



GIVING BLACK GREATER RICHMOND

THE LEGACY OF BLACK INGENUITY & COLLECTIVE POWER

IMPACT REPORT FALL 2020



Find out more about New England Blacks in Philanthropy:

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WHY GIVING BLACK GREATER RICHMOND?

Dear Friends and Colleagues,

It has truly been our pleasure and honor to work closely with the Greater Richmond philanthropic community to present the findings of our report, Giving Black: Greater Richmond, The Legacy of Black Ingenuity & Collective Power. We are excited to share this study with our philanthropic partners. NEBiP's mission is to inform, reform and ultimately transform the philanthropic mindset by shifting focus from the deficits of our Black communities to our assets. Giving Black: Greater Richmond, The Legacy of Black Ingenuity & Collective Power embodies our vision and mission as to what philanthropy could and should be. It offers opportunities for deeper analysis, grounded in this region's legacy, and fortified through quantitative and qualitative data, to provide a narrative that can at once inspire, reflect, inform and challenge pre-existing assumptions on the current beliefs, motivations, practices and trends of Black donors of the Greater Richmond community.

Similar to our previous reports, Giving Black: Boston (2015) and Giving Black: Cincinnati (2017), Giving Black: Greater Richmond provides baseline data that illuminates two frameworks NEBiP developed to guide further understanding of Black donors and their behavior. NEBiP's Black donor typology identifies three donor types: Cornerstone, Sanctified and Kinship. Our research in Greater Richmond lends further support into the Sanctified Black donor type, which the legacy of Greater Richmond's Black philanthropic traditions has uniquely shaped. Our second framework, Linked Philanthropic Equity (LPE) highlights income, generational and gender distinctions that may affect the future of Black Greater Richmond. Giving Black: Greater Richmond further analyzes the issues identified as most important by Greater Richmond's Black donors, offering insight on its connection with Black philanthropic giving.

Our report highlights the legacy of collective power of Greater Richmond's Black community with the hopes of inspiring others of this formidable asset. This community is not, nor has it ever been, monolithic. Significant inequities existed in the past and persist today within its Black community, along with inequities across different racial communities. Still, we believe that the potential and assets of its Black community remain undervalued and underappreciated. Engaging the philanthropic, business and government sectors in a conver-

sation about the true cost of racial inequities of this region will be critical moving forward.

The unprecedented events of the past nine months are unlike any we have witnessed in modern times. Our survey collection ended before the current Covid-19 pandemic that, along with the inadequate government response, has wrought havoc and brought additional trauma to communities of color. The tragic and senseless incidents of police violence and the resurgence of white supremacy have undoubtedly tested our resolve as a community and as a nation. This is hardly a world we knew when we embarked on this journey to identify, analyze and reflect on the beliefs, motivations, behavior and trends of Greater Richmond's Black philanthropic community. Yet we remain hopeful by the reengagement of the renewed attention and energy on the importance of upholding racial equity and the broad worldwide response to racial violence.

There are many to generously thank for the Giving Black: Greater Richmond report. This study was a collaborative effort with three of the leading philanthropic entities of Greater Richmond—SisterFund, Ujima Legacy Fund and The Community Foundation for a Greater Richmond. We are deeply appreciative of their bold leadership, constructive partnership and collaborative spirit. This study would not have been possible without the extraordinary dedication and commitment of time, treasure and talent of the Greater Richmond Advisory Team and Steering Committee, who guided this process from the beginning, offering critical insight and nuanced contributions to the report. I truly could not have asked for better partners in co-creating this study. We thank the participants in this report. Over 300 people generously gave their time, talent and treasure for this study. A special thank you to the W.K. Kellogg Foundation for supporting this work. I personally thank my team and my research consultant, Marissa James, who assisted in data analysis and report writing midstream. The analysis and conclusions are NEBiP's. Without further ado, we present to you Giving Black: Greater Richmond, The Legacy of Black Ingenuity & Collective Power.



A LEGACY OF BLACK INGENUITY & COLLECTIVE POWER

New England Blacks in Philanthropy's (NEBiP) mission is to inform, reform and ultimately transform the philanthropic mindset by de-emphasizing deficits and elevating our assets. Our most recent report, Giving Black: Greater Richmond, The Legacy of Black Ingenuity and Collective Power highlights the legacy of Black giving and analyzes attitudes, motivations, giving practices and trends of Greater Richmond's Black donors. The study offers two frameworks developed by NEBiP to guide and deepen conversations on Black giving, a Black donor typology and Linked Philanthropic Equity (LPE), a framework that offers a pathway for an intentional Black giving strategy.

Greater Richmond's early years reveal a rich tradition of Black giving, anchored by the Black church, mutual aid and beneficial societies, and by personal and social networks. Traditions of Black giving predate the city's beginning, as enslaved Blacks who survived the transatlantic Middle Passage relied on their West African cultural practices of giving, caring and sharing to survive. Early Black philanthropists exhibited a great deal of Black ingenuity and collective power by pooling resources to establish Black churches, supporting missionaries, resisting racial tyranny through rebellion, purchasing freedom for the enslaved, providing for the sick and needy, burying their dead, protesting police brutality, establishing a public school system for Black children, building the city's first Black orphanage, and defending their dignity, and political and social rights within hostile systems of racial oppression.

