JAMES E. SHEPARD, THE MAN AND HIS MESSAGE: A CONTEXT-SENSITIVE, DISCOURSE-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF ‘GOD BLESS OLD NORTH CAROLINA’

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

My research is a historical analysis of information in society that focuses on the radio address “God Bless Old North Carolina” that James E. Shepard, president and founder of the North Carolina College for Negroes (NCCN), presented in 1934. The socio-historical forces that preceded the current information environment in the United States are often researched from a Eurocentric or United States white, middle-class male perspective. When other races, classes or genders are mentioned, the typical line of inquiry still centralizes the white, European, heterosexual male viewpoint. My dissertation focuses on a little known historical figure who is one of the few African American men at the advent of institutions of higher education for blacks who was both president and founder of a university in the South during the early decades of the 20th Century and will contribute to the burgeoning body of work applying critical race theory to library and information science (LIS) history. Reorienting LIS history and using critical theories to study underrepresented populations will help to shed light on recurrent, institutionalized forms of racism still present in LIS systems today. The first step to reversing the detrimental effects of institutionalized racism within LIS is recognizing that it exists. Next, determining antecedents can help shed light on how institutional patterns are reproduced. The social forces that should be foregrounded are those that structurally uphold and reproduce white privilege and include capitalism and the educational system — the idealized versions and actual practice.

This dissertation uses the theories of Pierre Bourdieu and critical race theory to explore the symbolic power held by James E. Shepard and how he wielded that power as a thought leader.

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in Durham, North Carolina. The methodology uses historical context-sensitive discourse-historical analysis and considers Shepard’s text within the socio-historical context of Jim Crow laws, the rise and fall of The New South, and The Great Depression and makes considerable use of archival material in an attempt to answer the following research questions:

1. What discursive strategies did James E. Shepard use to influence public opinion regarding the North Carolina College for Negroes (NCCN) specifically and education for the black people of Durham generally?

2. How did he interpret his role in the black community in Durham and how did he represent this interpretation when giving a public address?

3. How did Shepard represent the attitudes of the black population in Durham, NC?

4. What rhetorical strategies did he employ when speaking to audiences that potentially included white and black listeners?

I conclude that James E. Shepard employed very specific, consistent and strategic discursive strategies whenever he spoke publicly about what would come to be known as North Carolina Central University. He often spoke to audiences that were racially mixed but typically from North Carolina. Accordingly, Shepard chose a largely politically non-confrontational strategy. Shepard’s messages were perfectly pitched for southern audiences as he incorporated deep pride in the South into most of his speeches. He emphasized black people's love of North Carolina and desire to stay in the area as well as whites’ need for blacks to stay but he did so in a way that maintained the social stratification of the races. Shepard used the discursive strategies of mitigation, the referential strategies of predication and perspectivation and the argumentative strategies of argumentum ad verecundiam and argumentum ad populum to couch his desires for enhanced support for black higher education institutions in ways palatable to a white audience.
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Chapter 1: Introduction

The historical and social forces that preceded the current information environment in the United States are often researched from a Eurocentric or United States white, middle-class male perspective\(^2\). When other races, classes or genders are mentioned, the typical line of inquiry still centralizes the white, European, heterosexual male viewpoint. As Parsons and Plakhotnic\(^3\) (2006) so aptly express it:

> In the theories we practice, teach, and pass on to our students, historically underrepresented groups are either excluded, pseudo-included, or alienated...Pseudo-inclusion of underrepresented groups leads to alienation because their lives and experiences are distorted by being interpreted through a lens of analysis that does not acknowledge their realities and experiences (p. 167)

Alternative views become adjuncts to the dominant culture, a discourse that effectively strips minoritized people of their heritage and autonomy. Critical LIS historians contextualize LIS history within hegemonic structures acknowledging that white privilege intersects with gender, class, sexuality and racial oppression (Carmichael, 2005; Dawson, 2000; Fultz, 2006; Hand, 2011; Wheeler, 2005). A contextualized history does more than pseudo-include the various races within the United States; it centralizes their view of the relevance, importance and accessibility of information.


My research examines and contextualizes an information object, in this case a speech, by offering a critical, context-sensitive, discourse-historical analysis of the 1934 text for the radio address “God Bless Old North Carolina” given by James E. Shepard, the African American president and founder of the all black National Religious Training School and Chautauqua for the Colored Race later to be known as North Carolina Central University (NCCU). Both white and black religious institutions were the primary founders of early higher educational institutions for blacks. The American Missionary Association and the American Baptist Home Mission Society were two of the primary white religions institutions founding colleges. The primary black religious philanthropic organization founding schools was the African Methodist Episcopal church. However, as of 1928, the majority of institutions were founded and controlled by whites with less than 15% of black students attending HBCUs founded by African Americans (Anderson, J.D., 1988, p. 240).

My research methodology is undergirded by the theories of Pierre Bourdieu and critical race theory (CRT) to explore the symbolic power held by James E. Shepard and how he wielded that power as an African American leader in Durham, North Carolina. Because the context-sensitive, discourse-historical analysis method relies on contextualizing information within its historical milieu, this discussion of “God Bless Old North Carolina” will be situated within the socio-spatial realm of Durham, North Carolina, a city of the New South; as well as temporally within the dominant discourses of the time and the pressures of the Great Depression. This research contributes to the burgeoning body of works applying critical theories to library and

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information science (LIS) history and it will shed light on a lesser known historical figure who is one of the few African American men at the advent of institutions of higher education for blacks who was both president and founder of a university in the South during the early decades of the 20th Century.

Reorienting LIS history will help to shed light on recurrent, institutionalized forms of racism still present in LIS systems today. The first step to reversing the detrimental effects of institutionalized racism within LIS is recognizing that it exists. Next, determining antecedents can help reveal how institutional patterns are reproduced. The social forces that should be foregrounded are those that structurally uphold and reproduce white privilege and include capitalism and the educational system — the idealized versions and actual practice. As Wiegand said:

Certainly we need to build on the successes, but too often we fail to recognize the shortcomings, in large part because the cultures in which we are immersed – or to which we aspire – tend to control the range of questions we ask about ourselves and our profession. That is why constant reexamination of our past from alternative perspectives has so much value. Like a convex mirror, it can show the parameters of tunnel vision and reveal many of the blind spots (1999, p. 3).

*Problem Statement*

How then can we, as information professionals, begin to contextualize the production and reproduction of institutionalized discrimination? As I mentioned above, currently, when many information historians think of the social forces that structured information and how those forces came about, they look at this through the lens of a European or United States worldview. When other races, classes, or genders are mentioned, the typical line of inquiry still centralizes the white, Anglo-Saxon heterosexual male viewpoint. Alternative views become adjuncts to the
dominant culture effectively stripping minoritized people of their past and their autonomy. To
borrow from black feminism, LIS history must be studied:

via a system of interlocking race, class, and gender oppression [that] expands the
focus of analysis from merely describing the similarities and differences
distinguishing these systems of oppression and focuses greater attention on how
they interconnect. Assuming that each system needs the others in order to function
creates a distinct theoretical stance that stimulates the rethinking of basic social
science concepts (Collins, 1993).

The analysis at the heart of this study must tackle the intersections of race and class: for
Shepard, the negotiations occurring between being an educated middle class man, but also a
black man.

There is a growing body of LIS work re-orienting research around race, gender and class.
Many researchers also use critical theories to help analyze their findings or are giving counter-
narratives centralizing minoritized actors (such as women and people of color). For example,
research into the creation and maintenance of social libraries is finally beginning to include those
started by African Americans. These social libraries, which rose in number between 1828 and
1874, were set up for much the same purpose as those founded by whites — for education and
self-improvement. They were organized, populated and run by African Americans, typically free
black men, who were unwelcome in similar societies run and attended by their white male
counterparts. “While white Americans were setting up reading rooms, literary and debating
societies, church literary groups, and early libraries before the Civil War, African Americans
founded over 50 counterpart literary and library societies” (Albritton, 1998 p. 23). African
American women also started their own literary societies and social libraries, just as white
women did. Social libraries are typically considered the antecedents to early public libraries;
however, in most of these histories African American social libraries are omitted. Reintegrating
these histories may change our understanding of the evolution of early public libraries (Albritton, 1998).

Work by historians such as Van Slyck (1995) and Passet (1996) focus on the intersection between gender, class and library history. Passet examined the link between low wages and librarianship as a predominantly female profession. To challenge the notion that female librarians submissively accepted low pay, Passet traced the strategies used by women in the profession to increase their pay and increase the reputation of the profession by attending library school programs that offered specialized knowledge and educational training. In the end, even though salaries remained low, she feels this was a choice made by women to prioritize job security over a fight for higher salaries, which could leave them jobless. This view emphasizes women’s agency as actors rather than implying those acted upon. Van Slyck (1995) brought attention to the intersection between, gender, sexism and library building design in historic Carnegie Libraries. Not only does she give context and background for these libraries but by viewing history through the lens of gender she offered deeper insights to the societal implications of the library form and structure. For example, believing that librarianship would remain a male-dominated field, some library buildings were built with this prejudice woven into the architecture. There were even library buildings where the men's room and the librarian’s office opened up onto each other. She also reexamined the role of women in the rise of certain now familiar spaces like children's reading rooms.

Placing women as the focus while also using religion as a context allowed Van Slyck to counter popular misconceptions of female librarians. Rather than fitting in and being subservient, female librarians aligned themselves with the notion of the militaristic librarian, an image that was meant to exclude them but that they embraced. Female librarians also encouraged libraries,
as institutions, to be more involved with activism. Notions of social justice and advocacy for the poor and oppressed were tied to Progressive religion, a tradition from which many early female librarians arose. These librarians brought their reform-minded, activism oriented beliefs into librarianship, focusing on saving children from growing up uneducated and ill mannered. Women, thought of as child nurturers, were the primary people involved in children’s librarianship but they also chose to encourage the rise of children’s spaces in libraries. Centering women in these histories highlights their autonomy rather than the perception of women simply being relegated to roles that men did not want.

The above examples show us how re-centering LIS history, contextualization, and intersectional analysis can change what we think we know, and our understandings about the history of LIS. Re-asking the same questions with a different focus is how our profession will decrease our “blind spots.” Only when these alternate histories are integrated into the fabric of LIS historical research rather than confined to special journal issues or tightly focused anthologies, can librarianship begin eliminating its blind spots. Like those who came before me, my research will offer a “challenge to ahistoricism and pursue a contextual/historical analysis of social issues” (Parsons & Plakhotnic, 2006, p. 163).

My research interrogates issues around the intersection of race, class and information. Focusing on the explicit messages Shepard planned to communicate during his radio address and on the more covert motivations expressed in private communications should help broaden social narratives beyond binary discourses of accommodationism versus militancy. It is my hope to contribute to more nuanced social narratives about black men and women working within a discriminatory system using the strategies he or she thought were in their best interests and in the best interests of their community. Such discourse is uncomfortable and includes instances of
blacks sabotaging the efforts of others of their own race, but is nevertheless important for a more 
complete and contextualized view of the narratives of oppression in the United States. My 
research seeks to answer the following questions:

Research questions

1. What discursive strategies did James E. Shepard use to influence public opinion 
   regarding the North Carolina College for Negroes (NCCN) specifically and education for 
   the black people of Durham generally?
2. How did he interpret his role in the black community in Durham and how did he 
   represent this interpretation when giving a public address?
3. How did Shepard represent the attitudes of the black population in Durham, NC?
4. What rhetorical strategies did he employ when speaking to audiences that potentially 
   included white and black listeners?

The method used here to answer the above research questions is a critical discourse 
analysis (CDA) on one widely disseminated text authored by Shepard; one that crossed the 
physical boundaries of the NCCN because it was a public radio address that could be heard 
throughout North Carolina. Although NCCN for blacks was started by a black man, it existed 
within a specific hegemonic framework and the text must be understood within that framework. 
How was the public information conveyed by its founder shaped by existing racist discourses? 
How did Shepard add to those discourses, or in what ways did he subvert those discourses? How 
did he structure his messages when speaking to a mixed audience, i.e., men, women, black, 
white, of different social and economic classes? In the field of historical information studies, one
way to critically engage with history is through this type of in-depth analysis of the discourses circulating in society during that epoch rather than looking at a discursive act in isolation.

Shepard’s radio address had to walk a fine line between asserting his intelligence and basic humanity and without seeming too forceful for white audiences, particularly since it was primarily an appeal for money. The specific CDA methodology I am using is the context-sensitive, discourse-historical approach which requires me to situate Shepard’s speech in a socio-historical context. This method allows me to analyze the discourses found in Shepard’s text within the cultural limitations under which he was laboring. As Bourdieu explains, “the content of interests cannot be determined abstractly. What interests are, that is, what they amount to in any particular instance of action or struggle, can be determined only through a careful empirical or historical inquiry into the distinctive properties of the fields concerned” (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991, p. 16). So, when considering socio-historical context, the text will not simply be analyzed as if it were presented in isolation but will be situated among some of the broader histories of the South in general and Durham in particular (such as Anderson, J.B., 2011 who wrote a history of Durham County; Anderson, J.D., 1988 who wrote a history of the education of blacks in the South; Brown, 2008 who wrote specifically about African Americans in Durham; Woodson, 2006 who wrote about African American education; and Woodward, 1951 & 1955 who wrote histories of the South) – specifically, discourses around black higher education in the South, the Great Depression and the identities blacks were attempting to forge for themselves, in
particular, the rise of the ‘New Negro’\textsuperscript{5} – that shed light on Shepard’s text within a larger cultural context.

\textsuperscript{5} The idea of the New Negro arose during the Harlem Renaissance and was a phrase initiated within the African American community rather than being forced on it from the outside. There was a sense amongst African Americans that they were experiencing great gains in the output and quality of intellectual thought and business ventures, as well as making greater contributions to United States culture through literature, art and music. “America seeking a new spiritual expansion and artistic maturity, trying to found an American literature, a national art, and national music implies a Negro-American culture seeking the same satisfactions and objectives” (Locke, 1997, p. xxvi).
Chapter 2: Theoretical underpinning

Critical Theories and LIS

I will discuss the content of “God Bless Old North Carolina” using critical discourse analysis, CRT and Bourdieu’s theories as a way of making sense of the messages in the text as well as the motives behind them. Many LIS scholars apply critical theories, including those of Bourdieu, to their work and advocate for others to do the same – including library historians who explore alternative library history instead of the usual hegemonic narratives (Hand, 2011; Harris, 1973; Malone, 2015).

Christine Pawley (1998) made the call to critically examine the effect of class on LIS curriculum. Pawley cites Gramsci’s theory that the acceptance of existing hegemonic structures is more consensual than coerced and she points out “According to Antonio Gramsci, a powerful group achieves hegemony when it gains control over a range of values and norms, to the extent that these are so embedded in society that they receive unquestioned acceptance” (p. 127). Pawley details four traditional foci adopted by LIS curriculums – links with the corporate world, professionalization, recognition as a science, and its contribution to the “stratification of literacy and of educational institutions” (p.136). She suggests adding more theory as a foundation of LIS curriculum rather than as occasional electives, particularly social theory, and concludes:

The tools for undertaking a rigorous, theoretical, and empowering analysis of current far-ranging societal changes are available to LIS faculty. It is their responsibility to seek out and pass these tools on to the next generation of information professionals (p. 142).

Unfortunately, sixteen years after Pawley’s suggestion to add more theory to LIS curricula, Schroeder and Hollister (2014) still found a lack of critical theory in LIS curriculum. They surveyed librarians about their awareness of critical theory, how critical theory affects their practices as well as librarians’ engagement in social justice issues. Although many of the
librarians surveyed were aware of social justice issues and incorporated such practices into their library services, fewer were exposed to critical theory. Like Pawley before them, the authors suggest that critical theory should be taught in LIS programs and “suggest the possibility of exploring critical theories as the basis of LIS” (2014, p. 114).

Curriculum is not the only area identified as a place that could benefit from the increased use of critical theories. Leckie, Given, and Buschman’s book _Critical theory for library and information science: exploring the social from across the disciplines_ (2010) makes a strong case for using critical theories as research and/or analysis tools. It has chapters by various LIS professionals looking at theorists from multiple disciplines and explains how each theory can aid in LIS research. In her chapter, “Social Capital, Symbolic Violence, and Fields of Cultural Production: Pierre Bourdieu and Library and Information Science,” Lisa Hussey argues for more LIS researchers to explore Bourdieu’s theories. Hussey finds that Bourdieu’s concept of habitus offers a coherent explanation about the ways in which you and I view the world through recognition of patterns, rules, and expectations based on one’s social class, family history, gender, education, and interactions with others (2010, p. 43). Because habitus is created by past experiences, early experiences have a large effect on a person’s perceptions. Such experiences can have more of an effect on a person’s perception than “objective” reality. It is this reminder to contextualize ideas, including the expression of those ideas through language, within an individual’s world view that makes this theory particularly appropriate to critical discourse analysis.

Some researchers have already realized the applicability of critical theory to LIS research. Budd and Knox have both used the theories of Bourdieu as a framework for their analysis. Budd’s 2003 article, “The Library, Praxis, and Symbolic Power” is particularly
applicable to a discourse analysis of Shepard’s speech as part of the article deals specifically with how “[s]ymbolic power is, naturally, exercised in part through language” (p. 24). He includes the observation quoted below to bolster his point that library professionals, who organize information through cataloging and classification, are privileging what Bourdieu would call a legitimate language:

One must not forget that the relations of communication par excellence – linguistic exchanges – are also relations of symbolic power in which the power relations between speakers or their respective groups are actualized (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991, p. 37).

As such, information institutions hold a tremendous amount of symbolic power. It is incumbent on information professionals, faculty and researchers to practice self-reflection on how they are using their symbolic power rather than accepting the status quo. Simple acceptance can make the power imbalances in the world invisible because certain things just become part of our “normal” lives.

Knox explores the relationship between symbolic power and intellectual freedom when she reminds librarians:

The codes, organizations, and research constitute a symbolic system that is produced by specialists [librarians]. The practical philosophy undergirding support for intellectual freedom leads to the consolidation of librarians’ social capital and power within their institutions (2014, p. 19).

“Trippin’ over the Color Line: The Invisibility of Race in Library and Information Studies” is a 2005 article by Todd Honma that ultimately examined the racism within LIS at that time by looking at the history of libraries as an institution and how the institution reproduced existing hegemonic structures. Honma asserts that the terms "multiculturalism” and "diversity” have historically been stand-ins for NOT discussing race and racism in LIS.
Hope Olson (2007) and Jonathan Furner (2007) both use critical theory to question the very classification systems librarians use to categorize information. Olson uses feminist theory to dig deeper into a critical examination of the sexism, heteronormativity, chauvinism, and xenophobia of classification systems by questioning the assumption that naming is neutral. She also questions whether we even need controlled vocabulary. She speaks about the gendered nature of the Aristotelian logic as the basis for many classification systems and suggests other ways of arranging knowledge in forms that are more connected rather than hierarchical. Jonathan Furner on the other hand, employs a CRT perspective to study the frequently unacknowledged racialized nature of the Dewey Decimal Classification (DDC). Again, like Bourdieu’s thoughts on the legitimate language, Furner claims information institutions contribute to “legitimizing the ideology of dominant groups” (p. 148) and uses CRT to question the structural bias inherent in existing classification schemes that are often invisible to those designing and using said classifications.

Noting the library profession’s long-standing support of freedom of speech but wary of reinforcing hate speech, researchers such as Martin, McCann, Morales and Williams (2013) have used critical theory to examine the Internet’s role in reproducing and reinforcing structural racism. They also give information professionals ways to combat this structural racism; particularly considering how often patrons now use the internet for information and entertainment. Along those lines, Noble (2013) uncovers instances of marginalized groups being confronted with racist and sexist stereotypes when using search engines such as Google.

Archivists are also applying critical theories and acknowledging institutionalized racism in their research. Trouillot warns in *Silencing the past: power and the production of history* (1995) that the procedures involved in creating and processing archives can lead to the exclusion
of certain voices, themes, producers and evidence. He reminds us that archivists have the power to affect how a society understands its past and urges archivists to acknowledge this power and responsibility rather than clinging to the illusion of neutrality. This is a call to archivists to include counter-narratives in their collections and acknowledge and adjust for their biases in collection practices.

