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LIVING LEGACIES:

BLACK WOMEN, EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHIES, AND COMMUNITY SERVICE, 1865-1965

A Dissertation Presented

by

STEPHANIE YVETTE EVANS

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COMMUNITY SERVICE, 1865-1964

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DEDICATION

To members of my nuclear and extended family who have born witness to my struggles and who have endured despite their own,

To W. Annette Edmonds and Booker T. McKim-Evans for giving me life,

A very special dedication to my sister, Angela Michelle Crider, who has talked me through the most painful moments of my life,

To my friends and colleagues who have been with me during the last nine years of my student journey and who have made an often-times grueling process memorable and fun,

To my students who have taught me how to enjoy the art and science of teaching,

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Dancers do not sweat – they glow!

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ABSTRACT

LIVING LEGACIES:

BLACK WOMEN, EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHIES, AND

COMMUNITY SERVICE, 1865-1965

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The first chapter of this dissertation is an introduction to the topics of community service-learning and Black women's intellectual history. The author outlines definitions, theoretical frameworks, guiding questions, and methodological approaches in this research. Here, Ms. Evans explains the contribution that Black women's educational philosophies can make to current practices of community service-learning.

Chapter Two is a survey of the presence, oppression, contribution, and creative resistance of Black women in United States educational systems between Emancipation in 1865 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. A comprehensive picture of research on Black women's educational experience in the United States is presented. Ms. Evans argues that Black women's educational experiences offer a rich historical context in which to comprehend the larger social conditions in which contemporary educators are working.

In Chapter Three, the author presents four educators whose work provide clear examples of how Black women have theorized and practiced community-based education. The writing of Frances (Fanny) Jackson Coppin (1837-1913), Anna Julia Cooper (1858?-1964), Mary McLeod Bethune (1875-1955), and Septima Poinsette Clark (1898-1987) are presented. Connections are made between these educators' intellectual development and their work for local, national, and international community empowerment.

In Chapter Four, the author details the contribution that this work makes to Black women's intellectual history. Ms. Evans analyzes the experiences and thoughts of the four Black women case studies, considers aspects of Black Feminist Thought, and outlines the impact of cultural identity on social experience. Recommendations are made about how to use historical analysis in order to practice community service-learning in a culturally appropriate manner.

In Chapter Five, areas of future research are presented, specifically those areas that relate to the ideas of Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, and John Dewey. Lastly, Ms. Evans includes observations about her own experiences as a student and practitioner of community service-learning.

In Chapter Six, "A Discussion on Sources," the author reviews the most popular service-learning literature and surveys African American educational historiography that is relevant to those doing service-learning work.

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CHAPTER 1

WHAT I STUDY, WHY, AND HOW: INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH, DISSERTATION OUTLINE, METHODOLOGY, AND METHODS

In this dissertation I consider the work of four Black women educators and how their educational philosophies can impact current pedagogies. Thus, it is appropriate to begin with an introduction to these Black women's ideas.

Invocation

I am always sorry to hear that such and such a person is going to school to be educated. This is a great mistake. If the person is to get the benefit of what we call education, he must educate himself, under the direction of the teacher.... Again, we want to lift education out of the slough of the passive voice. Little Mary goes to school to be educated, and her brother John goes to the high school for the same purpose. It is too often the case that the passive voice has the right of way, whereas in the very beginning we should call into active service all the faculties of mind and body. (Fanny Jackson Coppin, 1913).

My "racial philosophy" is not far removed from my general philosophy of life: that the greatest happiness comes from altruistic service and this is in reach of all whatever race and condition. The "Service" meant here is not a pious idea of being used; any sort of exploitation whether active or passive is to my mind hateful. Nor is the "Happiness" a mere bit of Pollyanna stuff.... For, after all, Social Justice, the desired goal, is not to be reached through any panacea by mass production.... (Anna Julia Cooper, 1930).

When they learn the fairy tales of mythical king and queen and princess, we must let them hear, too, of the Pharaohs and African kings and brilliant pageantry of the Valley of the Nile; when they learn of Caesar and his legions, we must teach them of Hannibal and his Africans; when they learn of Shakespeare and Goethe, we must teach them of Pushkin and Dumas. When they read of Columbus, we must introduce the Africans who touched the shores of America before Europeans emerged from savagery.... With the Tragic Era we give them Black Reconstruction; with Edison, we give them Jan Matzeliger; with John Dewey, we place Booker T. Washington.... (Mary McLeod Bethune, 1938).

My life has been devoted to the practical and the specific... I have been trying all my days to solve problems, and problems – brother – some ones, at any rate – are annoyingly specific. (Septima Clark, 1962).

Research Focus and Problem Statements

In this work, I consider Black women's philosophical ideas of education-related community service. This is a research effort grounded in history and historical methods, yet it is not intended to be an historical monograph or strict chronology. Rather, this dissertation is an exploration into African-American women's intellectual history in an effort to inform current educational philosophies and pedagogical practices. This work originated from my personal experiences and, although I adhere to traditional research methods, the essay form used in this manuscript reveals a strategic subjectivity. I believe that the lessons I have learned through my own study and experience, reflected here in this research, can help inform service-learning practitioners in a culturally – and historically-grounded manner.

In my analysis, I will look closely at African-American philosophies of education and the relation of these ideas to the other schools of thought. My focus is on four women who founded and/or headed schools between 1865 and 1965: Fanny Jackson Coppin, Anna Julia Cooper, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Septima Clark. I will show how they developed and contributed sophisticated analyses regarding the form and function of education that can aid service-learning practitioners in understanding the many definitions of community service, especially those definitions most relevant to education-related service.

These quotes by Coppin, Cooper, Bethune, and Clark that began are examples of the way Black women's writing can deepen the understanding of service, work, and education and broaden the contemporary debates of how community and public service are defined and practiced. Mary McLeod Bethune's assertion of the necessity of teaching African and African-American history, especially to Black students, speaks to the cultural vacuum in American education. This research will contribute to the fields of service-learning, women's studies, African American studies, history, and education.

There is much work done on theory, pedagogy, and praxis within the respective fields, yet my work will focus on philosophic principles articulated by historic women. In this dissertation, I present an overview of Black women's educational experiences and demonstrate the integral link between their service and education. My goal is to investigate ways that Black women have used education for public good and to analyze their thoughts on community-based education. As a Black woman working in the field of education and employing pedagogies such as community based- and community service-learning, having historic insight will be invaluable to my practice. I anticipate that the

paradigms offered by Black women educators also will be helpful to the work of contemporary educators involved in community empowerment.

In contemporary community and public service initiatives, there is a dominance of White male educational theory and a lack of culturally and historically appropriate models that reflect African-American educational experience. In addition, there is a paucity of literature on Black women's intellectual history in general and on Black women's educational philosophies in particular.

With very few exceptions, the philosophy, theory, literature, and practice of community service-learning is given from a largely White, middle-class, male perspective with definitions of both service and learning that do not fully consider the history or experience of African American women.[1] As an African American woman deeply involved in this teaching and learning style, I have had to engage service-learning theories by simply trying to work around them or adapt them to reflect my knowledge and experiences.

My research parallels the increased institutionalization of service-learning centers and programs on university campuses[2] but challenges the participants of this new movement now gaining speed at many levels in both K-12 and higher education, to recognize that the principals and goals articulated by those in this movement are not new. Lastly, my work reflects a sustained interest in the applicability of higher education to the social needs of the larger national and international community.

Although there has not been a unified approach to linking service to education in historic Black communities, it is apparent that, perhaps because of disadvantaged social position, even those who did charity work related to African-American education

demanded a change in the inequalities present in the American social structure. Considerations like these, reflected in the writing of Black women educators, can be a valuable resource to challenging current paradigms in popular educational movements such as community service-learning.

Community Service-Learning and Experiential Education

Community service-learning[3] is a form of experiential education that, in theory, combines community-defined service with academic study through the process of structured reflection, usually in the form of student journals or discussion groups. For example, in a traditional English composition course, students read and write within the context of a regular classroom setting. In a service-learning English composition course, reading and writing exercises would be combined with a community-defined need such as tutoring in an after-school program or prison, and thus learning would be combined with service. Further, service-learning involves reflection where students reflect on their personal experiences and thus learn from the texts of the course as well as the "texts" of their experiences. Community service-learning (CSL) is a form of experiential learning. Other forms of experiential learning are field work assignments and practica, such as student teaching or nursing assignments, that are linked to academic coursework. CSL differs from other types of experiential learning because it entails community service that is designated by a community partner.

Experiential education is a way of teaching and learning that values the individual and collective learning that is gained by lived experience. According to a leading publication, the term experiential education has come to represent four aspects of learning: 1. Assessing and accrediting prior life learning 2. Restructuring the applied

theory, fieldwork, and curriculum in post-secondary education 3. Learning from experience as the core of education for social change mainly outside educational institutions and 4. Potential and practice of personal growth and development. [4] In "Foundations of Experiential Education" an article published by the National Society for Experiential Education, the practice is described as:

> An educational philosophy first developed in the late nineteenth century and has since been articulated in a variety of fields including cooperative education, internships, outdoor education, organizational development and training and service learning. The essence of Experiential Education was captured by the philosopher John Dewey, who argued that "Events are present and operative anyway; what concerns us is their meaning." … In its purest forms, Experiential Education is indicative, beginning with "raw" experience that is processed through an intentional learning format and transformed into working, usable knowledge. [5]

One of the difficulties present in common definitions of Experiential Education is that in these materials, "experience" is neither interpreted culturally, nor linked with the idea of education for a particular purpose outside of learning for learning's sake. The experience referenced is often that of an assumed white, middle-class male or female student who is the primary focus of an intellectual exercise which is often presented as value neutral. Further, the focus of most educators is on the learning of the student; the educative process is seen as an end rather than a means. Even Dewey states this is a mistake. Although Dewey articulated theories of purpose in education that give meaning to experience, few extend their research beyond a focus on experience and learning to grapple with the question of *why* one should learn. In Experience and Education (1938) Dewey wrote:

> It is then the business of the educator to see in what direction an experience is heading…In a word, we live from birth to death in a world of persons and things which in large measure is what it is because of what has been done and transmitted from previous human activities. When this fact is ignored, experience

> is treated as if it were something which goes on exclusively inside an individual's body and mind.[6]

Community service-learning as a part of Experiential Education is often constructed in a way that abstracts experience from the surrounding circumstances and the identity of the student "learner." An analysis of the ways that CSL researchers practice and challenge this abstraction can be of use to those seeking to incorporate this practice into their educational administration, curricula, and pedagogy.

What I Study and Why – My Experience With Community Service-Learning (CSL)

I first became involved with community service-learning in 1997 during my undergraduate studies at California State University, Long Beach (CSULB). My first service-learning experience was through a community development course in the CSULB Social Work department. That first experience of learning in the classroom *and* from community leaders made a world of difference in my education: in the classroom I gained meaning, in the community work I gained purpose.

My experience with community service-learning as an undergraduate at CSULB was fulfilling, but once I got into the more advanced, theoretical areas of research, the deification of John Dewey and David Kolb left me feeling that if my academic reflections were based solely on their models, my scholarship would somehow be hollow.[7] This is not to say that John Dewey must not be studied, only that one cannot assume that study of education begins and ends with him. Further, those who do quote Dewey, need to do so responsibly. For example, he discusses experience in a way that suggests that one's social position influences experience:

> It ought not to be necessary to say that experience does not occur in a vacuum… No one would question that a child in a slum tenement has a different experience from that of a child in a cultured home… Above all, [educators] should know how

> to utilize the surroundings, physical and social, that exist so as to extract from them all that they have to contribute to building up experiences that are worth while…"[8]

Thus Dewey argued against an ahistorical and socio-economic blindness that is often present in the rush to see that students have and interpret an "experience." The cultural critique that I offer, based on the thought and practice of Black women educators, will expand the understanding of the experiences of Black women in a way that interprets history, society, politics, economics, and education so as to illuminate the oft-ignored Black women's social position. Thus, what constitutes a "worth while" social experience and desired future human activities can be more collectively defined.

While it is true that social position influences experience, cultural identity influences social position. Thus, the cultural identity of the volunteers engaged in service and those being served must be addressed when discussing experiences and social circumstances surround the experiences. This need for analysis of cultural identity must also be inserted in David Kolb's 1984 theoretical model for learning.

Most service-learners are familiar with Kolb's cycle of Concrete Experience, Reflective Observation, Abstract Concept, and Active Experimentation that he observed and articulated. Yet too rarely are students required to think about how this cycle is heavily influenced by the learner's identity and by the assertions of those engaged with the learner. Also, the cultural assumptions present in the theorizers presented in the classroom heavily affect the process and outcome of learning.

In my studies, Dewey's and Kolb's theories were not enough for me to accurately conceptualize my own experience. But by studying the ideas of women who came from a similar social standing as I do, I gained more clarity about how I might interpret my

experience. But what would happen once the idols of progressive education are dashed? For me, it has been fulfilling to pursue culturally appropriate educational philosophies that more closely reflect my experience and the values of those communities of color that I work in.

In contemporary service-learning literature and practice, many professors blindly follow models, such as David Kolb's or John Dewey's, without including a critical analysis of how the assumptions that their own cultural identity and social position, as well as that of Kolb and Dewey, influence their teaching practices. By also considering the various educational models offered by Black women, particularly those who have led educational institutions, faculty in all areas of study have an opportunity to learn beyond the boundaries set by those few whom tradition has deemed worthy to be called "philosopher." Although some of the women in my study may sound familiar, they are most likely recognized because of their practical community work; their intellectual work is severely under-appreciated and under-researched. I believe their writing will provide much insight into the relationship of community service to education.