Early traditions of Black giving still resonate for current Black donors of Greater Richmond. The Black church is still central to Black giving, as most Black donors reported attending religious services and church was ranked as their top donation destination. As in the past, personal networks and social

organizations remain important vehicles for Black giving as Black donors ranked their networks as top incentives for their discretionary giving. Unlike the past, the Black church no longer serves as the only center for mobilizing Black communities. Black collective action has shifted to other institutions and organizations, such as Black Lives Matter. Led by the younger generations of Black donors, their renewed activism is fueled and supported by newer platforms of Black giving, such as internet-based giving, bypassing traditional means of Black giving.

Broader trends on charitable giving provide additional context for understanding contemporary Black giving. In the 2019 "Generosity Index" report, which ranks the generosity of the fifty US states, the District of Columbia and Canada's thirteen provinces, Virginia ranked 7th out of 64 localities. National studies of Black donors offer another touchpoint for understanding regional and local trends of Black giving. Because reliable information on Black donors' views, motivation and giving practices is more elusive, the Giving Black: Greater Richmond study takes on additional significance.

The Giving Black: Greater Richmond study represents the culmination of an 18-month collaborative process between NEBiP and three leading philanthropic entities of Greater Richmond: SisterFund, Ujima Legacy Fund and The Community Foundation for a Greater Richmond. Insight was gleaned from focus groups, one-on-one interviews and an online survey accessed by nearly 600 participants. Survey respondents were mostly comprised of well-educated, middle-age African-American females, who were employed full-time. Most respondents reported a median household income that exceeded \$80,000. Of the respondents who provided geographic information, slightly over half lived in Richmond city proper, mostly in Southside, and the remaining respondents lived in

Greater Richmond Is...



We are truly in the times of racial truth-telling and reconciliation. The story of Black philanthropy is a story of truth that repels the myth that Black giving is minimal and singly directed. Our gifts of treasure are broad, deep, plentiful and precious.

28 cities of Greater Richmond. Survey respondents spanned across six generations from the G.I. Generation to Generation Z, with Generation X and Baby Boomers comprising most of the survey respondents.

Selected highlights of survey findings include the following:

- Top ranking of economic equity as Black donors' most important and most overlooked issue
- Black donors divided as to whether Richmond is a place of economic opportunity
- Black donors' strong support for donations to organizations solely focused on Black communities' needs
- Extended friends and family, and educational institutions as priority donation destinations
- Opposition to donor seeker's politics and convictions as a barrier for Black donors' giving

- Agreement of most Black donors that non-profits have improved Black lives in Richmond, but opinions vary
- Perception of most Black donors that their well-being is linked to the well-being of other Black people

Black donors' perceptions of their connection to others offers an opportunity for a different type of intentional Black giving. NEBiP developed the Linked Philanthropic Equity (LPE) framework as a pathway for strategic Black giving that leverages the interconnectedness between Black donors and the Black community. Although Greater Richmond, like many cities, has challenging economic circumstances for its Black residents, it also possesses key assets. It serves as the location of well-regarded universities and colleges. In 2018, the city's poverty rate had declined and its median income increased with Richmond ranking in Forbes magazine as one of the "top 10" places for African-Americans to live.

By leading and engaging multiple sectors in conversations about the social and business cost of racial inequities, NEBiP

recognizes the 'ingenuity' and collective power of Greater Richmond's Black philanthropic community to catalyze and effect change. In that spirit, we offer several recommendations informed by Black donors' astute observations and keen insight:

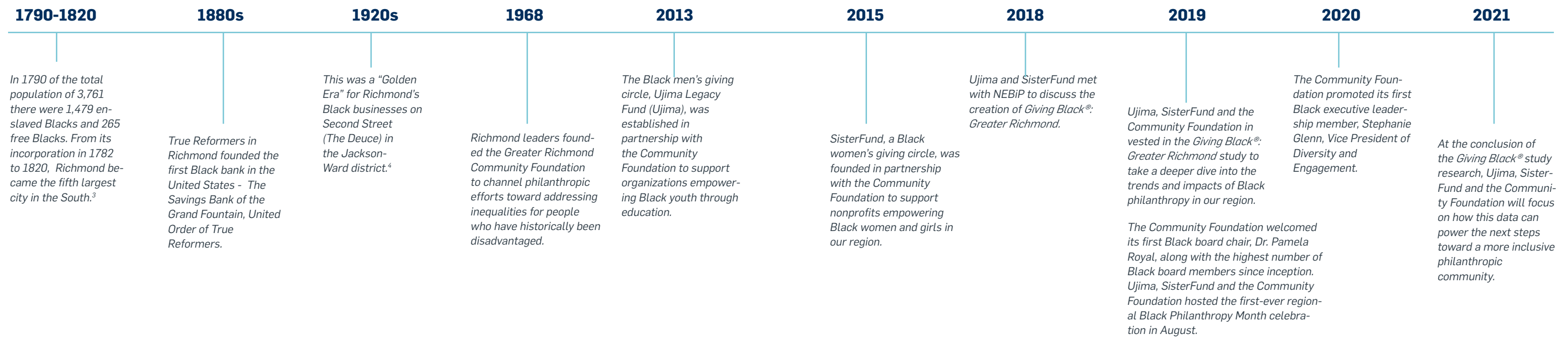
- 1) Build upon the momentum and activities of Greater Richmond's legacy of Black giving
- 2) Landscape analysis and mapping of Black-led organizations and increased investments of their racial equity and social justice work
- 3) Promote and sponsor opportunities for Black communities and organizations to actualize and operationalize their goals and priorities
- 4) Build a cross-sector network of Black donors, thought leaders and non-profits to elevate the awareness and success of non-profits that improve Black lives
- 5) Offer Black donors learning and capacity-building opportunities on philanthropic wealth management