In “Embracing the Power of Archives”, Randall C. Jimerson likens an archive to a temple (place of authority, veneration), prison (place of control), and restaurant (place of interpretation and mediation) (2005, pp. 19-20). He reiterates that controlling the past means having power. Powerful people dominate archives, not surprisingly. The leader’s records are the ones that we usually keep. Counter storytelling is a way to add voices other than the “leaders” into archival collections.

Dunbar (2006) suggests CRT can be useful in thinking about the historical and administrative aspects of archiving materials as well as its usefulness as a research methodology. Archivists and records managers are usually the keepers of history as well as social artifacts so it is unsurprising that an important CRT methodology that Dunbar gravitates toward in his article is counter narratives also known as counter stories. Dunbar cites several authors, including Solórzano and Yosso (2002) who define counter-storytelling “as a method of telling the stories of those people whose experiences are not often told (i.e., those on the margins of society). The counter-story is also a tool for exposing, analyzing, and challenging majoritarian stories of racial privilege” (Solórzano & Yosso, p. 32).

CRT provides a research toolset that might be useful in raising social consciousness about bias based on social constructs such as race within archival discourse. Additionally,…CRT can assist in establishing a voice and identity for underrepresented and marginalized populations that can be expressed through an agency of self empowerment based on issues of significance to them (Dunbar, p. 127).
Using critical discourse analysis as a methodology is strengthened having a foundation in theories that foreground issues of hegemony, power and privilege. There is also a strong foundation of earlier research to build upon. To that end, CRT and the theories of Pierre Bourdieu provide the theoretical framework for the research presented here. In this analysis, I acknowledge my role as an interpreter of the past using theories developed long after the text I am discussing was written. I am not claiming that the actors involved knowingly used theories such as interest convergence, which will be discussed in the following section, as those theories did not even exist. I am, instead, suggesting that theories existing today may offer a more nuanced perspective on historical narratives and suggest novel ways of thinking about the autonomy of dominated actors, such as how they carved out pockets of power in a discriminatory society. To do this, I will follow Reisigl and Wodak’s (2005, p. 33) framework closely, to “look at the data carefully, to apply…analytical tools prudently and to reconstruct the context of the discursive events meticulously, in order to provide transparent and intersubjectively comprehensible interpretations and analyses” (Reisigl & Wodak 2005, p. 33).

**Critical Race Theory**

Critical race theory (CRT) originated during the 1980s when African American scholars including Derrick Bell (1980), Patricia Williams (1991), and Mari Matsuda (1991) realized that critical legal theory did not provide an adequate framework to explain racial disparities in the courts and in incarceration rates. Contemporary legal scholars such as Michelle Alexander have continued developing this theory and it has now spread beyond legal studies to education, LIS, media studies, etc. CRT presupposes the existence of racism as a daily occurrence enabling the
researcher to look at underlying structures that reinforce and reproduce racism\textsuperscript{6}. Parsons and Plakhotnic (2006) identify four common tenets across much of CRT research:

1.) racism is endemic to US life;
2.) challenging ahistoricism and pursuit of a contextual/historical analysis of social issues;
3.) use of interdisciplinary research practices that are still evolving and developing, and;
4.) incorporating the common experiences and shared experiences as the "other" that oppressed people bring to the struggle to reshape knowledge (Parsons & Plakhotnic, 2006, p. 163).\textsuperscript{7}

There is also a social justice element to CRT. “Critical race theory works toward the end of eliminating racial oppression as part of the broader goal of ending all forms of oppression” (Morfin et al., 2006, p. 251). One way critical race theorists do this is by exposing white privilege and invisible norms that undergird the social, economic and political structures of the United States. This places the spotlight on institutionalized racism rather than personal bigotry. Institutionalized racism is often so entrenched as to go unnoticed and so, unchallenged. Omi and Winant explain, “Everybody learns some combination, some version, of the rules of racial classification, and of their own racial identity, often without obvious teaching or conscious inculcation. Our perception of race becomes 'commonsense' – a way of comprehending, explaining and acting in the world” (1994, p. 13). These rules are so ingrained that they cannot be considered a coherent set of beliefs or actions. “They are instead sets of lived meanings, practices, and social relations that are often internally inconsistent. They have elements within


themselves that see-through to the heart of the unequal benefits of a society and at one and the same time tend to reproduce the ideological relations and meanings that maintain the hegemony of the dominant race” (Apple, 1995, p. 14).

There are times when invisible norms are dragged into the light and institutionalized racism is openly challenged. One could point to civil rights gains as times when racist structures were dismantled. However, this gets back to one of the sub-theories of CRT that problematizes the idea that civil rights gains were as straightforwardly positive as history would have us believe; this also brings us back to the legal studies origins of CRT. Derrick Bell⁸ created interest convergence theory to explain certain civil rights victories. As this theory is particularly suited to shed light on the rhetorical strategies Shepard uses during his speech and in the private messages that provide contextual background for this speech, it is prudent to spend some time discussing interest convergence.

Quite simply put, the interest convergence theory advances the idea that “[t]he interests of blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when it converges with the interests of whites” (Bell, 1980, p. 523). Majority groups can safely allow de jure gains that will benefit them in the end, either directly or by pacifying groups with laws that make very little material or de facto difference in the day-to-day struggles of minorities and do not materially affect the hegemonic structure of the United States. An often-cited example of interest convergence at work is the 1954 Brown v Board of Education decision (Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Opinion; May 17, 1954; Records of the Supreme Court of the United

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States; Record Group 267; National Archives). Derrick Bell theorized that the Supreme Court was motivated to grant the NAACP’s long-sought victory because blacks, returning to the United States after fighting in both the Korean War and World War II, had experienced more freedom overseas than they enjoyed in the United States. The United States was also in the midst of the Cold War. During the Cold War, the United States positioned itself as a bastion of freedom and democracy as opposed to the U.S.S.R. They could not afford any possible civil unrest within the United States created by the unfair treatment that African American soldiers found when they returned home. Unrest would damage the United States’ international reputation for being a free, democratic society.

The Brown v Board of Education decision could achieve the goal of mollifying African American citizens as well as reinforcing the United States’ position as a democratic society, thus strengthening its reputation in the eyes of other countries who could become allies during the Cold War (pp. 524-525). Many of Shepard’s actions can be interpreted as canny uses of interest convergence, particularly when he proposed measures that helped NCCN while maintaining segregated institutions of higher education in North Carolina, which was in the interest of state politicians as will be discussed in more depth in following chapters. Intimately tied to interest convergence theory is the concept of revisionist history. Revisionist history reexamined America's historical record, replacing comforting majoritarian interpretations of events with ones that square more accurately with minorities’ experiences. It also offers evidence, sometimes suppressed in that very record, to support those new interpretations (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, p. 20). Returning to the Brown v Board of Education decision, revisionist history reinterprets that decision as merely a victory for civil rights and proof of the moral superiority of the United States. Any mentions of ulterior motives were removed from historical accounts, making this
decision seem purely altruistic. Bell makes the case that this decision was made to serve the best interest of the existing powers in the U.S., thus strengthening its international position and supporting its current hegemonic structure. Thus, Bell’s re-interpretation is an attempt to complicate (or trouble) the more simplistic, edited histories many of us were taught.

**Pierre Bourdieu**

The theories of Pierre Bourdieu dovetail nicely with CRT in that his theories are primarily concerned with culture and power; they discuss the establishment and maintenance of social hierarchies and, like CRT, are concerned with institutionalized structures. Bourdieu was a French sociologist, anthropologist and philosopher whose key concepts include the theory of habitus, cultural capital and symbolic capital and he focused much of his work on educational institutions.

**Habitus**

The theory of habitus undergirds Bourdieu’s other concepts. In *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977), Bourdieu used these words to define habitus:

> The structures constitutive of an environment produce habitus, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as the structuring structure, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively "regulated" and "regular" without in any way being the product of obedience to the rules (Bourdieu, 1977, p.72).

Habitus refers to a set of enduring but largely unconscious ideas shared by members of a social class or status group about how society works and what shapes one’s chances of success within

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These suppositions cause individuals to act in ways that reproduce these status distinctions and, ultimately, reinforce them. For example, individuals are disposed to believe that a degree is necessary to economic and social advancement so they seek advanced educational opportunities and their predispositions seem to be supported by the fact that many employers do indeed judge candidates based on educational attainment, even excluding those who do not have certain degrees thus reinforcing the ideology that matriculation through legitimized educational institutions are a means for advancement (Bourdieu, 1977).

Cultural and Social Capital

Two other important concepts that are of particular importance to both an understanding of Shepard and of the South are cultural and social capital. Before considering cultural capital, let us separately define what the terms culture and capital mean in this context. “Culture includes beliefs, traditions, values, and language; it also mediates practices by connecting individuals and groups to institutionalized hierarchies” (Swartz, 1997, p.1). Bourdieu’s idea of capital extends Marxist theories beyond considerations of material or economic capital to include symbolic, cultural and social resources. Such resources rise to the level of capital when they become so valued that people are willing to struggle to obtain these resources. In general, Bourdieu identified four types of capital: economic capital such as property and money, cultural capital which includes cultural goods and services, social capital which are the other people you know and networks you can access, and symbolic capital which is the legitimacy you are afforded (Swartz, 1997). These types of capital are interrelated; that is, having one type of capital can lead to an increase in another.

Cultural capital includes non-financial assets that involve educational, social and intellectual knowledge. It can be given to children who grow up in non-wealthy but highly-
educated and intellectually-sophisticated families and so are acculturated to certain forms of knowledge and skills and, in turn, reproduce those behaviors. They are likely to also seek education. The advantages of acculturation and education are then reproduced in them, giving them a higher status in society. It is also exclusionary. Without certain status or cultural signals, you can be excluded from certain circles (Lamont & Lareau, 1988, p. 156).

Social capital consists of who you know, your networks and acquaintances. In a society separated by race and class, access to economic capital often depends on both what you know, i.e., cultural capital, as well as who you know, i.e., social capital.

[T]he economically and culturally well-endowed liberal professions...invest heavily in education and especially in those cultural activities that provide a social capital of connections, reputation, and respect that are useful for professional careers (Swartz, 1997, p. 181).

Although African American in a very discriminatory and segregated South, Shepard’s family endowed him with the cultural and social capital that he used later in life to gain influence and a measure of economic capital, which will be discussed in greater depth in Chapters 4 and 5.

**Symbolic Capital, Symbolic Power and Symbolic Violence**

Symbolic capital consists of the resources available to an individual based on honor, prestige or recognition; it functions as an authoritative embodiment of cultural value. It is the acceptance of authority by the general populace that gives symbolic capital its crucial source of power. “Power is not in words or symbols per se but in the ‘belief in the legitimacy of the words and of him who utter[s]’; for Bourdieu, this power resides not in the force of ideas but in their relation to social structure” (Swartz, 1997, p. 88). For example, a degree is a symbol that is endowed with authority.
The concept of symbolic power accounts for the unspoken, often unconscious, methods of social and cultural domination that are endemic in everyday social interactions. A person with more symbolic capital, say a higher degree of educational attainment, may use this against another who has less by trying to influence that individual’s actions. This can happen through the reliance on structures that perpetuate existing social hierarchies. In this way, it reproduces inequalities in much the same way as institutionalized racism. Symbolic power includes actions that have discriminatory or damaging implications, such as the continuation of racism, and it perpetuates its effect through the invisibility of power relations situated within hegemonic society. “Activities and resources gain in symbolic power, or legitimacy, to the extent that they become separated from underlying material interests and hence go misrecognized as representing disinterested forms of activities and resources” (Swartz, 1997, p. 90).

While symbolic power needs someone to hold said power; it also needs the subjugated to accept their position in the exchange of social value that happens between them. “Symbolic power is a legitimating power that elicits the consent of both the dominant and the dominated” (Swartz, 1997, p. 89). The exercising of symbolic power can happen “only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it” (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991, p.164). Considering the ways in which people can wield symbolic power to influence others, it is unsurprising that it can lead to symbolic violence against the subjugated.

Symbolic violence is an extension of the term “violence” to include various modes of social and/or cultural domination. Symbolic violence is the invisible domination that every-day social habits maintain over the people. Bourdieu himself stressed how the dominated accept as legitimate their own condition of domination (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 167). Indeed,
Bourdieu tells us that such “soft” violence has been mostly overlooked in social theories, and is subject to “misrecognition” in everyday life. Misrecognition allows symbolic violence to hide itself within dominant discourses and can render the power imbalances in the world invisible because certain things just become part of our “normal” lives. Reflection is needed to combat these invisible norms.

The Power of Language

Also particularly apropos to a CDA of Shepard’s text are Bourdieu’s thoughts on language and power. Societies typically have, what Bourdieu termed, a legitimate language. This language has two main features that distinguish it from more common, colloquial forms of expression or from slang. One feature is that this legitimate language is distinct from common or colloquial language. The other feature is correctness, i.e. in the way that grammar is used, or other rules of language learned through institutions or inductively through observation of those who “speak proper English.” Although mastery of the legitimate language can be learned through formalized institutions, such as the educational system, certain members of the population are exposed to it at home as well and so have an advantage over those who are not immersed in the legitimate language within their social and family groups. This leads to an unequal distribution of linguistic capital (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991).

The power that comes from being acculturated to the legitimate language is not merely a linguistic issue but also a social one: “the whole social structure is present in each interaction” (p. 67). Competency and authority in the legitimate language are also a form of capital – linguistic capital. The more linguistic capital one has, the greater his capacity to manipulate a given situation (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991, pp. 43-65). The less linguistic capital one has, and the more formal the situation, the higher the possibilities of being effectively silenced, leading to
a form of symbolic annihilation. “Speakers lacking the legitimate competence are de facto\textsuperscript{10} excluded from the social domains in which this competence is required, or are condemned to silence” (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991, p. 55).

Lack of competence of the legitimate language entails exclusion from the mainstream society or silence. By lack of competence Bourdieu means not so much lack of linguistic or grammatical competence as lack of “practical competence.” This is the capacity to produce expressions which are appropriate to the circumstances, which can include the ability to make oneself heard, believed, obeyed, and so on. Practical competence also requires a recognition of the right and authority to speak in a given situation (Kramsch, 2008).

CRT and Bourdieu, The Dynamics of Power in Society

Pierre Bourdieu’s theories emphasized how social classes reproduce social privileges across generations through various types of social capital. His theories largely explored the dynamics of power in society, particularly the ways in which power is transmitted through generations, maintaining existing hegemonies. Bourdieu introduced concepts such as cultural, social, and symbolic forms of capital (as opposed to traditional economic forms of capital), habitus and symbolic violence. Critical race theory is also concerned with the dynamics of power in society. Its focus is on forms of institutionalized racism that, as Bourdieu also explored, support existing power imbalances and hegemonic structures. CRT grew from critical legal studies but included the notion that racism is endemic to society and that this racism is engrained in the very institutions that make up the economic, social and political landscape of the United

\textsuperscript{10} Emphasis from the original author.
States. This institutionalized racism allows white supremacy to be maintained over time. Both CRT and Bourdieu’s theories involve a social justice component aimed at dismantling imbalanced power structures, with CRT specifically focusing on disrupting institutions that reproduce racial oppression. Although Bourdieu worked with sociology and many of his theories grew from his research in the field of education and CRT came from legal scholars, these critical theories have crossed disciplinary lines and are now used by researchers in a variety of academic disciplines including LIS.
Chapter 3: Methodology

In this chapter, I describe my data collection method and research analysis approach and explain their appropriateness to the research questions and usefulness in exploring the theories described in the previous chapter. First, I briefly describe my data collection method. Secondly, I explain the concept of context-sensitive discourse-historical analysis [CSDH] and why it is particularly useful in examining and situating the discourses found in Shepard’s “God Bless Old North Carolina” text. Thirdly, I touch on the use of critical discourse analysis in LIS and how it can be a beneficial way to uncover the ways in which information is produced and reproduced in society.

Data Collection

I used both secondary and primary sources for data collection. Primary data was collected through archival research making extensive use of the NCCU Archives Collection, particularly the James E. Shepard Papers, 1905-1990 and The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill’s Wilson Library Southern Historical Collection, North Carolina Collection and the Southern Oral History Project Collection both digitally and onsite in North Carolina. Other sources for primary documentation included The North Carolina Office of Archives and History, American Slave Narrative: An online anthology and the North Carolina History Project. First-person accounts, personal letters, images and other documents such as newspaper clippings are the types of primary evidence from which this work draws.

Critical Discourse Analysis

This primary data helped contextualize Shepard’s text and provided empirical evidence to support the conclusions made through critical discourse analysis (CDA). CDA differs from other
forms of textual analysis, such as rhetorical criticism and classical rhetoric (Frey, Botan & Kreps, 2000) in several ways. CDA acknowledges the real world context in which the discursive act being analyzed was produced and heard or read. To aid in this, it looks at multiple levels of analysis including both the text itself and the socio-historical context in which it is situated, showing how these levels are related. Because of this, CDA is concerned with social issues, not just those immediately surrounding the text but also larger social contexts that are necessary for a full understanding of the epoch in which the text was created and heard or read (Huckin, 1997).

Of particular importance to the research analysis of this work:

Critical discourse analysis assumes a social constructionist view of discourse. Following the poststructuralist philosophies of Michel Foucault, Mikhail Bakhtin, and others, CDA practitioners assume that people's notions of reality are constructed largely through interaction with others, as mediated by the use of language and other semiotic systems. Thus, reality is not seen as immutable but as open to change—which raises the possibility of changing it for the better. By focusing on language and other elements of discursive practice, CDA analysts try to illuminate ways in which the dominant forces in a society construct versions of reality that favor the interests of those same forces…\(^\text{11}\)

I use several of Reisigl and Wodak’s (2005) terms throughout the remainder of this work so explanation of those terms are included below.

**Definition of terms**

**Discourse**

…the discourse-historical approach perceives both written and spoken language as a form of social practice (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). A discourse is a way of signifying a particular domain of social practice from a particular perspective (Fairclough 1995: 14). As critical discourse analysts we assume a dialectical

\(^{11}\) Retrieved from http://web4.uwindsor.ca/users/w/winter/40-328.nsf/bab13a777f84009f85256ea600759a11/10f8b04ff3a317885256d88005720f6/$FILE/cda.howto.doc

Huckin included six major respects that differentiate CDA from other forms of textual analysis, not all of which are included here. For all six see Huckin, T. N. (1997). Critical discourse analysis. In T. Miller (Ed.), *Functional approaches to written text* (pp. 78-92).
relationship between particular discursive practices and the specific fields of action (including situations, institutional frames and social structures) in which they are embedded: on the one hand, the situational, institutional and social settings shape and affect discourses, and on the other, discourses influence discursive as well as non-discursive social and political processes and actions. In other words, discourses as linguistic social practices can be seen as constituting non-discursive and discursive social practices and, at the same time, as being constituted by them (Wodak, 2000).

To put it more precisely: "discourse" can be understood as a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens, very often as “texts”, that belong to specific semiotic types, i.e. genres (Wodak, 2000).

**Text**

“We conceive “texts” as materially durable products of linguistic actions, as communicatively dissociated, “dilated” linguistic actions that during their reception are disembodied from their situation of production” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005, p. 36).

**Strategies**

(1) How are persons named and referred to linguistically?

(2) What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?

(3) By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimize the exclusion, discrimination, suppression and exploitation of others?

(4) From what perspective or point of view are these namings, attributions and arguments expressed?

(5) Are the respective discriminating utterances articulated overtly, are they even intensified or are they mitigated?

By “strategy” we generally mean a more or less accurate and more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim. As far as the discursive strategies are concerned, that is to say, systematic ways of using language, we locate them at different levels of linguistic organization and complexity (Wodak, 2000).

*Context-sensitive discourse-historical approach*
The specific CDA methodology used to analyze “God Bless Old North Carolina” is inspired by the work of German theorists analyzing racist and anti-Semitic discourses still occurring throughout Europe. Some of the theories applied to understand such discourses are also very useful in understanding discourses of racism used in the United States. In particular, I use Reisigl and Wodak’s context-sensitive, discourse-historical approach (CSDH). “The discourse-historical approach, committed to critical discourse analysis, adheres to the sociophilosophical orientation of critical theory” (2005, p. 32).

