Commentary

Portraits of Resilience: Examining the Scholarship of Dr. Carey H. Latimore

Eva Bohler, PhD
eva.bohler@csulb.edu
Assistant Professor of Africana Studies
Department of Africana Studies
California State University, Long Beach

Abstract

Carey H. Latimore IV (1975-2022) was a professor, historian, and minister. During his brief life, he produced several intellectual projects examining the resilience and resistance of African Americans. This paper seeks to examine Latimore's contributory scholarship to Africana Studies and serves as a tribute to his intellectual legacy. Latimore's works, including his final publication, *Unshakable Faith: African American Stories of Redemption, Hope, and Community*; book chapter, "Closing the Education Gap: The Hidden Potential of the Black Church;" journal article, "A Step Closer to Slavery? Free African Americans, Industrialisation, Social Control and Residency in Richmond City, 1850-1860;" and magazine article, "Surviving War

Siyabonana: The Journal of Africana Studies, Volume 3, Number 1, Winter 2025

and the Underground: Richmond Free Blacks and Criminal Networks During the Civil War," are the sources that will be used to examine his scholarly work, alongside his public scholarship on Juneteenth.

Keywords
Africana Studies, African American History, Intellectual History, Carey Latimore

Biographical Sketch

Carey H. Latimore IV was born October 10, 1975, in Virginia. Having received his undergraduate education at the University of Richmond, he went on to earn a doctorate in History from Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia.[1] He became a faculty member at Trinity University in San Antonio, Texas, in 2004, specializing in African American History.[2] During his tenure at Trinity, Latimore served as both the chair of the Department of History between 2011-2020, co-director for the African American Studies minor, and supporter of the Black Student Union and Phi Alpha Theta history honor society.[3] His brief life and career exemplified service, academic excellence, and a deep and abiding faith, as he was also a Baptist minister, serving at Mt. Zion First Baptist Church in San Antonio, Texas, until his transition. Latimore's community service, as exemplified through his research and community engagement in promoting the importance of Juneteenth; academic excellence; cultural grounding; and faith, can be connected to the three pillars of Africana Studies, which, as Maulana Karenga states, are "cultural grounding, academic excellence, and social responsibility."[4]

Latimore's research focused on African American History, beginning with his dissertation, *Always a Minority*: *Richmond Area Free Blacks in the Civil War Era*. His first book, *The Role of Southern Free Blacks during the Civil War Era: The Life of Free African Americans in Richmond, Virginia,* was published in 2014. Other published works include various articles such as "Surviving War and Underground: Richmond Free Blacks and Criminal Networks during the Civil War," (published in 2009); a book chapter, "A Step Closer to Slavery? Free African Americans, Industrialisation, Social Control

and Residency in Richmond City, 1850-1860," published in 2012; and his final work, U*nshakable Faith: African American Stories of Redemption, Hope, and Community*, was published in 2022. At the time of his passing in 2022, he was in the preliminary stages of working on a new book project that was tentatively titled, *Neither Quite Southern nor Western: African Americans during the Civil Rights Era in San Antonio, 1937-1978.* This text was based on the commissioned work "Civil Rights in San Antonio: WW II to Mid-1960s," published in 2020,[5] which he completed for the Alamo Trust, a non-profit organization in San Antonio, Texas that seeks to preserve the history of the Alamo, the Texas Revolution, and Texas history. While we will never know what future contributions Latimore could have made, he left behind a rich body of work that explores the resistance and resilience of African Americans.[6]

Surviving War and Underground: Richmond Free Blacks and Criminal Networks during the Civil War

Latimore's article, "Surviving War and Underground: Richmond Free Blacks and Criminal Networks during the Civil War," discusses the ways that Blacks in Richmond, Virginia, navigated life as free people in an enslaved state. He mentions how their ability to navigate life on a day-to-day basis was difficult, and because of these difficulties, they often turned to covert economic systems to survive. Latimore describes these covert economic systems as "the underground."[7] This underground economic system was born out of the basic need for day-to-day survival, and often included engagement in illegal activities, such as prostitution, gambling, and theft.[8] While Richmond served as a haven for Blacks escaping enslavement because of its geographical position in the Upper South, Blacks were not able to fully escape the effects of racism and marginalization. Latimore writes:

> Many suffered from homelessness, starvation, and poverty. Refugees and residents also faced a daily routine of harassment by other inhabitants—black and white—and from often-brutal local authorities. The extreme conditions they encountered led many to participate in the underground economy, a space where hustlers, peddlers, pimps, plain folk, prostitutes, and thieves carved out a precarious existence. On the city's war-torn streets and back

> alleys, the castaways provided each other with the food, money, shelter, and comradeship they needed to survive.[9]

Life for Blacks in Richmond was often fraught with challenges. Faced with a system that was undoubtedly stacked against them, especially during the antebellum, Civil War, and postbellum periods, Blacks were often forced to find ways to survive that were in direct opposition to Western standards of morality. These standards of morality were often upheld by other Blacks who sought to combat notions of Black inferiority that were prevalent during that time. Gayle T. Tate, in "Free Black Resistance in the Antebellum Era, 1830 to 1860," argues that the survival of Blacks in the antebellum period included not only the quest to abolish enslavement, but to change the ways that they were viewed by whites. Black Americans were seen as subhuman, unwilling to work, and lascivious. To combat these stereotypes, Blacks were encouraged to strive towards education, live a Christian life, and engage with the community, in order to show whites that their beliefs surrounding the nature of Black Americans were unfounded.[10]

Latimore discusses the ways that free Blacks were often forced to navigate life in the underground because the legal system was often set up to hinder their movements, especially after Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831. His analysis sees this as the catalyst for the restrictive laws that placed free African Americans in a position where there was no other recourse but to eke out a living by relying on these covert economic systems (the underground). He notes that the often precarious social conditions played a role in their reliance, stating that, "Many of the social conditions leading blacks to the underground predated the Civil War. Nat Turner's Rebellion, which erupted in Southampton County in 1831, was the major catalyst for the sharp decline in free blacks' legal and social rights."[11] Blacks in Richmond, as result of Nat Turner's Rebellion, faced constant surveillance, based in part from a fear that other Blacks would organize to spark a similar rebellion. This sentiment was often shared throughout the South, leading to restrictive laws aimed at keeping them in a subordinate status, and these restrictions directly affected the economic status of Blacks in the South. In Richmond, the pass code system was particularly effective.

The pass code system stipulated that all Blacks in Richmond carry passes in order to move about the city; however, these passes were often revoked for various

offenses, either actual or assumed. This restrictive system impacted their economic standing and self-sufficiency. Latimore writes that, "Enforcing the pass code, which required all free African Americans to carry passes, was the obvious way during the war, albeit not extremely successful, for authorities in Richmond to keep blacks off the streets and away from the underground markets."[12] The enforcement of the pass code system had a negative effect on the ways that Blacks were able to make a living. This, oftentimes, forced Blacks to rely on the underground to survive, and this same underground also became a target for whites who were attempting to regulate and control the movements of Blacks, sparking various efforts to destroy it. However, many of these efforts were unsuccessful:

> Even though city government officials attempted to weaken the underground, they ultimately found it impossible to control a population that could not accurately be counted and included many free African Americans who wanted to remain anonymous. Simply put, living in the darkness of the underground offered them more protection from the power and reach of the city's municipal authorities.[13]

Despite the myriad of ways that the movement of Blacks were restricted in Richmond, Latimore's analysis underscores how these same systems were often ineffective. Because Blacks in the underground tended to move in and out of the network anonymously, they were often able to escape notice from the same systems that sought to restrict them. This speaks to their resilience and resistance amidst oppressive systems that sought to constrain them.