6) Engage, support and include the leadership of younger Black philanthropists

7) Raise the visibility of Black-led philanthropy

The Giving Black: Greater Richmond, The Legacy of Black Ingenuity and Collective Power report provides an opportunity to revisit Greater Richmond's rich tradition of Black giving, a legacy which continues to inform the foundation of the region's current Black philanthropic community. Its intent is to offer insight on the attitudes, beliefs, behaviors, practices and current trends of Black giving in the region. NEBiP remains dedicated to countering the discounting, devaluation and underappreciation of Black philanthropists. We offer tools, such as the Black Donor typology and the Linked Philanthropic Equity (LPE) framework, to guide conversations with deeper analysis on the current and future status of Black philanthropy. With appreciation, NEBiP trusts that the Giving Black: Greater Richmond, The Legacy of Black Ingenuity and Collective Power study will move conversations and the Greater Richmond community forward on its racial equity journey.

KEY EVENTS IN GREATER RICHMOND'S HISTORY OF GIVING BLACK®



ROOTS OF BLACK LIBERATION

Richmond, the River City situated along the banks of the James River, evolved from a sleepy port village to the region's leading industrial and manufacturing center, powered by enslaved Black labor. Its early inhabitants, many forcibly brought, were determined to survive and make the best of their circumstances in the city that became the slave trade hub of the Upper South, the capital of the Confederacy that later becomes the birthplace of Black capitalism.

Greater Richmond's Black traditions of giving predate the city's beginning. By Richmond's founding in 1737, Black residents had been living in its vicinity for nearly seventy years. Enslaved Blacks, who survived the transatlantic Middle Passage and were transported to southern plantations, brought their West African traditions of giving, caring and sharing for their families and others, which served as a source of strength. These West African traditions of caring for others developed alongside other early practices and institutions of Black giving in Greater Richmond, including Black churches, mutual aid groups and beneficial societies.

Black philanthropic traditions were no easy feat for Black communities in Richmond's early years, as the Virginia colony was the first to legally designate African inhabitants as slaves for life, over the next two decades after their arrival. Yet, both free and enslaved Black Richmonders continued to find and create opportunities for Black giving of time, talent and treasure. Their giving was grounded by two traditions: Black churches and mutual aid networks. Black people used these traditions of collective power to respond to their community members' basic human needs. As Richmond's rise as the slave trading capital and gateway of the upper South crystallized, the city's shifting economy from trade to industry created small cracks through which common philanthropic practices and Black enterprises would expand.

FROM PORT OF SLAVERY TO POWERHOUSE OF BLACK INGENUITY

Established in 1737 and incorporated in 1782, Richmond transformed from a sleepy port village to the region's leading industrial and manufacturing center, powered by enslaved Black labor, who along with their freed brethren, used their ingenuity to find and create opportunities for Black giving. For thousands of years, Native Americans established trade routes in the Greater Richmond area and in the 1700s, wealthy White plantation owner William Byrd and his sons settled in Richmond because of its established trade routes, mild climate, fertile soil and access to waterways. Its population rapidly increased, fueled by post-American Revolution migration and by the relocation of the state's capital to Richmond in 1782. Most of Richmond's Black population was enslaved, numbering close to 40% of the city's total population. From 1790 to 1820, their numbers jumped from 607 to 1,235.

Pre-Civil War, Richmond was a rapidly growing manufacturing and industrial hub where slave trading was the city's most important and lucrative industry that fueled tobacco processing. In a four-block area, Richmond had over 69 slave traders and auction houses. Nearby, the African Burial Ground was the city's first burial ground for free and enslaved Blacks. It served as the location for the city's gallows where it is believed that Gabriel Prosser, a literate enslaved blacksmith who led a failed rebellion for Black emancipation in 1800, was executed. Richmond, as the nation's second largest slavery trading center after New Orleans, served as a gateway for an estimated 300,000 enslaved Black men, women and children who were sent against their will further South.

Against this backdrop, enslaved and free Black Richmonders relied upon their Black ingenuity to find and create opportunities for Black giving. Their lives demonstrate that Black giving is always possible even under the most trying of circumstances. Early Black giving was shaped by the nature of urban slavery in Richmond and by Whites' overregulation of Blacks' movement.

Richmond's unique features of urban slavery created some opportunities for Black giving by providing free and enslaved Blacks greater economic and social autonomy. Enslaved Black Richmonders were "hired out" to manufacturing industries by their slaveholders; allowed to earn extra money after fulfilling work quotas; and lived apart from owners. Free Blacks could negotiate their own labor agreements. The more fortunate enslaved Black Richmonders acquired experience in a skilled trade, which allowed them to establish Black businesses. Others used the extra money to purchase freedom for themselves or their families.

Laws prohibiting Black Richmonders to congregate also shaped early Black giving. Blacks who met were taking a risk, making themselves more vulnerable to arrest, physical punishment, emigration from Virginia and/or revocation of one's free status. Following the discovery of Gabriel Prosser's planned rebellion in 1800, White elites passed laws regulating Blacks' behavior, which were also tightened after the 1831 Nat Turner's Rebellion. Yet, evidence suggests that Black Richmonders were willing to take these risks to join the many mutual aid and beneficial societies.