Using CSDH will help interrogate the systems and social forces within which “God Bless Old North Carolina” as an information object is situated. CSDH, like other forms of CDA, relies on a mix of empirical data such as various types of text corpora including letters, newspapers, written or televised speeches and interviews. CSDH also includes background information about the historical or cultural milieu in which the empirical data is situated. As such, CSDH is interdisciplinary, often including aspects of linguistics, sociology and history (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005).

Reisigl and Wodak (2005) use a triangulation approach centered around the idea of context. They consider the:

- immediate language or text-internal co-text…of a single utterance (lexical solidarities, collocational particularities and connotations, implications, presuppositions as well as thematic and syntactic coherence), and the local interactive processes of negotiation and conflict management (including turn-taking, the exchange of speech acts or speech functions, mitigation, hesitation and perspectivation)

- the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses (discourse representation and allusions or evocations)

- the extra linguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific ‘context of situation’ (the formality of situation, the place, the time, the occasion of the communicative event, the group/s of recipients, the interactive/political roles of the participants, their political
and ideological orientation, their sex or gender, age, profession, level of education as well as their ethnic, regional, national, religious affiliation or membership)

- the broader sociopolitical and historical context which the discursive practices are embedded in and related to; that is to say, the fields of action and the history of the discursive event as well as the history to which the discourse topics are related (p. 41).

Their ideas on the process of negotiation and conflict management strategies are particularly applicable to the current work as Shepard, a black man addressing a mixed audience (gender, race and socio-economic status) in the Jim Crow South, had to choose his words wisely to get his point across without inciting the anger or mistrust of others. In order to understand the structure of Shepard’s arguments, the terms “mitigation” and “perspectivation” as well as predicational, referential and argumentation strategies will feature prominently in the analysis chapter.

Mitigation strategies are those that serve to diminish potentially racially sensitive utterances. Some speeches use the reverse, intensifying strategies, but as the discursive utterance studied in this work is by a member of the racially oppressed group, rather than the oppressors, the analysis provided in Chapter 5 will include examples of mitigation not intensification. Shepard’s utterances used mitigation so often throughout his tenure as NCCN president that among some he was known as an apologist. Ten years after “God Bless Old North Carolina” Shepard’s mitigation strategies eventually caused unrest amongst other black leaders triggering a Harlem newspaper to lambast him, charging that he should be known as the “Minister of Apology in the Department of Propaganda for the Southern States and Their Sympathizers in Racial Discrimination Predicated on the Legal and Systematic Repression of Negroes” (We Ain’t Ready, 1944).
Referential strategies are how the speaker constructs his own and his audience’s social identity. Referential strategies can be used to create in-groups and out-groups, us versus them. Predicational strategies add an element of value judgement as they label groups with positive or negative traits. The use of stereotypes may be a form of predicational strategy. Referential and predicational strategies are related because there is typically some sort of judgement already built in to how a speaker refers to himself. Typically, the group he or she is identifying with is associated with positive traits while the out-group may be associated with negative ones. Perspectivation applies to how the speaker positions “their point of view in the reporting, description, narration or quotation of …events or utterances” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005, p. 45). Perspectivation on its own has been studied, for more information see, Bamberg 1997, Graumann & Kallmeyer, 2002 or Holler & Klepper, 2013. Bamberg’s three questions related to narrative positioning are a useful framework to understand perspectivation, when we keep in mind that perspectivation is the way in which the speaker positions his or her point of view. Adapted for discourse analysis those questions are:

1. How are the actors positioned in relation to one another within the text? We will see Shepard vary his position to others, particularly to African Americans.

2. How does the speaker position himself to the audience? Of particular note in Shepard’s address will be how he positions himself as a North Carolinian.

3. How does the speaker position themselves to themselves? We will see Shepard assert his authority as a black leader while also using mitigation strategies to appear humble and non-threatening to a white audience (Bamberg, 1997, p. 337).

Argumentative strategies are used to justify utterances and are frequently part of discursive texts meant to persuade others. Shepard uses a “legitimising argumentum ad
“verecundiam” strategy in the form of borrowed authority, that is, he justifies his position by citing other authorities (Reisigl & Wodak, 2005, p. 192). Also present in Shepard’s speech is “argumentum ad populum” in which he appeals to the emotions or convictions of the masses (p. 71). It is important to note that both of these argumentation schemes are considered fallacies because the arguments are not based on facts (pp. 68-70).

Although the CSDH approach Reisigl and Wodak use is geared toward analyzing the texts and utterances of people who practice discrimination rather than on those being discriminated against, I find this method of analysis appropriate to complement the Bourdiesusien and critical race theories around which this research is based as this type of analysis aims to uncover discourses of discrimination and relies heavily on historical and sociological context to do so. CSDH provides a way to operationalize CRT’s revisionist history theory because it encourages what Reisigl and Wodak call a “retrospective critique” of past discursive events. It is more than looking at word usage within the text, semantic inconsistencies, etc. as it seeks to critically reconstruct history. Understanding that reconstructing history can involve a certain amount of subjectivity, CSDH offers a less biased way of analyzing and writing about the structural effects of the past by employing triangulation that includes empirical evidence to decrease the risk of subjective analysis by providing observable data – such as primary documents including letters and newspapers – to corroborate critical analysis. “Depending on the respective object of investigation, it attempts to transcend the pure linguistic dimension and to include, more or less systematically, the historical, political, sociological and/or psychological dimension in the analysis and interpretation of a specific discursive occasion” (2005, p. 35).

Using this approach, I will triangulate the socio-historical discourses occurring in the South, particularly in Durham, in the years surrounding 1934, with context that offers insight to
Shepard’s underlying motivations, drawn both from secondary works and his own letters and communications, with the content of “God Bless Old North Carolina.”

This critical view on the power of discursive strategies is a fundamental part of understanding how to reconceptualize historical discourses beyond mere descriptions of the content to how that content is shaped by socio-historical conditions, the hegemonic position of the speaker relative to the audience, and the accommodations such social relationships may entail. “Within this paradigm, ‘discourse’ is defined as a social, not an individual, behaviour: ‘I understand discourse as institutionalised language behaviour, this language behaviour determines actions and possesses power. This discourse is also real, constitutes reality’” (Reisigl and Wodak, 2005, p. 27). Shepard may be seen as a leader to some in North Carolina because of his role as president of a college but he is still a black man so he occupies two simultaneous realities: one in which he is symbolically powerful as an educated, middle-class, man and the other in which he is disenfranchised and powerless as a black in the Jim Crow era South. The discourses in his text must navigate these two social realities. We will see him establish his right to be heard right in the opening sentence of his address, “The Durham Life Insurance Company has graciously given this period to a representative of the Negro race to speak a word to the people of North Carolina in their behalf” (para. 1 in Ch.5, the “God Bless Old North Carolina Address” section of this text). In this very first sentence he did not provide his title for power, but relies

12 Here, Reisigl and Wodak are quoting from Link, J. (1983) ‘Was ist und was bringt Diskurstaktik’, kultuRRevolution, No. 2, p. 60.

on the borrowed power of economic capital, as evidenced by his reference to a business that was well known at the time, the Durham Life Insurance Company; he also acknowledged to the audience that he is a black man speaking on behalf of others of his race positioning himself in relation to his multiple audiences and asserting the reality that he can, in fact, speak for the African Americans in North Carolina.

Shepard’s educational attainment gave him the linguistic skills to leverage his cultural capital to gain economic capital for NCCN. The analysis of the remainder of Shepard’s text will show his use of those skills. For example, Shepard strategically uses distancing language to reinforce the secondary status of black southerners speaking to whites. We will see him talk of preserving the best of white civilization and producing black leaders who can contribute to whites’ history by choosing terms like “your” rather than the more possessive and inclusive “our.” We cannot properly contextualize his socio-historical context without a sketch of the man and his times. Before turning to the discourse analysis of “God Bless Old North Carolina” we will briefly examine Shepard’s background.
Chapter 4: James E. Shepard: Brief Biography

James E. Shepard belonged to a “group of remarkable blacks [who] cooperated in new dreams and made them reality”; together they “provided the leadership, initiative, and daring” (Anderson, J.B., 2011, p. 187). Shepard was the son of Harriet E. Whitted Shepard and Raleigh minister Augustus Shepard who eventually accepted the pastorate of the White Rock Baptist Church, which brought him and his children to Durham, NC. James Edward Shepard was born November 3, 1875 and was the eldest of 12 children (Anderson, J.B., 2011; Vann, Murrain & McGhee, Biographical Information).

Although there were competing positions as to whether the education that would be best suited to African Americans was the classical liberal arts tradition of whites\textsuperscript{14} or the rising technical and agricultural educations that some African American leaders espoused,\textsuperscript{15} many blacks internalized the notion of social elevation through education. As part of a middle-class black family, Shepard saw his father advance after attending Shaw University\textsuperscript{16} and he too attended Shaw receiving a degree in pharmacy in 1894.\textsuperscript{17} He used his pharmacy degree for a time and was partial owner and pharmacist of the Durham Drug Company, the first African American drug store in Durham, N.C., opened in 1895. During that same year he married Annie

\textsuperscript{14}Such as the idea created by a white man, Henry Lyman Morehouse, but popularized by Du Bois, of a talented tenth of educated blacks uplifting the rest of the black race (Gates Jr., 2013). Include additional references?

\textsuperscript{15}Most famously espoused by Booker T. Washington and put into practice while he was president of Tuskegee. (Washington, 2012). Include additional references?

\textsuperscript{16}Shaw University, located in Raleigh, North Carolina, opened its doors in 1865 and is the first historically black institution for higher education in the South. It was founded by Henry Martin Tupper, a graduate of Amherst College and Newton Theological Seminary who also served as a soldier in the Union Army during the Civil War. Retrieved from \url{http://www.shawu.edu/About_Shaw/Historical_Perspective/}

\textsuperscript{17}Retrieved from \url{http://www.blackpast.org/aah/shepard-james-edward-1875-1947}. 
Day Robinson. The couple had three daughters, Annie Day, Marion (who died months after she was born), and Marjorie A. Shepard, who eventually served as a librarian at NCCN (Anderson, J.B., 2011; Vann, Murrain & McGhee, Biographical Information).

Shepard benefited from the political gains blacks made during the reconstruction era of the South and served as Comparer of Deeds in the Recorders Office of Washington, D.C. between 1898 and 1900 and as the Deputy Collector of Internal Revenue in Raleigh until 1905.

However, in 1905 Shepard, like his father before him, began working in the ministry serving as Field Superintendent of the International Sunday School Association. While working on behalf of the ministry, Shepard was able to travel abroad to places such as Africa and Rome. With his religious upbringing and career experience, it is not surprising that when his thoughts turned to education for blacks his focus was on training Sunday school teachers and missionaries (Anderson, J.B., 2011).

Shepard wasted no time in attempting to realize his dream. In 1908 he crafted a fund-raising document to build a Bible school modeled on one located in Northfield, Massachusetts, that trained Sunday school teachers and missionaries. His prospectus was ambitious with plans to teach languages and medicine in addition to biblical studies. Shepard’s initial plan was to build this school near Columbia, South Carolina. He was considering a site in North Carolina but it was located in Hillsborough (Anderson, J.B., 2011).

By 1909 Shepard raised $1,000. Shepard decided upon Durham as the site for the National Religious Training School and Chautauqua, eventually to be known as North Carolina Central University (NCCU). The black run Merchants Association in Durham helped convince
tobacco manufacturer Brodie Duke, the eldest of Washington Duke’s children, to donate to Shepard’s prospective school and to sell it twenty acres on Fayetteville Street just outside of Durham in the traditionally black area of town known as Hayti. In 1909 the Merchants Association along with prominent African American businessmen John Merrick and Charles C. Spaulding, physicians Aaron M. Moore and Charles H. Shepard, and educator William Gaston Pearson raised an additional $25,000 for the school. The same African American elite who were involved in Durham entrepreneurship served on the board of the National Religious Training School and Chautauqua for the Colored Race: Julian Carr was treasurer, Shepard, president, and Aaron Moore, secretary. At the opening July, 1910 the first buildings included two dormitories, a dining room, and an auditorium which cost $20,000. The official charter was signed on 28 June 1909, and classes began in 1910 (Anderson, J.B., 2011; Vann, Murrain & McGhee, Biographical Information).

Although originally envisioned as a bible school, “[C]oncessions to pressure from white backers who did not want to lose their black labor pool through education for only white-collar jobs” (Anderson, J.B., 2011, p. 220) were likely part of the reason the school’s curriculum grew to include agriculture, horticulture, and domestic science. Indeed, at the school’s 1912 commencement ceremony the president of the Southern Railway advised faculty and administrators: “‘Above all … avoid creating in the minds of your pupils dissatisfaction with the

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18 Washington Duke was one of the pillars of white Durham society, government, and economy. Duke was a staunch Republican and owned W. Duke & Sons & Co. After Washington Duke retired his son James Buchanan “Buck” Duke took over as president. W. Duke & Sons & Co. would soon become the American Tobacco Company around 1890, which grew so large that at one time it had a monopoly on the tobacco industry that the government tried to disband through antitrust legislation (Anderson, J.B., 2011; Brown, 2008).
opportunities that are open to them.’ The opportunities he meant were agriculture and domestic service” (p. 220).

National Religious Training School and Chautauqua for the Colored Race was built and attempted to raise money during a time when many whites thought blacks were morally and physically deteriorating, a belief that was fueled by an increase in the black crime rate. Thomas F. Dixon, Jr.’s 1905 novel *The Clansman: A Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan*, which was adapted into the 1915 film *Birth of a Nation* by D.W. Griffith, played on stereotypes of black men as little more than savages who could not control their urges, including the desire to rape white women. This both reflected and reinforced white fears and inflated racial tensions around the country (Richardson, 2002; Robinson, 1997, Woodward, 1951), including in Durham:

In 1905 his novel The Klansman came to Durham in the form of a play…The newspaper comment on the play—blatantly racist like the novel, which portrayed a Negro as a brute and a rapist—was that it presented the Negro “as we know him.” The play returned to Durham in 1908, a year after the inauguration of the Jim Crow railroad laws, and the Durham Recorder candidly reported that it revived people’s prejudices, which were already apparent enough without encouragement. When The Klansman came yet again to Durham as the movie *Birth of a Nation*, it was shown at the Academy of Music against the protests of blacks, who understandably feared it would inflame passions and precipitate violence against them (Anderson, J.B., 2011, pp. 221-222).

Jim Crow laws were enacted in the South after the end of Reconstruction. These laws basically revived Black Codes which were enacted between 1687-1865 that restricted black people's right to move about freely, own or lease property and do business as they once again restricted the rights of blacks and mandated legal segregation. Jim Crow laws extended beyond freedoms of

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19 The increase in black crime is a particularly problematic notion as African Americans were frequently charged with little to no cause, particularly in the Jim Crow south where African Americans were sometimes charged under loosely defined vagrancy laws that also allowed the inmate to be conscripted to forced labor. For more information about the black crime rate in the Jim Crow south, particularly how it reinstated a form of forced labor see Blackmon, D. A. (2009). *Slavery by another name: The re-enslavement of black Americans from the Civil War to World War II.*
movement and ownership to separate facilities for whites and blacks, with facilities for blacks being far more lacking in amenities and resources. Segregated facilities included housing, restaurants, schools and modes of transportation. They were a backlash against the meager gains blacks made during Reconstruction and provided a way to effectively maintain the social separation and subjugation of African Americans in the South. Extensive voter fraud and intimidation stripped blacks of the vote and allowed racist, white southern Democrats to gain power in the South. However, Jim Crow was not simply a southern issue. Plessy brought his case against being forced to sit in a segregated railway car all the way to the Supreme Court who gave the famous Plessy v Ferguson ruling (Plessy vs. Ferguson, Judgement, Decided May 18, 1896; Records of the Supreme Court of the United States; Record Group 267; Plessy v. Ferguson, 163, #15248, National Archives) that “separate but equal” accommodations were constitutional. Jim Crow laws began in 1890 and remained legal until the 1964 Civil Rights Act. When the law failed to fully satisfy white southerners’ desires to keep blacks in their place, violence, forced labor or imprisonment frequently bridged that gap (Brown, 2008; Malone, 2015; Stewart, 1998; Woodward, 1955; Wormser, 2003).

The educated black presence in Durham helped mitigate the racial tension felt in much of the rest of the South. “We never had any difficulty along race relations. The status quo people wanted to stay status quo, but as far as having riots and that sort, we didn't have any.”20 Much of Shepard’s success as one of those who maintained the status quo came from the way he manipulated information to strategically gain allies and build power within both the white and

black communities. Lawyer and nephew of one of the African American leaders in Durham, William G. Pearson, Conrad Pearson asserts that Shepard did this in a way that kept him under the radar.

CONRAD ODELL PEARSON: Shepard never left his office to attend any meetings or anything, yet he controlled everything through other people. He was a politician. You don't see no politician out there carrying nobody to the polls; he's sitting up in his office pushing buttons. That's the type of fellow Dr. Shepard was.

WALTER WEARE: So you might see Spaulding more out front, but Shepard was behind pulling the strings.

CONRAD ODELL PEARSON: That's right, pulling the strings.21

According to Pearson, although Shepard remained a Republican in a larger white Southern Democrat state, he was savvy enough to keep the legislative ties he made during the Reconstruction era.

CONRAD ODELL PEARSON: He [Shepard] had a fellow working for him by the name of Charlie Amey, who was a graduate of A & T College. And Charlie Amey would go around every year and meet every legislator and every senator as Dr. Shepard's emissary. And every year Dr. Shepard would send everybody in the legislature—the Senate and the House—a Christmas present. And whatever Dr. Shepard wanted, he got. I was talking to a man about five or six years ago who was running for governor, by the name of Taylor, and something came up about Dr. Shepard. And he said, “Yes, Dr. Shepard used to send my father a Christmas present every year.” His daddy was a big man in the legislature.22

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Letters exchanged between Shepard and North Carolina Governor Ehringhaus support the notion that Shepard was indeed very politically savvy and will be addressed in Chapter 5, particularly in the sections regarding the New South and African American education. His strategy opened educational and employment opportunities to many blacks in Durham, North Carolina while he also preached adherence to the social status quo which appeased many white North Carolinians.

In fact, in a speech likely given in 1944,23 Shepard overtly states:

> If we could somehow clothe our points of view in a garment of reason, the fetish of social equality would at least appear in its true light—merely an emotion with no more reality than a ghost, which stands as a deterrent to amicable race relations. Let us then, for clarity of this discussion, dismiss the statement that the Negro desires social equality, which to many would mean intermarriage (Davis, 2013, p. 188).

He used the symbolic power that his cultural capital afforded him to “reinforce and reproduce social structures and order by providing them within a system of meaning in such a way that they were perceived as legitimate” (Hussey, 2010, p. 49). “Bourdieu assigns a key role to cultural producers (e.g., artists, writers, teachers, and journalists) in legitimating the social order by producing symbolic capital through symbolic labor” (Swartz, 1997, p. 93). Shepard used his role as educator, a legitimizing status, and his university, which was a legitimizing location, to lend legitimacy to his messages of social segregation, non-agitation and non-litigation.

Shepard's education and economic successes positioned him as a cultural producer, a role that afforded him with symbolic power in the African American community in Durham even during the Jim Crow era. “Cultural producers mediate the relationship between culture and class, between infrastructure and superstructure, by constituting cultural markets, or fields, that are

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23 No date is given but it is tentatively identified as being from 1944 (Davis, 2013, p. 90).
vested with their own particular interests” (Swartz, 1997, p. 93). To illustrate Shepard’s power, even in the Jim Crow South, Pearson stated:

“Oh, yes, Shepard could ride the Pullman, and they could get a Pullman for you. Dr. Shepard, I think, opened it up by going down there and buying up the people who sold the tickets. I think he greased them, and by greasing them... If you wanted to go to New York on a Pullman car, you’d go down and the man wouldn't sell you a ticket. If Dr. Shepard sent you down there, you could get a ticket” (Pearson interview, p. 14).

