Of Southern Black Leadership

**Marvin T. Chiles**



## **Perils And Prospects Of Southern Black Leadership:**

**John Hervey Wheeler, Black Banking, and the Economic Struggle for Civil Rights** Brandon K. Winford, 2019-12-09  
WINNER OF THE LILLIAN SMITH BOOK AWARD John Hervey Wheeler 1908 1978 was one of the civil rights movement's most influential leaders In articulating a bold vision of regional prosperity grounded in full citizenship and economic power for African Americans this banker lawyer and visionary would play a key role in the fight for racial and economic equality throughout North Carolina Utilizing previously unexamined sources from the John Hervey Wheeler Collection at the Atlanta University Center Robert W Woodruff Library this biography explores the black freedom struggle through the life of North Carolina's most influential black power broker After graduating from Morehouse College Wheeler returned to Durham and began a decades long career at Mechanics and Farmers M F Bank He started as a teller and rose to become bank president in 1952 In 1961 President Kennedy appointed Wheeler to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity a position in which he championed equal rights for African Americans and worked with Vice President Johnson to draft civil rights legislation One of the first blacks to attain a high position in the state's Democratic Party Wheeler became the state party's treasurer in 1968 and then its financial director Wheeler urged North Carolina's white financial advisors to steer the region toward the end of Jim Crow segregation for economic reasons Straddling the line between confrontation and negotiation Wheeler pushed for increased economic opportunity for African Americans while reminding the white South that its future was linked to the plight of black southerners **"We, Too, are Americans"** Megan Taylor Shockley, 2004 During World War II factories across America retooled for wartime production and unprecedented labor opportunities opened up for women and minorities In *We Too Are Americans* Megan Taylor Shockley examines the experiences of the African American women who worked in two capitals of industry Detroit Michigan and Richmond Virginia during the war and the decade that followed it making a compelling case for viewing World War II as the crucible of the civil rights movement As demands on them intensified the women working to provide American troops with clothing medical supplies and other services became increasingly aware of their key role in the war effort A considerable number of the African Americans among them began to use their indispensability to leverage demands for equal employment welfare and citizenship benefits fair treatment good working conditions and other considerations previously denied them Shockley shows that as these women strove to redefine citizenship backing up their claims to equality with lawsuits sit ins and other forms of activism they were forging tools that civil rights activists would continue to use in the years to come Managing White Supremacy J. Douglas Smith, 2003-11-03 Tracing the erosion of white elite paternalism in Jim Crow Virginia Douglas Smith reveals a surprising fluidity in southern racial politics in the decades between World War I and the Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown v Board of Education* decision Smith draws on official records private correspondence and letters to newspapers from otherwise anonymous Virginians to capture a wide and varied range of black and white voices African Americans emerge as central characters in the narrative as Smith

chronicles their efforts to obtain access to public schools and libraries protection under the law and the equitable distribution of municipal resources This acceleration of black resistance to white supremacy in the years before World War II precipitated a crisis of confidence among white Virginians who despite their overwhelming electoral dominance felt increasingly insecure about their ability to manage the color line on their own terms Exploring the everyday power struggles that accompanied the erosion of white authority in the political economic and educational arenas Smith uncovers the seeds of white Virginians resistance to civil rights activism in the second half of the twentieth century

**Transformation of the African American Intelligentsia, 1880-2012** Martin Kilson, 2014-06-17 After Reconstruction African Americans found themselves largely excluded from politics higher education and the professions Martin Kilson explores how a modern African American intelligentsia developed amid institutionalized racism He argues passionately for an ongoing commitment to communitarian leadership in the tradition of Du Bois