Black Richmonders joined and actively participated in several mutual aid groups and benevolent societies, which in turn, connected with families and churches, offering a network of support. Borrowing from African and European traditions, these groups served Black Richmonders' economic and social needs, including charity and were a source of early Black giving. Burial was one of the more common functions of mutual aid groups and benevolent societies. The Burying Ground Society is one of Black Richmond's earliest examples of a benevolent group and served as a model for Richmond's future benevolent groups. In 1815, a group of free prosperous Black property owners created a "Burying Ground Society of the Free People of Color of the City of Richmond," bought a plot of land for \$240 and raised \$733 from membership fees to purchase burial plots for its members. Petersburg's free Blacks created a similar group, the Beneficial Society of Free Men of Color.

For Black Richmonders, informal networks served as an important source for Black giving. As an example, enslaved Black Richmonders relied on their informal and fictive kin

networks (i.e., individuals who were not related to you, but were treated as such) for funds to purchase their freedom. Between 1830 and 1860, 225 enslaved individuals in Richmond purchased their freedom. Also, Black workers donated their extra cash to fund the Underground Railroad and several "secret escape networks and organizations" to liberate other enslaved people.

WORK & PRAY: ROCK O' MY SOUL

The Black church served as one of the most important philanthropic traditions of Black giving for Greater Richmond's Black community. Richmond's first Black church, First African Baptist Church (formerly First Baptist, from the 1780s to 1841) served as a base for Black Richmonders' political, economic, social and philanthropic efforts. Three Black churches in the Richmond area met to form the First African Baptist Church. With financial support by the city's White elites, Black congregants pooled their resources to buy the First Baptist Church building and renamed the church First African Baptist. Black members pooled their resources to resolve the Church's remaining debt, an example of the collective power of its Black congregants.



First African Baptist Church, circa 1865
Source: Belsches, 9

A large church, First African Baptist members soon outgrew its 1,500 seats, which led First African to establish a separate “colony” church, the Third African Baptist Church, later renamed Ebenezer Church.

Early Black philanthropy centered around the Black church. In 1815, under the auspices of First Baptist, free and enslaved Black Richmonders funded the nation’s earliest African American missionaries, Lott Cary and Colin Teague. Working together, Richmond’s enslaved and free Blacks established the African Baptist Missionary Society and raised \$700 (\$14,209 in 2020 dollars) to fund Cary and Teague’s inaugural trip. In the following years, the African Baptist Missionary Society sent Lott an impressive sum of \$100 (\$2,000 in 2020 dollars) every year to support his mission.



Lott Cary, one of the nation’s earliest Black missionaries
Source: Public Domain

Greater Richmond’s early philanthropic tradition can also be found in Black churches’ efforts to provide relief to vulnerable communities. In the 1840s, First African members sent funds abroad to the Irish population suffering from famine. In 1848, First African created the Poor Saints Fund, whose purpose was to assist the “needy and helpless from disease and old age.” Church trustees “attended to all applications of aid,” collected donations and visited the poor. First African Baptist assisted Black Richmonders in purchasing their own freedom, as the Church accomplished for the enslaved Thomas Browne, who successfully appealed to First African for funds to purchase his freedom and later became a minister in Boston.

First African Baptist Church served as a safe haven for Black Richmonders seeking redress of grievances. In 1865, the church hosted a meeting of 3,000 Blacks who complained about the mistreatment and abuse from the military command and the police. The crowd approved the plan and Richmond’s Black churches collected donations to fund the delegation of Black males, which met President Andrew Johnson in June 1865.

FREED BLACK TO BLACK FREEDOM

In post-Civil War Richmond, Black people generously gave their time and talent to establish a school system for Black children. Within days after the Confederate defeat in April 1865, Black Richmonders established schools in the basement of several of its Black churches. The following month, they met to appoint teachers, establish school hours and create an administrative structure. By August 1865, Richmond had five public schools and four private schools. Northern White philanthropic groups were surprised by the talent, level of literacy, teaching skills and ongoing work by Black Richmonders.

Black giving continued to operate through Black benevolent societies and mutual aid groups. By the 1870s, Black Richmond was home to over 400 voluntary associations and Black Richmonders actively participated and networked. Freedpeople participated in numerous secret political societies and charitable groups. Existing channels of relief were overwhelmed and often denied to African-Americans who turned towards their churches and towards each other for

relief. For example, The United Sons of Love was a benevolent organization whose purpose was “to care for the sick, look after the poor and bury the dead.” Benevolent societies also developed under the auspices of Richmond’s Black churches.

Beneficial societies showed Black Richmonders the benefit of pooling resources together to advance a collective need. They were enormously popular, and several Black businesses capitalized on their popularity. They laid a strong foundation for the city’s most successful future Black business enterprises, including True Reformers and Maggie Lena Walker’s International Order of St. Luke.

Black women are often unheralded for their significant contributions to early Black philanthropy. Formerly enslaved Richmonder Lucy Goode Brooks was an early children’s advocate. Brooks, a mother of seven, gave generously of her time and talent, and leveraged her networks on behalf of Richmond’s Black children. Goode was able to secure treasure to establish Richmond’s first Black orphanage. Post-Civil War, Black children, abandoned by their former slaveowners or in search of their families, roamed Richmond streets. Both of Richmond’s existing children’s orphanages only accepted White children. Black children’s precarious plight led Brooks to spearhead the effort and brought the cause to her Ladies Sewing Circle of Charitable Causes (sewing circles were used by Black and White southern women to support causes). As she realized she needed more monies to build the orphanage, Brooks leveraged her networks, petitioned the Richmond City Council for the land, and sought support from the Quakers, who used their networks to secure funding.