Pearson also asserted “If he’d been white, he would have been governor of this state” (Pearson interview, p. 14).

Shepard remained president of NCCN until his death on October 6, 1947 and continued taking an active, if sometimes covert, role in the black leadership of Durham throughout his life, including through membership in powerful fraternal organizations. From 1928 to 1933 and again from 1936 until his death in 1947, Shepard served as Grand Master of the Prince Hall Freemasons of North Carolina. In this capacity Shepard gave yearly addresses that were structured much like “God Bless Old North Carolina,” beginning by praising North Carolina, mentioning prominent citizens and ending by asking for something to benefit the African American community in Durham (Pearson interview, 1979, p. 32). He also served as Grand Patron of the Order of the Eastern Star,24 as secretary of finances for the Knights of Pythias25, and president of the State Negro Teachers Association. In addition to being on the board of directors and writing the charter for Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Shepard was also on the

24 The Order of the Eastern Star is an appendant to the Masonic Lodge fraternal organization open to Masons and female relations of Masons originally founded in 1876. See http://www.easternstar.org for more information.

25 The Order of Knights of Pythias is an international, non-sectarian fraternal order that was established in 1864 and was the first fraternal order to be chartered by an Act of Congress. See http://www.pythias.org for more information.
“trustee board for the Oxford Colored Orphanage,…the Civic Club,…and the Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Inc.” In 1935 he helped found the Durham Committee on the Affairs of Black People (Anderson, J.B., 2011; Vann, Murrain & McGhee, Biographical Information).
“God Bless Old North Carolina” was given as a radio address with the goal of raising money for the NCCN during the tail end of the Great Depression after the school’s state appropriations had been cut. NCCN also suffered financial setbacks in the years prior. In a 1932 letter to soon to be governor Ehringhaus, Shepard explained that a drop in enrollment cost the school $4,000 in tuition and that he also lost $12,450 in state funding. This speech was an attempt both to gain donors and to stir the people of North Carolina to push the state to increase appropriations to NCCN. While it is known that the following text was meant to be delivered as a radio address as well as the date it was written, 15 November 1934, it is unclear when it was given and on what radio station. Shepard thanks Durham Life Insurance Company for giving him time to speak. In 1927 Durham Life purchased WPTF and still owned it when Shepard gave his address so he may have mentioned them in the opening of his radio address because he was speaking on WPTF (Williams, 2006). However, WDNC was Durham’s first radio station and its first broadcast was in February 1934, several months before the date of “God Bless Old North Carolina.” The content note for “Series 3. Writings and Speeches, 1905-1947” in the Shepard papers at NCCU archives, where “God Bless Old North Carolina” is located, says it contains texts of radio addresses he gave on WDNC however does not identify the radio station on which

26 Capitalization is kept as it was in the typed version of the speech from the Shepard Archives.

27 He served from 1933-1937

each speech was broadcast. “God Bless Old North Carolina” was chosen as an object of study because it includes many sentiments that Shepard would repeat in later speeches. In the 1940 speech “Education in a Democracy,” Shepard mentions former North Carolina Governor Aycock\(^\text{29}\) and Booker T. Washington\(^\text{30}\) as he does in paragraph 16 and 10 respectively in “God Bless Old North Carolina” (Davis, 2013, p. 129). He also quotes the phrase “God bless old North Carolina” uttered by Robert E. Lee (Davis, p.132). Shepard also claims education reduces crime, as he does in paragraph 9 below (Davis, p. 130). Shepard himself lent “God Bless Old North Carolina” weight by quoting directly from it during another radio address he gave several years later (Davis, p. 121). He used this quote to reiterate the sentiment that an educated black made a better servant than an uneducated one (Davis, p. 121).

Before the speech is dissected and discussed in this manner it is provided below in its entirety. Each paragraph is numbered so that it can be more easily referenced in the analysis:

**God Bless Old North Carolina Address**

1. The Durham Life Insurance Company has graciously given this period to a representative of the Negro race to speak a word to the people of North Carolina in their behalf.

2. If I were not jealous of the good name of the state which I love, if I did not so well know the friendly feeling that exists between the white and colored groups in this state, I should have little heart to carry out this assignment tonight. I know that there is a spirit of good will on the part of both races, each for the other. I know also that each race is vitally interested in the success and prosperity of our great state and that we must rise and fall together. I have lived in this neighborhood all my life and have been the beneficiary of the friendly attitude of the white people and the recipient of the good will of my own people. So far as I can see there never was a time when the white people of the state were in a more thoughtful or more generous mood than they are today. There never was a time when the majority of the people was seeking to


\footnote{Washington will be discussed in greater depth throughout Chapter 5.}
know the best way out and to do the things that would enhance the prosperity of all the people of the state. O [sic] believe that we have a great state pregnant with the largest possibilities, a state whose people seek after righteousness and thirst after knowledge. When we read the papers and see such racial outbursts as have occurred recently in other southern states, we feel moved to exclaim in the language of the great Confederate Chieftain General Robert E Lee, “God bless old North Carolina.”

3. It is in this spirit and with this knowledge I approach my task and desire to put before the people of the state some of the problems, some of the achievements and some of the difficulties which are in the way of our larger accomplishments.

4. Our doxologies become more difficult when we confront the anomalous situation in the schools and in the appropriations for higher institutions of learning. A few years ago North Carolina took the lead in what it was accomplishing for the education of the Negro. We received a great deal of publicity for the things we were seeking to do and actually doing. This publicity helped North Carolina in all portions of the world. The state was held up as a model of what two races could do living side by side and yet separate and distinct. Our system was studied by various countries which had a minority group in its midst. We must face this fact frankly that today we are living on the publicity of the past instead of the things we are actually doing. I shall use only the figures of the southern states to prove this statement. In some of those states where we have racial rancor and violence, there is strangely enough accompanying it, a generosity in the appropriations to the Negro schools. Let me deal first with the appropriations for higher education among the Negroes of the south. I take these figures from the offices of the state superintendents of public instruction and they are for the current year. I use round numbers only:

5. Alabama appropriates $75,000, Arkansas $58,000, Florida $120,000, Georgia $73,000, Kentucky $115,000, Louisiana $94,000, Mississippi $110,000, (This includes the appropriation for the state and the Morrill Nelson Fund), Missouri $143,000, Oklahoma $87,000, South Carolina $54,000, Tennessee $52,000, Texas $132,000, Virginia $80,000, West Virginia $231,000, North Carolina $106,000.

6. In this connection, I desire to call your attention to the fact that the appropriations named above have been for one particular school, except in the states of West Virginia, Louisiana and Kentucky. In North Carolina the appropriation of $106,000 is made to five schools. The number of students going to college in North Carolina is larger than in any other southern state, in fact there are more Negroes in the colleges in North Carolina than can be found in Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia combined. In these four states there are approximately 1900 Negro young men and women attending college and in North Carolina approximately 1900. Yet the combined appropriation in these four southern states to educate 1900 Negroes is $351,000 against $106,000, the total spent in North Carolina to educate the same number. Or take again the states bordering us, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia. In those three states there are 1800 young Negro men and women attending the higher institutions of learning and yet those three states spend $187,000 for their education. In the per capita appropriation for the education of colored young men and women, North Carolina stands at the foot of the list; the per capita cost in South
Carolina being $145.00, Tennessee $61.00, Virginia $138.00, Florida $197.00, 
Alabama $115.00, Kentucky $207.00, Mississippi $276.00, Louisiana $110.00, 
Arkansas $113.00, and in North Carolina $59.00. These facts are startling, they call 
for a careful contemplation and study on the part of those who have to do with 
administrative affairs. The Governor of the state of North Carolina has been moved 
to consider the present situation of the Negro in North Carolina by the appointment 
of a commission to consider the present status of the Negro. It is certainly a civic and 
righteous step.

7. There are two things which every citizen of North Carolina will admit:

8. That education pays, that a trained person is better than an untrained person. The late 
Governor Glenn carried this further, he stated that a trained dog or a trained horse was 
worth more than an untrained animal, that he once saw a man making a fortune by 
training a baseball nine of fleas to play baseball.

9. Every thoughtful person who has to hire people knows that a trained person makes 
even a better servant. No one would desire a nurse to be speaking broken English and 
incorrect sentences which might fasten on the plastic mind of a young child. A person 
who could teach the lullaby songs or could tell the proper fables or legends to the 
growing child would be more valuable in the home than one who knows nothing but 
superstition and ghost stories. A person who could go into the kitchen and prepare a 
balanced meal is worth more from any view point than one who knows nothing about 
such things. Education reduces crime. It causes a man to see himself, to see his 
potentialities, it broadens him in the treatment of his fellow man. It is a great thing for 
a state or a community if the citizens are removed from ignorance. It adds to the 
economic stability of the same, it enriches not only life, but property values are 
enhanced. The leaders of education in North Carolina, both white and black have been 
the Apostles of peace and good will.

10. (2) The Negro is a part and parcel of North Carolina. He is an asset and not a liability, 
he is in North Carolina and in the south to stay, he is not going to migrate in large 
numbers, he is going to live here with the southern white people. A few years ago, 
there was an agitation to send them to Africa. The late Booker T. Washington stated 
that that was an impossible task, that you could not build ships fast enough to transport 
them, that every morning before breakfast 600 black babies were born in the black 
belt of the south.

11. There is no desire on the part of the white people to have the Negro leave the south 
or any desire on the part of the Negro to go. They can truthfully say as one of old, 
“Entreat me not to leave Thee, whither Thou goest I will go, where Thou diest I will 
die.” Since that is true, is it not the part of wisdom to furnish means and facilities in 
order that the Negro may be properly trained? Is it not economy to give them well 
equipped higher institutions of learning, so as to give them every chance in our own 
south land to fit themselves for the best of your civilization, to develop their own 
leaders and to help make your history? In so doing, we are certainly developing 
Disciples of good will who will strengthen the bulwarks of our southern civilization,
and this civilization will be the model of all civilizations because it will be founded upon the highest humanitarianisms and Christ-like principles.

12. I am appealing to you tonight that the reputation that North Carolina has for doing more for the Negro than any other southern state be made true, that we no longer sail under false colors. I am appealing tonight for something more than the chivalry of mannerisms, but for the gallantry of action.

13. I am advertent to all the financial troubles of our state. All the institutions of education have been cut. The outcry against these slashes has been well-nigh universal. A rigorous necessity was pleaded in them all. The common schools of the state were reduced from a normal $21,000,000 to $16,000,000. The very roads over which the trucks moved bearing these children to school, were neglected. But in the light of an impartial retrospect, few of us are certain that the cost of those economics does not far exceed the savings. Indeed, as our great Governor has said, “There is a point in economy beyond which a self-respecting state cannot go.

14. I would be untrue to myself if right here I did not make a plea for the common schools of North Carolina. In 1931-32 the cost per pupil in average daily attendance in public, elementary and high schools combined, in the south and border states was as follows:

15. Alabama $34.41, Arkansas $31.70, District of Columbia $127.54, Florida $56.26, Georgia $32.79, Kentucky $43.18, Louisiana $49.42, Maryland $86.10, Mississippi $38.18, Missouri $73.91, North Carolina $39.43, Oklahoma $56.73, South Carolina $32.53, Tennessee $40.42, Texas $63.70, Virginia $42.73, West Virginia $65.52, while the per capita cost in Continental United States was $87.67.

16. We have made some progress since the late Governor Aycock uttered those famous and epoch making words, “Thank God for South Carolina, it prevents North Carolina from being at the bottom.” We who have lived to see this day, can say Thank God for Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Georgia and South Carolina, they prevent North Carolina from being at the bottom.

17. There is a view abroad that North Carolina is too poor to educate the boys and girls in the elementary schools or to give more money to the higher institutions of learning. In all seriousness, I would ask the question Is North Carolina too poor not to educate? The elementary and high schools must be made better. The University of North Carolina has been and is a beacon [of] light on a sea of darkness and if its light should be diminished a great harm will be done the people of North Carolina regardless to race.

18. The state has had a great year. In the campaign just closed, we were told of the marvelous improvements in business conditions. Let the state dedicate a portion of its plenty to education, let the commonwealth appropriate some of its present bounty to help North Carolina from being at the bottom either in the public schools or in the higher institutions of learning. If there should come which God forbid, future adversities, then let the state adjust its institutions to that need.
19. So far as the Negro schools are concerned, whether elementary or higher, I think in all fairness the state has gone beyond its self-respect. I know it is said in justification of these slender appropriations that the per capita cost of some of our institutions is too high. By what standards are we measured? Surely not by similar costs in similar institutions. Certainly not by the appropriations of other states to their institutions. It is my great privilege to preside over the NCCN in Durham. The per capita cost of that institution is $82.00. The present appropriation of $24,000 is given to an institution with approximately 300 students. Is that too high for a genuine college training? Is that too high to pay to train an Apostle of good will, who will go out and teach men and women how to live?

20. If I seem to speak most of my own institution, it is because the allotment to it seems most out of disproportion. Here is an institution set down in a great town where the level of living in the nature of things must be high. On our distressingly small appropriations we must keep going a faculty of the highest training, and operate a plant, which worthily represents the state. Despite the insufficient revenues for the work, we have maintained it and suffered no loss to the commonwealth by reason of neglect to the buildings. We rejoice that on a recent visit of the Budget Commission to our institution, members of that body praised our administration for keeping it sightly and making it sanitary. And this we have done, not with the appropriations, but in spite of them.

21. But what has happened to us in Durham has happened to our people everywhere. Never having enjoyed the munificence of the state in its prosperity, we have had to take the last full measure of its adversity. Other institutions can look back upon their golden days when legislatures loved to measure the march of the state by the money that is put into the schools. It was never our lot to share in that bounty. A 50 per cent cut in an institution’s revenues during the spacious years of 1921-1929 may carry considerable inconvenience, but adjustment is easier than a similar 50 per cent reduction for another institution which had been living all the while on the slenderest possible margin.

22. I am appealing to the people of North Carolina for better support of all Negro institutions everywhere in the state. We believe that we have justified a greater faith in our cause. We believe that the people will applaud a more liberal policy of support, that they will not expect us to carry on our work with its increasing demands on a descending scale of appropriations.

23. I appeal especially to the people of North Carolina to give to the North Carolina College for Negroes the appropriation of $44,000, which the Board, in its wisdom and patriotism, say in these days of depression should be the minimum amount on which this school should operate. How would it be spent? In increased salaries, in the extension of departments as they are needed in maintenance and upkeep of the plant, in securing the faculty which will teach lessons of truth and endeavor to form Christian characters, in presenting to the people of North Carolina, both white and colored, the highest ideals, and the making of this institution into a monument, which will mark the highest notch of good will between the races. There is not a citizen in North Carolina who would begrudge or seek to take away a single dollar of the
appropriation which I plead tonight for the North Carolina College for Negroes. I plead for a larger appropriation for the institution at Durham, because it was chartered by the legislature of North Carolina as a liberal arts college to fit the aspiring youth of my race to live with the highest ideals of our present civilization, and to fit him for leadership in every walk of life. Every dollar given will be justified in the kind of life that is inspired. I plead for a larger appropriation for all the Negro institutions. They have been modest in their request. The combined total which they have asked of the next legislature is just a little over $200,000 for all 5 institutions.

24. Education, my friends, more and more makes of my race an asset and not a liability. In every walk of life, the Negro is worthwhile. His contributions to our American music, his faith, his patience and good humor under the most trying situations, stamp him as an asset and not a liability.

25. Let me divest this appeal of some of its self-interest. We of the minority group, conscious of our classification as a spending agency, nevertheless do not think that larger appropriations will bless us alone.[.] We have pretty high authority, sacred and secular, for the philosophy that it is more blessed to give than to receive.

26. During the World War, the field Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in the British Empire came to North Carolina to interest this and other commonwealths in the larger monetary support of the allied cause. “Give”, he said, “until it hurts, and then keep on giving until it doesn’t hurt.” We assert our conviction that North Carolina will think best of its Negro schools when giving to them may even hurt.

27. There is in Shakespeare’s Merchant of Venice the classic formula for all generosity. The beautiful Portia appealing for compassion rather [sic] rigorous justice, bursts into an apostrophe to tenderness:

28. “Tho quality of mercy is not strained,

    It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven

    Upon the place beneath;

    It blesseth him that gives and him that takes;

29. And this, ladies and gentleman, of the radio audience, is our way of saying that the Negro institutions of North Carolina desperately seek the generous giving of the commonwealth, but the state of North Carolina no less needs its own generosity. For the very soul of a great state is its willingness to tax itself until it hurts to do a belated charity and justice to its disadvantaged people.

30. I see the day dawning when hatreds and prejudices will disappear, when ignorance and superstition will be driven from their strong hold, when there will be perfect understanding between the races, when each race will endeavor to help the other achieve the highest within the race, when the strong will bear the infirmities of the weak, when every man will be accorded every opportunity to develop all that is within
him. It is to this great day which must come to North Carolina College for Negroes has chartered its course.31

Analysis

When analyzing Shepard’s address we must be aware of the several intersecting discourses in “God Bless Old North Carolina.” Figure 1 below shows the interconnected discourses, what Reisigl and Wodak (2005) refer to as interdiscursivity. Race is a metadiscourse that surrounds every other element in the text. Regardless of whether it is actively being discussed, it was a daily fact in 1934 Southern life that race relations undergirded every aspect of life so although there are specific discourses with regard to race relations that I will be discussing, diagramming the discourse in this way shows the omnipresence of race.

Within the metadiscourse of race as an understood given, the address is framed around the commonality of being North Carolinians. This discourse encompasses all others in Shepard’s address because he uses this framing strategy to bond with his audience throughout. Many of his arguments revolve around positive representations of North Carolina. This is unsurprising as he is appealing specifically to its citizens and the state government of North Carolina. Part of the need for this appeal and the context within which it is being made is the financial strain that the Great Depression has placed on the NCCN and North Carolina as a whole. This discourse intersects with re-envisioning the South’s economy post-slavery and with questions of funding for black higher education in an already depressed economic climate which will be discussed in greater depth in the sections ‘African American Higher Education in the New South’ and ‘The

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31Folder 374: God Bless Old North Carolina address, 15 November 1934, in the James E. Shepard Papers, 1905-1990, University Archives, Records and History Center in the James E. Shepard Memorial Library, North Carolina Central University. This is a written text that Shepard prepared for himself to read from during his radio address.
Great Depression’. Intersecting with discourses of funding and the South’s post-slavery economic model is the very purpose of black education (discussed in greater depth in African American Higher Education in the New South) and intersecting with, and complicating those discourses, is the place blacks should hold in society which is woven throughout Chapter 5 but is particularly apropos to the discussion in ‘The New South: Durham North Carolina, The “Capital of the Black Middle Class”’ and ‘African American Higher Education in the New South’.

Figure 1. Visual representation of the dominant themes in "God Bless Old North Carolina."
“The whole weight of America was thrown to color caste” (Du Bois, 1935, p. 30).

Along with some biographical information about Shepard as presented in Chapter 4, his text cannot be understood without background regarding North Carolina’s part in the New South and the role of African Americans in this re-imagined South. The paradox of the New South was its desire to maintain its southern identity while remaining part of the Union. This was eventually accomplished through creating economic and political independence, however, most importantly, through maintaining a separate identity from the North.

The year 1861 and those which followed saw a South that was disillusioned with the federal government and facing overall economic strain. White southerners were returning to businesses that had previously enjoyed low labor costs because much of the work was done by the labor of enslaved people. It was unknown how industries in the South would replace this free labor pool and remain profitable. Many whites looked at the social and financial landscape of the New South not with excitement but with fear and trepidation. The Confederacy had issued its own bonds and money, which were worthless after the Civil War. The banks also invested in Confederate and state bonds, leaving investors with lost savings, investments and no money to sustain businesses. Enslaved Africans were the primary laborers for farms and plantations. Their emancipation left farmers and plantation owners without a stable workforce. Southerners faced poverty and bankruptcy (Anderson, J.B., 2011; Boles & Johnson, 2003; Woodward, 1951).