*Reforming Jim Crow* Kimberley Johnson, 2010-04-16 Historians of the Civil Rights era typically treat the key events of the 1950s Brown v Board of Education sit ins bus boycotts and marches as a revolutionary social upheaval that upended a rigid caste system While the 1950s was a watershed era in Southern and civil rights history the tendency has been to paint the preceding Jim Crow era as a brutal system that featured none of the progressive reform impulses so apparent at the federal level and in the North As Kimberley Johnson shows in this pathbreaking reappraisal of the Jim Crow era this argument is too simplistic and is true to neither the 1950s nor the long era of Jim Crow that finally solidified in 1910 Focusing on the political development of the South between 1910 and 1954 Johnson considers the genuine efforts by white and black progressives to reform the system without destroying it These reformers assumed that the system was there to stay and therefore felt that they had to work within it in order to modernize the South Consequently white progressives tried to install a better meaning more equitable separate but equal system and elite black reformers focused on ameliorative rather than confrontational solutions that would improve the lives of African Americans Johnson concentrates on local and state reform efforts throughout the South in areas like schooling housing and labor Many of the reforms made a difference but they had the ironic impact of generating more demand for social change among blacks She is able to show how demands slowly rose over time and how the system laid the seeds of its own destruction The reformers commitment to a system that was less unequal albeit not truly equal and more like the North led to significant policy changes over time As Johnson powerfully demonstrates our lack of knowledge about the cumulative policy transformations resulting from the Jim Crow reform impulse impoverishes our understanding of the Civil Rights revolution

*Reforming Jim Crow* rectifies that

**Upbuilding Black Durham** Leslie Brown, 2009-11-17 In the 1910s both W E B Du Bois and Booker T Washington praised the black community in Durham North Carolina for its exceptional race progress Migration urbanization and industrialization had turned black Durham from a post Civil War liberation community into the capital of the black middle class African Americans owned and operated mills factories churches schools and an array of

retail services shops community organizations and race institutions Using interviews narratives and family stories Leslie Brown animates the history of this remarkable city from emancipation to the civil rights era as freedpeople and their descendants struggled among themselves and with whites to give meaning to black freedom Brown paints Durham in the Jim Crow era as a place of dynamic change where despite common aspirations gender and class conflicts emerged Placing African American women at the center of the story Brown describes how black Durham s multiple constituencies experienced a range of social conditions Shifting the historical perspective away from seeing solidarity as essential to effective struggle or viewing dissent as a measure of weakness Brown demonstrates that friction among African Americans generated rather than depleted energy sparking many activist initiatives on behalf of the black community

**The American Civil Rights Movement 1865-1950** Russell Brooker,2016-12-07 The American Civil Rights Movement 1865 1950 is a history of the African American struggle for freedom and equality from the end of the Civil War to the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and 1960s It synthesizes the disparate black movements explaining consistent themes and controversies during those years The main focus is on the black activists who led the movement and the white people who supported them The principal theme is that African American agency propelled the progress and that whites often helped Even whites who were not sympathetic to black demands were useful often because it was to their advantage to act as black allies Even white opponents could be coerced into cooperation or at least non opposition White people of good will with shallow understanding were frustrating but they were sometimes useful Even if they did not work for black rights they did not work against them and sometimes helped because they had no better options Until now the history of the African American movement from 1865 to 1950 has not been covered as one coherent story There have been many histories of African Americans that have treated the subject in one chapter or part of a chapter and several excellent books have concentrated on a specific time period such as Reconstruction or World War II Other books have focused on one aspect of the time such as lynching or the nature of Jim Crow This is the first book to synthesize the history of the movement in a coherent whole

**Greater Than Equal** Sarah Caroline Thuesen,2013 Greater than Equal African American Struggles for Schools and Citizenship in North Carolina 1919 1965

**Selected Writings and Speeches of James E. Shepard, 1896-1946** James E. Shepard,2013 James Edward Shepard was an African American leader between 1900 and 1947 He was however more than a race leader Shepard was a minister politician pharmacist entrepreneur world traveler civil servant businessman one of the founders of North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company the world s largest African American Life Insurance Company president of the International Denominational Sunday School Convention one of the founders of Mechanics and Farmers Bank of Durham President of the North Carolina Teachers Association and a visionary Dr Shepard was active in several social and fraternal organizations He was Grand Mast of The Prince Hall Free and Accepted Masons of North Carolina Grand Patron of the Eastern Star of North Carolina and Secretary of Finances for the Knights of Pythia He was on the Board of