Mostly due to her vision and leadership, the Friends’ Asylum for Colored Orphans opened in May 1868. Today, Brooks’ organization survives as the non-profit Friends Association for Children.



Lucy Goode Brooks
Source: Catherine A. Jones article

TRUE REFORMERS: CRADLE OF BLACK CAPITALISM

By the 1900s, Richmond, with many of its successful Black businesses centered in the Jackson-Ward district, earned Black Richmond its reputation as “Wall Street of the South.” The Jackson-Ward district housed both True Reformers and the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank, two of Greater Richmond’s most successful Black economic enterprises. Both of their foundations were undergirded by the early Black philanthropic traditions of mutual aid and beneficial societies as they couched their economic services in a message of self-help and racial uplift. Jackson-Ward also housed the Southern Aid and Insurance Company, the nation’s first Black-owned life insurance company.

Founded by Reverend William Washington Browne, the United Order of True Reformers represented one of the nation’s most successful Black economic empires. The True Reformers chartered the nation’s first Black-owned bank and at its height, operated in 24 states. Browne’s empire included a hotel, newspaper, real estate and a home for the elderly.



True Reformers, Hall and Bank Building
Source: www.blackpast.org

Who was Lott Cary?

Lott Cary, one of the earliest black missionaries, led an extraordinary life. Lott was born into slavery in 1780 in Charles County, Virginia. He was hired out at a Richmond tobacco industry, was allowed to make extra profit selling tobacco waste and saved enough money to purchase his freedom and his two children. Lott joined first African Baptist and obtained a license to preach. After his 1821 trip, Lott stayed in Liberia where he died in 1828 (Belsches, 11).



True Reformers, Grocery Store
Source: www.encyclopediavirginia.org

True Reformers' philanthropic origins lay as a temperance, benevolent and charitable group. Through his ingenuity, Browne evolved the True Reformers from a temperance society to an economic empire. True Reformers is an adaptation of Black Richmonders' early philanthropic tradition of Black giving through the network of mutual aid and beneficial societies.

Maggie Lena Walker serves as another example of the important role of Black women in early Black philanthropy, Walker, founder and first female President of a chartered bank, the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank, oversaw its reorganization into the Consolidated Bank and Trust Company. Until recently, Consolidated Bank was the nation's oldest independent bank.



Penny Savings Bank circa 1900
Source: Library of Congress; Newby-Alexander, 228

Walker gave generously of her time, treasure and talent. She actively participated in over ten groups, holding major leadership positions in several, such as the Independent Order of St. Luke, Richmond Council of Colored Women and the Richmond Urban League. Richmond's post-Civil War Black community has been described as fully immersed in a network of self-help groups and benevolent societies and Walker's experience reflects that reality.

Similar to Reverend Browne of the True Reformers, Walker revived St. Luke's membership by de-centering its charity focus and restructuring the group's economic viability. Her vision for the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank and enterprise was inclusive. She valued input and participation from women and the Black working class, which set her apart from Black Richmond's other middle-class leaders, such as Richmond Planet editor John Mitchell, Jr. Walker's enterprises included a newspaper, department stores and an educational loan fund for young people. She served as a champion for the political rights of women and African-Americans.



Mattie Dawson, Maggie Lena Walker, Emeline Johnson (from left), International Order of St. Luke
Source: Sant, Richmond Magazine, February 2018

Although Black Richmonders may be aware of the incredible accomplishments of philanthropist Maggie Lena Walker, less are familiar with Eliza Allen. She was an effective recruiter and organizer for both the True Reformers and the International Order of St. Luke. Born in 1840, Eliza Allen was born into slavery, worked as a laundress and rose to become the only female board member on the True Reformers Savings Bank, the nation's first Black-owned bank. The early success of Reverend Browne in reviving the fledgling United Order of Reformers' chapters is largely due to Allen's organizing and recruiting skills. She organized a large chapter (chapters were known as fountains) of 90+ members in Petersburg and three Richmond chapters.

Allen's prowess in recruiting speaks to the power of her networks and her skills of organizing secret societies of enslaved women, including the Consolation Sisters, Tabitha, and the Sisters of Usefulness. She also served as the right worthy grand vice chief of Maggie Walker's International Order of St. Luke and held leadership positions in several other societies. Allen moved seamlessly between working class and elite networks.