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Freed slaves were left jobless and homeless, trying to create a new life. Under slavery blacks had shelter and food, albeit meager. After the war, even if they wished to return to the homes they knew, many plantations, farms and businesses were destroyed. The white planter class itself was also decimated by war. Du Bois notes that “bitter disappointment and frustration led to a tremendous mortality after the war” (1935, p. 54). The planter class had an elevated position on the south akin to aristocracy but post-war planters also “merged their blood so completely with the rising poor whites that they disappeared as a separate aristocracy” (p. 54). However, the post-Civil War South also brought new opportunities.

Federally, Radical Republicans in Congress impeached President Johnson and passed the 14th and 15th amendments, granting blacks the same rights to citizenship, suffrage, and protection under the law as whites enjoyed. With these new rights, black Americans soon expanded their social and political power, electing the first black US Senator (Hiram Rhodes Revels) in 1870 and establishing the first public schools in the South for African-Americans (Reconstruction vs Redemption, 2014).

Union troops occupied the South, enforcing the dismantling of Confederate political structures, removing the political leaders of the Confederate South from government participation, and facilitating the emancipation of the black Southerners. Departments of Negro Affairs began to arise in Southern states to aid in the transition to freedom for former enslaved people. In North Carolina refugees were grouped into small villages. These villages included both black and white poor and displaced citizens. The first teachers were enlisted men, eventually replaced by women teachers who migrated from the North (Du Bois, 1935, p. 71). Approximately two thousand former slaves were settled outside of New Bern, North Carolina and 800 houses were erected (p. 72).

That time of reintegration of the South into the Union and aid for African Americans in the South, known as Reconstruction, did not last. By 1873, many white Southerners were calling
for the return of white supremacy and an end to political, economic and social gains for African Americans. Violence erupted as white supremacist groups including the Ku Klux Klan, the White League, and the Red Shirts, assassinated pro-Reconstruction politicians and terrorized Southern blacks (Du Bois, 1935; Reconstruction vs Redemption, 2014; Woodward, 1951).

The Compromise of 1877 (sometimes known as the Compromise of 1876) signaled the end of Reconstruction and the beginning of what Southern, white supremacists called “The Redemption.” After a heated presidential election between Republican Rutherford B. Hayes and Democrat Samuel J. Tilden, Republicans alleged voter fraud and intimidation against African American voters that prevented them from voting in three Southern states, Florida, Louisiana and South Carolina (Woodward, 1951).

Congress stepped in, setting up an electoral commission in January 1877, however during deliberations allies of Hayes and moderate Southern Democrats struck a deal agreeing to recognize Hayes as the next United States President if Hayes would agree to remove Union troops from the South. With the removal of Union troops there was no federal presence to enforce the rights of African Americans in the South. Unsurprisingly, Southern Democrats who had already been calling for the “Redemption” of the South broke their agreement to protect the civil and political rights of blacks. Southern legislatures passed a series of Jim Crow Laws requiring segregation on public transportation, in schools, parks, restaurants, theaters and other locations. “The wholesale readjustment, repudiation, and scaling process in the South, however, began after Redemption” (Woodward, 1951, p. 86). Once the South was ‘redeemed’ and no longer occupied by federal troops the rebranding of the South could begin. This rebranding was a way to maintain strong southern pride and identity, including notions of white supremacy, while also reintegrating into the Union and modernizing industry (Goodenow, 1978).
North Carolina went a step further in the formation of its new identity. It had faced added criticism from other southern states during and after the Civil War because of its equivocation about supporting secession. North Carolina was divided on the subject and held several meetings to discuss the matter. The state’s first meeting advocating secession occurred on November 12, 1860 in Cleveland County (Hardy, 2011, p. 42). However, those who wanted to stay in the Union also organized their own meetings. Wilmington went so far as to have a Union meeting on December 11 and a secession meeting on December 12 so citizens could attend both meetings (pp. 42-43). “Men gathered at the polls on February 28 [1861] and cast 47,322 votes against calling the convention, and with 46,672 for the convention, a margin of 650 votes kept North Carolina in the Union” (Hardy, 2011, Ch. 1, para 10).

In April 1861 when North Carolina Governor Ellis received word that Confederate forces had indeed fired upon the Union army and was told that North Carolina’s quota of soldiers was 1,500 he refused to send troops. North Carolina did not officially join the war effort until May 20, 1861 (Hardy, Ch.1, para 14). While,

“[t]here is no question that North Carolina supplied more than her share of Southern troops or that these fighters suffered a disproportionate number of casualties…the state’s wartime record – and especially its political commitment to the Confederate cause – was subject to criticism during the conflict and debate afterward, challenges that helped forge the Tarheel commemorative response” (Butler, 2013, p. 72).

This criticism helped bond its residents and create a greater sense of identity not merely as southerners but specifically as North Carolinians. We shall see this strong identification as North Carolinians, not just as southerners, repeated in Shepard’s address.

33 Several of the sources cited in this work are Kindle e-books. Page numbers are provided when they are available but location indicators such as seen here are provided when no page numbers are available.
After the Civil War, as the South was trying to rebuild economically, Durham, NC gained a reputation as an enterprising New South city. Tobacco, already a huge crop in Virginia, became its economic godsend and added to the Tarheel identity. Tobacco was a crop that could be processed with relatively little labor but it was in high demand. Virginia was North Carolina’s primary competitor, one could even claim it had enjoyed a monopoly on tobacco up to this point, because it both grew and processed tobacco. Durham soil was not suitable for many crops other than the cotton it was known for, however entrepreneurs got around this by importing tobacco from Virginia and processing it in Durham factories. Durham businessmen bought large warehouses in which to store tobacco crops they bought in bulk at auctions.

In 1881, the same year that Durham County was officially created, W. Duke and Sons Company began manufacturing cigarettes (Anderson, J.B., 2011). Until this time cigarettes were popular in Europe but they had yet to reach the United States. W. Duke and Sons Company was the first to manufacture cigarettes in the United States. Led by a more aggressive breed of businessman, including the Dukes and Carr in Durham, North Carolina eventually overtook Virginia as the top distributor of tobacco.

New men, uninhibited by the traditions and complacency of the Old Order, William T. Blackwell, James R. Day, Julian S. Carr, R. J. Reynolds, the Dukes, and their kind, were of the breed that had seized control of beef, petroleum, and steel in the North. With superior ruse and craft they broke the strangle hold upon their towns that Richmond had imposed by her control of the Richmond and Danville Railroad (Woodward, 1951, p. 130).

However, during this age of increasing profits through textiles and tobacco, the South was struggling with what to do about the large numbers of free blacks. The New South rose after the help and hope of the Reconstruction era South diminished. As Northerners left the South to her own devices, many new era African American leaders followed Booker T. Washington’s example rather than those set by more openly critical leaders such as Frederick Douglass. The
New South saw increasing disenfranchisement and social segregation of blacks that was supported either openly, as did Washington, or through silent acquiescence. The caste system hardened around African Americans, barring them from white society just as blacks created their own separate society predicated on many of the ideals of whites (Woodward, 1951).

This is part of a long history of spatial separation in the United States. Durham has a very specific history of “upbuilding” (Du Bois, 2002):

Defined by Du Bois as the "social and economic development" of black communities after slavery, upbuilding was the literal and figurative construction of the structures African Americans used to climb out of slavery. Like architects, surveyors, and contractors, black folk upbuilt families, homes, organizations, institutions, and enterprises and erected atop a foundation laid in the past the physical and psychic spaces of black freedom (Brown, 2008, p. 10).

The town of Hayti was the counter-space providing culture and society for affluent black residents who could live much of their lives within its borders, and which created a permanent address for black citizens of Durham. Du Bois wrote about this Durham phenomenon in 1912:

The chief interest of any visitor who stayed long enough to notice, would, however, centre in the unusual inner organization of this group of men, women, and children. It is a new “group economy” that characterizes the rise of the Negro American -- the closed circle of social intercourse, teaching and preaching, buying and selling, employing and hiring, and even manufacturing, which, because it is confined chiefly to Negroes, escapes the notice of the white world (Du Bois, 2002, p. 334).

In Hayti, black institutions, such as several churches, thrived. Churches, organizations and associations provided invaluable networking opportunities that allowed some Durham residents to rise to elite status. The members of these organizations often came into contact with one another building a valuable social network in Durham. “Republican James E Shepard, for instance, received a political appointment in Raleigh, the state capital, through his multiple

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34 The electronic edition of this text was transcribed in 2002 so this will be the date used in citations. The original text was published in 1912.
connections in black Baptist Church associations and fraternal organizations” (Brown, 2008, p. 58).

Many southern blacks, looking to take advantage of North Carolina’s growing tobacco industry, sought factory work. “In the early years of manufacture they brought in Jews to roll the cigarettes, as there was currently no machine to mass produce cigarettes all of them have to be made by hand. In subsequent years black workers replaced the Jewish workers” (Boyd, 1925, pp. 107–108). Both African American men and women could find such work. “Working leaf was grimy, foul work on the raw products and considered too rough for white women. But it was available — indeed assigned — to black women” (Brown, 2008, p. 44).

Cotton mills also served as a financial boon for North Carolina and doubled the value of their output between the years of 1860-1880 (Woodward, 1951, p. 131). Beginning in 1903 working in textile mills also arose as an opportunity for blacks living in Durham, North Carolina. Durham became a center for industry and commerce positioning it as both an entrepreneurial city and as one of the few cities in the South that held the promise of work for African Americans. In 1903, Julian S. Carr, Jr, treasurer of the Durham Hosiery Mill, devised a plan to grow the business. He planned to dedicate one of their plants to producing inexpensive socks out of cotton that had formerly been considered waste. Blacks were employed because there was a shortage of white workers. Not surprisingly this plan was very unpopular among white citizens and workers in Durham. Boyd, a contemporary of Mr. Carr Jr., claimed that some of the dissenting whites believed “the rhythm of the machines would put the darkies to sleep and thus we could get no work out of them; the white workers said that we were taking bread out of their mouths (although there were not enough whites to go around) and variously threatened to blow up or
burn down the factory” (Boyd, 1925, pp. 153–154). Despite the threats, Carr went ahead with his plan, which proved successful:

That Negro mill started with 50 hands; it went on a paying basis in about 18 months and today employs 400 people turning out from 2,500 to 3,000 dozen pairs of socks today... And they are capable, too. The standard production for a white operator on an 84-needle knitter is 10 dozen and a 10-hour day. In six months the negroes hit an average of six dozen in a nine-hour day, which is standard. Anyone who knows the negro will realize just what all this means in the way of constructive work (Boyd, 1925, pp. 155-156)!

Unfortunately, this rise in competition greatly agitated poor white Southerners whose daily wages were already abysmal. During the 1890s, white male workers were in the minority, making up approximately 35% of the labor force in the four leading textile states of the time. Adult male workers in North Carolina made approximately 40 to 50 cents a day. Women were in the majority with about 40% of the textile mill populations being female, and one must not discount child laborers. Children between the ages of ten and fifteen years made up about 25% of the workforce. Child labor salaries varied widely however, there is a record of mills in North Carolina that paid between 10 to 12 cents a day for child labor. For all laborers the workweek averaged about seventy hours (Woodward, 1951, p. 224; Davidson, 1939, p. 553-556).

Therefore, it is unsurprising that the rise of political democracy for the white man presaged the solidification of racially discriminatory laws for blacks.

As the Negroes invaded the new mining and industrial towns of the uplands in greater numbers, and the hill-country whites were driven into more frequent and closer association with them, and as the two races were brought into rivalry for subsistence wages in the cotton fields, mines, and wharves, the lower-class white man’s demand for Jim Crow laws became more insistent. It took a lot of ritual and Jim Crow to bolster the creed of white supremacy in the bosom of a white man working for a black man’s wages (Woodward, 1951, p. 211).

Blacks were not the political threat that the white working class perceived them to be but this fear was an important factor that helped keep the South divided along racial lines rather than
uniting poor blacks and whites along class lines.\textsuperscript{35} Black residents were not a political threat because there were too few long-term black residents to have any real voting power. Of those residents, many were women who did not have the vote. Because whites greatly outnumbered blacks and many of the blacks were women, whites did not have to fear riots. On the legislative front, black disenfranchisement was accomplished in North Carolina by 1900 through an amendment to the state constitution (Anderson, 2011; Woodward, 1951). “The exciting vision of 1892, picturing black and white farmer and laborer marching together toward a new era, had by 1898 become dimmed by old prejudices and suspicions” (Woodward, 1951, p. 323).

Poor blacks may have had severely limited political options but they did exercise a certain amount of power in Durham’s economic climate. One way that blacks exercised their autonomy was to migrate north eroding population figures in the South. North Carolina cities were by no means teeming metropolises and by 1900 there were only six cities with a population over 10,000 and none with a population of 25,000 (Woodward, 1951, p. 139). So, the state could not afford to lose valuable workers of any race. Tobacco companies realized that they would lose most of their labor pool if discontented African Americans continued to leave the state. A black exodus would mean fewer low-wage workers for tobacco production plants, which was the primary industry in the Durham economy. In exchange for their compliance it appears there was a certain quid pro quo that created a unique racial climate in Durham. The Pearson interview supports this conclusion.

\textsuperscript{35} Political factors were not the only issues keeping southerners racially segregated. Several issues, including the suppression of labor unions by corporations contributed. For more information see, Blackmon (2009), Du Bois (1935), Eberle (1959), Gilroy (1991), Wiener (1979).
Well, you see, it never occurred to us about—these are my afterthoughts—why there was so much peace and tranquility in Durham County when you had the opposite in other counties. I drew that conclusion myself, that since they had this cheap labor, it was to their [the Dukes] benefit to keep things cool and quiet and peaceful (p. 31).

Black citizens carved out spaces in Hayti where they could live, conduct business and purchase goods and services in a relatively comfortable, safe setting. “Unlike black people, white people are seen by a white racist society as having the right or authority to enter freely any public space they wish…Black people are not understood as having the reciprocal right or authority to inhabit whatever space or neighborhood they like” (Sullivan, 2006, p. 149). Hayti, a town established by blacks shortly after the Civil War, was initially established just outside of Durham, NC and became part of Durham proper in 1901. Hayti was a vital counter-space⁶ that provided freedom for African Americans to gain some entrepreneurial success and created a supportive climate for establishment of a school for African Americans without white opposition. Black businesses in Hayti grew so much in the early 20th century that Parrish St., in what was formerly Hayti, but is currently Durham, became known as the “Black Wall Street.”³⁷

A Durham chamber of commerce booklet released in 1926 entitled “Durham, North Carolina, A Center of Education and Industry” claimed, “Durham’s rapid rise to industrial and educational power is the result of a spirit of co-operation between the white and the colored population. Undoubtedly, the status of the Negro here is unique in the nation” (Durham Chamber of Commerce, 1926, p. 38). That professed spirit of cooperation, emblematic of how the New South wanted to see itself, is likely one of the reasons that James E. Shepard decided to locate his

⁶ Ethelene Whitmire (2006) defined counter-spaces as locations where negative ideas of minorities can be challenged and a more positive racial climate can be fostered.

⁷ Historic Parrish Street, http://nc-durham.civicplus.com/530/Historic-Parrish-Street, retrieved 8/11/16. Also see Photo 1 in Appendix.
new religious training school in Durham. Secondly, Shepard also had strong ties to the new entrepreneurial elite Negroes with homes and businesses located in Durham.

However, it is important to stress that even in black enclaves people of color are still not in a dominant position. Black enclaves such as Hayti are still surrounded by whiteness and were created in response to existing hegemonic structures; whether they are created through de jure or de facto segregation, they still exist because “segregation is precisely the lynchpin of Whiteness that put them there in the first place. And as soon as they step out of these confines, the great wall of Whiteness awaits them” (Leonardo, 2012, p. 444). But within socio-spatial limitations, Hayti, just outside of Durham proper, was a racialized space in which African Americans who could stay within its borders were somewhat insulated from the white people of Durham. While some white southerners saw black people as one economically and socially undifferentiated mass, blacks themselves were increasingly stratified. Elite blacks did their utmost to differentiate themselves from the black masses as well as to insulate themselves from the white gaze. In this milieu, both surname and address were important in determining social status amongst African Americans. Durham resident and former NCCN attendee Juanita Yeates Moore spoke about another distinction based on skin tone with lighter blacks typically being considered better and more upper class. Moore’s father was a teacher and her family was part of the same network of elite blacks in Durham as Shepard. Moore went on to receive a scholarship to attend college at

38 For more information about the racial/spatial theories, in particular as it applies to light-skinned African Americans see David Delaney (2002). The Space That Race Makes, in The Professional Geographer, 54 (1).
NCCN, one that was slightly higher than other students, and remembered when James E. Shepard himself stopped to speak with her because he knew her father.39

Whenever one of these black elites sought a new venture, be it political, business, educational, etc., they turned to each other for assistance and guidance. The result was that many businesses, organizations and associations were run and managed by the same few Durham families along with select friends throughout North Carolina. “The success of the Mutual40 company encouraged other endeavors and, as in the white culture, the same few men provided the leadership” (Anderson, J.B., 2011, p. 217).

As part of this circle of black leaders of Durham and president of the NCCN, Shepard held a great deal of sway in Durham politics. He was described as ultra conservative, behind the scenes “pulling the strings” to keep the peace in black Durham (Pearson interview, 1979, p. 20). Shepard was a republican and advocated states’ rights. He believed states were best equipped to handle their own issues without federal interference and that democratic, Christian communities could be counted on to secure their own social, political and economic justice.41 Shepard preferred personal appeals made to state and local leaders over litigation to gain civil rights. Shepard’s influence in the community allowed this channel to be open to him as evidenced by letters between Governor John Ehringhaus and Shepard. These communications began even

39Interview with Juanita Yeates Moore by Elizabeth A. Lundeen, April 4 2011, Interview number U-0513 in the Southern Oral History Program Collection (#4007) at The Southern Historical Collection, The Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, UNC-Chapel Hill.

40North Carolina Mutual and Provident Association (later the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company) is a black owned and operated insurance company opened in 1899 that eventually became the heart of the black business district. It will be discussed in further depth in following sections.

41For more information on Shepard’s political views see Davis, 2013, pp. 139-42.
before Ehringhaus was elected, suggesting the then attorney’s awareness of Shepard’s influence in North Carolina. On April 1, 1932, Ehringhaus reached out to Shepard using a complimentary tone, regarding funding for NCCN:

Knowing the splendid contribution your own institution has made to the cause of education in North Carolina in years gone by, and being fully sensible of the very vital part it now plays in the life of our State, I am anxious to ascertain to what extent its efforts and activities have been and are crippled by the economic distress which has engulfed us all.42

Shepard responded explaining his dire financial situation and offering him support for his gubernatorial campaign to become the democratic nominee, confiding:

I have heard…of your broad patriotism and your friendly attitude toward people of my particular group…I desire to offer you my whole hearted support in furtherance of your candidacy as Governor of North Carolina. I have already, in a quiet way, spoken to several of my friends in regard to the same and will continue to do so until you are nominated.43

In later letters Shepard asserted his ability to influence African Americans by suggesting that Major McLendon, Ehringhaus’ campaign manager, not campaign for the black vote at all but “to direct most of the colored people to me instead of dealing with them yourself, so there can be no question about the largeness of the colored vote supporting Mr. Ehringhaus. What I mean is that you must not make any specific bids for these votes, I can do it better…”44 Bourdieu


explains that symbolic power relationships are frequently in a state of negotiation depending on the relative symbolic power held by the speaker and his audience. For example, Shepard held a high amount of symbolic power within black society and amongst some of the powerful, wealthy and connected in white society but when he was speaking to an audience that was a mixture of races and classes some would consider him just a black man, a second rate citizen, a nigger. As a black man his amount of symbolic power was conditional based on his spatial or situational context. In such a negotiated discourse the speaker may use phrases that are meant to excuse or lessen the impact of a controversial statement (such as ‘I beg your pardon’, ‘if I may say’, or ‘with all due respect’) (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991, p. 71).

This put Shepard in a precarious position regarding the amount of symbolic power he held amongst a mixed-race/class audience. As Bourdieu points out, “Communication…between ethnic groups…always represents a critical situation for the language that is used, whichever it may be” (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991. p. 40). Like most, if not all, people of color, Shepard recognized the metadiscourse of race surrounding all aspects of life, and tailored his message accordingly.