Since my undergraduate years, I have gone on to teach service-learning classes at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst and coordinate service projects as the Assistant Director for Youth Education programs at Brown University's Howard R. Swearer Center for Public Service. In my continuing survey of prominent literature, I have encountered few models that do not replicate the often short-sighted, recycled theories of the service-learning movement. Thus, through my own research, I have sought to replace Dewey and the CSL "pioneers" with those historical figures that reflect an awareness of my cultural identity and an efficacy in public service that I would like to emulate. My

study utilizes the tenets of what Patricia Hill Collins called Black Feminist Thought (1991) which fights against Black women's invisibility. This is especially relevant since I study the thoughts as well as practices of Black women and – as I have been told – the fact that Black women think is indeed a radical notion to some.

Guiding Questions

The questions that I seek to answer regarding problems in service-learning research are: 1) How have Black women educators in general, and school founders or leaders in particular, linked their ideas of service to their research and pedagogy? 2) What did Coppin, Cooper, Bethune, and Clark write about education and service and the ties that exist, or should exist, between the two? 3) What role(s) did the larger African-American community play in influencing the administration of their programs and schools? 4) What role(s) did these four women play in the education of local, national, and international communities? 5) How did these women incorporate community service into their curricula and teaching practices? 6) What personal reflections did they offer about their own oppression and inspiration in their lives as students that might give insight to experience of African-American students today? 7) What does their writing offer about social, administrative, pedagogical, and curricular issues that is relevant to today's service-learners? 8) How do these Black women's philosophies and practices about their own cultural identity affect the service-learning theories of "reflection" (where students think about their relationships and experiences) and "reciprocity" (where students realize that the service relationship should be mutually beneficial)?

When I first began the study of Black women's educational thought, I did so with an interest in "proving" that Black women did community-service learning (CSL) a long

time before those now engaged in the process. However, V.P. Franklin, one of the leading historians in African-American education, has suggested to me that to argue such a point would be anachronistic. He pointed out that if I were to look at the goals and ideals that historic Black women educators articulated, I might find similarities with those engaged in CSL today. Then, I could make a case that, while these women were operating under very different circumstances, and arguing from very different historic standpoints, their writing might inform those presently striving to achieve similar goals or put forth similar ideals for the thought and practice of education in the United States – especially as it relates to community service.

The dates 1865 and 1965 are significant for many reasons: 1) after Emancipation in 1865, there was a great rush to schools; 2) a century provides an interesting time span in which to measure areas of progress and continued subjugation; and 3) Education is the one key to democracy – because literacy was used as a tool to deny Blacks access to voting, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 marked a milestone in the quest for education and democratic participation.

Dissertation Outline

I have organized my work in the following manner:

Chapter 1: What I study, why, and how: Guiding questions, dissertation outline, methodology, and methods

Chapter 2: General African-American Educational history and Black women's educational experiences

Chapter 3: Frances Coppin (1837-1913), Anna Cooper (1858?-1964), Mary McLeod Bethune (1875-1955), and Septima Clark (1898 – 1987)

Chapter 4: Analyzing Black women's praxis and intellectual legacies that link community, service, and learning – lessons for the modern service-learning movement

Chapter 5: Conclusion: Pathways for further study and my notes on learning

Chapter 6: A discussion on sources

In this chapter, I introduce community service-learning, discuss how I came to this research, and explore the definitions and theoretical frameworks relevant to this topic.

In Chapter Two, I survey the presence, oppression, contribution, and creative resistance of Black women in United States educational systems between Emancipation and the new social order brought on by the Voting Rights Act of 1965. In this first chapter, I construct a comprehensive picture of the research that has been written about Black women's educational experience in the United States and present that information within a frame of Black history, woman's history, and educational history (See Appendix A for scope of study). This section is a survey of existing historiography and in it I identify, synthesize, and examine existing research that records the presence, oppression, contribution, and creative resistance of Black women in American educational systems. Black women's educational experiences offer a rich historic context in which to comprehend the larger conditions through which these four Black women educators were working.

After collecting and organizing information on the Black educational experience presented in the historiography, I present four case studies of educators whose work provides clear and detailed examples of how Black women theorized and practiced

community-based education. I present an analysis of primary and secondary research on the thoughts and actions of four Black women educators who sought to understand and change social inequality by means of community-based and service-focused education. In Chapter Three, I examine the offerings of each of four educators and explore how they viewed teaching and learning in relation to education that was grounded in social justice. By considering the work of Fanny Jackson Coppin, Anna Julia Cooper, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Septima Poinsette Clark, I discover the theoretical, institutional, curricular and pedagogical connections between how Black women gained formal intellectual skills and how they participated in local, national, and international community empowerment.

My criteria for choosing these particular four women were the following: 1) Experience as teacher; 2) Experience as head administrator at an institution or organization 3) National recognition for educational inspiration and service to Black communities 4) Published writing on educational thought and practice. However, there are thousands of women who meet these criteria. In Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia, Darlene Clark Hine, Elsa Barkley Brown, and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn (1994) offer a two-volume set of biographies and research on Black women and our issues. Anna Julia Cooper's picture graces the cover of this monumental work and in the back of this text, there is an index that lists 114 women who were educators by vocation. In order to have a clearly identifiable pool of women to choose from, I placed these 114 women in their respective eras (see Appendix B) and then chose to limit my study to the century between 1864 and 1965. In this century Coppin, Cooper, Bethune, and Clark represent a cross section of thinkers who have already been recognized in the

historiography as leading educators and who have produced a body of work that can inform current educational practices.

Although women like Charlotte Hawkins Brown (1883-1961) of the Palmer Memorial Institute (1902) and Nannie Helen Burroughs (1878-1961) of the National Training School for Women and Girls (1907) also meet these criteria, I chose consider these four case studies to identify similarities and differences within theories, administrations, pedagogies, and curricula that span a century.

The institutions that these women built can offer insight into contemporary coping strategies developed to overcome the political, legal, economic, and social oppressions of their day. Their pedagogies and curricula also reveal their proposed solutions to these problems and offer a range of ideologies and philosophies about the role of education in society and effective means for African-Americans to overcome barriers to educational, economic and political access.

In Chapter Four of this dissertation, I revisit the questions that are present in the first chapter of this dissertation and suggest the contribution that this work makes to Black women's intellectual history. Here, I compare and contrast the experiences and the thoughts of the four Black women case studies. Next, I consider aspects of Black Feminist Thought and outline the impact of cultural identity on individual, social, and institutional aspects of social experience. This social critique can be coupled with historical analysis in order to practice community service-learning in a manner that is culturally appropriate for those involved with communities of color. I discuss history, identity, and Black Feminist Thought in terms of their implications for contemporary community service-learners

In Chapter Five, I identify areas that I would like to research in the future. This analysis is extended to areas within African-American studies, specifically as it relates to the ideas of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois. I then explore the implications that this analysis has for those involved in community service-learning and I analyze areas of intersection with John Dewey's thought in order to show how this research can be applied to different areas of educational philosophy. Lastly, I include relevant autobiographical information about my own teaching and learning experience.

In Chapter Six, I present a review of the relevant literature in community service-learning and African-American educational historiography.

Research Methodology and Methods

This history fits comfortably within the spectrum of historiography that I have explored in the Afro-American Studies program at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. It is both topical (a study of Black women, education, & service) and epochal (illuminating the period between 1865 and 1965 which includes Reconstruction, Jim Crow, and the Civil Rights Movement). This work is clearly a social history and although I do focus on individual women, I do not suppose that these women were the only "leaders" of education worthy of study. I offer their stories as examples of the many different approaches that Black women have taken to educate themselves and those around them, and I highlight many interesting conflicts in perception and practices to temper the commonalities that I have found in my research.

My research is primarily text based. Although I have visited some of the institutions and collections of these women and have relied heavily on primary research in the libraries and archives, the core of my study stems from a single published,

collected work by each of the four women. There is much published that is relevant to my research, yet my method has been to focus mainly on the writings of the women themselves.

My approach to each text was to first identify major themes related to education. I noticed that each woman, in some way, touched on the following three themes: biographical information, personal reflections on educational experiences (identifying both oppression and inspiration), and educational philosophy. The biographical information provided an outline of the facts of their life, such as their familial background and the dates, times and places of their professional career. These personal reflections about their educational experiences provided insight into incidents in which they experienced a barrier to their learning or were struck by an inspiration that led to some clarity about the field and process of education. The educational philosophies espoused by these women covered four areas of education: Society (broader issues such as the impact of race or economics on the impact of educational access), Administration (how to run a school), Pedagogy (how to teach), and Curriculum (what to teach). After identifying the major points raised by each woman I place their ideas within the context of their own life and within the larger historical and philosophical context. For each author, I chose to explore six main themes that emerged from their writing.

Prior to presenting the textual analysis in each chapter, I provide a general outline of each woman's work and include a literature review of the scholarly work that has been written about each scholar. A brief biographical overview begins each chapter and I provide additional biographical comments throughout the analysis of their ideas; however, this work is intended less as a biography than as an explication of educational

philosophies. By finding the ways that these women told their life stories, reflected on the role of education in their life, and articulated their theories of teaching and learning, I have a basis to compare approaches within this group and in the larger field of educational history and philosophy. Part of the reason that each woman was chosen was because biographies about them had already been written, so I could focus on the ideas.

When I have visited the archives where the papers are held and the sites of the institutions that these women founded and/or helped to establish, I have come across material evidence that have informed my interpretation of the text. For example, when visiting Bethune-Cookman college, I spoke with Randall Boem, the person who microfilmed the Bethune collection. While in Daytona, I visited with Dr. Robert Henderson and Balarie Ingram in the library archives, and Mary Graves in special collections and spoke with Margaret Symonette as I toured Bethune's house. I attended the "Commemorative Legacies of Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune" panel at the Association for the Study of African-American Life and History conference in Orlando, Florida and spoke with Dr. Sheila Flemming, a Bethune-Cookman College graduate and school historian, and members of the Maysville, South Carolina National Council of Negro Women who have purchased 19 acres surrounding Bethune's birthplace, directed archeological digs, and reconstructed the cabin where she was born. Exploring Bethune's house and sitting in her final resting place in Daytona somehow made me feel closer to this subject; romantic or not, I feel a deep connection with – and responsibility towards – these women.

Further, by engaging in discussion with educators and those working in the field of public service, I have received much guidance on the direction of my work. I have also

shared my work with scholars in the field of Black women's history and African-United States educational history and they have been very helpful in helping me to further this work. V. P. Franklin, editor of the Journal of African-American History, Stephanie Shaw, author of What a Woman Ought to Do and Be, Linda Perkins, Fanny Jackson Coppin's biographer, and Paula Giddings, author of When and Where I Enter have been particularly helpful in their assistance. Finally, through my numerous public lectures and discipline-based panel presentations, I have received very helpful feedback on how to make this work more useful to the many different audiences for whom this work is written.

In addition to use of the primary writing by and biographical material on these authors, government documents and census records, and other primary sources have allowed me a greater understanding of the expansive socio-political contexts and multi-faceted stories that make up the larger picture of these women's lives. Most of the secondary sources that I have considered for this research have come from the following repositories:

A. Digital Dissertations (formerly Dissertation Abstracts)

B. US Department of Education and ERIC Digest

C. Library of Congress Search (see bibliography for specific texts)

D. JSTOR history, education, and Afro-American Studies journals (including Callaloo, Journal of Black Studies, Journal of Higher Education, Journal of Negro Education, Journal of African-American History, Sociology of Education, and Journal of Blacks in Higher Education)

E. Census Bureau.

My methodology for the first chapter is derived from John Hope Franklin's observations about African-American historiography. In "On the Evolution of

Scholarship in Afro-American History" (1986),[9] Franklin asserted that there have been four stages of writing in Black history: The first stage in the late 1800s and early 1900s was a basic attempt to record and establish the *presence* of African Americans (this can be seen in Carter G. Woodson's early work with Negro History Week, the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History); The second stage involved recording Black "firsts" and asserting the *contribution* of African Americans to the development of the United States; In the third stage, during the Jim Crow era and the onset of the Civil Rights Movement, historians began to record the long list of *oppressions* in the Black experience; Finally, during the development of Black Power consciousness in the late 1960s and early 1970s, historians began documenting the long tradition of *revolt and resistance* to American systems of oppression. Franklin does not assert that these stages were neat or static, rather he outlines the general tendency of historians to approach Black history from certain perspectives with specific assertions and assumptions based on the era they were writing in.

I have adapted this outline as an approach to my work: rather than simply record the presence, barriers, firsts, or triumphs of Black women's educational experience in the United States, I am using the three categories of "presence," "oppression," and "contribution and creative resistance" as guidelines by which to record this history. Thus, I have transformed Franklin's theoretical approach to historiography into a methodological approach to organize the vast research on Black women in education.

In each of the five historical eras in this chapter, I cover three aspects of Black women's educational history: 1). The *presence* of Black women in education including such indicators as national demographics, admission to and graduation from primary,

secondary, and tertiary institutions, teaching placement, and involvement in government or community education; 2). The *oppression* that barred Black women's educational attainment including personal violence, legal, political, and economic disenfranchisement, social, cultural, and gender subjugation; and 3). The *contribution and creative resistance* that Black women have offered in response to limited educational access including raising their (written) voice, club and organization involvement, political activism, and community service. Throughout these three categories of analysis, biographical sketches of significant individuals are included to illustrate concepts or patterns involved in the education of African American women; however this work seeks to reveal patterns in the larger story of the Black American women as a group rather than simply focus on one or two individuals within that group. [10]

The methodological framework that I have constructed to sort out the vast range of Black women's experience in Educational systems in the United States derives from my adaptation of John Hope Franklin's analysis of the evolution of African American historiography.