Eliza Allen
Source: Garrett-Scott, 54-56
www.cup-blog.org/2019/03/20/

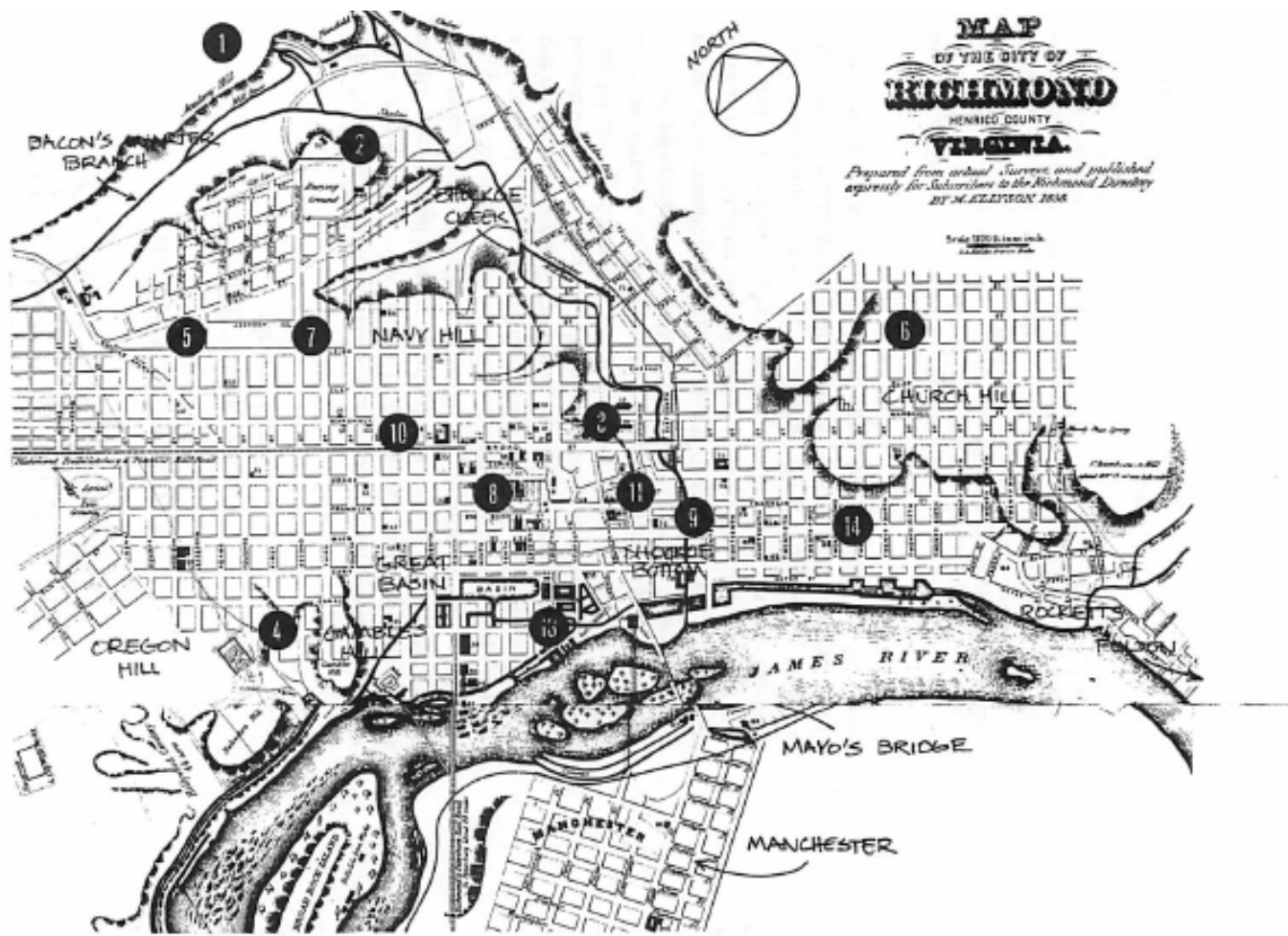
By 1900, the Jackson-Ward district had earned the reputation of "Black Wall Street" and served as the center of Black Richmond's political and economic life. Prominent Black leaders, such as Maggie Walker and John Mitchell, Jr., resided there and the neighborhood housed the nation's first chartered Black-owned bank, the first bank with a female president, and the first Black-owned life insurance company, as well as numerous professional businesses. Businesses like the True Reformers invented a business model that represented Black ingenuity. They developed a new type of economic enterprise, infusing their business model with concepts of racial uplift, which catalyzed the growth of Greater Richmond's Black business community. Jackson-Ward's

bustling theatre and arts culture was known as the "Harlem of the South" in its heyday of the 1930s.

Black Richmond's most successful economic enterprises, True Reformers and St. Luke Penny Savings Bank, rested on the shoulders of the Black businesses which preceded them. The remarkable life of Black business owner Gilbert Hunt stands as a testament to Black ingenuity, even under the region's oppressive slavery system. Although not as common, formerly and currently enslaved individuals could become business owners. Gilbert Hunt is one early, remarkable example. Born in 1780, Hunt apprenticed at a carriage-making business in Richmond and became a successful blacksmith. Years later, he rescued over 200 people from burning buildings on two separate occasions. Despite his heroic efforts, he did not obtain his freedom until 1829.



Gilbert Hunt, former slave, prosperous blacksmith and hero
Source: Belsches, 10



1860 City map of Richmond Source: Barkley-Brown, 1989

The Jackson-Ward district served as a center of Black Richmond's economic, political and social life. Its success was widely recognized as the "Birthplace of Black Capitalism." Its vibrant arts and theatre culture added to Jackson-Ward's reputation as "Harlem of the South." Famous Black entertainers performed there, including Richmond's hometown son and philanthropist Bill "Bojangles" Robinson, revered for his dancing skills, but less known for his philanthropy. During the 1930s, he paid over \$1,000 for the city of Richmond to install a stoplight to help schoolchildren cross a busy intersection.

During the Jim Crow era, Black Richmonders continued to participate in voluntary associations, fraternal organizations, social clubs and affinity groups. These groups served as important vehicles for Black giving and other social interests.