A detailed reading of “God Bless Old North Carolina” [see pp. 44-50] can shed light on some of the rhetorical tactics African American leaders used when discussing racial discourses. Shepard used negotiation strategies that acknowledge his race and introduce his North Carolina pride. He used his first few sentences as a mitigation tactic to excuse any hubris the audience may infer from the fact that he is a black man speaking to a white audience by repeating the phrasing “if”: 
If I were not jealous of the good name of the state which I love, if I did not so well know the friendly feeling that exists between the white and colored groups in this state (para 2).\footnote{45 Emphasis of specific words my own.}

Further, he followed that tactic by assuring his audience that he would not be speaking at all if it were not for his love of North Carolina and belief in the “friendly feeling” between the races:

I should have little heart to carry out this assignment tonight (para 2).

Shepard framed his text using predicational and referential strategies aiming to create a bond between all peoples of North Carolina, regardless of race.

When we read the papers and see such racial outbursts as have occurred recently in other southern states, we feel moved to exclaim in the language of the great Confederate Chieftain General Robert E Lee, “God bless old North Carolina” (para 2).

As the above quote shows, Shepard used predication to focus on the unity between North Carolina residents rather than to emphasize his racial identity. North Carolina was the “us” group and every other state, particularly Northern states, were “them.” He also uses a strategy Reisigl and Wodak call collectivisation which is the “reference to social actors as group entities, but without quantifying them, for example by means of deictics like ‘we’ or of collectives like ‘family’, ‘group’, ‘team’, ‘tribe’, ‘troupe’, ‘class’, ‘mob’, ‘population’, ‘people’, ‘ethnicity’, ‘nation’ and ‘race’” (2005, pp. 61-62).

Shepard goes on to make it clear that blacks are in North Carolina to stay and there will not be a mass migration North.

The Negro is a part and parcel of North Carolina. He is an asset and not a liability, he is in North Carolina and in the south to stay, he is not going to migrate in large numbers, he is going to live here with the southern white people. A few years ago, there was an agitation to send them to Africa. The late Booker T. Washington stated that that was an impossible task, that you could not build ships fast enough
to transport them, that every morning before breakfast 600 black babies were born in the black belt of the south (para 10).

It is interesting to note that Shepard’s perspective in this section is still that of North Carolinian, not African American, which is made clear by the distancing word “he.” So, again, Shepard is asserting even more than just his and other African Americans’ in the area’s basic southern-ness; he is asserting their North Carolinian-ness. He is refuting the prevalent racial discourse that African Americans should be sent to Africa and is also echoing the sentiment of Booker T. Washington who frequently said that blacks were staying in the South and also famously exhorted black southerners to “cast down your bucket where you are” meaning that they should realize that their greatest opportunity for success was right where they already were, in the South (Washington, 2012, p. 157). This likely resonated with those portions of his audience whose businesses’ success relied heavily on the sustained availability of African American labor (Anderson, J.B., 2011) and, in an appeasement to the sentiments of some whites, Shepard aligns with Washington, implying that, although blacks will remain in North Carolina, he would not agitate for them to gain social equality or integration. When speaking about the masses, he distances himself from the race he purports to be representing, which is a form of perspectivation likely used to reinforce his symbolic power and, again, that he is a North Carolinian above all. Regardless, Shepard did believe in southern blacks staying in the South, at least as it pertained to educational institutions.

I wish to call your attention to this particular fact: The North Carolina College for Negroes is the first attempt of any of the southern states to build a college of liberal arts for the training of Negro youth. The primary objective of this institution is to train teachers and principals of high schools in the State. When

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46 Washington used this phrase repeatedly during his Atlanta Exposition Address. The text cited is a reprint of the original 1901 book.
teachers are trained on the outside, many of them are not in sympathy with the spirit and ideals of our own state, and they bring with them problems which add to the burdens of our already perplexed problems.47

While acknowledging his race and using mitigation tactics to begin his text, the scaffolding upon which his entire speech is built is an understanding that everyone involved, the audience regardless of race, those he is soliciting money from, those he is soliciting money for and Shepard himself, are, first and foremost North Carolinians. This referential frame undergirds every utterance and cannot be divorced from any portion of this address. Indeed the very title of the address both communicates this sense of North Carolina pride and alludes to a statement made by Confederate General Robert E. Lee shortly before the end of the Civil War when Lee saw troops marching to his aid during the retreat from Petersburg. Upon seeing the troops Lee allegedly said “God bless gallant old North Carolina.” This phrase eventually ended up on both a Tiffany stained glass window in Virginia and a confederate monument in Rockingham County, North Carolina (Butler, 2013, p. 72). By using this phrase, alluding to a confederate hero of the Civil War, Shepard uses his opening words as well as the very title of his address as a referential strategy to assert his identity as a North Carolinian over his identity as a black man.

Shepard also uses predicational strategies that go hand in hand with his referential frame to make it clear that North Carolina is better than other southern states because of how it deals with racial matters.

I know that there is a spirit of good will on the part of both races, each for the other. I know also that each race is vitally interested in the success and prosperity of our great state and that we must rise and fall together. I have lived in this

neighborhood all my life and have been the beneficiary of the friendly attitude of the white people and the recipient of the good will of my own people (para 2).

He uses positive self-presentation (and by ‘self’ I mean North Carolina) when alluding to the fact that North Carolina’s relationship with its African American population is unique to the state in several ways. In this way, he is referencing North Carolina’s, particularly Durham, status as one of the more tolerant southern states.

Durham’s reputation for tolerance with regard to its African American population, a tolerance that would lead some Durham blacks to thrive throughout the early 20th Century, began early. In his 1957 work, Black Bourgeoisie, E. Franklin Frazier located the roots of the black bourgeoisie with the free Negro and we can see this at work in the region that would become Durham County. Whites began thinking about the social and economic status blacks should occupy before the end of the Civil War because there was a growing contingent of free blacks moving into North Carolina which made both their status and that of the slaves more problematic. This influx of free blacks served to further entrench the color line and made class and race determinants of economic and social standing. White southerners feared free blacks would cause enslaved African Americans to seek a measure of autonomy and possibly even revolt. Whites sought to preempt this possibility by strictly limiting the spatial mobility of free blacks (Anderson, J.B., 2011). However, this entrenchment would eventually facilitate the creation of the African American town of Hayti. One of the reasons African American leaders in Durham were so successful was because of segregation, not in spite of segregation.

African Americans had to create their own organizations and institutions. While forced segregation was not beneficial to most blacks, limiting their freedom of movement, their ability to receive services such as life insurance, health care, certain jobs and a higher quality of education, this same limitation enabled a very few African Americans to create businesses that
were virtual monopolies in Durham.\textsuperscript{48} One former resident, Manley Michaux, recalls much of Hayti’s success was due to “smart people coming in and taking advantage of the segregation situation. Folks realize it was necessary to provide what they wanted, what they needed for themselves… It’s one of those things where a nucleus of intelligent people got together…”\textsuperscript{49} Further, whites, to some extent, had to allow these organizations to be created because blacks creating separate facilities rather than using existing facilities helped maintain that separation that white southerners wanted. “When they got together they organized businesses because, not being able to get the service and what they needed from the white or the established people they decided to do it for themselves.”\textsuperscript{50} He also noted having the National Religious Training School and Chautauqua for the Colored Race nearby was influential to the success of Hayti. Notable African American leaders agreed that Durham was conducive to African American entrepreneurship. After Washington’s earlier 1910 visit he also mentioned Carr although he was much more effusive saying:

Of all the Southern cities I had visited, I found here the sanest attitude of the white people toward the black. Disabused long ago of the "social equality" bugbear, the white people, and the best ones too, never feared to go among the Negroes at their gatherings and never feared to aid them in securing an education or any kind of improvement. I have already stated that the wealthiest and best thought of Negro in Durham began his business career upon a loan of money from General Julian S. Carr. Perhaps a still stronger instance is that of the Duke family, the famous tobacco manufacturers. The members of this family have always given generously

\textsuperscript{48} This is not to say that these same African American leaders and business owners may not have had much more success in a world without Jim Crow laws. We can only speculate on that but it is a fact that businesses such as the Mutual Life Insurance Company thrived in part because they had no competition in Durham. The Mutual will be discussed in greater depth beginning on page 73.

\textsuperscript{49} Interview with Manley Michaux by Brenda Williams, November 2, 1994 Interview number U-0513, in the Southern Oral History Program Collection (#4007) at The Southern Historical Collection, The Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, UNC-Chapel Hill.

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid
to support the colored schools and churches of the town (Washington, 1911, p. 647).51

Washington also visited the National Religious Training School and Chautauqua for the Colored Race, posing for a photo on the steps of Avery Auditorium.52 Anderson in her history of Durham wrote that W. E. B. Du Bois, after his 1912 visit, commented, “I consider the greatest factor in Durham’s development to have been the disposition of Durham to say ‘Hands off—give them a chance—don’t interfere.’” She went on to add, “This attitude characterized both Washington Duke53 and Julian Carr” (Anderson, J.B., 2011, pp. 188-189), both of whom also contributed money to black causes in Durham and provided jobs for African Americans like Michaux.

That attitude was not evident everywhere in North Carolina. Rioting broke out in nearby Wilmington, causing many of its black residents to flee. The riots in Wilmington, sometimes called the Wilmington Massacre, may have been partially triggered by an editorial written by the black editor of the *Wilmington Daily Record*, Alexander Manly, which accused white women of being complicit in race mixing and charged men of both colors to take responsibility for the decency of their women. The editorial whipped white supremacist Democrats into a frenzy. After the 1898 Wilmington elections in which white Democrats won, they “celebrated” their victory by destroying black owned businesses, lynchings and forcibly marching black leaders in


53 Washington Duke was also one of the pillars of Durham society, government, and economy. Donating much to Trinity College which eventually moved to Durham and became part of Duke University, he owned a rival company to Carr’s, The American Tobacco Company, that grew so large that at one time it he had a monopoly on the tobacco industry that the government tried to disband through antritrust legislation. While Carr was a staunch Democrat, Duke was just as staunchly Republican (Anderson, J.B., 2011; Brown, 2008).
Wilmington out of town. Referencing Wilmington became a shorthand that black leaders in Durham used to remind other blacks of the consequences of stepping out of line or becoming too vocal (Brown, 2008; Pearson interview, 1979).

What black Durham businessmen understood was that whites would do anything they could to sustain segregation if it meant a controlled black population and cheap labor supply, including supporting black institutions:

“the Dukes and the American Tobacco Company and the Erwin Cotton Mill people used their influence to keep the town peaceful, so they could keep this flow of cheap labor who weren't making but a dollar a day, six days a week. And they were making enormous profits. It was to their benefit. So we never had any racial flares up here in Durham” (Pearson interview, 1979, pp. 66-67).

It would be the job of African Americans to make those institutions the best they could be. One Hayti business that thrived serving blacks was North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company formed in 1898, which was owned and operated by blacks but funded, in part, using loans from Washington Duke. Called “the largest black business in the world in its heyday,” John Merrick primarily organized the Mutual, however many of his friends joined him including Dr. Aaron Moore, William G. Pearson, Pinkney Dawkins, James E. Shepard, Dock Watson, and Edward A. Johnson (Brown, 2008, p. 14). Merrick and his colleagues were said to be strong proponents of Booker T. Washington’s philosophy. Fearing that racial tensions that hit close to home in Wilmington, NC would rise in Durham, Merrick espoused the social separation of the races and that blacks be engaged in entrepreneurship and hard work but not in politics. As one of the early colleagues of Merrick, Shepard was exposed to this doctrine (Anderson, J.B., 2011; Brown, 2008; Pearson interview, 1979).

The black leadership [of whom Shepard was a part], which in essence was the Mutual leadership, at the apex of the social hierarchy, was looked to by the white community as responsible for the entire black community, to ensure that there was no rocking of the boat. This small group of men understood that their own liberty
and success were hostage to the whites for peace between the races. They saw their job as keeping the lid on black anger, going to the rescue in crises, and finding ways to help the impoverished mass of blacks in their need, sickness, or hopelessness. They tried to discourage black emigration, knowing that a plentiful black labor supply was prerequisite to staving off white interference (Anderson, J.B., 2011, p. 221).

Segregation kept African American consumers in Durham from having much choice. The Mutual was basically a monopoly because they were the only firm in the area that insured blacks. “The need for insurance in a high-risk world, increasing black population of customers, and the fact that white insurance companies refused service to black customers fueled the Mutual’s success” (Brown, 2008, p. 117). The Mutual also had political power. “Virtually any initiative that Durham blacks undertook during the Jim Crow years occurred with the Mutual’s knowledge, if not always its sanction or support. In that way the Mutual operated as the municipal government of black Durham” (Brown, 2008, p. 117).

The black elite of Durham felt it was their duty to work towards the betterment of the race but were ambivalent toward the poorer members of their community, looking down on them while simultaneously trying to provide role models for poor blacks. This was the era of “lifting as we climb.” “Lifting as we climb” was the motto for The National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc. (NACWC), which was established in July 1896 as a merger between the National League of Colored Women and the National Federation of Afro-American Women (Knupfer, 1995). The motto was meant to empower women to promote self-help and uplift of the black race and these groups served many important roles in African American

society; however they were also problematic because the membership were primarily middle-class, educated black women who supported many assimilationist middle-class, white ideals. So, some of the same African Americans dedicated to uplifting other African Americans chided poor, black, Durham inhabitants for what they perceived as their loose morals, lack of virtue, and lack of cleanliness (Ruffins, 1994; Knupfer, 1995). Some black elites felt the responsibility and necessity of being perfect exemplars of the heights that black society could reach. Unfortunately, while doing volunteer work one moment they blamed the victims of institutionalized racism for their situation the next moment.\textsuperscript{55}

Understanding that the black race would be judged based on the lowest among them, black elites were concerned with showing all the traits of the ideal white citizen while also remembering to remain nonthreatening and in their place. Eventually, these upwardly mobile blacks would be known as New Negroes. While Harlem, New York was the cultural center of this renaissance, Durham, North Carolina was its entrepreneurial center (Frazier, 1997). “In the face of disenfranchisement, sexual violence, and scientific racism, the Mutual symbolized the southern New Negroes determination not only to beat the racial Darwinists at their own game but also to create a secure environment for African American women and girls in which to achieve respectability” (Brown, 2008, p. 119).

Many well-known black intellectuals such as W. E. B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington agreed that Durham was indeed a mecca for upwardly mobile entrepreneurial African Americans. “Durham had many individuals, such as tradesmen and contractors, who

\textsuperscript{55} The reasons for assimilationist notions of African Americans are complex and should not merely be attributed to any character flaws of elite blacks. For a more nuanced discussion see Omi, M., & Winant, H. A. (1994). \textit{Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s}. Although set many years after the events I am speaking about, the ideas presented in their book are still relevant to this discussion, some of which are mentioned on page 17.
were shining examples of what a colored man may become when he is proficient and industrious” (Washington, 1911, p. 643). Booker T. Washington's 1911 essay indicates that he believed in the fallacy that the United States is a meritocracy. It also indicates that he advocated for blacks to aspire to be as much like whites as they could be in mannerism, in dress, and in industry. He saw all of these notions enacted in Durham.

In his essay, “Durham: Capital of the Middle Class,” E. Franklin Frazier, a New Negro era scholar, contended that the black professional class could not be equated with the white middle class because black professionals regarded themselves as aristocrats of the black race. This is not surprising considering the significant influence that Durham’s black elite had. Many of Durham’s black elite had the benefit of both higher educational achievement and economic status. Shepard was actually a second-generation college graduate in his family as both he and his father received a degree from Shaw University. Shepard’s address was made to keep the NCCN running and, although he talks about social segregation and educating blacks to be better servants, he harbored the ulterior motivation to add graduate programs to his school; a step that would need board approval, but would also require additional moneys to make it feasible.

African American Higher Education in the New South

Only after Shepard used a combination of referential and predicational strategies to firmly establish his own and assumes the audience’s agreement with his pride in North Carolina, does he begin to use that same sense of pride to move his audience to action.

Our doxologies become more difficult when we confront the anomalous situation in the schools and in the appropriations for higher institutions of learning. A few years ago North Carolina took the lead in what it was accomplishing for the education of the Negro. We received a great deal of publicity for the things we were seeking to do and actually doing. This publicity helped North Carolina in all portions of the world. The state was held up as a model of what two races could
do living side by side and yet separate and distinct. Our system was studied by various countries which had a minority group in its midst (para 4).

He skillfully positioned North Carolina as a leader in black education that had the eyes of the world watching them for guidance.

Again he uses predication to suggest a positive self-presentation, implying a negative other-presentation by the mere singling out of North Carolina for its positives, but also and more overtly, by reminding his listeners that other countries learn from them. However, continuing on in paragraph 4 he questions this position as leader.

We must face this fact frankly that today we are living on the publicity of the past instead of the things we are actually doing (para 4).

As evidenced by the above quote, he proceeds to say that their status as a leader is faltering and those same negatively-presented others of the world are seeing it happen.

Black education is tied to both the place of blacks in society and the post-war economic development of southern economy. It engendered battles about whether blacks should get a liberal education or a technical one, with many claiming that technical education would better suit them to their status in life, their economic prospects and would be beneficial to the South’s economic stability.

Historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) began in the pre-civil war North with the establishment of Cheyney (founded in 1837, Pennsylvania), Lincoln (chartered in 1854, Pennsylvania), and Wilberforce (founded in 1856, Ohio) Institutes and helped entrench segregation between black and white institutions even though these early institutions were founded by northern, anti-slavery and religious groups (Brown, 2008). Post-civil war the numbers of HBCUs increased because of the Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1862 (Act of July 2, 1862 (Morril Act), Public Law 37-108, which established land grant colleges, 07/02/1862; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-1996; Record Group 11; General Records of
the United States Government; National Archives), which helped create four public HBCUs by setting aside millions of acres of public land in support of public colleges but said nothing about race. The former eleven Confederate states, among the post-1860 fifteen former slave states, did not organize land-grant colleges until restoration to the Union (Brown, 2008). Not only was African American education unsupported, it was actively discouraged. Eventually it was no longer feasible to completely deny education to blacks. The years between 1870 and 1890 saw the creation of nine land-grant colleges for African Americans in the South. The second Morrill Act of 1890 (Agricultural College Act of 1890 (Second Morrill Land Grant Act), ch. 841, 26 Stat. 417, 7 U.S.C. §§ 322 et seq.) required that states requesting funds agreed not to discriminate. However, the Act of 1890, coming before Plessy v Ferguson upheld the practice legally, allowed for separate but equal facilities.

Durham, NC residents showed their disapproval for African American education, even in separate facilities, by burning down black schools.

The burning of black schools indicated that the issue of black education was unfolding as a racially politicized matter. With its roots in the Reconstruction legislature, where African American lawmakers effectively created it, public education was an extension of municipal and state power exercise post emancipation to confirm and reinforce separate racial worlds. The school issue underscored Durham's race–caste system and demonstrated the lengths to which whites would go to deny African Americans basic entitlements (Brown, 2008, p. 49).

In 1890, just 20 years before James E. Shepard was to start his school in Durham, a colored industrial school based on the model of Hampton Institute in Virginia was proposed for Durham. There was African American interest and even donations from members of the black community toward building the school; however white resistance ensured that the project never came to fruition (Brown, 2008, p. 50).
To combat southern white resistance to African American education, some continued to stress that education was a tool to train African Americans to become better workers and better citizens, not to give them greater political power (Anderson, J.D., 1988; Anderson, J.B., 2011; Brown, 2008). These types of arguments are an example of interest convergence. It was in the best interest of the southern economy to use this new type of education rather than lose potential workers. African Americans were still meant to be second-class citizens; however, this form of education was a subtler way to train newly freed blacks for their new role in society than overt and violent white supremacist action. For white businessmen it was a way to appease black Durham residents enough so they would not flee north (Anderson, J.D. 1988). In those ways, building black schools was in the best interest of southern whites. Blacks gained from having institutions to provide education and training and because school buildings served as a gathering and networking space (Anderson, J.D., 1988; Anderson, J.B., 2011; Brown, 2008). Shepard himself used NCCN buildings for conferences for ministers and to bring in speakers such as W. E. B. Du Bois and clubwoman Mary Church Terrell (Brown, 2008).