This framework is supported by Gesa Kirsch (1992) in her analysis of ethical approaches to feminist research. She wrote:

> [Sandra] Harding distinguishes among three kinds of feminist scholarship: work that begins to "recover and to reappreciate the work of women researchers and theorists [which has been] ignored, trivialized or appropriated," work that examines "women's contributions to activities in the public world," and work that studies "women as victims of male dominance."[11]

In feminist studies, there are more than just these three approaches of recovery, contribution, or victim status – there are also many resistance narratives that are present throughout the history of many women's movements. It is clear then, that scholars in

different but related fields, African-American Studies and Women's Studies, have identified similar approaches to recording history; therefore, I assert that recording history from only one of these perspectives allows for a limited documentation of history, thus it is advantageous to utilize insights from each vantage point. My methodology, therefore, represents an attempt to capture a fuller picture of the experiences of Black women in Educational systems in the United States by considering their role as both victims and victors - present and active in their own individual stories and in the larger social and political aspects of American history. In her editorial, Collier-Thomas states, "most of [the research on the educational experiences of Afro-Americans] is negative and tends to focus on Black people as victims, emphasizing their deficiencies and differences in comparison to whites."[12] By using this Black historical framework, I attempt to record the experience of many different Black women throughout history in a way that assumes neither a wholly triumphant nor predominantly defeated or victimized social status.

The majority of the following sources have come from my experience as a student and an instructor in African-American studies, women's studies, and community service-learning college courses. This review is a small selection of the materials most relevant to my study.

CHAPTER 2

GENERAL AFRICAN-AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY AND BLACK WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES

General Themes in African-American Educational History

The history of African American education is steeped in both experiential and pragmatist traditions. Stephanie Shaw, in What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do: Black Professional Women Workers During the Jim Crow Era (1996), pointed out that although there was disagreement between W. E. B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington about the fundamental theories, goals, and methods of education, the philosophy of community-based learning was a point of intersection between the two thinkers:

> Thus, notwithstanding the contemporary and subsequent debates between advocates of classical education and vocational programs, both types of schools shared this public mission. Black communities were to benefit from the existence of these schools, and people everywhere were to profit from the training of the students as they spread out over the country to live and work.[13]

Though interpretations differed greatly regarding what "social benefit" should look like in practice, uplift was a universal theme in education.

Given the direct relation of educational attainment to improved social status, it seems no coincidence that, when given the opportunity, African-Americans have aspired to understand and influence issues in the field of education. In the post-Civil War Black community, regardless of the supposed dichotomous debates between liberal (Du Bois's focus) or industrial (Washington's focus) means toward the end of learning, both approaches considered learning *in-and-of-itself* as a responsibility and form of service to the community. Black people who gained access to formal education were expected to

help to raise the status of other Black people. Service was central to the collective African American experience and thus essential to the Black philosophy of education.

Like the evolution of the larger American school system, early formal education for Black people represented a link between religious principles and rudimentary literacy. Part of these religious principles rested on service to one's community. HBCUs, like many colleges in the United States, were founded on the idea of morally-grounded community service. At these schools, there are historic programs in rural and urban development whose models can provide a solid base for further work in the community.

Shaw wrote, "all of the student organizations were at first service organizations, and even after the development of academic clubs and Greek sororities, service organizations remained a central part of the student's experience".[14] Further, Shaw outlined the service-based learning programs at many schools. Some of these include: Hampton ("Training in Community Work" program and The Circle of the Kings Daughters), Hartshorn Memorial College (Rachel Hartshorn Educational and Missionary Society and Moarshorn Home Workers), Fisk (The Department of Science programs, "People's College," and "Children's Institute"), Tuskegee ("Rising Star Model School," "Tuskegee Mother's Club," "Rural Extension Program," and "Tuskegee Health Center"), and Atlanta University ("Gate City Free Kindergarten Association" and the Department of Sociology's "lab work" requirements).[15]

Although most American colleges and universities were initially established with a moral, community-service focus, because of the political nature of African-Americans literacy and the necessity of communal support for educational advancement, education in African-American history reveals a grounding of learning in community involvement.

Like many schools developed in German and Italian ethnic immigrant communities, Black schools depended on a significant relationship with the surrounding community. Shaw offered a definition of community that illuminates the missions of HBCUs during their inception:

> Community in this instance was more than a neighborhood. Interests, rather than buildings and borders, determined membership. Community therefore defied boundaries and tended toward dispersion rather than concentration. Community was also more than a romantic metaphor for racial solidarity. Composed dynamically of a diverse group of people, it was a social institution or an arrangement of people who possessed a common understanding of history, mutual interests in the present, and shared visions of the future for the group and all its members. But community was based on more than philosophical impulses; it was also rooted in activism – theory balanced with practice.... Thus community was both a product and a process – a sociopolitical entity that was the product of collective consciousness and a process for producing that consciousness as well.[16]

A fundamental link between community and education is much noted in the Quaker tradition, especially during late 1700s and early 1800s.[17] In the mid-Nineteenth Century this link of education to public service was continued with the passing of the first and second Morrill Land Grant Acts in 1867 and 1890. Anderson noted, "The land-grant state agricultural and mechanical schools had unique possibilities for teacher training. Their public ownership and regulation gave them an official status in the school system."[18] Similarly, it was also in this tradition of progressivism and the redefining of community-run institutions that White and Black missionaries established Black schools after the Civil War and during Reconstruction.

However, neither education, nor education-based service were the sole inspiration of White Northern missionaries or philanthropists; most schools at all levels were founded and sustained by Black community commitment and activism. Although, as Horace Mann Bond argues, the role of philanthropy was essential to the development of

Black schools, it was Black community members' demands for education and social services that generated the development of public education for African-Americans. Further, though the idea of racial uplift was advanced by the small emerging Black middle class, most often the impetus for social development through community service came from the economic Black underclass.[19] Slogans like "each one, reach one, teach one" and "lifting as we climb" imply the Black communal roots of community-based educational philosophy.

Service-related education is also consistent with African educational traditions. In Non-Western Educational Traditions: Alternative Approaches to Educational Thought and Practice, Timothy Regan asserted that community-based and communal learning is one of seven traits offered by African, Islamic, Chinese, Buddhist, and Indigenous American traditions. Obligation to the collective, respect for elders, and a balance between physical, spiritual, emotional, and mental development, are overarching themes in Africanist philosophy. Further, although there is no such thing as "African" philosophy, but rather a compilation of different regional and ethnic African philosophies, there are noted similarities in insights, processes, and aims in Zulu, Igbo, Asante, Mandinka, and Yoruba that exemplify a general cultural approach that can be seen in various Black communities in the African Diaspora.[20]

In "Reclaiming the Historical Tradition of Service in the African-American Community," Beverly Jones of North Carolina Central University (an HBCU) wrote, "African-American notions of community service are rooted in a traditional African legacy of connectedness and intergenerational obligation."[21] In reflecting on a NCCU history service-learning course, Professor Jones claimed:

> Comments from student journals indicate their understanding that the service proclivities of African Americans are rooted in African culture… Students also realize that understanding the history and culture of a community helps them to appreciate better the ethos of service. Only by understanding a people's history can one learn to build on its assets.

A contemporary practical example of this approach can be seen in "Rediscovering Our Heritage: Community Service and the Historically Black University," also written by Beverly Jones. She stated, "African-American notions of community service are rooted in a traditional African legacy of connectedness and intergenerational obligation." In reflecting on the development of service-learning programs at NCCU, Professor Jones wrote:

> Many African-American students who perform community service are especially interested in activities and projects that relate to community development (e.g., assisting small businesses in marketing plans, designing community-based grassroots tutoring projects, conducting community needs assessments, and engaging in community capacity-building activities). Such linkages to service reinforce this sense of communalism and self-identity.[22]

Though the period between the end of the American Civil War and the 1965 Voting Rights Act represented a surge in intellectual development and increased social status for a very important select few, the masses of African-Americans were suffering from continued economic repression and political oppression. In most cases, conditions such as mass migration that was a result of White violence (as a push factor) and industrialization/urbanization (as a pull factor), made stable and steady education for Black children nearly non-existent. Despite the oft-noted overwhelming demand for access to education after Emancipation, and although illiteracy rates dropped dramatically, substantial access to equitable education eluded masses of African-Americans. For those who were situated in a stable Black southern community, the lack

of funding for schools and the hostile social setting meant comparably less access to education.

Overall, Black children suffered from poor curricula, limited numbers of teaching staff, and limited access to jobs that required or benefited from higher attainment of education. In the South, where the majority of Black people resided, the school year was shorter than White children's because of a privileging of field labor schedules over school schedules, and less money was spent on physical buildings. When there was support, much of the financial support and demand for quality came from the Black communities themselves.[23] Further, the common school (elementary) and normal school (secondary and teacher training) curriculum reflected the prevalent racism of both the (White) southern citizens and the Northern missionaries.

Despite – and perhaps because of – the barriers presented to African-Americans educational attainment, gaining formal education was seen as an act tied to community responsibility. In this section, I seek to better understand the ways in which Black women obtained their education and how they used education as a means of community service. Black women were at the center of this development of education for the freedman and their theories, institutions and programs, and curricula clearly form the foundation of Black educational history. Although teaching did not carry with it large economic gains for Black women, it was seen as a most noble profession. Because Black women linked their classroom instruction to the political, legal, cultural, and economic issues they found within their local communities, they participated in intellectual as well as racial "up-lift." Much has been written about the Northern White women who rushed to save the poor

Black freedmen; yet the role of Black people, and Black women in particular, is just recently beginning to gain attention from academics.

From the development of popular education for Blacks in America, teaching has been perceived to be and practiced as a woman's profession. The feminization of the profession, characterized by the low pay, was mirrored in the White American population, thus education has been predominantly a woman's issue.[24] Although, historically, Black men have been the speech givers, the principals, and the college presidents, it is Black women who have taken on the responsibility of educating the masses and organizing communities from a bottom-up rather than a top-down level.

Presence, Oppression, Contribution, and Creative Resistance in African-American Women's Educational History, 1865-1965

Below is a detailed, step-by-step account of the presence, oppression, contribution, and creative resistance of Black women in American education. Although this dissertation is primarily concerned with the time between 1865 and 1965, it is important to begin before that period and end after that period. The information below, an account of Black women's experiences between 1619 and 2002, will contextualize the work by Coppin, Cooper, Bethune, and Clark, and provide information for comparison and contrasting contemporary problems and approaches to education-based service initiatives.

Era I: 1619 – 1850

This era covers from the colonization of Africans in Colonial North America to 1850, the year that the first Black woman received a four year college degree from Oberlin College in Ohio.

Presence

The presence of Black women in the American educational system during the early years of African enslavement and revolution represented a sound, but largely clandestine position. Though not all Africans were enslaved, the system of American Apartheid forced Africans in America to seek intellectual development in myriad arenas outside of the developing formal school systems; Black women were no exception.[25]

In 1790 there were almost 60,000 free and 698,000 enslaved Africans in America. By 1850 these numbers had grown to almost 435,000 free and 3,205,000 enslaved Africans; of those enslaved, almost 1,602,000 were women.[26] Over 90% of those enslaved lived in the South and of these, 95% lived in rural areas. By 1830 fewer than 3,000 enslaved Africans lived in the North where the opportunity for education was much larger because of the urban setting and more liberal attitudes.[27] Nevertheless, much has been written to document the fact that "freedom" for Black people was unstable at best, and the North was just as complicit in oppression and discrimination as the South.

Like the evolution of the larger American school system, early formal education for Black people represented a link between religious principles and rudimentary literacy. As the development of the slave system solidified, the strictures on agency and intellectual development were increasingly tightened. In 1740, South Carolina became the first state to draft a law against teaching Black people to read or write and most Southern states quickly followed. Yet, the quest for learning abounded and Black women who were, because of their gender, held with the charge of children, passed down learning of African cultures as well as reading and writing skills needed in North American. It is documented that Black people conducted their own formal and informal

learning in South Carolina, Georgia, Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, and Tennessee despite ever-looming violent repercussions.[28]

There were many formal primary and secondary schools for free Blacks developed primarily in the North by White missionaries: small schools in New York, Connecticut, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Ohio all offered instruction to Black people. The development of Black congregations in the evangelical denominations of Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Congregational churches in the early 1800s supported the growth of Sabbath Schools that educated the majority of African Americans in a formal community setting. Due to prohibitions in the South and unstable public support for participation in Northern schools, free and enslaved Blacks relied mainly on their own initiative to learn to read, write, calculate, and learn trade skills. Black women during this first era, regardless of their location or legal/social status, were dedicated to the education of themselves and to the intellectual development of those in both their northern and southern communities.[29]

By the mid-1800s Black women in both the North and the South had opened schools for the education of Black children and adults. These women, such as Julian Froumountaine (1819) and Miss DeaVeaux (1838) in Georgia, Milla Granson in Mississippi, Catherine Ferguson (1793) in New York, a group of French-educated Haitian nuns in Baltimore, Maryland (1829), and Sarah Mapps Douglass (1821) in Philadelphia represented thousands of nameless women who taught themselves and their families to read and write during an era when it was either legally or socially prohibited.[30]

Where there was social space for formal schooling, Black women also formed clubs to link their personal development to the larger cause of abolition, racial justice,

and equal access to resources for Black women – this theme would manifest itself throughout the history of Black women's education. The development of literary and self-help clubs of the early 1800s would come to fruition with the development of the national club movement in the late 1800s while the women's clubs of Boston, Philadelphia, and Washington D.C. laid the ground work for the linking of intellectual development to social development.[31]

Though the curriculum in higher levels of formal schooling often differed for boys and girls, there was no gender segregation in access to education because – especially when access to education was limited - there was such a widespread desire for learning among Black people. As Black people in general and Black women in particular gained admission to more advanced levels of education, the split between acceptable educational goals for women and men became more apparent. Though in contemporary history we see more Black women than Black men earn bachelors degrees, in this first era of African American education access to higher medical, legal, and liberal arts positions, much like acquisition of the vote, political and judiciary appointments, and economic autonomy, was first gained by Black men.[32]

Ten years before the onset of the Civil War, in 1850, Lucy Stanton (Sessions) received a four-year literary degree from Oberlin College in Ohio – this was the first college degree granted to a Black woman. However, due to gender segregation in the curriculum, it would be twelve years later, in 1862, that the first equivalent of a bachelor's degree would be granted, (also at Oberlin), to Mary Jane Patterson. The attainment of the bachelor's degree by a Black woman took place 40 years after the attainment by the first Black man. The limited access to educational attainment was but

one of the oppressions suffered during this time: personal violence, legal, political, social, economic, intellectual, and cultural violence was the normal experience for the growing millions of Black women during this era.