From the 1880s to the 1960s, Black Richmonders strategized on restoring their political rights that were stripped in Virginia's 1902 constitution. As early as 1884, former high school principal John Mitchell, Jr. founded black newspaper Richmond Planet to advocate for Blacks' political rights. By the early 1900s, the damage to Black voting rights was evident. In 1900, Jackson-Ward's registered Black voters numbered 3,000. Three years later, 33 voters. Petersburg's number of Black voters steeply dropped by three-quarters.

Ironically, middle and upper class Black Richmonders' economic success at the turn of the century coincided with their political disenfranchisement. Yet, Black Richmonders remained resilient and used their collective power to pursue multiple strategies to resist Jim Crow and to restore their

political rights. Pioneering Black historian Dr. Luther P. Jackson founded the Virginia Voters League to increase Black voter registration by persuading Blacks to pay their poll taxes. Undoubtedly, traditions of Black giving continued but with an increased attention on politics. Black Richmonders founded the Crusade for Voters and fundraised to pay Black voters' poll taxes. In September 1956, Crusade for Voters launched a "Special Registration" day, financed by special fundraising projects and contributions from activists.



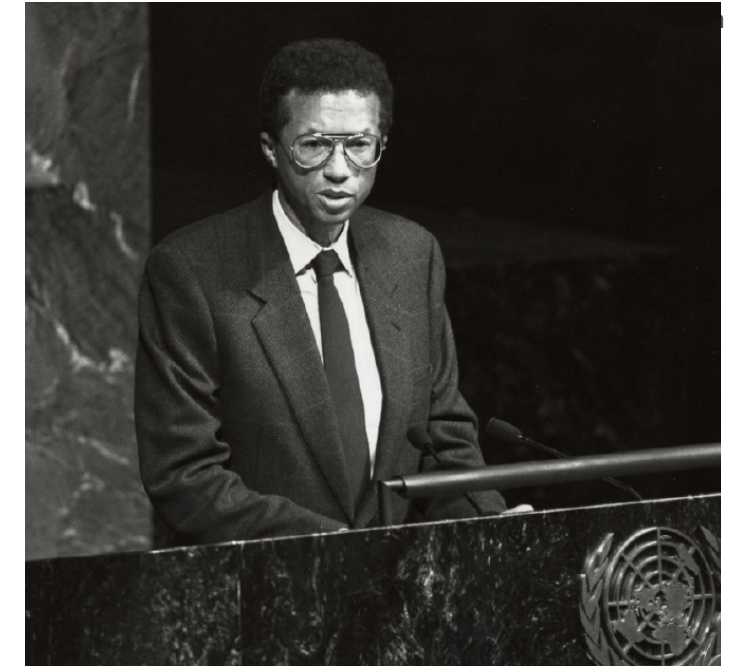
Bill "Bojangles" Robinson turning on traffic light he donated to the city in 1933 Source: Proctor, 1999, 3

Two Supreme Court rulings, the 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education ruling striking down Plessy vs. Ferguson's "separate but equal" doctrine and the Court's 1955 "with all deliberate speed" ruling opened a new battlefield in the civil rights struggle for quality public schools. White Richmonders engaged in a campaign of massive resistance to keep schools segregated. In the end, Black Richmonders' resilience reaped dividends as Richmond elected Henry L. Marsh III as its first Black mayor in 1977, and later with the election of L. Douglas Wilder as the state's first Black Lieutenant Governor (1986-1990) and Governor (1990-1994).



Richmond Planet newspaper headquarters, circa 1910 Source: Proctor, 1999, 3

The era of Marsh's first mayoral term coincides with the beginning of a Richmond-born champion, philanthropist and social justice advocate Arthur Ashe. Ashe's coming-of-age experiences in racially segregated Richmond affected him deeply. After finding peace, Ashe returned to Richmond and



Arthur Ashe, U.N. General Assembly, 1992 Source: www.arthurashe.ucla.edu

and to humanitarian causes globally. He established a mentoring program for at-risk youth and advocated for their quality education. Ashe marched against apartheid in South Africa and the mistreatment of Haitian refugees. After disclosing his AIDS diagnosis, he established a foundation to defeat the disease. His legacy was memorialized with a statue on Monument Avenue in 1996, three years after his death, a fitting tribute to his incredible legacy.

Philanthropy exists in the lives of ordinary, yet extraordinary non-celebrity philanthropists. Nadine Marsh-Carter explained that in her work in the non-profit sector, she sees "how the small donors and individuals make that sacrifice as equally as impactful." Certainly, the late Richmond philanthropist Thomas C. Cannon, Sr. embodies that sentiment and was an exemplar of Black giving. As a postal worker on a modest salary, he gave generously, approximately \$150,000 (in increments of \$1,000 checks) over thirty years to individuals and organizations of different incomes, races and ages that he found worthy. He and his wife Patricia lived modestly, as well as working overtime and on weekends, to fund his donations.

GIVING BLACK AND MOVING FORWARD

Black giving in Greater Richmond's early years reveals a rich philanthropic spirit and tradition, anchored by the Black church and the personal and social networks of mutual aid, beneficial societies and secret societies. Early Black philanthropists exhibited a great deal of ingenuity and collective power by pooling resources to establish Black churches, supporting missionaries, resisting racial tyranny through rebellion, purchasing freedom for enslaved family members and friends, providing for the sick and needy, burying their dead, protesting police brutality, building schools, caring for orphans and defending their dignity as well as political and social rights against racially hostile systems of racial oppression. As Pastor Vernon Gordon of the Life Church RVA noted, "pulling together as a community has been a big motif that we've seen from multiple generations." The collective power of Greater Richmond's Black community proved to be formidable in effecting positive change.