By 1915 there were sixteen HBCUs in the South, seven of which were state controlled (Anderson, J.D., 1988; Brown, 2008) but at that time the education of African Americans still occurred primarily in private schools so northern philanthropy had a large influence on maintaining school funding. Reliance on philanthropic funding gave the philanthropists undue influence on school curriculum (Anderson, J.D., 1988). Some northern philanthropists and white southerners believed education could train blacks to be better, more compliant workers and citizens (Anderson, J.D., 1988; Brown, 2008, Woodson, 2006).

From this standpoint, universal education was not conceived of as transforming the social position of any laboring class, not to mention black southerners, but a means to make society run more efficiently. Consequently, philanthropic and southern white crusaders for universal public education wished to substitute
education for older and cruder methods of socialization and control (Anderson, J.D., 1988, p. 80).

Persistent underfunding affected the quality of education at both private and public HBCUs regardless of the curriculum (Anderson, J.D., 1988; Woodson, 2006). NCCU, located in the Central Piedmont Region of North Carolina, is the first state-funded liberal arts college for blacks but it was a private institution when it began as the National Religious Training School and Chautauqua for the Colored Race in Durham in 1910. The school had a troubled financial past which continued for decades. The National Religious Training School and Chautauqua did not receive as many donations as Shepard hoped and initial enrollment was lower than anticipated. Shepard borrowed money to keep the school going. Unfortunately, one of his creditors went into debt in 1912 and demanded repayment of the loans he made to Shepard. Repayment of those loans meant the school could not pay its other financial obligations so the buildings and other assets were auctioned off in 1915 and the school closed for a time. However, Julian Carr,56 the school’s treasurer, won the auction, bidding $25,000 and philanthropist Margaret Olivia Slocum Sage57 donated $15,000. The school reopened the same year and was renamed the National Training School (Anderson, J.B., 2011, Ch. 13, Black Achievement and New Barriers). Later the North Carolina State Legislature appropriated $20,639 annually to the school and changed its name so that in 1923 the National Training School became the Durham

56 Carr (October 12, 1845 – April 29, 1924) was one of the white leaders in Durham. He was partner in one of Durham’s largest tobacco companies, and stockholder in the Morehead Banking Company, among other enterprises. He ran a newspaper called Durham Tobacco Plant where he editorialized his own thoughts on Durham politics, and was also the chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee for a time, as well as chairman of the school board (Anderson, J.B., 2011; Brown, 2008).

State Normal School. Regardless of this influx of money the school still faced debt nearing $49,000 so Shepard asked the state to take over.

The year 1925 was bittersweet. Due to a fire on campus, documents and several buildings including Shepard's residence burned. The black and white communities came together to raise money to build Shepard House, which then remained the Shepards’ home until their deaths. In that same year, the school became the first publicly funded Negro liberal arts college in the country and was renamed the North Carolina College for Negroes (NCCN).

Shepard faced another battle to keep the doors open in 1929. A bill was introduced in the North Carolina legislature that would close NCCN and give any proceeds from the sale of the property and assets to the Negro Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina which had been founded in 1890 in Greensboro by act of the North Carolina General Assembly. Shepard’s reputation amongst both blacks and whites and good relationships with whites in Durham, led influential citizens of both races to defend the school and its importance as a training program for black teachers in North Carolina. The bill was defeated but NCCN continued to face money problems until Shepard’s presidency of the school ended in 1947 (Anderson, J.B., 2011; Anderson, J.D, 1988). In 1931 NCCN received its first accreditation from the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and in 1937 it was accredited as an A class institution and was admitted to membership in the association (Vann, Murrain & McGhee, Biographical Information; History of the University).

However, NCCN remained plagued by money problems. Teacher salaries were extremely low, with some teachers going unpaid entirely. Several students defaulted on their payments to
the school.\textsuperscript{58} Shepard wrote Ehringhaus detailing “the smallness of the salaries paid Negro teachers in our State Institutions” and lamenting “how unfair it would be to cut them 32%, because they are not receiving more than a living wage now.”\textsuperscript{59} This was an unfortunate, but common situation amongst African American institutions of higher education. “Black colleges were understaffed, meagerly equipped, and poorly financed” (Anderson, J.D., 1988, p. 248).  

1947 saw an additional name change by the state legislature which removed the word Negro from the name changing it to the North Carolina College at Durham which it remained until 1969 when it assumed its current name, North Carolina Central University (NCCU). Three years later, North Carolina created the Consolidated University of North Carolina and NCCU became part of the UNC system.\textsuperscript{60}

However underfunded and besieged, once black educational institutions were built, blacks found a space of their own where they could resist the dominant narrative of black inferiority. For example, when the National Religious Training School and Chautauqua for the Colored Race opened in 1910 in Durham, it began hosting conferences on critical issues such as black education and black politics. \textit{The Norfolk Journal and Guide}, a prominent black newspaper, praised a 1916 three-day interracial conference on secondary and higher education at the college as “the first of its kind held under the auspices of a single institution among our


\textsuperscript{60} \textit{History of the University}. Retrieved from \texttt{http://www.nccu.edu/discover/history.cfm.}
people. Organized by James E. Shepard, the meeting drew hundreds of participants and over thirty speakers from around the nation, among them W.E.B. DuBois, Dean Kelly Miller of Howard University, and Joel Spingarn, the head of the NAACP” (Brown, 2008, p. 122).

Shepard publicly aligned himself with one of the existing ideologies of conciliation in the campaign to bring public education to Southern blacks. One of the most vocal and influential African American leaders of the day, Booker T. Washington, showed that the almost spiritual identification with the New South did not just come from whites but was also felt by many blacks who did not want the North interfering in legislating the South (Woodward, 1951)\(^6\) and Washington frequently proclaimed his love for the South. He even conceived of there being three classes of men: the negro, the Northern white and the Southern white (Woodward, 1951, p. 357). Washington’s famous “Atlanta Compromise” helped cement the notion of New South values in the minds and hearts of the people. The Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta was held from September 18-December 31\(^{st}\), 1895 and was designed to be “not only a splendid spectacle of great beauty and interest, but an event whose industrial and economic features will have more national effect and significance” (New York Times, 1895 June 8). Of particular note during the exposition was the “department for negroes,” which included a building constructed by a black contractor, built by black laborers, “conducted throughout by negro officers, and containing nothing but the products of negro brains and negro hands” (New York Times, 1895 June 8). This was seen as one of the first opportunities African Americans had to show the nation a “very complete exhibit of the achievements of the African race in America” (New York Times, 1895 June 8).

\(^6\) Although these same men were willing to take money from the North to support industry and education.
During the 1895 Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, Washington assured the white men present that:

The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercises of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera-house (Washington, 2012 [1901], p. 92).

He also gave the crowd a lasting and indelible example of his view of cooperation between the races. “In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress” (p. 91). It was this economic cooperation but social segregation that was at the heart of the Atlanta Compromise. This speech also affected the way northerners viewed southerners. Reporting on Washington’s address, northern reporter James Creelman, writing for the New York World enthused “Nothing has happened since Henry Grady’s immortal speech before the New England society in New York that indicates so profoundly the spirit of the New South” (Woodward, 1951, p. 357).

Shepard is just one of many examples of how blacks made educational gains in the New South while also reproducing systems of inequality. Shepard utilized interest convergence by using the argument that an educated servant is a better servant. Shepard assured prominent white businessmen that religious education would not induce blacks to stop taking menial jobs; rather God-fearing, presentable, and socially conditioned African Americans would make better employees. However, this was not merely a fundraising ploy.

“the educational system provides a good example of this process: the development of the system involves a certain kind of objectification in which formally defined credentials or qualifications become a mechanism for creating and sustaining
inequalities, in such a way that the recourse to overt force is unnecessary” (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991, p. 24).

Some blacks fighting to create institutions of higher learning for other blacks believed that conciliations needed to be made to whites to achieve certain goals. They were cognizant of the fact that monies from certain philanthropists came with the understanding that they would strive to keep the peace in the black community and maintain Jim Crow segregation. “Given the industrial philanthropists' demand for a conservative black leadership that would cooperate with instead of challenge the Jim Crow system, a certain amount of compromise, indifference, apathy, and even fear developed among black college educators and students” (Anderson, J.D., 1988, p. 276).

This is not to imply that blacks were passive or that more resistance to white supremacist ideals did not exist; in fact, they sometimes existed in the same person at the same time. For example, the president of an NAACP chapter in the South admitted that he was also the president of the League of Civic Improvement, which he himself described as “humble and pussyfooting” (Duster, 2009, p.104). Shepard was also a man who demanded respect but preached social segregation. Shepard was reputed to refuse to use the freight elevators when visiting the North Carolina State Capitol.62 Shepard also related the following story to Conrad Pearson:

CONRAD ODELL PEARSON: He told me of an incident. It was customary that if a white man came to your office, he wore his hat, wouldn't take his hat off. He said this white fellow came to his office to see him about something. He kept his hat on. So Dr. Shepard said, "Well, now, let's go outdoors and talk, because I don't want to embarrass you and ask you to take your hat off, and I think you'll be more comfortable on the outside.

WALTER WEARE: Did the fellow take his hat off?

CONRAD ODELL PEARSON: Yes. And I think they went on outside to talk, but the fellow got the hint. He got the hint. 63

However, all of this capitulation eventually led to a backlash within the African American community. Moving forward to the time period during which the address “God Bless Old North Carolina” was given, criticism of educated blacks by black leaders was growing. Rather than seeing a crop of merely industrially trained students that whites were promised or racially conscious, talented blacks that would uplift the black race as a whole, black leaders just saw an entrenchment of the class system within black society and students apathetic to race issues.

During his 1930 Howard University commencement address, W.E.B. Du Bois said:

Our college man today is, on the average, a man untouched by real culture. He deliberately surrenders to selfish and even silly ideals, swarming into semiprofessional athletics and Greek letter societies, and affecting to despise scholarship and the hard grind of study and research. The greatest meetings of the Negro college year like those of the white college year have become vulgar exhibitions of liquor, extravagance, and fur coats. We have in our colleges a growing mass of stupidity and indifference (Du Bois, 1930, in Anderson, J.D., 1988, p. 276).

Historian and educator Carter G. Woodson (2006) poured out his concerns in a book originally published in 1933. He feared that among other issues, blacks who were educated by white instructors were being trained from propagandist white materials and curriculum that “served for no higher purpose than to do what they are told to do” (p. 20). He saw both classical and technical educational approaches as largely failed attempts, so the question between which was

63 Ibid.
better was moot. He observed that there were more skilled artisans during slavery than during the 1930s. Technical education trained blacks in obsolete methods; furthermore, they were barred from working by whites or forced to find jobs in which their technical skills were irrelevant. Those classically trained came out ill equipped for life in the South, did not materially add to the cultural achievements of the black race, or became so divorced from other classes of blacks as to have no effect on the uplift of the black race (Woodson, 2006). In the same year that Shepard wrote the text for his radio address, poet and author Langston Hughes “denounced the ‘cowards from the colleges,’ the ‘meek professors and well-paid presidents,’ who submitted willingly to racism and the general subordination of black people” (Hughes, 1934, in Anderson, J.D., 1988, p. 277).

One student of the NCCN, Juanita Yeates Moore, who began there in 1934, expressed some of the class-related apathy of some African American students noted by Woodson and Anderson. She was aware, as a student, that much of the money for the college came from white Northern philanthropists and from the Dukes, but was unaware of Shepard’s struggle to raise money. Moore noted the beauty of the campus and the fact that Shepard seemed to get funding for the buildings whenever he needed it and so she said, regarding where the money came from, “I could’ve cared less.” Regarding racial equality in Durham while she attended school there she said, “Probably didn’t think about it. You got racial equality because the racial equality is within your own race. You don’t really think about it, to be frank with you,” and of Shepard’s strategies for racial advancement she said, “I didn’t care how he got what he got. It was not interesting to me as a student.”64

64 Interview with Juanita Yeates Moore by Elizabeth A. Lundeen, April 4, 2011, Interview number U-0513 in the
Though students like Moore may not have been cognizant of where NCCN funding came from or the compromises made to secure it, “God Bless Old North Carolina” shows the rhetoric Shepard used to appeal to white people in Durham who were more likely to invest money in trained black laborers than black intellectuals and leaders.

Every thoughtful person who has to hire people knows that a trained person makes even a better servant. No one would desire a nurse to be speaking broken English and incorrect sentences which might fasten on the plastic mind of a young child. A person who could teach the lullaby songs or could tell the proper fables or legends to the growing child would be more valuable in the home than one who knows nothing but superstition and ghost stories. A person who could go into the kitchen and prepare a balanced meal is worth more from any view point than one who knows nothing about such things (para 9).

The above text appeared to support the belief that presidents of black schools were capitulating too much to the desires of their white philanthropists and not producing race conscious African American leaders. Shepard’s text used interest convergence to transform an argument for the betterment of African American institutions in North Carolina, into one that is for the betterment of whites. Shepard does this by weaving together discourses about the purpose of black education, how that purpose can aid the South’s economy overall and the role of blacks in society. Shepard clearly places himself with the movement to train African Americans for more menial labor, positions which benefit white North Carolinians. Note the tone of conciliation and that the arguments above are not about what is good for blacks, but what is good for the person hiring the black person, who is likely to be white. In this way, Shepard is mitigating his request for educational funding by stressing its potential for social control of African Americans.

Southern Oral History Program Collection (#4007) at The Southern Historical Collection, The Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, UNC-Chapel Hill.
Education reduces crime. It causes a man to see himself, to see his potentialities, it broadens him in the treatment of his fellow man. It is a great thing for a state or a community if the citizens are removed from ignorance (para 9).

Shepard shrewdly preys upon white fear by raising the specter of the criminality of blacks and again assures whites that giving to black education is in their best interest in reducing crime as well. That message would be comforting to a white audience regardless of whether they had the socio-economic standing to hire black workers.

Shepard’s apparent agreement that blacks should be educated to better serve white employers hid a strategy to grow the NCCN by adding graduate programs. However, in order to do that, he actively sabotaged the attempt to integrate The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (UNC). So, it is unfair and overly simplified to characterize Shepard as “pussyfooting.” Black educators knew they had to walk a fine line between acquiescence with the desires of white philanthropists and training race-conscious, educated, new leaders of the black race (Anderson, J.D., 1988, p. 278).

Shepard’s interference with the Hocutt lawsuit is illustrative of the lengths to which he would go to get graduate programs for NCCN and is an example of Shepard’s political savvy and behind the scenes machinations. It also supports the conclusion that Shepard makes use of interest convergence to gain funding for NCCN by providing an example of when he did just that.

Conrad Odell Pearson, a Howard University-trained lawyer, with the help of fellow lawyer Cecil McCoy and newspaperman S. C. Coleman, located NCCN alumnus Thomas Raymond Hocutt. Hocutt wanted to attend graduate school to become a pharmacist and applied for admission to the pharmacy school at all white UNC but Shepard, attempting to block this move, refused to send his transcript (Anderson, J.B., 2011; Pearson interview, 1979). “Dr. Shepard wouldn't send his record over there. So we had Hocutt to go over to Dr. Shepard to get
his record. And Hocutt sent it over there himself. But that didn't comply with the rules of the University.”65 Pearson persisted in litigating the issue in North Carolina state courts.

Understanding Shepard’s influence in the community, Pearson went to him in confidence before bringing suit to tell Shepard of his plan.

**CONRAD ODELL PEARSON:** We talked with Shepard about it in confidence, and told him what we were going to do. And we pledged him to confidentiality and silence. And the next morning we woke up and the Greensboro Daily News had broke the story. And it was a fellow that worked for the Greensboro Daily News—I can't recall his name [Tom Bost]—but he worked for the Daily News back at that time. He was a special writer for the Greensboro Daily News. I think he was on Dr. Shepard's payroll—a P.R. man with him, dealing with the legislature. And after he broke it, then we went to the Morning Herald and told them if we were going to break the story, we would have told them about it. But Dr. Shepard had broken it without our knowledge. And the editor [of the Herald] was enraged, not at the story being broke, but the fact that we were bringing the law suit. He said, "As far as I'm concerned" (as I recall, the editor said), "all of you can go back to Africa. It'd be better off for the country." He wrote an editorial: "Playing with Fire."**66

When the story appeared in the Greensboro Daily News, of course Shepard publicly denied involvement. However, privately he sent the following letter to North Carolina Governor Ehringhaus dated February 16, 1933:

> “I am sending you in confidence, copy of the letter which I sent Sen. Land.

> I do not know whether you saw the editorial in today’s Greensboro news, so I am clipping the same and enclosing it in this letter.

> There does not seem to be a sentiment for consolidation at the present time among the majority of the members of the legislature. There is quite a stir, however, in regard to the proposal of the colored lawyers to make a test case as to the

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65 Interview transcript with Conrad Odell Pearson by Walter Weare, April 18, 1979, H-0218, in the Southern Oral History Program Collection # 4007, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, pg.9

66 Interview transcript with Conrad Odell Pearson by Walter Weare, April 18, 1979, H-0218, in the Southern Oral History Program Collection # 4007, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, pg. 4
admission of students in law at University.

I think it is the plan of those who back this movement to try to force the State to pay tuition for those who are desirous of taking professional courses. At the present time, however, a group of us have been able to hold this matter in check, and we are seeking to bring pressure upon them not to agitate the matter for two years at least. I do not know what the outcome will be.

I am inclined to think that if the matter is left entirely as it is for the next two years that it is going to be the wisest way out for all concerned, with the exception that duplication of work should not be permitted.”

The following day Ehringhaus responded agreeing with Shepard, thanking him and agreeing with his opinions. He closes by reminding the very financially strapped NCCN president, “it should be remembered that your institution is one of the new State charges. I am sure that the State, through its Legislature, will do everything possible and consistent with our financial capacities for all colored institutions.”

While Shepard acted covertly, the North Carolina state attorney general tried to get Pearson to drop the case in exchange for the state provided funding for black students to seek education outside of the state for programs not offered at segregated black institutions within North Carolina. Shepard was also aware of this and worked against this solution as he did not want to decrease the pool of possible attendees of the NCCN. Pearson eventually won integration battles at the federal court level but even with William H. Hastie, “a brilliant, soft-
spoken lawyer appointed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)” (Anderson, J.B., 2011, p. 311), arguing Hocutt’s court case, Pearson’s efforts in the state court failed and UNC won the case and barred Hocutt from entry on the basis of the transcript issue and the claim that Hocutt was not qualified to attend the pharmacy program (Anderson, J.B., 2011; Pearson interview, 1979).

The Hocutt case provides evidence that Shepard was indeed a skillful manipulator and used interest convergence to benefit NCCN. It is also illustrative of how Shepard tailored “God Bless Old North Carolina” to a white audience, minimizing any ideas that additional funding for NCCN would lead to more advanced degrees for African Americans. Pearson had known Shepard for many years and was convinced that Shepard’s sabotage was an effort to obtain graduate and professional programs at NCCN and he was correct (Pearson interview, 1979). In a letter to Governor Ehringhaus Shepard suggests a solution to the litigation to integrate UNC Chapel Hill.

I desire to present to you the question of Negroes being admitted to the University of North Carolina. I do not think, Governor, that the most radical Negro in North Carolina believe that this is possible, but the younger element believe that the State should provide educational facilities for them to secure professional training.

I have suggested to some that the best way to stop the present suit and to avoid unpleasantness between the races would be either for the State to provide money necessary for their tuition in some Institution outside of the State or to amend the charter of this Institution to permit the Board of Trustees to establish professional departments. 70

This solution is clearly not impromptu as Shepard was already planning for the possibility. “I have remarked to several that there are white professors at Duke University and North Carolina who would be glad to give their services for a while.”

Shepard eventually succeeded in getting a law school but not until several years after the Hocutt case or the “God Bless Old North Carolina” address. It was a 1938 U.S. Supreme Court ruling that required state universities to admit black students to graduate or professional schools unless equivalent programs were available at black institutions. The state of North Carolina finally gave Shepard the influx of funding he had been asking for, adding $250,000 in new buildings, and in 1939 the North Carolina General Assembly voted to allow NCCN to operate graduate and professional programs and a law school opened in 1940 (Anderson, J.B., 2011; Vann, Murrain & McGhee, Biographical Information).