Oppression

The enslavement, systematic rape, and physical imprisonment of Black women during the early formation of America clearly inhibited their ability to realize their greatest intellectual potential. Childbearing responsibilities and the endless attempt to create and sustain families in the midst of normalized domestic White terrorism undoubtedly impacted these women's ability to make monumental gains in obtaining formal education. Between the hardship of field work, separation from family, virtually no mobility, low health status, and high infant mortality in the South and hardship of domestic labor, separation from family, limited mobility, and economic poverty in the North, Black women on the whole suffered intellectually because of these tremendous barriers. Yet, the amount of recorded and transmitted intelligence gained by various communities of Black women is profound and historians are increasingly noting the vast array of social and cultural experiential education that was present in the various cultures, ethnicities, and languages involved in African women's pursuit of basic literacy in colonial America.

The experience of legal and social status of Black women in different regions between 1619 and 1850 was broad; what can be said, generally, is that legal status combined with economic social class played a very large part in access to formal education. Those families who could afford to send their daughters to schools for teacher training or liberal arts education, in the North and the South, could do so because of

financial capital, social capital (meaning Black kinship or White sponsorship), or both. In the case of Oberlin College, there were a few families in the mid 1800s who were able to move with their daughters to Ohio in order to support their schooling. Within the community schools, especially within the Black church organizations, top leadership and administrative positions - which required public speaking - were reserved for men,[33] but most of the elementary and teacher training was reserved for women.[34]

Further, Black women who were formally educated, were indoctrinated into a specific type of "knowledge" in the most limited sense of the word: those White missionaries in organizations that did provide instruction to Black people during both the earlier and later parts of this era, did so assuming that Black people were either savages in need of civilizing, natural slaves in need of morality, brutes and sexual deviants in need of purity, or all of the above. There was a massive campaign of character assassination towards Black women of this era that developed into a series of derogatory stereotypes that persist even today. The idea that Black women could be "learned *ladies*" was rejected by even the most liberal of White communities and conversely, the subsequent quest by Black women of this era for "true womanhood" was a general acceptance of assimilation into a Victorian picture of White femininity.[35] Despite the various types of and degrees of limitations of this era, Black women left behind powerful individual, social, and institutional legacies of learning.[36]

Contribution and Creative Resistance

From the earliest decades of the development of America, Black women have contributed to the national narrative. Even when literacy was denied, Black women wrote and published their work. Lucy Terry (1746), Phyllis Wheatley (1773), Mary Prince

(1831), Elleanor Eldridge (1838), Ann Plato (1841), and Zilpha Elaw (1846) are but a few of the early poets, novelists, and autobiographical writers who put forth their writings and told their stories. From the mid 18th century, Black women who were legally free and enslaved, Northern and Southern, raised their voices on behalf of themselves and other oppressed populations. This era demonstrated that intelligence and literacy do not always go together: Sojourner Truth could neither read nor write, yet she articulated the "Ain't I a Woman" speech which accurately critiqued the perilous social position of Black women.

There were, however, many who wrote to communicate their experiences in their quest for freedom, learning, and true democracy. Sarah Margru Kinson, one of the children on the Amistad schooner was, after the famous trial in Hartford, Connecticut, returned to Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa. After five years in Africa, at the age of 14, she came again to the U.S. to be educated at Oberlin. Between 1846 and November 1849 she studied and roomed with Lucy Stanton (the first woman to earn the four-year degree), then returned again to Africa as a missionary for the American Missionary Association. She was a prolific letter writer and hers is but one of many remarkable stories about the twists and turns that took place in Black women's lives during this time. Her reports to her benefactors reveal a commitment to personal development and a dedication to community education.[37]

Many Black women gathered to form literary, self-help, and abolition societies during this era; the majority of these organizations took place in northern urban areas where there was, relatively, more freedom to convene. The support of these societies for advocates of Black "uplift" and their contribution to journals, magazines, and newspapers

linked literacy and educational attainment to legal and social freedom and education was grounded in political involvement. Education was a communal and political affair and vice versa. Direct action in this era ranged from individual lawsuits for freedom (Jenny Slew in 1765 and Elizabeth Freeman in 1781) to collective unions involved in mutual aid (two hundred working-class women in Philadelphia to form Daughters of Africa in 1820).

By the end of this era, there was already a lawsuit challenging racial segregation in education. In 1848, Benjamin Roberts, father to Sarah Roberts sued the city of Boston for the right of his daughter to attend a local school, much closer than the designated Black school; unlike the *Brown* case in 1954, the Boston court upheld desegregation and the doctrine of "separate-but-equal" was imbedded very early in American educational history.

In antebellum America, when Harvard (1636 in Massachusetts), College of William and Mary (1692 in Virginia), and Yale (1701 in Connecticut) were founded and schools were beginning to be established for the deaf (1817), the very young (1818 "infant school"), and the blind (1832 in New York), Black people were largely denied access to basic literacy and Black women who did attend school did so with very limited expectation of what kind of knowledge they should or could gain.[38] In the era that ended with the disastrous Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 the dominant class attempted to smother Black women's desire for learning. The next era, however, would represent major gains in Black women's quest for education and reveal the sheer will and determination African-Americans possessed in educating themselves.

Era II: 1851 – 1896

This section covers from the year of the first Black woman's four year degree to the Plessey v. Ferguson Supreme Court case which solidified the "separate-but-equal" doctrine and standardized racialized social segregation.

Presence

During the second era of Black women's education, in which the Civil War, the beginning and ending of Reconstruction, and the establishment of Jim Crow took place, there was mass movement by Black people. Black people moved from the South to the North, from rural to urban settings, and – now that it was no longer illegal – it seemed almost everyone migrated to the schoolhouse. During this era, illiteracy rates dropped significantly: in 1860 95% of Southern Blacks could neither read nor write; by 1880 that number had dropped to 70%. Even as the majority of African Americans still lived in the South and worked the neo-slavery system of sharecropping, there was a "crusade" for universal education that represented a grass-roots movement for communal funding of schools and teachers for the Black American population.[39]

Also during this era, many Sabbath schools were developed in the South to meet the basic need for fundamental education. The Sabbath Schools, run by Black churches, were the most powerful and effective sources of education for Black people. In 1865, the Bureau of Refugees, Freedman, and Abandoned Lands (Freedman's Bureau) was founded and administered all levels of schooling until its demise between 1870 and 1872 (only five years after being established). In addition, missionary societies such as the American Missionary Association, the Freedman's Aid Society of Methodist Episcopal Church, American Baptists Home Mission Society, and the Board of Missions for the

Freedman of the Presbyterian Church administered funds such as the Phelps-Stokes, John F. Slater, Anna T. Jeanes, General Education Board, and the Rosenwald accounts to aid in the education of African Americans.[40]

In this era as in the last, there were large-scale debates between those in favor of African emigration and training Black people for missionary schools in Africa, those interested in Nationalist Pan-African Black settlements, and those who insisted on fighting for rights in the U.S. The debates about what type of schooling Black people should receive was imbedded in a larger debate between those who would stay in the South, those who would move west or north, and those who would abandon America altogether.

For those who would fight for equal access in America, Historically Black colleges and universities were founded during this era. Lincoln (in Pennsylvania, 1854), Wilberforce (1856), Fisk (1866), Howard, Morgan State, Johnson C. Smith (all in 1867), Hampton (1857), Tuskegee (1881) were founded in the South and colleges like Spelman (1881), Bennett (1873), Hartshorn (1883) would go on to become prestigious schools for Black women. Though HBCUs were founded during this time, Black women did not immediately see the benefits. Most of the first degrees granted to Black women came from Northern schools like Oberlin College. Mary Jane Patterson of Oberlin College received the first Bachelor's Degree (1862). Though others had received college degrees before this time, this was the first degree granted in a "men's course," which was seen to be more academically rigorous, though languages were often included in the "ladies course" degree requirements. In the midst of Reconstruction and the eventual Hayes-Tilden quid-pro-quo, Black women were awarded their first medical (1864), advanced

nursing (1878), and law (1883,) degrees;[41] all of these degrees were awarded in Northern states.

Women were making gains in Black churches such as A.M.E. and A.M.E. Zion and running many educational programs through their religious organizations.[42] At the same time, many Black women founded local schools in states like California, Georgia, Virginia, and Alabama.[43] Further, some were making inroads in school leadership as college faculty, school principals, university department heads, and school board members.[44] However, despite the few women who achieved academic accreditation and leadership positions during this time, the vast majority of Black women were subject to continued social and economic barriers to their intellectual development. As the American labor system moved from legal slavery to economic slavery, conditions for Black women students, teachers, and administrators became oppressive in ways different from the antebellum era, but limitations for Black women who would participate in the realization of their freedom were still frighteningly familiar.

Oppression

Between 1882 and 1898, there were at least 50 Black women lynched; of these, at least three were visibly pregnant. Black women and their families continued to face indiscriminate violence at the hands of Southern and Northern Whites. From the development of the Ku Klux Klan in 1866 to the fight over social segregation of the late 1870s and 1880s[45], Black women were subject to routine personal violence without hope of legal redress. The retreat from civil rights in the early 1880s, (as exemplified by the 1883 Supreme Court decision which declared the unconstitutionality of the 1875 Civil Rights Bill), provided fuel for an already burning flame of social abuse and violence

toward Black people. The thousands of lynchings that took place during this era meant that Black women would regularly be confronted with news of the brutal murder of a father, husband, son, brother, close relative or cherished friend. Ida B. Wells is but one example of thousands that attest to the profound impact of violence against Black men on the lives and communities of Black women.

Work and economic opportunity was very limited for Black women; the majority were either in the fields of the South or in White people's kitchens of the North. For those women who did have the opportunity to acquire higher levels of education and work in the teaching field, higher levels of administration and appropriate pay were far behind that of Black men. Perkins (1994) writes:

> A 1893 study of Black college graduates indicated that 71 % of Black elementary school teachers and 63 % of Black high school teachers were women. Despite these figures, few Black women were represented in leadership positions within these schools. Only one in fifteen high school principals was female and one in every five elementary school principals was female.[46]

In addition to the restriction of Black women to the lowest rungs of education, there were clear wage inequalities in all schools and school districts, and because most of the migrants to the North and urban centers were women, the "feminization of poverty" – a contemporary term used to illustrate the fact that the largest percentage of the world's poor are women and children – was already in effect.[47] It was in reaction to the continued disenfranchisement of women that the groundwork for the development of Black women's organizations was laid.

Contribution and Creative Resistance

Although teaching did not carry with it large financial gains for Black women, it was seen, as it is today, as a noble profession. Because Black women such as Lucy

Laney, Frances E. W. Harper, Nannie Helen Burroughs, and Anna Julia Cooper linked their classroom instruction to the political, legal, cultural, and economic issues they found within their local communities, they participated in intellectual as well as racial "up-lift." Activism from mass strikes to the formation of settlement houses were evidence of Black women's ability to organize into coalitions and alliances.[48] In 1896, local and regional organizations came together to form the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (NACW). This organization was comprised of many different clubs with complex personalities, each with different ideas of what "service for the race" meant in specific detail. However, all groups agreed that education for Black girls and women was an essential agenda item and political freedom was a must. Harriet Tubman Ross, the revolutionary from the Underground Railroad and Union Army Civil War veteran, attended this first meeting in Washington D.C. and provided inspiration for the next generation of women social revolutionaries.[49]

As in the first wave of the White women's movement, the formation of Black clubs was carried out primarily by middle-class, college educated women. The main differences between the two movements, however were: 1) the relatively small economic difference between the Black poor and middle class versus the White poor and middle-class; and 2) The exclusion of all Black women from the ideology of "true womanhood" by virtually all White women of this time. Even where a small percentage of Black women could escape poverty and transcend the limitations of gender prescribed by the dominant culture, they could never gain really valuable labor positions or social capital because of their race. The difficulty of this position can be seen in the precarious political battle over the 15th Amendment: Black women did not agree on whether to fight for

(White) women's suffrage or Black (men's) suffrage because they were outsiders of each group. Ida B. Wells' formation of the Alpha Suffrage Club was a response to exclusion from enfranchisement.