A Step Closer to Slavery? Free African Americans, Industrialisation, Social Control and Residency in Richmond City, 1850-1860

In "A Step Closer to Slavery? Free African Americans, Industrialisation, Social Control and Residency in Richmond City, 1850-1860," Latimore continues his research on how Black Richmonders were faced with discrimination because of the pass code system. Building on his previous scholarship in, "Surviving War and the Underground," Latimore expands on his analysis of this system and how it negatively affected Black Richmonders; yet, benefitted their white employers. According to

Latimore, "These laws, initially created to promote social control, were also used in Richmond to serve local employers' seemingly unquenchable thirst for cheap labour."[14] White employers in Richmond used these laws for their benefit. Since Black Richmonders could have their passes revoked arbitrarily, they were more easily exploited by white employers who were seeking to advance their businesses at the expense of their Black employees.[15] The pass code system allowed Blacks to be arrested for violating various regulations, be hired out for work as punishment, or, in some cases, be required to leave the city. The status of the accused individual played a role in determining their punishment. Latimore writes:

> After the court was satisfied that the incarcerated black was, indeed, free, it freed them and sometimes provided them with a new registration or told them to leave the city, but not before requiring them to pay their jail fees. In many cases, however, the court hired them out but did not provide them with a registration or mandate to leave the city. By doing this, the court did not give undocumented residents an opportunity to secure the documentation they needed to prevent further arrests.[16]

Despite the various ways that the pass code system and other restrictive laws sought to limit the movement of Blacks in Richmond, as well how they supported themselves financially, many of the Black citizens of Richmond were undeterred in their quest for a better life.

Closing the Education Gap: The Hidden Potential of the Black Church

In, "Closing the Education Gap: The Hidden Potential of the Black Church," Latimore discusses the role of the Black church as being central to bridging the educational gap for the Black community. He notes the historical impact of the Black church within the community, and how the perspective of the Black church has shifted due to the contemporary climate. Historically, "Parishioners and scholars alike have viewed the black church as much more than a meeting place of likeminded believers. To them, the black church represents a place of transcendent social, political, and economic importance."[17] The Black church has been a central hub for

life in the Black community for centuries. It has been a place where the community gathered; important information was shared; ideas for liberation were formed; and Blacks were educated. However, in contemporary times, there has been a shift in the position of the Black church within the community, and Latimore argues that the Black church should re-examine the ways it can best serve the community, especially in terms of being a catalyst for increasing educational opportunities for Black Americans. Enhancing these educational opportunities includes increasing academic performance on a day-to-day basis, college readiness, and the knowledge of the vast number of careers available to those who obtain a college degree.

Within this mission of increasing the educational opportunities for Black youth, Latimore discusses the historical significance of the Black church. He writes, "At the core of its mission, the black church has played a crucial role in the education of black people. From slavery throughout the Civil Rights Movement, black people have looked to the church to support many of its educational ventures."[18] Historically, many educational initiatives were birthed by, and through, the Black church, and Latimore sees the church as a vehicle for education, transmitting various forms of knowledge throughout the community. He notes the historical impact of the Black church when he writes:

> …the black church that emerged after the Revolutionary War provided knowledge, values, spiritual, guidance, and skills for African Americans to co-exist in a very difficult society. This was particularly important because the nineteenth century saw an increase in numerous types of segregation from residential to educational of the black community.[19]

As the Black church was seen as a central hub for both the production and dissemination of knowledge, Latimore sees this as being currently relevant, and he seeks to provide ways for the church to take an active role in the current educational advancement of the Black community. One suggestion is to implement culturally relevant programming, which takes into consideration the importance of the Black experience, along with the importance of mentoring and affirming Black youth. He writes, "The modern church must be innovative to address the problems within the black community. This means changing from a top-down power dynamic to

something more egalitarian and communal. This means spending more time on affirming African American youth and adopting strong, result-centered mentorship programs."[20]

Latimore stresses how important it is that the Black church realizes its key position within the Black community, while also noting the importance of being willing, and able, to shift objectives as needed, to ensure the needs of the community are at the forefront. The shift in the landscape of America also necessitates a shift in the ways the Black church both views and operates within the community. He continues:

> Black institutions thrived in the past because they had. But for contemporary black churches to remain relevant, they must be more than artifacts devoted to past glory or achievements. To remain relevant, they must inspire the individual and build the community. In particular, what role can the 21st-century black church have in enhancing the educational pursuits of black youth?[21]

Latimore argues that in order for the Black church to effect change in the community today, it is imperative for the 21st century to be emphasized, as there cannot be a reliance only on its past achievements. To achieve this, he offers the solutions of increased community engagement and Afrocentric educational opportunities.

