

(p. 3). She notes, "It is black men and women's collective engagement in community building work [during Jim Crow], however, that helped define their gendered selves" (p. 3). Black men were definitely part of this activism. They countered their exile from politics with "social welfare activities on the local level" and with "ongoing uplift and ambassadorial activities. . . . Indeed, racial reform for black intellectuals during Jim Crow was framed as a project of manhood resurrection" (p. 3). With this work, Hornsby-Gutting makes the first three decades of the twentieth century a moment in time when middle-class blacks threatened by Jim Crow violence also found ways to redefine themselves and challenge white oppression. The next challenge for historians will be to tell the story of the working classes and their confrontation with Jim Crow.

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To Right These Wrongs: The North Carolina Fund and the Battle to End Poverty and Inequality in 1960s America. By Robert R. Korstad and James L. Leloudis. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010. Introduction, illustrations, notes, bibliography, acknowledgments, index, DVD. Pp. 437. \$24.95, paper; \$65.00, cloth.)

Providing a dramatic contrast to the actions of other southern politicians of his era, progressive North Carolina governor Terry Sanford announced in July 1963 the creation of the North Carolina Fund (NCF). In the words of Robert Korstad and James Leloudis, the NCF's mission was to "stamp out the twin scourges of discrimination and economic deprivation" (p. 1). The NCF was funded with donations from the northern-based Ford Foundation and contributions from the Z. Smith Reynolds and Mary Reynolds Babcock foundations, both of which were based in Winston-Salem. Private funding allowed Sanford to circumvent the segregationist power structure of the state legislature and to launch a social experiment that slightly predated the larger scope of Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty.

Sanford's vision of a new North Carolina depended upon breaking the cycle of poverty and upsetting the foundations of race- and class-based domination that had driven the state's social and economic structure for centuries. Korstad and Leloudis find the source of modern elite white privilege in the breakdown of the interracial efforts of the Fusion Party at the turn of the twentieth century and the resultant entrenchment of Jim Crow laws and social structure. Whites and African Americans who shared poverty and its burdens were manipulated into separate political camps, allowing elite whites to stay in power. The authors argue that poor whites' racial privilege gave them access to low-paying factory jobs and kept blacks in even lower-paying agricultural jobs, ensuring that blacks were kept in their social "place."

Eleven diverse areas from across the state were chosen for the fund's initial projects. Most were in predominantly black areas, urban and rural, although the mountain counties (Watauga, Avery, Mitchell, and Yancey) experiment had an almost exclusively white clientele. The Charlotte, Winston-Salem, Durham, and Salisbury projects catered

to a mostly black and urban target group. The eastern projects (Choanoke area, Craven County) served mostly African American agricultural workers in an area the authors describe as “North Carolina’s Mississippi” (p. 6). All of the project areas displayed a desperate need for better housing, health services, education, and job opportunities. In each locale, local boards of directors made a special effort to include the voices of those being helped. This marked many impoverished people’s first experience with any sort of political empowerment.

As might be expected from a collaboration between two highly accomplished historians, *To Right These Wrongs* is diligently researched and eloquently written. The authors utilize a wealth of documentary sources, including North Carolina Fund papers from Wilson Library at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and the official papers of Governor Terry Sanford from the North Carolina Office of Archives and History. The authors also draw from numerous oral histories of NCF leaders and grass-roots participants. They thoroughly document the logistical challenges of starting such an organization in the face of powerful resistance, but the strength of this book lies more in the personal stories of impoverished people seeking political empowerment and the basic requirements of a decent life-style. The rise of African American leaders like Ann Atwater, Howard Fuller, and Rev. James A. Felton signaled a new era in the link between civil rights and advocacy for the poor.

Korstad and Leloudis explore the combination of resurgent conservative Democratic Party politics and the rise of “southern strategy” Nixon-Reagan Republican politics that led to the demise of the NCF in 1968. The reduction and elimination of public funding, along with political pressure placed on private sources, made battling poverty a much more difficult task. Despite the dismantling of the NCF, almost fifty years later a number of the local agencies it spawned continue to serve poor communities. From the authors’ viewpoint, the story of the North Carolina Fund serves as a reminder that widespread poverty still exists, and serves as a “source of inspiration and instruction for a new generation of Americans charting their own ways of combating poverty” (p. 354).

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Charlotte, North Carolina: A Brief History. By Mary Kratt. (Charleston, S.C.: History Press, 2009. Acknowledgments, illustrations, selected sources, index. Pp. 190. \$22.99, paper.)

Legacy: The Myers Park Story, 3rd ed. By Mary Norton Kratt and Thomas W. Hanchett. (Charlotte, N.C.: Duke Mansion, in association with Myers Park Foundation and Levine Museum of the New South, 2009. Preface to the first edition, note to the third edition, illustrations, index. Pp. x, 218. \$29.99 plus \$4.95 shipping. Order from Pat Martin at the Duke Mansion/Lee Institute at [704] 714-4448.)

Most North Carolinians think of Charlotte as a tear-down-build-new city obsessed with growth and prosperity. Two publications present a broader perspective. Mary Kratt,