In addition to the direct action taken by Black women educators in many various positions, Black women writers in this era moved from descriptive writing to a more overt activist writing style. There was an expansion of literary genres for Black women during this time: in addition to the poetry and autobiography of the first era, Black women contributed fiction, newspaper articles and editorials, novels, and extended non-fiction exposes. In the tradition of poetry and autobiography begun in the 1700s and 1800s, Harriet Jacobs (1861), Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (1854, 1894), and Julia A. J. Foote (1879) published controversial works about their lives and their perspectives as Black women in America. In addition to these authors, Harriet Wilson (1859) published the first novel by an African American in the U.S. (Our Nig or Sketches from the Life of a Free Black). [50] Women wrote on issues from Black women's health to fashion to work,[51] and in 1894, Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin began publishing The Woman's Era, the first Black women's newspaper. After 1896, the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs' began publishing its own National Association Notes that was published out of Tuskegee under the supervision of Margaret Murray Washington.[52]

Black women journalists such as Mary Ann Shad Cary and Ida B. Wells used their voices to point out racism and discrimination and to educate national and international audiences regarding the plight of Africans in America.[53] The radical nature of this second wave of Black women's writing was matched by a continuation of the oral tradition begun by Maria Stewart 1832. In 1893, for example, Anna Julia Cooper, Fanny

Jackson Coppin and Fannie Barrier Williams addressed the Women's Congress at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago on the theme "The Intellectual Progress of Colored Women of the United States since Emancipation." For these women, all of whom taught in classrooms at one time or another, access to formal education was directly linked to real freedom for African American girls and women. They saw their own Black feminist activism as being directly linked to attainment of that right to education. In addition, as exemplified by Anna Julia Cooper's essay "The Woman Versus the Indian," Black women continued to speak out for and with other oppressed populations.[54]

The gains made during the second era and the organizing of Black Club women would come to set the groundwork for the third era which is now being recognized as the foundation of the modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

Era III: 1897 – 1954

This era covers from the *Plessey v. Ferguson* Supreme Court case to the *Brown v. Board of Education* case which struck down legal racial segregation in United States schools.

Presence

In 1890, women were 3,753,073 in a U.S. Black population of 7,488,676. According to W. E. B. Du Bois' study at the turn of the Twentieth century, Black women had obtained only 252 bachelors degrees compared to 2,272 obtained by Black men. After the first decade of the 1900s, except for the 1920s, there would always be more Black women than Black men graduating from college.[55] However, women would still occupy fewer leadership positions in primary, secondary, and tertiary academic

institutions and a low percentage of community and governmental top positions. During this third era of Black women's educational history, many significant accomplishments were made in increasing the presence of Black women in American education. Black women such as Charlotte Hawkins Brown in Sedalia, North Carolina (1902), Mary McLeod Bethune in Daytona, Florida (1904), Nannie Helen Burroughs in Washington D.C. (1909) all founded schools.[56]

The first Black man received the Ph.D. in 1876; forty-five years later, three Black women earned the doctorate at the same time: in the year 1921, the first Ph.D. degrees were awarded to Georgiana R. Simpson (German, University of Chicago), Sadie Tanner Mossell Alexander (Economics, University of Pennsylvania), and Eva Dykes (English, Radcliff College). Before 1954, Black women would earn the doctorate in dental surgery (Mary Jane Watkins, 1924), education (Jane Ellen McAlister, 1929), psychology (Ruth Winifred Howard, 1934), nutrition (Flemmie P. Kittrell, 1936), zoology (Roger Arlinger Young, 1940), library science (Eliza Atkins Gleason, 1940), anatomy (Ruth Lloyd, 1941), government and international relations (Merze Tate, 1941), geology (Margurite Thomas, 1942), theater (Ann Cooke, 1943), chemistry (Marie M. Daly, 1947), mathematics (Marjorie Lee Brown and Evelyn Boyd Granville, 1949), and musicology (1954). These hidden accomplishments were astounding considering the barriers present for Black women at the time, but the vast array of fields in which these women distinguished themselves can be misleading: these were the very few who were granted entry into the advanced levels of study. Perkins points out:

> A 1946 survey of Black American holders of doctorates and professional degrees indicated that 381 African-Americans had earned such degrees since 1876 – but only forty-five were women. Of the top five institutions that had awarded baccalaureate degrees to the Black Ph.D.s, two were male institutions – Lincoln

> University in Pennsylvania and Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia. The other three – Howard, Fisk, and Virginia Union – were institutions with strong liberal arts and professional schools that enrolled large numbers of men. None of the teacher-training institutions or Black state land-grant colleges, where women were heavily concentrated, ranked among even the top twenty baccalaureate-producing institutions. Overwhelmingly, the Black women who received doctorates were graduates of white undergraduate institutions where they had taken liberal arts courses compatible with graduate training.[57]

Those few who did enter college at this time began to form the first Black sororities. In 1908 Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, the first Black Greek-letter organization for women, was founded at Howard University. In 1913 and 1920 Delta Sigma Theta and Zeta Phi Beta, the second and third sororities for Black women, were founded at Howard University as well. In 1922 Sigma Gamma Rho was founded at Butler University in Indianapolis, Indiana, as the fourth sorority and the first one founded on a predominantly white campus.

Perkins also writes:

> Few four-year institutions existed solely for Black women in the twentieth century. The best known are Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia and Bennett College in Greensboro, North Carolina. Spelman was established in 1881 by two white New England women and Bennett College was established in 1873 by the Methodist Episcopal Church as a coeducational institution. It became a women's college in 1926. Despite the few efforts at single-sex education for Black girls and women, coeducation was the norm for Black education.... Du Bois reported that 23 % of the college students of Howard, Atlanta, Fisk and Shaw in the year 1898-99 were women. However, by 1910 Black women graduates annually slightly outnumbered Black male college graduates. This trend continued throughout the century and except for the decade of the 1920s, African-American women annually earned more college degrees by Black men every year.[58]

Black women were educated at a disproportionately higher rate than Black men for two reasons: there was a dire need for primary and secondary school teachers which was seen as women's work, and after Reconstruction there was a general barring of Black

men's advancement in labor positions requiring advanced education. By 1930, there were 45,672 Black women in the teaching profession and only 8,767 Black men.[59]

During this era, there were a few advancements in community and political education for Black women. Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) based in New York provided thousands of Black women with an opportunity to educate themselves and their communities about social, cultural, spiritual, and political issues relevant to Black people in the 1920s and 1930s. Henrietta Vinton Davis and Amy Euphemia Jacques Garvey were two women in the organization who were a large part of the organizations effectiveness in the Black community. In 1926, the year that the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) began Negro History Week, Selena Sloan Butler founded the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers. Daisy Bates, who in 1951 became president of the state conference of the NAACP branches in Arkansas, was another leader in community education. These women are a few examples of the massive amount of community organizing and education that was taking place between World War I and the Supreme Court ruling for desegregation. Much attention is given to the Harlem Renaissance because of the explosion of recognition for Black art; however, this time also represented an extension of the Black women's club movement to a national level of organizing for awareness of Black culture and politics in American popular education.

During this era, women slowly began to gain important professional and political posts.[60] In 1951, Mildred Fay Jefferson became the first African-American woman to graduate from Harvard University's Medical School and Charlotta Bass became the first Black woman to be nominated for the vice president of the United States by a major

political Party, when she ran on the Progressive Party Ticket. As the Twentieth Century dawned and progressed, Black women as a whole were still denied recognition in intellectual and academic spaces,[61] denied access to leadership positions in community organizations, and denied meaningful representation in government. In the same era that Bessie Coleman, the first licensed African-American aviator, was demonstrating the educative and practical ability of Black women to fly high, on the whole, the continued violence against Black women and the systemic exclusion from access to adequately-funded schools, reinforced the suffocation of Jane Crow.

Oppression

After the Civil War and emancipation, White violence on Black individuals grew steadily and was unmitigated by law or custom. As Leon Litwack wrote in "Hellhounds":

> Some thirty years after emancipation, between 1890 and 1920, in response to perceptions of a New Negro born in freedom, undisciplined by slavery, and unschooled in proper racial etiquette, and in response to growing doubts that this new generation could be trusted to stay in its place without legal and extra-legal force, the white South denied blacks a political voice, imposed rigid patterns of racial segregation (Jim Crow), sustained an economic system – sharecropping and tenantry – that left little room for ambition or hope, refused blacks equal educational resources, and disseminated racial caricatures and pseudo-scientific theories that reinforced and comforted whites in their racist beliefs and practices.[62]

Legal repression was not enough to keep Black people in their subjugated "place," so physical violence was employed to punish those Black people who did acquire education and an elevated economic position; White citizens attempted to beat any desire to succeed out of those who would dream of any other role than complete economic, social and political submission. In this era, lynching was at an all-time high. In the era of slavery, when Black people were seen as property and therefore of value to Whites who legally and economically owned them, there was a tendency towards

physically damaging, but not routinely killing Blacks. However, in the Jim Crow era, White violence towards Black people, symbolized by the various hideous methods of lynching, increased at a steady rate. Litwack writes:

> In the 1890s, lynchings claimed an average of 139 lives each year, 75 % of them black. The numbers declined in the following decades, but the percentage of black victims rose to 90%. Between 1882 and 1968, an estimated 4,742 blacks met their deaths at the hands of lynch mobs. As many if not more blacks were victims of legal lynchings (speedy trials and executions), private white violence, and "nigger hunts," murdered by a variety of means in isolated rural sections and dumped into rivers and creeks. Even an accurate body count of black lynching victims could not possibly reveal how hate and fear transformed ordinary white men and women into mindless murderers and sadistic torturers, or the savagery that, with increasing regularity, characterized assaults on black men and women in the name of restraining their savagery and depravity.[63]

Simply stating the number of Black women can never reflect the reported and unreported rapes, mass murders in race riots (such as those that took place in the "Red Summer" of 1919), and direct or indirect family violence visited upon the women who lived during this era.

Though this period saw a surge in intellectual development and increased social status for a very important select few, the masses of Black women were suffering. At increasing rates over the first five decades of the twentieth century, Black women did obtain access to education at a higher rate than Black men. Unlike their white counterparts - because of the large number of teachers needed to school the race and due to the feminization of the service occupations like teaching, social work, and nursing - Black women did, and still do, attend high school and college at greater rates than African-American men. Then, as now, the systematic incarceration of and limit on occupations available to Black men have a large impact on the school attendance rates. However, when Black women did attend school and enter service occupations such as

teaching, they were still systematically limited to lower rungs of the field that did not allow for access to the economic stability of leadership or top administrative roles.[64]

Thus, in the beginning of the twentieth century, overall, Black women had very limited access to higher education. Perkins notes:

> [The] great disparity in educational achievement led some African-American women to become concerned and question this disturbing trend. In a book entitled A Voice from the South, published in 1892, Oberlin graduate and educator Anna Julia Cooper addressed the issue of growing sexism within the Black community and the limited educational opportunities for African-American women. She wrote, "I fear the majority of the colored men do not yet think it worthwhile that women aspire to higher education.... Let money be raised and scholarships be founded in our colleges and universities for self-supporting worthy young women."[65]

Black women struggled against the dominant culture's insistence that Black people were not suited for intellectual development; they also had to fight against the charge that women, Black or White, were not suited for intellectual development.

On the eve of the modern Civil Rights Movement, Black women were fighting for access and recognition on many fronts. In 1915 when D.W. Griffith's Birth of a Nation was released to a wide audience, the roles of Black man as brute, White man as hero, White woman as damsel, and Black woman as mammy were solidified, with celluloid imagery, into the national psyche.

In 1929 Claude Bowers would pen the Tragic Era which depicted the era of Reconstruction as a Black reign of terror for the country in general and Whites in particular. Anna Julia Cooper would urge W. E. B. Du Bois to pen a response and in 1935 his Black Reconstruction attempted to offer an alternative view of this important period.

Contribution and Creative Resistance

At the turn of the Twentieth century, Black women were writing more than ever. Memoirs such as Susie King Taylor's Reminiscences of My Life in Camp with the U.S. 33rd Colored Troops (1902), Fannie Jackson Coppin's *Reminiscences of a School Life* (1913), and Katheryn Johnson and Addie Hunton's Two Colored Women with the American Expeditionary Forces [during WWI] (1922) indicate the desire of Black women to tell their stories but also provide some instruction on ways to improve life for African-Americans. Coppin's text Hints on Teaching (1913), alongside texts by Anna Julia Cooper, Nannie Helen Burroughs, and Mary McLeod Bethune, was especially relevant to the education of Black Americans. In a chapter entitled "Methods of Instruction" she wrote, "I am always sorry to hear that such and such a person is going to school to be educated. This is a great mistake. If the person is to get the benefit of what we call education, he must educate himself, under the direction of the teacher."[66] Her philosophy of teaching pre-dated both Carter G. Woodson's notion of "mis-education" (Miseducation of the Negro 1933) and Paulo Friere's oft-cited treatise against the passive "banking method" of teaching (Pedagogy of the Oppressed 1970).

The first half of the Twentieth Century was also a very important inauguration of Black women's history: Black women moved from telling their own personal stories to telling the stories of other Black women. Traces of this story telling began in the post-Civil War Era, but it was in the early 1900s that a collective move towards Black women's recording of their own history began. Women's Work, as Gleaned from the Women of the Bible (Virginia W. Broughton 1903), The Negro Trail Blazers of California (Delilah L. Beasley 1919), Homespun Heroines and Other Women of

Distinction (Hallie Quinn Brown 1926), Women Builders (Sadie Iola Daniel 1931), and Lifting as they Climb (Elizabeth Lindsay Davis 1933), set the tone for modern day Black women historians and indicated the different story that materializes when a subjugated people record their own history.