Latimore views the implementation of an Afrocentric educational program as being important to addressing racial trauma. This brand of educational programming must be developed within the Black church. He explains that:

> Afrocentric educational opportunities explore the African American existence within larger society in order to demonstrate African American contributions to the larger society...Afrocentric educational opportunities should be specific curriculum developed at or for churches that focus on the African American's place in history and the world, with a particular focus to their contributions to society.[22]

It is important to note that, in his discussion about Afrocentric educational opportunities, he does not specifically reference Afrocentricity as conceptualized by Molefi Kete Asante. For Asante, "Afrocentricity is a mode of thought and action in which the centrality of African interests, values, and perspectives predominate. In regards to theory, it is the placing of African people in the center of any analysis of African phenomena."[23] While Latimore's work does not show any evidence that he studied Afrocentric discourse extensively, his discussion about the significance of implementing Afrocentric educational opportunities demonstrates that he understands, even on a basic level, the importance of properly centering African descended people in their own experiences.

Latimore also discusses the building of community education centers as a tool for increasing the educational outcomes of Black youth. The Black church should be willing and able to connect religious instruction to educational instruction, and he notes it is important for the Black church to realize that its position in the community is one that could effect change. Latimore states that, "Our churches need spaces for young people to come together to learn and think critically. Community centers and gyms are important, but black churches need to spend just as much time focusing on intellectual pursuits."[24] The Black church is an instrumental part of the Black community, and he argues it must be aware of the needs of the community and adjust accordingly to remain relevant and to have a lasting impact. The Black church is an institution that has survived much, and Latimore's analysis and suggested steps provide a framework for the church to maintain and strengthen this important position.

Civil Rights in San Antonio: WW II to Mid-1960s

In 2020, Latimore compiled a report for the Alamo Trust in San Antonio, TX. The purpose of this report was to shed light on the contributions of Black San Antonians to the advancement of civil rights in their city, and the ways that Blacks contributed to the national Civil Rights Movement as well. This report provides a snapshot of the myriad of accomplishments of Black San Antonians, and how those discussed in Latimore's report achieved educational, financial, and civil rights advances. His examination of Black lives and their contributions to San Antonio paints a picture of resilience in the face of both overt and covert racism. During the antebellum period,

Black San Antonians attempted to build their lives and eke out an existence where they could flourish. However, they faced numerous challenges in doing this, as evidenced by the segregation they often faced in the workplace. Latimore explains that:

> As antebellum free blacks and freed persons forged lives on their own in the years after the Civil War, one of the most important things they wanted to do was to purchase land and a home. As was the case throughout the entire South...black people moved to places that provided them space to live. In San Antonio, and throughout the entire South, African Americans had a difficult time finding skilled work and found themselves increasingly segregated into unskilled and semi-skilled occupations.[25]

Black San Antonians attempted to build both their communities and their lives; however, they found that even though enslavement had statutorily ended, there was still a system in place that sought their continued subjugation.

These economic challenges had a domino effect and directly affected where in the city Black San Antonians could reside, often relegating them to eastside of San Antonio. Ultimately, this had a positive effect, as the eastside of San Antonio developed into a center of Black political, cultural, and social life.[26] Black San Antonians were able to shift the narrative from economic oppression and forced segregation to one of resistance, resilience, agency, and political influence.

Latimore's report highlights the various accomplishments of Black San Antonians, speaking to their resilience in the face of strategic and systemic racism. He notes the ways that Black San Antonians fought against, and succeeded in combating, namely school segregation, lunch counter segregation, and nondiscrimination ordinances. This speaks to their resilience and the ways they were able to affect change. In fact, integration was often successful in San Antonio and achieved under relatively peaceful means as, "… San Antonio was a place where integration was able to find a space in a large metropolitan area with a small but sizeable black population and did so peacefully. This fact makes San Antonio noteworthy in terms of its legacy of civil rights and desegregation."[27] Latimore's analysis notes the ways Black San Antonians fought successfully for the right to fully

participate in their city. Although the Black population was smaller than other cities, they were able to successfully combat many of the racist structures within the fabric of the city. This speaks to their resilience and serves as an example of hope.