Trustees of Lincoln Hospital of Durham the Oxford NC Colored Orphanage member of the Executive Committee of the North Carolina Agricultural Society and Field Superintendent of Work Among Negroes for the International Sunday School Association He was also an educator historian and scholar He was founder and president of North Carolina Central University the first State supported liberal arts college for African Americans in the United States     **Selected Writings and Speeches of James E. Shepard, 1896-1946** Lenwood G. Davis,2012-11-23 James Edward Shepard was an African American leader between 1900 and 1947 He was however more than a race leader Shepard was a minister politician pharmacist entrepreneur world traveler civil servant businessman one of the founders of North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company the world s largest African American Life Insurance Company president of the International Denominational Sunday School Convention one of the founders of Mechanics and Farmers Bank of Durham President of the North Carolina Teachers Association and a visionary Dr Shepard was active in several social and fraternal organizations He was Grand Mast of The Prince Hall Free and Accepted Masons of North Carolina Grand Patron of the Eastern Star of North Carolina and Secretary of Finances for the Knights of Pythia He was on the Board of Trustees of Lincoln Hospital of Durham the Oxford NC Colored Orphanage member of the Executive Committee of the North Carolina Agricultural Society and Field Superintendent of Work Among Negroes for the International Sunday School Association He was also an educator historian and scholar He was founder and president of North Carolina Central University the first State supported liberal arts college for African Americans in the United States     A Class of Their Own Adam Fairclough,2009-06-30 In this major undertaking civil rights historian Adam Fairclough chronicles the odyssey of black teachers in the South from emancipation in 1865 to integration one hundred years later A Class of Their Own is indispensable for understanding how blacks and whites interacted after the abolition of slavery and how black communities coped with the challenges of freedom and oppression

**The Struggle for Change** Marvin T. Chiles,2023-12-28 A Black majority city with a history of the most severe segregation and inequity Richmond is still grappling with this legacy as it moves into the twenty first century Marvin Chiles now offers a unique take on Richmond s racial politics since the civil rights era by demonstrating that the city s current racial disparities in economic mobility housing and public education actually represent the unintended consequences of Richmond s racial reconciliation measures He deftly weaves municipal politics together with grassroots efforts examining the work and legacies of Richmond s Black leaders from Henry Marsh on the city council in the 1960s to Mayor Levar Stoney to highlight the urban revitalization and public history efforts meant to overcome racial divides after Jim Crow yet which ironically reinforced racial inequality across the city Compellingly written this project carries both local and broader regional significance for Richmonders Virginians southerners and all Americans     The debate on black civil rights in America Kevern Verney,2024-01-16 This book examines the historiography of the African American freedom struggle from the 1890s to the present It considers how and why the study of African American history developed from being a marginalized subject

in American universities and colleges at the start of the twentieth century to become one of the most extensively researched fields in American history today There is analysis of the changing scholarly interpretations of African American leaders from Booker T Washington through to Barack Obama The impact and significance of the leading civil rights organizations are assessed as well as the white segregationists who opposed them and the civil rights policies of presidential administrations from Woodrow Wilson to Donald Trump The civil rights struggle is also discussed in the context of wider political social and economic changes in the United States and developments in popular culture     Remaking Dixie Neil R. McMillen,1997

Although the Civil War reconfigured Dixie in the half century since the end of World War II the American South has been massively changed again It is still an improbable mix of tradition and transition but the stereotype of a region with one party politics one crop agriculture white supremacy cultural insularity grinding poverty somnolent cotton towns and languorous rural landscapes has largely passed into history Possum Trot and Tobacco Road have been suburbanized and how have Walmarts As the regions s boosters insist the nations s number0one economic problem has joined the great booming sunbelt For good or for ill a new sense has been visited upon nearly every southern place What elements caused such striking change to the face of Dixie In this volume nine widely known specialists in the history and literature of the American South search for the origins of this sweeping regional transformation in the period of the Second World War These original essays address a cluster of related problems of enduring fascination for all those who wish to understand the ever changing ever abiding South Offering new answers to important questions they address the Second World War as a major watershed in southern history Did it drive old Dixie down Did it set in motion forces that ultimately shaped a Newer South Did it further Americanize the South by eroding traditional patterns of thought and deed that once were fiercely defended by white southerners as our way of life Was the postwar South less different less peculiar and distinctive     *Lynching in the New South* W. Fitzhugh Brundage,2022-08-15 Lynching was a national crime But it obsessed the South W Fitzhugh Brundage s multidisciplinary approach to the complex nature of lynching delves into the such extrajudicial murders in two states Virginia the southern state with the fewest lynchings and Georgia where 460 lynchings made the state a measure of race relations in the Deep South Brundage s analysis addresses three central questions How can we explain variations in lynching over regions and time periods To what extent was lynching a social ritual that affirmed traditional white values and white supremacy And what were the causes of the decline of lynching at the end of the 1920s A groundbreaking study Lynching in the New South is a classic portrait of the tradition of violence that poisoned American life     *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt* Bruce J. Schulman,1994 From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt investigates the effects of federal policy on the American South from 1938 until 1980 and charts the close relationship between federal efforts to reform the South and the evolution of activist government in the modern United States Decrying the South s economic backwardness and political conservatism the Roosevelt Administration launched a series of programs to reorder the Southern economy in the 1930s After 1950 however