Black women's participation in Black magazines such as The Colored American (with Pauline Hopkins as one of the founding editors in 1900), Colored Women's Magazine (a monthly periodical published by C.M. Hughes and Minnie Thomas 1907-1920) and The Crisis (for which Jessie Redomon Fauset became the literary editor in 1919) also increased during this time. It was here that the emergence of what would become the most popular of modern Black American women writers dawned.[67]

From the end of Reconstruction to the beginning of the modern Civil Rights Movement, Black women, educational attainment, community organizing, social rebellion, and political protest were inextricably linked. In his course on the Civil Rights Movement at the University of Virginia, Julian Bond notes that there was a shift in tactics from public moral education, to litigation, to organized protest. This was not a linear process, but generally, Black women's participation in social change at this time mirrored this larger pattern.[68]

The modern Civil Rights Movement was led by masses of ordinary people. The majority of those involved were poor, undereducated Blacks in the South. The rebellions started by dedicated, often self-educated Black activists bolstered the efforts of those who had the advantage of formal education. The former provided practical know-how while the latter provided the organizational and legal foundation of social shift – yet the educated Black middle-class was less removed from the masses of working class Blacks

as some have argued. In Black life, mass resistance and social movement was a collaboration of the educational and occupational classes.

For example, in 1917, ten thousand African-Americans participated in a silent march down New York City's Fifth Avenue to protest the national abuse of African-Americans that anticipated the 1963 March on Washington which drew 250,000 people. In 1920, Black women in St. Louis and Cleveland launched selective buying campaigns that would be the precursor to the "Don't-Buy-Where-You-Can't-Work" campaigns of the later decades.[69] In 1931, Ella Baker, a 1927 graduate of Shaw University, became the first national director of the Young Negroes Cooperative League; in the 1930s, she worked as a field secretary for the Workers Education Project of the Works Progress Administration (WPA); and in the 1940s, she worked as a field secretary and national director of branches for the NAACP, which would give her the grounding for student organizing that would carry the movement into the 1960s.[70] Septima Clark, who studied at Columbia University and Atlanta University, studied briefly under W. E. B. Du Bois, graduated from Benedict College in 1942, and earned her Masters degree from Hampton Institute in 1945, would also lead the movement for community-based education grounded in political activism.

The development of local and national Black women's clubs allowed Black women to network around strategies for social change. Organizations such as Mary McLeod Bethune's National Council of Negro Women (formed in 1935), the Women's Political Council in Montgomery, Alabama (formed in 1949), and Black sororities, such as Alpha Kappa Alpha (1908) and Delta Sigma Theta (1913), were organized by Black women who had access to higher education and who, as teachers and activists, came

together to identify issues relevant to Black Americans, articulate plans of action, and implement strategies for social change. In 1947 the attack on segregation in public accommodations (as signified by the 1946 Morgan Supreme Court decision) and the challenge to segregated primary, secondary, and tertiary education in American school systems began. Exactly one hundred years after the failed 1848 Roberts desegregation case in Boston, Massachusetts, Ada Lois Sipuel in Sipuel v. Board of Regents won the legal right of admission to the University of Oklahoma Law School. This case became one of the many cases that the Charles Hamilton Houston-trained legal team, which included Thurgood Marshall and Constance Baker Motley, used to build the legal pathway to the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education.

Though the school segregation laws were changed in 1954, it became obvious, as in prior eras, that community activism would prove to be the most effective means of enforcing ordinances mandating equal access to education, public accommodation, housing, and employment.

Era IV: 1955 – 1979

This fourth era moves from desegregation in the schools to the development of the National Association of Black Women Historians, an organization dedicated to the pursuit and preservation of history by and about African-American women.

Presence

At this time in history, Black women began taking a few key leadership positions in national institutions and organizations that would have an important impact on their educational position. Before 1960, only three private colleges had Black women presidents. In 1955, Willa Player became president of the private Bennett College,

making her the first Black female president of a college since Bethune founded Bethune College. Although President Player's research and curricular changes were monumental for Bennett and similarly situated institutions, considering the ever-growing population of American Black women, this was a vast underrepresentation of Black women in educational leadership positions.[71]

Though on the whole there was a limited number of primary and secondary principal positions held by Black women, there was a notable ascension of Black women in political, educational and community-based intellectual leadership positions.[72] Inroads were made in government leadership positions as well.[73] Despite these gains in attaining select institutional, community, and governmental positions, overall, Black women still were relegated to low-skilled labor, mainly domestic field which neither required nor supported advanced intellectual development. In the woman-dominated teaching profession, Black women suffered major job losses. In 1972, an NEA study reveals that African-Americans had lost 30,000 teaching positions since 1954 in seventeen southern and border states because of desegregation and discrimination. Septima Clark's 1956 dismissal from her teaching position in Charleston, South Carolina because of her NAACP membership, (along with 10 other Black teachers), was but one of thousands of cases of dismissal and harassment that teachers in Black communities faced.[74] The backlash from desegregation erupted in a struggle between Black rebellion and White repression that wreaked havoc on the educational attainment of Black women: withholding of salaries (much like the denial of Harriet Tubman's army pension) and intimidation by locals (much like the local terror Prudance Crandall faced in 1837) made life for Blacks, and Whites who dared to join them in struggle, unbearable.

Oppression

"In 1963 Addie Mae Collins, Denise McNair, Carole Robertson, and Cynthia Wesley were murdered when the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, Birmingham, Alabama, where they were attending Sunday school, was bombed by white racists opposing civil rights activities in the city."[75] The Brown v. Board of Education decision, coupled with public transportation desegregation struggles touched off by Rosa Parks in December 1955, had far-reaching ramifications. White violence and mob-rule opposition to Black entering schools and "White only" public areas brought on the peaceful protest of the 1950s into the Black Power rebellion of the 1960s. In Arkansas, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Alabama young students involved in the struggle for equal access to public resources were subjected to physical and psychological intimidation and Post-Reconstruction style murder. After the systematic assassination of movement leaders, Black rioting in the streets and White military-style police tactics created a charged atmosphere that was a radical education for all who lived during that era.

The beating of Fannie Lou Hamer in 1963 while she was imprisoned in Winona, Mississippi for participating voter registration drives; The arrest of Angela Davis by the FBI in 1970 for her involvement with the Black Panther Party; The rape of JoAnne Little by a prison guard in Beaufort, North Carolina and her 1975 trial for murdering her rapist; The ritualistic White terror visited upon young school girls and boys as they attempted to enter desegregated schools – these are all examples of the type of barriers that existed for Black women in their quest to attain access to national institutions that claimed to reflect an interest in fair and equitable means for all citizens to attain intellectual development and social equity.

However, despite these barriers, in these decades of continued mass social unrest, the widespread and systemic oppression of Black Americans was met, as in the former three eras, with organized and effective revolt by Black women who taught their country and community lessons of the true meaning of social justice.

An example of the resiliency of Black women can be seen in the story of Linda Brown, the young girl in the Brown v. Board case. A benefactor of the legal struggle to grant her equal access to elementary education, she went on to act as a plaintiff on behalf of her children (1979) and grandchildren (1987) in school desegregation cases in Topeka, Kansas. By the 1990s:

> Linda Brown Buckner was a Head Start teacher and community activist who has lectured on desegregation and taken part in various symposia on the original Brown case. She co-founded, with her two sisters, Terry Brown Tyler and Cheryl Brown Henderson, the Brown Foundation for Educational Equity, Excellence, and Research, which was organized to provide scholarships to minority students planning a career in education.[76]

Ms. Brown Buckner is an example of the legacy of struggle for equal access to education – the denial of which led to mass protest in the late 1950s into the 1960s.

Contribution and Creative Resistance

Autobiography, novels, plays, and poetry continued to act as vessels to amplify Black women's creative, critical, instructional intellectual voice.[77] Black woman's non-fiction also grew in this period. The Black Woman: An Anthology (1970) edited by Toni Cade Bambara, Tomorrow's Tomorrow by Joyce Ladner (1972), and The Afro-American Woman: Struggles and Images (1978) edited by Sharon Harley and Rosalyn Terbor-Penn are, respectively, the first anthology of critical essays about the Black women's experience, the first major sociological study on Black women, and the first anthology of Black women's history. During this time of contested articulation of "Black art," the

"Black aesthetic," and critical redefinition of Black womanhood, there was also continued organization around the political education of Black people and an ever-radicalizing quality of critical cultural consciousness that undergirded the quest for Black women's education.

As with the student protests of the 1920s on Historically Black College campuses, students in the late 1950s and 1960s challenged high school and college administration to provide education that was directly related to the social improvement of Black people. Also as in the 1920s, the radical student movement took place within a larger context of uncompromising post-war demands for increased Black access to American resources. War veterans in World War I and World War II were adamant about exchange of citizenship rights for their patriotism. Students in both post-war eras influenced and were influenced by the demands for anti-war social justice. Young people in organizations such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) worked with organizations such as the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, Women's Political Council and Montgomery Improvement Association in Alabama. Black women in general, and Black teachers in particular, were central to the operation and effectiveness of these organizations in their quest for community and citizenship education about vital voting rights and educational legislation that affected millions of Black men, women, and children in America.

Rosa Parks, like Frances E. W. Harper and Ida B. Wells before her, launched a personal protest against racist public transportation policies. Yet her action, that would quickly evolve into the Montgomery Bus Boycott, was neither spontaneous nor random. Ms. Parks was an active member in her local NAACP and had been educated at the

Highlander Folk School in Tennessee only two months before refusing to give up her seat on the bus. Highlander was the same base from which Septima Clark developed her Citizenship Education Program that became the basis for the voter registration drives across the South. In the tumultuous three decades between the end of World War II and the dawn of the Reagan-Bush era, formal education for Black people was a combination of increased entry into predominantly White American schools and colleges and the insistence that real learning and consciousness raising did not take place solely within the halls of those educational institutions.[78]

The beginning of the sit-in movement in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1960; the 1963 March on Washington; the inclusion of Black women's voice in the media[79] and the founding of Black women's independent unions (1966 Lincoln Nursing Home in Baltimore, Maryland and 1968 National Domestic Workers Union in Atlanta, for example) signified increased participation in mainstream movements by Black women in the agitation for equitable social resources. Although there was well-documented sexism in the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements and racism in the emergence of the second wave of the Women's Movement, Black women managed to gain leadership positions in organizations such as SNCC (1966 Ruby Doris Smith-Robinson, Executive Secretary), the Black Panther Party (1967 Kathleen Cleaver, Communication Secretary; 1974 Elaine Brown, Chairperson), and the National Organization for Women (1971 Aileen Hernandez, President).

In the tradition of their foremothers in struggle, Black women also founded their own organizations such as National Welfare Rights Organization (1967), Clara McBride ("Mother") Hale House in Harlem (1969), The Coalition of 100 Black Women in New

York (1971), National Women's Political Caucus (1971), The National Black Feminist Organization (1973), Marian Wright Edelman's Children's Defense Fund (1973), Combahee River Collective (1974), and Black Women's United Front of the Congress of African Peoples (1975). In 1979, The Association of Black Women Historians was founded thus marking a culmination of the desire for Black women to claim, name, and articulate the history of their own intellectual, cultural, social, and political development. In the two decades since the founding of this organization, much has changed for Black women, but even more has stayed the same.

Era V: 1980 – Present

This fifth, and final era, moves from the 1980s to the present and presents an analysis of relevant cotemporary research about the current status African-Americans in United States educational institutions.

Presence

In 1980, women totaled 14,071,000 in a U.S. Black population of 26,683,000. Of all Black women in the labor force 6.5% were employed in domestic service, 24.3 % were in other service work; 32.4% were in clerical and sales positions, and 14.8% were in professional positions. Twenty years later, at the turn of the Twenty-first Century, the population of the U.S. was 281,421,906; of that number, 12.6% of the U.S. population (34,658,190) were African American.[80] Of these Black women, 56.3% were still employed in the domestic and/or service fields, while only 14.8 % were employed in professional occupations. Relative to the population, the percentage of Black women's access to education, economic stability, and labor incentive to attain higher degrees of professional training has not changed significantly since the late 1800s.

Yet, during our present era, there have been many symbolic gains for educated Black women in America. The culmination of an increased participation in mathematics and science came in 1983 when Christine Darden became the first Black woman in the U.S. to earn a Ph.D. degree in mechanical engineering (George Washington University) and in 1987 when Mae Jemison joined NASA, thus becoming the first Black woman to become an astronaut. This signified clear steps being made by Black women to claim entry into the last bastion of White male intellectual domination: the sciences.

Since 1980, Black women have headed the American Bar Association and the American Medical Association for the first time (Arnetta R. Hubbord 1981 and Roseln Payne Epps 1990 respectively), and have become major national leaders in religious institutions.[81] Educated Black women have also continued to attain important positions in American government during this era.[82] In 1988, Lenora Fulani of the New Alliance Party became the first woman and first African-American presidential candidate to get on the ballot in all fifty states and, entering in 1990, Maxine Waters has served in the U.S. House of Representatives for over a decade.