Unshakable Faith: African American Stories of Redemption, Hope, and Community

In 2022, Latimore published his final work, *Unshakable Faith: African American Stories of Redemption, Hope, and Community*.[28] This work examines African American resilience and how this resilience is often undergirded by a deep and abiding Christian faith. By examining historical and contemporary figures and the ways their faith served as a catalyst for activism and hope in the face of trials, *Unshakable Faith* provides a scholarly analysis of the lives of Phillis Wheatley, Maria Stewart, Harriet Tubman, Booker T. Washington, Duke Ellington, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Fannie Lou Hamer, alongside those of contemporary figures such as Kendrick Lamar and Chance the Rapper. Central to the discussion is Latimore's Christian faith and the Christian faith of those he examined. Within this work, he sees an abiding faith as the foundation for resilience, resistance, and sustaining hope. Thus, faith was, and still is, central to the African American experience and is the foundation for how African Americans have survived. For example, he discusses Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, the founders of the African American Episcopal Church, and how these men were trailblazers within the formation of an African American religious experience. In shaping this religious experience, Allen and Jones were faced with the reality that "American freedom" did not include people who looked like them. Latimore writes that:

> Imbued by the spirit of the Revolution—and the devastating reality that the era of the American Revolution did not fully lead to the changes their predecessors had hoped for—a new generation of Black Americans began to examine, explore, and practice their Christian faith in ways that expanded on the social vision of their forefathers.[29]

Latimore examines the ways that, for African Americans, the call for freedom in the American Revolution did not include them, as Blacks were still enslaved. Despite this, Allen and Jones forged ahead, leaning on their faith as a means of perseverance.

Consequently, the themes of perseverance and hope within the fabric of the African American experience are foundational. Latimore sees a connection to the biblical account of the people of Israel who sought freedom from bondage in Egypt. This account was one that was especially important for African Americans as they saw a striking resemblance between their oppression and the oppression of the people of Israel. Latimore summarizes this point when he writes that, "The exodus has a special place in the African American experience. African American slaves treasured the story even though slave masters certainly did not want them to focus on God liberating slaves. Slaves found comfort in knowing that God always cares for the oppressed and that He is preparing a way for their liberation."[30]

Allen Dwight Callahan, in *The Talking Book: African Americans and the Bible*, notes the importance of the Exodus narrative in the freedom story of African Americans. Callahan suggests that:

> African Americans heard, read, and retold the story of the Exodus more than any other biblical narrative. In it they saw their own aspirations for liberation from bondage in the story of the ancient Hebrew slaves. The Exodus was the Bible's narrative argument that God was opposed to American slavery and would return a catastrophic judgment against the nation as he had against Egypt. The Exodus signified God's will that African Americans too would no longer be sold as bondspeople, that they too would go free.[31]

African Americans held on to the hope that their bondage would not be permanent, and that God saw them and cared about their cries for freedom.

In *Unshakable Faith,* Latimore also discusses the ways that generational trauma has affected African Americans, and how he does not see himself as exempt. He mentions his own personal struggles and the ways that intergenerational trauma was present in his life and the lives of other African Americans. "As individuals, our struggles are the result of myriad issues. For much of my adult life, I have struggled

with depression and anxiety. Being Black in America has been a large part of my struggle. It's simply hard to be Black in America. Period. All too often we carry the burdens our ancestors never reconciled."[32]

The African American experience in America has often been fraught with challenges. To survive in the midst of those challenges, African Americans have often relied on faith and hope. For Latimore, his Christian faith was that means of hope. While the landscape of America has shifted from one where faith was central to the fabric of the country to one where matters of faith have often taken on a less prominent role, Latimore notes that, within the Black community, faith is still important, stating that, "While Christianity may be in decline in some segments of our society, that decline is not as profound, if at all, in other communities. While not immune to decline, many Black Churches and communities still have a legacy of *unshakable faith.*"[33]

As Latimore concludes his discussion, he notes the interconnectedness of the African American identity, as it is both a descriptor of ethnicity and nationality. African Americans are part of the very fabric of the nation, and African American history is American history. This interconnected existence is one that has necessitated endurance and hope. He argues that, ultimately, "As African Americans, our stories are part of the underpinnings of these United States. To be American and Black. Faith has been the flue that ties our twoness. Unshakable faith has sustained us in this struggle."[34] For Latimore, this enduring faith has sustained Black Americans throughout various trials and tribulations, and speaks to their resilience.