The Hocutt case highlighted another division in the black community in Durham. Older, more conservative residents who had lived through Reconstruction and its violent backlash, including the Wilmington Riots, were reticent to push integration of HBCUs. Younger residents, those that were not the apathetic graduates mentioned earlier, were more in favor of agitating for integration. As far as most whites in Durham, Pearson only remembered silence although he received some letters of support from other locations in North Carolina.

While much of Shepard’s appeal is for his own institution, he also made requests on behalf of all black institutions in North Carolina. Sections like the one below provide an example of perspectivation:

71 Ibid.
72 Interview transcript with Conrad Odell Pearson by Walter Weare, April 18, 1979, H-0218, in the Southern Oral History Program Collection # 4007, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, pp.15-18
I am appealing to the people of North Carolina for better support of all Negro institutions everywhere in the state. We believe that we have justified a greater faith in our cause. We believe that the people will applaud a more liberal policy of support, that they will not expect us to carry on our work with its increasing demands on a descending scale of appropriations (para 22).

It is primarily in these sections of text that his perspective changes from that of North Carolinian to that of African American. One can see the shift from words like ‘he’ and “Negroes” to the collective “we.”

Let me divest this appeal of some of its self-interest. We of the minority group, conscious of our classification as a spending agency, nevertheless do not think that larger appropriations will bless us alone[.] We have pretty high authority, sacred and secular, for the philosophy that it is more blessed to give than to receive (para 25).  

Shepard also uses the inclusive word “us” when referring to race. But again, this shift in tone is a strategy which he even points out himself. It is an attempt to remove some of the self-interest from his appeal by reminding the listener that he is part of the collective African American race. With Shepard’s firm love for and identification with North Carolina, the benefits of black education and reminders of Durham’s reputation for racial tolerance well established, an appeal for money can be made.

**The Great Depression**

The Great Depression is the economic backdrop within which Shepard’s plea is being made.

I appeal especially to the people of North Carolina to give to the North Carolina College for Negroes the appropriation of $44,000, which the Board, in its wisdom and patriotism, say in these days of depression should be the minimum amount on which this school should operate (para 23).

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73 Emphasis mine
Shepard himself explicitly references the depression in the above quote. Durham was affected early by the failing economy because a depression in agriculture and textiles had already begun in the early 1920s. Because much of North Carolina’s profits were derived from these markets, the state was hit hard by the decline. In the years from 1928 to 1932, farm income in North Carolina decreased by 65.7% from pre-Depression levels (Anderson, J.B., 2011). However, there was some good news for Durham. While construction completely stopped in many parts of the nation, in Durham, construction slowed but did not end entirely. This was because Duke University began work on its campus buildings in 1925 so during the depression years there was an influx of workers of various races into Durham. “The stimulus to construction that the building of the university brought to Durham carried over into the early Depression years and mitigated the effect on the people of Durham of the general economic collapse” (Anderson, J.B., 2011, p. 291).

Duke University was not the only source of improvement in the depression era Durham economy. A new Post Office was dedicated in 1934, the building of which gave jobs to several Durham citizens. These were but a few of the construction projects, with both public and private funding, that occurred during the Great Depression in Durham. Tobacco was also still selling exponentially, providing jobs and revenue. So, although the depression started early in North Carolina due to a decrease in agricultural profits, Durham’s experience was somewhat minimized and the effects of the Depression more short-lived than in many other locations nationwide (Anderson, J.B, 2011).

However, African American residents were severely affected by the Depression. In 1927 and 1929 white and black experts, including W. E. B. DuBois, conducted fact-finding conferences on the status of blacks which took place in Durham. The conference identified
several concerns including the migration of black families who relied on agriculture to support themselves. They left rural areas and moved to cities but whites were taking jobs that were formerly held exclusively by blacks. Aside from an elite few, blacks did not hold significant employment in business, financial firms or in wholesale merchandising and needed encouragement to pursue jobs in those industries (Anderson, J.B., 2011, p. 309). More evidence of the economic state of African Americans came from the Welfare Department in Durham which experienced increased appeals for help finding work. Such appeals came from Durham residents as well as other blacks who moved to Durham hoping that employment prospects would be better (Anderson, J.B., p. 297).

At a time when African Americans were looking for work, Shepard wanted construction projects to occur on his campus and tried to gain public support for a greater appropriation of government funds. Such projects could be a source of employment for blacks living in Durham. Seeing the renovation and new building projects occurring around him in Durham, Shepard sent a letter dated 1932 to the soon to be governor, Ehringhaus. Shepard wrote: “The buildings need extensive repairs. It would seem to me that it would be great economy to the State to make these repairs, but at the present time there is no money available.”74 He also touches upon the disrepair of campus buildings during his address:

Despite the insufficient revenues for the work, we have maintained it and suffered no loss to the commonwealth by reason of neglect to the buildings (para 20).

At its heart, Shepard’s text is one that is meant to persuade; it is an appeal for money. There is some reasoned argumentation based on the appropriations other southern states have made for their black institutions in comparison to those of North Carolina, showing that other states, even those with similar economies that bordered North Carolina, gave more to support African American education. But a large part of the text alternates between idealist religious and national themes and the material realities of the state of North Carolina and of its black institutions to make its appeal. By appealing to idealism Shepard is committing the argumentum ad populum fallacy. Paragraph 23 provides a good example of Shepard’s use of this fallacy.

Although he begins the paragraph by asking for a concrete, dollar based sum and explains how it would be spent he goes on to justify his request using emotional arguments about “good will,” “high ideals,” and “the kind of life that is inspired.” In the excerpt below I have separated Shepard’s fact based argument from his fallacious appeal to idealism:

I appeal especially to the people of North Carolina to give to the North Carolina College for Negroes, the appropriation of $44,000, which the Board, in its wisdom and patriotism, say in these days of depression should be the minimum amount on which this school should operate. How would it be spent? In increased salaries, in the extension of departments as they are needed in maintenance and upkeep of the plant, in securing the faculty which will teach lessons of truth and endeavor to form Christian characters, in presenting to the people of North Carolina, both white and colored, the highest ideals, and the making of this institution into a monument, which will mark the highest notch of good will between the races. There is not a citizen in North Carolina who would begrudge or seek to take away a single dollar of the appropriation which I plead tonight for the North Carolina College for Negroes. I plead for a larger appropriation for the institution at Durham, because it was chartered by the legislature of North Carolina as a liberal arts college to fit the aspiring youth of my race to live with the highest ideals of our present civilization, and to fit him for leadership in every walk of life. Every dollar given will be justified in the kind of life that is inspired (para 23).
In the sections of the text when Shepard chooses not to rely solely on idealistic arguments he also commits the argumentum ad verecundiam fallacy when he relies on the borrowed authority of a prominent white man to support his conclusions rather than reasoned assertions. Shepard does this by referencing or quoting prominent white men as he does in the two excerpts below:

The Governor of the state of North Carolina has been moved to consider the present situation of the Negro in North Carolina by the appointment of a commission to consider the present status of the Negro (para 6).

During the World War, the field Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in the British Empire came to North Carolina to interest this and other commonwealths in the larger monetary support of the allied cause. “Give”, he said, “until it hurts, and then keep on giving until it doesn’t hurt.” We assert our conviction that North Carolina will think best of its Negro schools when giving to them may even hurt (para 26).

We have made some progress since the late Governor Aycock uttered those famous and epoch making words, “Thank God for South Carolina, it prevents North Carolina from being at the bottom.” We who have lived to see this day, can say Thank God for Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Georgia and South Carolina, they prevent North Carolina from being at the bottom (para 16).

The above quote from paragraph 16 shows Shepard also uses borrowed authority when he is preparing to say something that may be particularly inflammatory, a sentiment that may be viewed as an insult to North Carolina. By referencing Governor Aycock, Shepard uses the borrowed authority of a white politician to make his point. He also commits the argumentum ad verecundiam fallacy when he uses the legitimizing authority of God as he does in paragraph 11 when he exhorts his audience that the foundation of southern society should be based on “Christ-like principles.”

It is unsurprising that Shepard employed persuasive argumentation tactics in his speech because it was made in a time of desperate need for the university. Increased appropriations would do more than allow the school to function properly; funding would also ensure that African Americans could retain employment at NCCN and students could continue to receive an
education, even in a time a great financial need. The depression also negatively impacted Shepard’s ability to properly run the NCCN as both government funding and enrollment dropped. Financial conditions were so dire that in June 1931 teachers and school officials sacrificed their salaries entirely and once the state ratified a new budget on July 1, 1931, teacher salaries had to be cut by 10%. On July 21, 1934, Shepard confessed to Governor Ehringhaus that the salaries reported in official budgets were low because Shepard was personally augmenting some faculty salaries, fearing that if he did not, these professors would resign.

Although the depression may have ended early for whites in Durham, it was not over for African Americans for several more years. In a 1933 letter to Governor Ehringhaus, Shepard claims that “in the present time in the city of Durham there are nearly five thousand unemployed Negroes.”

Against this backdrop of financial need, Shepard’s appeal for money which would not just maintain but also expand NCCN would also provide opportunities for blacks as students, staff and faculty of NCCN.

Summary

James E. Shepard employed very specific, consistent and strategic discursive strategies whenever he spoke publicly about what would come to be known as North Carolina Central University. He often spoke to audiences that were racially mixed but typically from North

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Carolina. Accordingly, Shepard chose a largely politically non-confrontational strategy. Shepherd’s messages were perfectly pitched for southern audiences by blending deep pride in the South into most of his speeches. During “God Bless Old North Carolina” he emphasized black people's love of North Carolina and desire to stay in the area, as well as whites’ need for blacks to stay, but he did so in a way that maintained and acknowledged the social stratification of the races. He accomplished this by using the discursive strategies of mitigation, the referential strategies of predication and perspectivation and the argumentative strategies of argumentum ad verecundiam and argumentum ad populum to couch his desires in ways palatable to a white audience.

In “God Bless Old North Carolina”, much of his rhetoric echoed Booker T. Washington’s philosophies regarding practical training for the Negro. Living in North Carolina in the late 19th Century, he had undoubtedly been privy to the common euphemism, “when you educate a Negro you have spoiled a field hand” (Parks, 1908, p. 23). In 1913 William F. Yust, librarian of the Rochester (New York) Public Library, echoed this sentiment when he addressed an audience at the ALA conference asserting that literacy was not a desirable goal for African Americans. One of the reasons literacy was not a worthwhile goal for blacks was because it would “spoil a good plow hand” (Musmann, 1998, p. 81). Shepard was certainly aware of such discourses and addressed these notions using a form of interest convergence by asserting that a well-trained and religiously minded servant would be an asset to white households (see para 8, 9 and 24).

Shepard’s school was primarily a teacher’s training school and then it became a liberal arts college so he could not directly claim to be offering a technical education. Instead Shepard said that an educated African American made a better servant than one who was uneducated. When applying the theory of interest convergence to Shepard’s discursive strategy one can
clearly see the direct benefits he claimed would accrue to whites if they supported black education. Education led directly to a better-behaved workforce and a more genteel influence on white children. He stressed the positive impact a well-read black woman can have as a caretaker when helping to rear children. Shepard played upon stereotypes of blacks as credulous and superstitious by explaining education could allay some of those superstitions and guard against them being passed on to whites through stories black servants may tell to children. Although some blacks in Durham considered Shepard to be too much of an accommodationist and suspected him of sabotaging efforts for more direct civil rights agitation, justification for such a strategy can be made from the relative peace Durham experienced compared to the rest of the South.

Discourse surrounding Durham, North Carolina portrayed the city as having an atmosphere of congeniality between the races. A 1926 pamphlet published by the Durham Chamber of Commerce highlights the tolerant race relations found in the city. James Shepard tapped into the discourse of what Durham believed itself to be and tried to portray to others: a city where upstanding black families were welcome and could thrive. So, not surprisingly, the text for some of Shepard’s speech builds on the idea that blacks will choose to stay in Durham (see para 10). He also assumes some knowledge of incidents of racially motivated violence and alludes to them during his speech, while not specifically detailing any one incident, as a tool to contrast the racially tolerant “us” of North Carolina to the intolerant and violent “them” of other states (see para 2). Shepard would appeal to residents’ sense of pride in its racially tolerant identity when asking for funding for NCCN. Shepard was aware of Durham’s reputation as the capital of the black middle class and was one of the founding members of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, which, in a large part, was the entrepreneurial heart of black
Durham. Durham government itself tried to capitalize on this reputation as a welcoming space for blacks through its own publications and publicity materials and Shepard tailored the message of his speeches to both play toward and against that image. He acknowledged Durham’s reputation but claimed it was slipping.

When speaking for and about NCCN, he also spoke for southern blacks in general. His role as president of NCCN gave his words authority and his ties to the black leaders of Durham gave him opportunities to spread his words beyond the walls of NCCN. In effect, he was an interpreter between the white and black South. However, he had a very specific agenda tied to growing NCCN through the addition of graduate and professional programs so the information he disseminated about southern blacks was geared toward supporting the political, social and educational agendas that would benefit NCCN. Sometimes Shepard’s role as NCCN president and leader in black Durham conflicted, creating a disconnect between his public utterances and the information he disseminated in private. The Hocutt case is evidence of this strategy when he attempted to suppress a court case which would allow African Americans to attend white colleges and universities in North Carolina when their preferred course of study was not available at black institutions while simultaneously writing North Carolina Governor Ehringhaus about creating a law school at NCCN. In addition to the disconnect between public and private statements, Shepard faced a dialectical tension between the struggle for the survival of an institution of higher education for African American men and women and speaking about higher education for African Americans in a climate where blacks were lynched for overstepping their place. Contextualizing the discourses and discursive strategies of “God Bless Old North Carolina” within the socio-historical climate of the South and drawing on Shepard’s private letters makes these conflicts more apparent.
Chapter 6: Conclusion and Future Research

When revisiting the research questions posed in Chapter 1, we see that the discursive strategies Shepard used to influence public opinion generally included mitigation strategies to appear non-threatening to a white audience. As Pearson noted about Shepard’s yearly Mason speeches, which began by praising North Carolina, then moved on to talking about prominent citizens and concluded by asking for something to benefit African Americans in Durham, there is a similar repeating pattern throughout “God Bless Old North Carolina.” Shepard repeatedly praises North Carolina before asking for financial support for African American education and then uses the borrowed authority of another by quoting a person of note of the white or black race (see para 2, 3 and 10).

Shepard also appealed to the audience’s common connection as North Carolinians and used the reputation for racial cooperation they built to bolster his arguments for better funding of African American education. Shepard supported the segregation of North Carolina colleges and universities but also hoped to improve conditions at HBCUs. He fought to gain graduate and professional programs at NCCN, a fight that proved to be successful when the North Carolina legislature approved the addition of a law school to NCCN.

Shepard interpreted his role in the black community as a leader in Durham. He took it upon himself to speak as a representative of the black race, not just as the president of NCCN. “Shepard practically dominated the city of Durham in the white and black communities, because he just knew how” (Pearson interview, p. 23). He used his platform as leader to request better funding for black education in general, not just for his school. He also advocated for better salaries for African American teachers.
Shepard’s representation of the attitudes of the black population in Durham was not necessarily an accurate depiction of how black residents felt. Pearson tells us that Shepard rarely left his office, preferring to work with white businessmen and politicians than activists within the black race (Pearson interview, p.20). Shepard felt cooperation with white businessmen and politicians was the way to assure peace in North Carolina. He did not support legal activism as a means to civil rights and actively worked to hamper desegregation in higher education, particularly in the Hocutt case. Shepard assumed that many in the black community felt the same as he did and expressed this sense in private letters written to Governor Ehringhaus.

When considering Shepard’s rhetorical strategies we see him use mitigation and borrowed authority to soften more controversial assertions. He makes use of perspectivation to switch between speaking from the point of view of an African American to speaking as a North Carolina irrespective of race. He also uses referential strategies to aid in portraying himself as a loyal North Carolinian and trying to establish a bond with white members of his audience based on spatial location rather than race. Finally, in crafting his arguments he uses both factually and emotionally based arguments.

The study of Shepard’s words in the context of CRT’s notions of endemic structural racism and interest convergence theory and Bourdieu’s thoughts on symbolic power paired with Reisigl and Wodak’s CSDH approach allows for a deeper understanding of what it meant for African American identity to be in constant negotiation for the very survival of a race struggling to overcome overwhelming hatred and oppression. It also provides us with an example of the strategies African Americans used to be successful in such a climate.

As an African American educator speaking on behalf of an African American institution, Shepard’s words possessed the power to shape both white and black North Carolinians’ “reality”
of what blacks in Durham were capable of and what they deserved, particularly those in the state who were less familiar with black Durham. This is not to say that his views were representative of all African Americans’ views in Durham. However, Shepard’s social and cultural capital and his status as a black leader in Durham gave him access to mediums, such as newspaper and radio, that provided a public platform to widely disseminate his words throughout Durham. This gave his ideas a certain legitimacy and reach that other African Americans did not possess.

Although Shepard accomplished many great things for the African American race, only speaking about his role as a leader and educator is an example of revisionist history. Bourdieu’s focus on educational institutions as objects for analysis helped elucidate “the fundamental paradox of literacy as being both liberatory and conservative, an instrument of both social change and social reproduction” (Kramsch, 2008, p. 45). As both an educated man and an educator, Shepard’s words also reinforced traditionally accepted linguistic practices through his usage of the “legitimate language” and reproduced those practices in his authoritative role as an educational leader. However, Shepard used this mastery of the legitimate language in his writings and speeches to persuade North Carolinians to make choices that would help NCCN, an institution for the betterment of African Americans.

A better understanding of how language – both legitimate and colloquial – is used by oppressed populations contributes to LIS scholars’ understandings of the role, usage and manipulation of information in society. It can also aid in studies of persuasive messages that may be considered propaganda at first glance but are actually much more complicated rhetorical strategies when placed within their socio-historical context as well as within the desires of the speaker, both those that are explicitly expressed and those that are not. Centralizing under-
represented populations in this type of research showcases them as more than those acted upon and affected by whiteness but as autonomous actors negotiating within existing hegemonies.

Reorienting LIS history and using critical theories to study underrepresented populations will help to shed light on recurrent, institutionalized forms of racism still present in LIS systems today through the identification of self-reinforcing patterns such as those involved in the production and reproduction of cultural capital. Once one understands invisible norms behind these processes of reproduction, it may be possible to identify recurrent patterns of discrimination that have become institutionalized into United States society. Recognition of the mechanisms behind these processes is a first step toward reversing detrimental effects of institutionalized racism by identifying the problems that need to be addressed and fixed. Centralizing the experiences of African Americans will help combat the pseudo-inclusion of minorities in United States LIS histories by situating them as autonomous actors rather than adjuncts to the actions of whites in the United States.

This dissertation research suggests a number of specific areas for further investigation. There is a need for a deeper integration of spatiality into critical information histories. How does space affect the way information, such as Shepard’s speech, is worded? What does it mean that he could transcend the spatial boundaries of segregation by using the radio to convey messages, allowing his thoughts to enter spaces he may not have been able to enter in person?

Messages and information are also affected by the social caste of African Americans which is, in turn, affected by skin tone. As was mentioned earlier in this work, lighter skinned blacks were frequently afforded more opportunities than darker and many of the Southern middle-class families that made up the black elites were light skinned. Although this was
touched upon, there are historical implications going back to slavery that can be examined. For example, lighter skinned blacks who ended up working in their master’s homes were likely exposed to different types of information than those working outside. How did this information get passed on amongst slaves or between generations? Did differences in information exposure eventually lead to differences in the accrual of cultural capital? There is also much more work to be done regarding Shepard specifically including how his messages may have changed over time.

Such questions have implications for the analysis of information in society and complicate notions of what information is, information dissemination, access, information accrual and relationships between the oppressed and the oppressors. This is a rich area that LIS researchers can and should explore.
Appendix

Photo 1, Photo Credit: Alexisrael, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Black_Wall_Street_Durham.JPG
Photo 2. James E. Shepard (1) and Booker T. Washington (2) on the steps of Avery Auditorium at a celebration at the National Religious Training School (later North Carolina Central University), Durham, N.C. November 1, 1910.
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