Gains have been made in higher education administration as well. In 1980 Marian Wright Edelman became the first Black person and the second woman to chair the Spelman College board of trustees, preceding the appointment of Johnetta B. Cole who, in 1987, became the first Black woman to head the oldest college for Black women still in existence in the U.S. Fortunately, the legacy continues with the 2002 appointment of Beverly Daniel Tatum as Spelman's newest president. Also in the late 1980s, Niara Sudarkasa became the first woman president of Lincoln University and Gloria Dean Randall Scott became president of Bennett College in Greensboro, North Carolina. In

1995, Ruth Simmons, rose to take the lead of Smith College, the first Black woman to head a prestigious Seven Sisters college, and then, in 2001 took administrative lead of Brown University, thus becoming the first African-American to head an Ivy League institution. In a show of dedication to women's education, Johnetta B. Cole came out of retirement and in 2002 took the lead as the fourteenth president of Bennett College. Currently, there are sixteen recent Black women presidents of Historically Black colleges and universities; these schools include Bennett, Fisk, Texas Southern, and Spelman among others.[83]

Early in the twentieth century, Black men outnumbered Black women in attaining Bachelors degrees. By 1995, Black women had obtained 732,045 bachelors degrees, outnumbering Black men's' 667,793. By mid-century, Black women earned only 45 of the 381 doctoral degrees that were granted since 1876. By 1995, there were 49,208 African-Americans between the ages of 25 and 60 who were full-time employed and had earned doctoral degrees. Of those, 30,504 were men (0.3% of the Black American population) and 18,704 were women (0.2% of the Black American population). Except for the doctoral degree, Black women earn more degrees than Black men, yet with few exceptions, Black men with degrees earn more than Black women with comparable educational attainment.[84]

Despite these momentous employment gains for individual Black women, overall, opportunities for Black faculty at U.S. colleges and universities have not improved substantially from the beginning of the 1980s. In 1983 African-Americans comprised 4% of college faculties. In the fall of 1992, "African-Americans comprised only 4.9% of America's college and university teaching faculty, a considerable underrepresentation

relative to their 12% share of the U.S. population and nearly one-half their 9.9 % share of students enrolled in higher education at that time," Of the 4.9%, 2.5% (14,906) are male and 2.4% (14,692) are female.[85] Of African-American faculty, 4,963 (58.2%) men and 3,545 women (42.9%) had gained tenure by 1995. There were 2,450 (28.7%) men and 1,410 (17.1%) who women were full professors. The average Black men's salary was $53,900 and women's was $45,583.[86]

The Black student-teacher ratios for primary and secondary education have improved substantially since the early decades of African-American education.[87] Considering the almost 5 million Black students in 1930,[88] the Black student-Black teacher primary and secondary education ratio was 109:1. In 1994, there were 7,349,256 Black primary and secondary students[89] and 200,035 teachers in public and private institutions[90]; this is a Black student-teacher ratio of 37:1 (author's calculation). However, this statistic can be deceiving when interpreting the impact of Black teacher/student ratios. Even though the ratio has appeared to go down significantly, the role of desegregation must also be factored in; during Jim Crow, most Black teachers were in Black schools, after desegregation, this is not necessarily so.

Despite the changes in Black demographics caused by Northern and urban migration, it is still largely the case that HBCU-trained Black teachers[91] are teaching in the South (63.7 %) and in urban areas (55.6 % public schools and 68.1% private schools) where the majority of Black children reside. It is also the case that a majority of Black teachers (47.1 % public and 56.4 % private)[92] teach in schools where Black children comprised the majority (61 % to 100 %) of the schools' population.[93]

As in prior eras, the vast majority of these teachers are women. In the 1993/94 school year, 80.2 % of Black women (151,138) versus 19.8 % Black men (37,233) were public primary and secondary schoolteachers nationwide.[94] Women's rate of teaching, more than four times the rate of men, is also mirrored in the White female and male participation rate. Thus the elementary and secondary teaching profession is still very much a woman-dominated occupation. In sum, now as ever, Black women teachers trained by Black colleges are primarily teaching Black children in Southern and urban schools where Black children comprise the majority of the school population. Though it is clear this is in large part due to a legacy of social responsibility inherited from the early eras of Black women's club membership leadership, the limitations that women experience in the labor market are also related to the legacy of intersections of racism, sexism, and classism in America's oppressive capitalist labor market and enduring systems of subjugation in housing, income, and educational institutions.

Oppression

From its inception, data from the United States Census shows the direct reciprocal relation of educational attainment to health status, income, wealth accumulation, and home ownership. Without education, income and quality of life is limited; without income, education is limited. African-Americans in general, and Black women in particular, despite gains in educational access and occupational status in relation to Black men, are still limited by the intersection of race and gender which combines the negative effects of racism with those of the historic feminization of poverty.[95]

Racist pseudo-scientific "research" still continues and adds to the already devastating effects that poverty has on Black children. For example, the "mid-1990s

Kennedy Krieger study that encouraged landlords to rent lead-contaminated homes to…107 poor, [predominantly Black] Baltimore families with young children" was overseen by John's Hopkins University.[96] The researchers still refuse to admit guilt or wrongdoing. Problems such as low birth rates, poor nutrition, dilapidated buildings, over-policed-but-still unsafe schools, racist curricula and teachers, limited books and study materials, overrepresentation in special education classes, tracking to vocational education, tracking away from liberal arts education, limited access to technology, and lack of academically challenging classes, do not provide equitable learning opportunities for Black children.[97] The cycle of limited access to schooling, healthcare, jobs, income, housing, and material accumulation has repeated itself throughout the history of Africans in America; the added burden of primarily female responsibility for family support and childcare, limited access to other than domestic and service occupations, and limited income due to one's sex increases that already heavy load.

In "Workers Just Like Anyone Else" Vanessa Tait outlines the increased difficulty Black women faced in the mid-1990s. "The dramatic 'reforms' of 1996 transformed the AFDC (and renamed it Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, or TANF) from an entitlement program to a workfare-based program with a five-year life-time limit on benefits."[98] While the new Workfare program does supply massive savings for employers by providing a cheap, exploitable, rotating labor force that demands less pay and no benefits, it also limits those who would attempt to gain access to higher education to two years or the equivalent of an associates degree. Tait wrote, "Nine thousand welfare recipients studying at city universities have been forced out of classrooms and into WEP assignments, and tens of thousands more have been forced to

leave adult literacy, ESL, GED, or job-training programs – programs that, statistically, give welfare recipients a much better chance of getting a job than workfare."[99] For poor women of all races, who are the largest recipients of welfare and the head of most single-parent families, access to education was severely limited with the 1996 restructuring of public assistance programs. The lack of economic support for impoverished families, increased sexual violence, and radically growing prison incarceration of Black men – and increasingly Black women – all have been factors in Black women's limited access to formal education and economic independence in recent years.[100]

For those African-American women who do have access to teaching or administrative positions and higher education, inequalities are ever-present. It is widely acknowledged that since the early 1900s Black women have had much larger access to education than Black men. However, income and job inequities still persist into the new millennium.[101] Despite the significance of relative economic disadvantage, Black women's position at the crossroads of race and gender run much deeper than simple calculations of income difference. Much like Black men's systematic oppression that is particular to their race and gender, Black women experience a particular type of oppression based on their position as Black women.[102]

Ironically, it is on the particular intersection of the racial and gender standpoints that many Black women have based their distinct ability to comment on the nature of oppression. Many Black women in the 1990s have built on the Black feminist standpoint articulated by Anna Julia Cooper and others in the 1890s; this standpoint stressed the intersectionality of race, class, and gender, required Black women to recognize similarities with one another, and provided an opportunity to better understand the wide

varieties of cultural and ethnic differences. Although the turn of the Twenty-first Century held eerily familiar tones of "double jeopardy" based on race and sex, or triple jeopardy based on race, sex, class and/or sexual orientation, Black women's articulate response and organized resistance mirrored the resolve and effectiveness of their foremothers' at the turn of the Twentieth Century.

Contribution and Creative Resistance

In the last decade of the twentieth century, there has been an increase in research about Black people in general and Black women as students, teachers, and administrators in particular. Two scholars have led in researching the history and issues of Black women's education: Linda Perkins (Black women educators in the Nineteenth century) and Jeanne Noble (Black women educators in the Twentieth century). In addition up and coming Black women scholars are focusing on educational history and Black women's contemporary experiences.[103] Like Anna Julia Cooper, Lucy Slowe, Mary McLeod Bethune, Marion Cuthbert, and Willa Player, before them, Perkins, Noble, and other researchers are at the forefront of a growing body of research by Black women who are recording biographies, autobiographies, statistical analyses, activism, and participation of African-American women of all ages in primary, secondary, postsecondary, and community education.

In the 1986-1987 edition of Contributions in Black Studies, John Bracey anticipated the increasing interest in writing by and about Black women.[104] His "Afro-American Women: A Brief Guide to Writings from Historical and Feminist Perspectives" was an early example of historians' growing consideration of the importance of acknowledging the intersections of race and gender in disciplinary studies.

Work on Black women such as All the Women are White, All the Men are Black, But Some of Us Are Brave (Gloria Hull, Patricia Bell-Scott, and Barbara Smith 1982), Home Girls: A Black Feminist Anthology (Barbara Smith 1983), When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America (Paula Giddings 1984), Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present (Jacqueline Jones 1986), Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925 (Cynthia Neverdon-Morton 1989), Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941-1965 (Vicki L. Crawford, Jacqueline Anne Rouse, and Barbara Woods 1993), What a Woman Ought to Do and Be: Black Professional Women Workers During the Jim Crow Era (Stephanie Shaw 1996), A Shining Thread of Hope: The History of Black Women in America (Darlene Clark Hine 1998), Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994 (Deborah Gray White 1999), and SAGE: A Scholarly Journal on Black Women (Patricia Bell-Scott and Beverly Guy-Shiftall eds. 1984) while not focused specifically on the education of Black women, are invaluable resources for gaining a better understanding of Black women's role in American education whether formal or informal, institutional or community-based, cultural or civic.[105]

In the 1990s and into the present decade, the publication of books on Black adolescent girls – including Sugar in the Raw: Voices of Young Black Girls in America (Rebecca Carroll 1996), Herstory: Black Female Rites of Passage (Mary Lewis 1997)), Preconceiving Black Adolescent Childbearing (Elizabeth Merrick 2000) Smart and Sassy: The Strengths of Inner-City Black Girls (Joyce West Stevens 2002), and Womanish Black Girls: Dancing Contradictions of Resistance (Dianne Smith 2002) -

reflects an increased interest of Black women to tell the stories of Black *young* women.[106] There has also been an increase in books about theorizing Black women's experience; Black feminist thought has emerged as a way for Black women to interpret their own experiences and articulate them within the academy in order to affect social representations of Black women and their advancement in educational opportunity.[107]

In 1981, The National Black Woman's Health Project was founded under the leadership of Byllye Y. Avery and in 1982 the organization sponsored the first national conference on Black women's health, thus signifying the understanding that link between Black women's community health education and increased awareness about income, housing, and formal educational opportunity. Currently, there are many Black women's organizations focusing on the mental, physical, and spiritual learning of Black women.[108] The Women of Color Resource Center, located in California publishes an annual National Directory of Women of Color Organizations and Projects, which lists over 70 active African, African-American, and Afro-Caribbean organizations that focus on many topics relevant to Black women's formal and informal education. These topics include: arts, literature, and cultural heritage; business and professional development; support systems for survivors of domestic violence and sexual assault; health and reproductive rights; immigrant, refugee and indigenous women's rights/ international support; scholarships, mentoring, and leadership development; sexuality rights and support for lesbians of color; parenting and youth services, increased legal participation and political representation, access to reshaping Black women's images through publishing and media; religion and spirituality development; and economic development including increased

income equity, welfare rights, job training, equal opportunity for employment and workers rights.

Sweet Honey in the Rock, established in 1973 by Bernice Johnson Reagon, continues to be a national and international example of Black Women's dedication to popular education; in their shows they teach about history, liberation, spirituality, and creativity. Theirs is but one example of the sustained dedication of Black women to personal growth and communal intellectual development.

Black women, regardless of nationality, ethnicity, or economic social status are still very much involved in the attempt to educate themselves and to engage intellectually with those national and international audiences who are interested in moving away from indoctrination and towards education as libratory practice. In considering the major themes that emerge from Black women's history, there are clearly parallels in the presence, oppression, contribution, and creative resistance of Black women that has remained since the earliest days of their attempt to teach and learn in America.

Conclusion

In this section of this manuscript, my main research questions were: a) What has been the experience of Black women as students, teachers, and administrators in the history of American education? and b) What has been the presence, oppression, contribution and creative resistance of Black women in formal and informal educational systems as it relates to larger issues in American social and political history? It is important, however, to articulate the experience of individual Black women in relation to the complexities within the group experience. Because of the broad and deep variation within the many different ethnicities, economic classes, ideological standpoints, and other

characteristics of African American women's positions, it cannot be said that there is one normative essentialized "Black woman." Yet, after considering economic, demographic, and cultural patterns, it is possible to assert conclusions about larger themes in the educational experience of Black women in America, thus recording patterns in Black women's experience without asserting the absolute sameness of all Black women. Further, when asking questions and discovering patterns about Black women in American education, one must not assume that similarities in Black women's responses to oppressive conditions are inevitable. Rather, similarities in oppression and resistance to oppression – what Collins calls Black feminism – are tempered by the inherent variance in Black women's experiences. She wrote, "Neither Black feminist thought as a critical social theory nor Black feminist practice can be static; as social conditions change, so must the knowledge and practices designed to resist them. For example, stressing the importance of Black women's centrality to Black feminist thought does not mean that all African-American women desire, are positioned, or are qualified to exert this type of intellectual leadership. Under current conditions, some Black women thinkers have lost contact with Black feminist practice. Conversely, the changed social conditions under which U.S. Black women now come to womanhood – class-segregated neighborhoods, some integrated, far more not – place Black women of different social classes in entirely new relationships with one another."[109] Thus, it is important to articulate emerging historic patterns, but also to understand that these patterns are not universal nor without exception.