Public Scholarship

Latimore's scholarship reached into the public realm as well, especially with the research he conducted on the importance of Juneteenth. In 2020, as there was increased interest in the importance of commemorating the holiday in the United States, Latimore was a keen advocate that used social media, op-ed articles, interviews, and written public discourse to garner support for the holiday. As his Christian faith was foundational to his scholarship, his assessment of the importance of Juneteenth was viewed through this lens. In an article published in the *Deseret News* titled, "Why These Christian Leaders Want Churches to Celebrate Juneteenth," he

notes that liberation was not only expressed physically, but in other ways. He writes that, "We need to bring [the Juneteenth story] into the church and talk about the ways that God wants us to be liberated—not just physically, but mentally, emotionally and spiritually."[35] These ideas of liberation were inextricably connected to the ideas of resistance and resilience, and the celebration of Juneteenth is an expression of liberation on multiple levels.

His public scholarship on the importance of Juneteenth was also present in various media appearances. He was often a featured guest on local television stations in San Antonio, Texas because of his expertise on African American History. On June 9, 2021, he was a featured guest on local television station KSAT 12 during a segment on the history of Juneteenth and he provided historical background on the holiday. He was asked by one of the reporters if Juneteenth should be celebrated by non-Blacks and he responded:

> Absolutely. The African American experience is the American experience. You don't have America without the African American experience in that you don't know what liberty is. We talk about these principles—life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, justice, liberty—and the African American experience is kind of our mirror—our window into seeing and understanding what that means. How do you know what liberty is if you don't understand what the reverse of that is?[36]

Latimore expressed that Juneteenth should not be thought of as merely an African American holiday, but as a commemoration of freedom. This argument addresses those who may seek to diminish the significance of Juneteenth, as well as the significance of the histories, struggles, and victories of African American people.

Conclusion

During his brief life, Carey Latimore led a life of impact, both intellectually and spiritually, and he left behind a legacy of both personal and professional accomplishments that speak to the magnitude of that impact. A scholar who was concerned with the history and well-being of African American people, the discipline of Africana Studies, and the mentorship of younger Black scholars, the presence of

cultural grounding, academic excellence, and social responsibility[37] are evident in his life, research, and, ultimately, his legacy. His scholarship was focused on the ways that African Americans, despite countless brutalities; racist, legal, and social structures; and other calculated means of oppression, have been victorious. This recalls a consciousness of victory, similar to that expressed in Afrocentricity. Asante notes that, "There are two aspects of consciousness: (1) toward oppression, and (2) toward victory."[38] It is one thing to be aware of the victimization of African descended people in America, but another to be aware of the ways that those same people have won.[39] Throughout Latimore's scholarship, it is evident that he sought to bring to light the victories of African Americans through their resistance and resilience. While his life was brief, he accomplished much in 46 years and left behind a wealth of scholarship that can serve as a marker for excellence to those who come after him. Latimore's life and work exemplify the idea that it is not how long a person lives, but how they steward the time they are given. Carey Latimore is an example of a life well-lived.

Notes

[1] "Remembering Carey H. Latimore IV.," Trinity University, July 29, 2022, https://www.trinity.edu/news/remembering-carey-h-latimore-iv.

[2] Lauren Turek and Anene Ejikeme, "In Memoriam: Carey H. Latimore IV (1975-2022)" *Perspectives on History,* November 1, 2023, https://www.historians.org/perspectives-article/carey-h-latimore-iv-1975-2022-historian-of-african-americans-november-2023/.