the social welfare state had been replaced by the national security state as the South's principal benefactor Bruce J Schulman contrasts the diminished role of national welfare initiatives in the postwar South with the expansion of military and defense related programs He analyzes the contributions of these growth oriented programs to the South's remarkable economic expansion to the development of American liberalism and to the excruciating limits of Sunbelt prosperity ultimately relating these developments to southern politics and race relations By linking the history of the South with the history of national public policy Schulman unites two issues that dominate the domestic history of postwar America the emergence of the Sunbelt and the expansion of federal power over the nation's economic and social life A forcefully argued work From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt originally published in 1991 Oxford University Press will be an important guide to students and scholars of federal policy and modern Southern history

**Historians in Service of a Better South** Andrew Myers, Robert Norrell, 2017-04-02 Amid the soaring oratory of Martin Luther King and the fiery rhetoric of George Wallace scholars who worked with the Southern Regional Council during the civil rights movement spoke quietly but with the authority of informed reason Prominent among them was Professor Paul Gaston of the University of Virginia who co authored an influential analysis of school segregation served as president of the SRC board and authored The New South Creed Gaston's legacy of service includes his role as a mentor of historians He oversaw more than two dozen dissertations at UVA from 1957 to the year 2000 These illuminated important aspects of the South and the civil rights movement while contributing to the growth of community and organizational studies within the field of social history The articles in this Festschrift feature essays that he inspired among his students and colleagues

**Slavery, Segregation, and the Second Founding of Rice University** W. Caleb McDaniel, Alexander X. Byrd, 2025-10-22 During the first quarter of the twenty first century more than one hundred institutions of higher education in the United States launched projects to study and share their histories concerning slavery segregation and racial injustice Slavery Segregation and the Second Founding of Rice University joins these wider efforts Authored by award winning historians Alexander X Byrd and W Caleb McDaniel the book engages questions specific to Rice's history as the last major private research university in the country to begin desegregation Although Rice did not open its doors for classes until 1912 it was connected to the history of slavery through the life of its first founder and namesake William Marsh Rice whose fortune was deeply intertwined with the enslavement of Black people Byrd and McDaniel place the history of one of the nation's most renowned universities within a longer and larger context showing that desegregation required changes to Rice so fundamental that they amounted to a second founding of the school Following the story from slavery through segregation to the second founding they highlight pivotal points of intersection between the history of Black Houston and the history of Rice University revealing the seldom acknowledged roles of Black students Black communities and HBCUs in creating change at and around Rice Their study challenges readers to consider anew who counts as a university's founder a question relevant to ongoing discussions about statues naming and the history of higher education



They also reveal what higher education institutions do at their best create new knowledge and forge solutions to trenchant social problems thus providing guidance for those committed to doing the valuable work of the second founding at colleges and universities today

Toward Freedom Land Harvard Sitkoff, 2010-07-23 The ongoing struggle for civil rights and social justice lies at the heart of America's evolving identity The pursuit of equal rights is often met with social and political trepidation forcing citizens and leaders to grapple with controversial issues of race class and gender Renowned scholar Harvard Sitkoff has devoted his life to the study of the civil rights movement becoming a key figure in global human rights discussions and an authority on American liberalism Toward Freedom Land assembles Sitkoff's writings on twentieth century race relations representing some of the finest race related historical research on record Spanning thirty five years of Sitkoff's distinguished career the collection features an in depth examination of the Great Depression and its effects on African Americans the intriguing story of the labor movement and its relationship to African American workers and a discussion of the effects of World War II on the civil rights movement His precise analysis illuminates multifaceted racial issues including the New Deal's impact on race relations the Detroit Riot of 1943 and connections between African Americans Jews and the Holocaust

Black San Francisco Albert S. Broussard, 1993 This work explores race relations in the city of San Francisco where whites for the most part were outwardly civil to blacks while denying them employment opportunities and political power The author argues that it is essential to understand the nature of the racial caste system

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