Early traditions of Black giving still resonate for Greater Richmond's current Black donors. The Black church is still central to Black giving, as most Black donors reported attending religious services, with 100% of Generation Z and nearly three-quarters of Millennial respondents reporting attendance (Insert graphic of "Do you attend religious services" that is located at the end of this section). Based on survey findings, Greater Richmond's younger Black donors are less disaffected from church than their fellow counterparts as reported in other studies.

High church attendance reported among the youngest Black Donor respondents, Generation Z and Millennials.

Church was ranked as Black donors' top donation destination. Black churches are key in Black giving, as many interviewees associate their earliest memories of philanthropy with the Black church. As an interviewee recalled, her mother "always put in all the money she had" and said she should "always give to the church because the Lord has been the best." Another interviewee offered a different opinion on the significance of the church in Black giving, noting "that the church has, as an institution, actually lost a lot of confidence over the years, as it pertains to Black giving." Dr. Tyrone Freeman, Black philanthropy expert, notes the Black church is still central in the landscape of Black giving and its programming dollars "are frequently redistributed into the community to support education, to support rent, for youth, or soup kitchens, or other types of initiatives."

Unlike the past, the Black church no longer serves as the only center for mobilizing Black communities. Black collective action has shifted to other institutions and organizations. Recently, the Black Lives Movement (BLM) has served as a catalyst to refocus attention on racial inequities. Their visibili-

ty in combating police violence and removing representations of White supremacy from the public sphere has highlighted their leadership. In turn, BLM in Greater Richmond has reenergized other efforts focused on elevating the assets of Greater Richmond's Black community, such as BLK RVA. BLK RVA is a collaborative initiative and campaign between Richmond Region Tourism (RRT) and over twenty community leaders to celebrate the Black cultural, historical, economic and artistic experience in the Richmond region and to focus attention on its features as a multicultural hub. Together, with BLM and BLK RVA bringing attention to racial inequities and BLK RVA's emphasis on Black culture and Black businesses, BLK RVA reflects the spirit of the True Reformers' strategy of promoting Black economic enterprise with messages of racial pride.

As in the past, Black donors' personal networks and social organizations remain important vehicles for Black giving, as Black donors ranked their networks as top incentives for their discretionary giving.

The rise of internet-based giving has influenced the landscape of Black giving. The giving of younger Black donors is supported by newer platforms, such as internet-based giving, bypassing traditional means of Black giving. Overall, mass online fundraising appeals raised \$16.2 billion dollars in 2014, a 167% increase from 2013. Nearly half of Millennial donors supported or were likely to support a crowdfunding campaign, compared to one-third of Generation X, 13% of Baby Boomers and 4% of older voters. The new landscape of Black philanthropy is reflected by the presence of donor-advised funds, such as SisterFund and the Ujima Legacy Fund, both of which embody the Black philanthropic traditions of giving circles.

Black giving traditions of Greater Richmond reveal, as Black philanthropy expert Dr. Tyrone Freeman asserts, that "African-Americans have been philanthropists from Day 1." Its philanthropic past remains relevant for Greater Richmond's current Black donors. First, Greater Richmond's early Black philanthropists used multiple strategies, including Black giving, for individual and collective advancement of the entire Black community; Second, Black Richmonders leveraged their networks for support and to accomplish goals; and third,

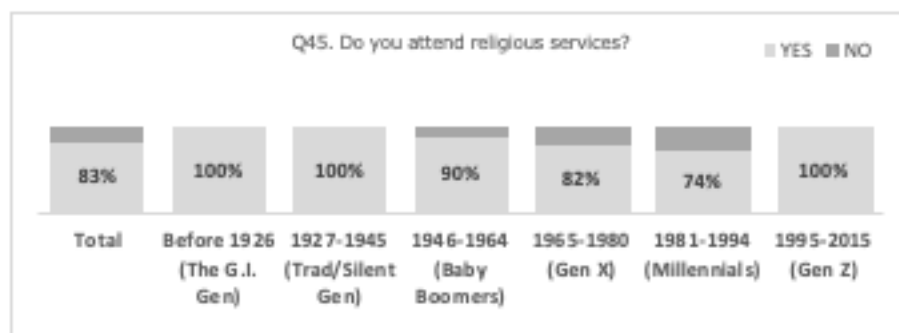


#7 (out of 64 areas) on the Generosity Index

Black Richmonders, enslaved and free, found and created opportunities for Black giving, despite considerable risks.

Broader trends on charitable giving provide additional context for understanding contemporary Black giving. In the 2019 "Generosity Index" report, which ranks the generosity of the fifty US states, the District of Columbia and Canada's thirteen provinces, Virginia ranked 7th (out of 64 localities) and received a Generosity Index score of 6.1 (out of 10).

Attendance of religious services



At least three-quarters of survey respondents, across six generations, reported attending religious services.

| State of Virginia's score and ranking on the "Generosity Index" (2019) | | |
|--|-----------------|----------------------------|
| CATEGORY | Percent | Ranking* (out of 64 areas) |
| % of tax filers donating to charity | 31% | #6 |
| % of aggregated income donated to charity | 1.56% | #17 |
| GENEROSITY INDEX SCORE | 6.1 (out of 10) | #7 |

*The 64 localities include the 50 US states, DC and 13 Canadian provinces. (Source: Fraser Institute, 2019)