[3] Trinity University, "Remembering Carey H. Latimore IV."

[4] Maulana Karenga, *Introduction to Black Studies*, 4th ed. (Los Angeles: University of Sankore Press, 2010), 25.

[5] Turek and Ejikeme, "In Memoriam: Carey H. Latimore IV (1975-2022)."

[6] I use the descriptors "African American" and "Black American" interchangeably throughout this essay, and Latimore does the same throughout his scholarship. For clarity, both are used to describe those individuals of African descent born in the United States of America but descended from enslaved Africans who were kidnapped from West and Central Africa.

[7] Carey H. Latimore, "Surviving War and the Underground: Richmond Free Blacks and Criminal Networks during the Civil War," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 117, no.1 (2009): 3, http://www.jstor.org/stable/27740483.

[8] Latimore, "Surviving War," 4.

[9]Latimore, "Surviving War," 3-4.

[10] Gayle T. Tate, "Free Black Resistance in the Antebellum Era, 1830 to 1860," *Journal of Black Studies* 28, no. 6 (1998): 776. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2784816.

[11] Latimore, "Surviving War," 5.

[12] Latimore, "Surviving War," 9.

[13] Latimore, "Surviving War,"12.

[14] Carey H. Latimore. "A Step Closer to Slavery? Free African Americans, Industrialisation, Social Control and Residency in Richmond City, 1850-1860," *Slavery and Abolition 33,* no. 1 (March 1, 2012): 120. https://doi.org/10.1080/0144039x.2011.606631.

[15] Latimore, "A Step Closer," 121.

[16] Latimore, "A Step Closer," 128-129.

[17] Carey H. Latimore, "Closing the Education Gap: The Hidden Potential of the Black Church," in *Strengthening Families, Communities, and Schools to Support Children's Development*, ed. E.W. Gordon, B. Jean-Louis, N. Obiora (New York: Routledge, 2018), 83.

[18] Latimore, "Closing the Education Gap," 85.

[19] Latimore, "Closing the Education Gap," 86.

[20] Latimore, "Closing the Education Gap," 90.

[21] Latimore, "Closing the Education Gap," 89.

[22] Latimore, "Closing the Education Gap," 93.

[23] Molefi Kete Asante, *Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change* (Chicago: African American Images, 2003), 2.

[24] Latimore, "Closing the Education Gap," 94.

[25] Carey H. Latimore, "Civil Rights in San Antonio: WWII to Mid-1960s," *The Alamo*, 2020. https://www.thealamo.org/fileadmin/assets/support/research_and_studies/civil-rights-in-sa-wwii-to-1960s.pdf, 9.

[26] Latimore, "Civil Rights," 10.

[27] Latimore, "Civil Rights," 32.

[28] Carey H. Latimore, IV., *Unshakable Faith: African American Stories of Redemption, Hope, and Community* (Grand Rapids: Our Daily Bread Publishing, 2022).

[29] Carey H. Latimore, IV., *Unshakable Faith: African American Stories of Redemption, Hope, and Community* (Grand Rapids: Our Daily Bread Publishing, 2022), 57.

[30] Latimore, *Unshakable Faith,* 93.

[31] Allen Dwight Callahan, *The Talking Book: African Americans and the Bible* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 83.

[32] Latimore, *Unshakable Faith*, 168.

[33] Latimore, *Unshakable Faith*, 208.

[34] Latimore, *Unshakable Faith,* 224.

[35] Kelsey Dallas, "Why these Christian leaders want churches to celebrate Juneteenth," Desert News, June 18, 2022, https://www.deseret.com/2022/6/18/23169558/why-these-christian-leaders-want-churches-to-celebrate-juneteenth-russell-moore-christianity-today/.

[36] Carey H. Latimore, IV., "Trinity University professor Carey Latimore discusses history of Juneteenth," KSAT 12, YouTube Video, June 9, 2021, 7 min., 6 sec., https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NWUOQUpt8oc.

[37] Karenga, *Introduction to Black Studies*, 25.

[38] Asante, *Afrocentricity,* 64.

[39] Asante, *Afrocentricity*, 64-65.