Thus, it is not enough to answer my first research question about Black women's experience: in order to present a full picture of that experience, I must also relate that

experience to the larger social and political context of American history. Further research can then be done to consider the differences of identity, experience, oppression, and strategy as they pertain to Black women of different, ethnicities, social and economic classes, and nationalities

After researching secondary and primary sources pertaining to my two research questions, my observations about Black women's educational experiences are as follows:

1) Though access to education has been limited, African American women have consistently strived to overcome legal, economic, and social barriers in order to secure intellectual and academic achievement for themselves.

2) Throughout history, Black women have participated in a broad range of formal and informal, social and institutional, academic and intellectual pursuits.

3) To a significant degree, Black women have linked educational attainment to community service. Though Black women have articulated a variance of individual ideologies about social structure and a range of political methodologies regarding the methods, goals, and outcomes of formal and informal education, as a group, Black women have maintained an epistemological standpoint that is based on an assumption of a connection between educational attainment and social responsibility.

These assertions are not particularly new, groundbreaking, or astounding; however, what is of great interest to present-day scholars is the richness in appearance when the themes in each particular era are woven into a collective tapestry. In the 1800s women like Maria Stewart, Frances E. W. Harper, Nannie Helen Burroughs, and Anna Julia Cooper wrote that the disadvantaged position of Black women based on race and sex was one that allowed for and required Black women activists to lead the country into the true possibilities inherent in both liberal and radical ideals of democracy. Though the debate about the Black women's feminist and womanist positions has grown in complexity, and liberal ideologies contend with radical reinterpretations of Black

womanhood, motherhood, and citizenship, the texts of the 1990s reflect a similar belief that Black women have a unique social position and responsibility for ethical and moral guidance of the country. At the beginning of the Twentieth century, Black club women adopted the "Lifting as We Climb" motto to signify a desire for full inclusion into the American systems of politics and education and to assert their responsibility to actively participate in social justice efforts. At the beginning of the Twenty-first Century, the need for inclusion is tempered with arguments of the need for radical restructuring of the American political system and the recognition that global concerns are inherently linked to national concerns. Yet, the presence of Black women's activism is still very much present, and the articulation of the capacities of Black women's intellectual, cultural, and spiritual capabilities is still inherent in the activities of Black women's organizations. Further, Black women need health care, housing, equal pay, reproductive freedom, and social support for intellectual achievement now as much as they ever have. In sum, Black women now, as in the past, provide an interesting vantage point from which to find effective ways to perform community service and essential ways to critique the inadequate American social systems that are responsible for the need of social services in the first place.

In acknowledging the reality that Black women have no greater capacity or responsibility for human empowerment than does any other race or gender, Patricia Hill Collins offers a range of approaches to Black feminist thinking, not to assert that Black women are a monolithic group poised to save the world, but rather to argue that by researching Black women's history of oppression and resistance, we may find hints on how to eradicate social, political, and economic inequalities. Collins wrote, "The words

and actions of these diverse Black women intellectuals may address markedly different audiences. Yet in their commitment to Black women's empowerment within a context of social justice, they advance the strikingly similar theme of the oneness of all human life."[110]

As a Black American woman who has had to struggle to gain access to both formal and informal means of education, I wish to tell stories about my experience and to know the stories of other Black American women who have had similar struggles. I can then better recognize the similarities of oppression and resistance that exist between myself and others who have been historically denied access to social, political, educational, and economic resources. I write because having access to this information can be an essential element in providing a more fulfilling quality of life for young Black women, because this history is essential to the telling of a richer, more accurate narrative of the American educational experience, and because Black American women's educational history is an essential part of the narrative of human history.

The following four case studies provide an important historical and theoretical narrative about how to increase the efficacy of education. Fanny Jackson Coppin, Anna Julia Cooper, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Septima Clark are only four women representing thousands from whom modern educators can learn.

CHAPTER 3

FOUR BLACK WOMEN EDUCATORS:

FRANCES COPPIN (1837-1913), ANNA COOPER (1858?-1964), MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE (1875-1955), AND SEPTIMA CLARK (1898-1987)

In this section, the intellectual legacies of four Black women educators are presented. Here, the women's own writing serves as the primary resource and as an example of the wealth of ideas available to those who would search history for insight into current conditions. A brief biographical introduction and literature review are provided for each case study, followed by a summary of the main themes present in each woman's writing about education, community service, and the relationship between the two.

Frances (Fanny) Jackson Coppin (1837-1913)

Fanny Jackson was born in Washington D.C. to Lucy, an enslaved woman, and was, perhaps, the daughter of a White Carolina Senator. Her maternal grandfather had three sons and three daughters and although he purchased all of the sons out of slavery, he chose to free only Sarah, his oldest daughter, leaving Lucy, Fanny's mother enslaved. Fanny's aunt Sarah purchased her freedom at the age of thirteen or fourteen for $125.00. She later went on to school in New Bedford, Massachusetts and then, while living with her aunt Rebecca, attended school in Newport, Rhode Island. In 1860, Jackson began the "Ladies Course" at Oberlin College in Ohio and the following year she began the more rigorous "Gentleman's Course." She graduated from Oberlin in 1865, and immediately began teaching at the Institute for Colored Youth (I.C.Y.) in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. As a result of her excellence in teaching, she was appointed by the Board of Managers to

the head position and led the school as the principal from 1869 to 1902. She married Levi Coppin, a man fifteen years her junior, in 1881 and they were both very involved in the African Methodist Episcopal (A. M. E.) Church. Through the church, she worked as an organizer, a columnist for the Christian Recorder, and as a missionary to Cape Town, South Africa in 1902.[111]

She was very involved with the community surrounding I.C.Y. in projects such as co-founding a settlement homes for destitute Black women in 1888 and 1894. She also wrote children's texts for the local youth who could not attend her school. She served on the Board of a local Home for the Aged and Infirmed Colored People from 1881-1913 and she was involved in national and international missionary efforts of her church.

Her struggle for control of the school was long and difficult because the Quaker Board of Managers that appointed her also stood in the way of many school advances that she, and the Black community, thought were desirable and necessary. In 1903, a year after her retirement as principal, the school was moved to Cheyney, Pennsylvania and renamed Cheyney State Teacher's School. In 1922, the Friends (Quakers) sold the Normal School to the state of Pennsylvania and it is now Cheyney State Teachers College. Because of Coppin's lifelong struggle to assert African-American's and women's intellectual capacity, her participation in the move and restructuring of the school's curriculum was minimal. Although she was widely heralded by students, community leaders, and the national Black press, the schools administrators ignored Coppin's contribution to ICY after the school's relocation in 1902. Through efforts of her former students, she is recognized as a champion of Black teacher education. Coppin State College in Maryland was named in her honor.

Coppin was widely known for her teaching and administrative ingenuity, but also respected for her writing and speaking. She gained recognition through writings such as her weekly column, the "Women's Department," in the Christian Recorder[112] and articles or opinion pieces in Philadelphia Press and the Commonwealth (Boston) as well as speeches like her 1893 talk in front of the Congress of Representative Women at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago (World's Fair) on "The Intellectual Progress of the Colored Women of the United States since the Emancipation Proclamation."[113] Her text Reminiscences of a School Life and Hints on Teaching (1913) which documented her administration and pedagogy at ICY, travel diaries, and biographical narratives of ICY scholars, was especially relevant to the education of Black Americans. This text demonstrated the melding of genres in Black women's writing: This text was at once autobiography, memoir, text book, and organizational history. In 1919 Fanny Jackson's husband, Levi J. Coppin, published his autobiography Unwritten Histories. In this text the reader was treated to a more personal view of Coppin, albeit from the perspective of her husband.

Fanny Coppin's Reminiscences was reprinted in 1995 in the African-American Women Writers, 1910-1940 series edited by Henry Louis Gates, Jr. with an introduction by Shelly P. Haley. Today, the premier scholar on Fanny Jackson Coppin is Linda M. Perkins. Her doctoral dissertation, Fanny Jackson Coppin and the Institute for Colored Youth: A Model of Nineteenth Century Black Female Educational and Community Leadership, 1937-1902,[114] opened the door for study of Black women educators in general and Fanny Coppin in particular. Perkins' dissertation expanded to a book Fanny Jackson Coppin and the Institute for Colored Youth, 1865-1902 published in the

"Educated Women: Higher Education, Culture, and Professionalism 1850-1950" series (1987). In the Journal of Negro Education (1982), Perkins also wrote "Heed Life's Demands: The Educational Philosophy of Fanny Jackson Coppin".[115] "In Quaker Beneficence and Black Control: The Institute for Colored Youth 1852-1903," Linda Perkins wrote that Coppin left very few letters or lecture notes from which to fashion a standard biography; however, Coppin's reports to the ICY Board of Managers, her autobiography, and Levi Coppin's Unwritten Histories (1919) provided some useful primary sources. Also Perkins' use of interviews with the last living graduate of ICY during Coppin's leadership, and entries from The Crisis, the Cleveland Gazette, Frederick Douglass' Monthly, the Indianapolis Freedman and other publications provided additional information for a fascinating biographical sketch.[116]

Fanny Coppin's works are located in archives at Oberlin College in Ohio, the Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania, and the Quaker Records at Haverford College.

Pressure of Having the Whole Race on One's Shoulders and Low Expectations for Blacks and Women

In 1859, only 32 of Oberlin College's 1,200 students were Black and by 1861, only 245 of 8,800 students had been Black. The year Fanny Jackson entered Oberlin, only 199 of 1,311 students were enrolled in the College Department where the "Gentleman's Course" of mathematics and language were studied.[117] Most other women were in the "Ladies Course" and although Coppin was able to prove herself a competent student and valuable student teacher, she constantly felt the pressure to prove her intellectual capability and justify her desire for challenging academic coursework. This may explain some of the fear, trepidation, and pressure that Black students felt in an

atmosphere that not only was competitive, but where students and instructors alike doubted the intellectual capability of Blacks and women - and especially Black women. She wrote:

> I never chose to recite in my classes at Oberlin but I felt that I had the honor of the whole African race upon my shoulders. I felt that, should I fail, it would be ascribed to the fact that I was colored. At one time, when I had quite a signal triumph in Greek, the Professor of Greek concluded to visit the class in mathematics and see how we were getting along. I was particularly anxious to show him that I was as safe in mathematics as in Greek. I indeed, was more anxious, for I had always heard that my race was good in the languages, but stumbled when they came to mathematics.[118]

She goes on to further critique her professors' resistance to her enrollment in Greek and discusses the intersection of race and gender in her educational experience. She did not charge Oberlin with being explicitly racist or sexist; however, she stated the pressures to perform and prove one's mental abilities were ever present for Black and women students.

Despite the fact that she felt such nerve-racking pressure to meet her teachers expectations, when she became a teacher, she did not have low standards for her Black students – she kept high standards, she simply operated from an assumption that the students, with the proper support, could achieve the highest academic work. She was selective with promotion and although she practiced much of what today is called character education, she did not participate in what today is called "social promotion." She worked with students to make sure that they had all of the tools needed to advance to the next level of study; she did not simply fail or "hold students back," rather, she held herself responsible for the learning and advancement of the student.

Further, she wrote about women's right to think.[119] Like Anna Julia Cooper after her, and Mary Jane Patterson before her, she reveled in academic study and denied

satisfaction to anyone who would have her play dumb because she was a woman. She wrote of the students' right, after mastering basic skills, to choose their direction in education. She asserted that the student should choose focus of study, and that race, gender, or economic class should not determine a specific track of study.

Compatibility of Higher Learning and Work

Coppin studied political economy and noted with great resentment the racism present within the trade unions in the late Nineteenth Century. Unlike those who state an inherent tension between industrial and liberal education, Coppin recognized the compatibility of higher learning and work. She asserted the need of the working class to be educated; this was controversial because many thought that maids and janitors should be workers, not learners.[120] She advocated for special training for those who went into industrial services; thus she did not hold that domestic service or manual labor should necessarily be considered "un-skilled" labor; she taught as if every human being deserved to be trained in basic reading, writing, and scientific skills, and those engaging in manual work should have additional special training to assist in that area. Her own status as an enslaved child and adolescent and young domestic servant clearly influenced her perception of the ways labor can be used as a replacement for educational opportunity.

Further, she saw education as work. In her writing and in her practice, she dissolved the barrier between education and work. She wrote, "there is, in my opinion, no incompatibility between higher learning and work. The study room and the workshop ought to have their hours so arranged that both can be advanced together."[121] Here, education and work are to be harmonious means of individual and collective uplift - indeed, the duty-bound "work" of service was ingrained into Black women's identity

development. Both labor and education were seen as noble means to share with the struggling Black communities of the world.

However Brilliant a Person May Be Intellectually, However Skillful [It Does Not Eliminate the Need for] Character, Kindness, and Love.[122]

Coppin did not believe that high academic training equated to high moral training and she assumed that both were needed in order to ensure that a person was indeed educated. Further, simply because one obtained formal school or college training and was therefore book-smart, did not mean the person could be considered intelligent. She wrote, "Unfortunately book learning is respectable, and there is so much of it all about us, that it is apt to crowd out the prosy process of thinking, comparing, reasoning, to which our wisest efforts should be directed." Too often did attainment of educational status replace attainment of education. In addition, she accorded high status to those who practiced common decency; she noted, "Good manners will often take people where neither money nor education will take them".[123]

Coppin also noted the limited ability of academic preparation alone to ensure social justice for Black people. When one of the school's long-time dedicated teachers Octavius Catto was murdered while trying to exercise his newly-won right to vote, the silence of the Quaker Board of Managers demonstrated that even a Black person with high educational attainment, demonstrated service to community, and apparent model morality, needs protection from a society that is willing to demonstrate the same traits of good character. In disagreement about what role the school should play in the Philadelphia Black community, Coppin often sided with the local residents against the Board; In her work, education was to be for the advancement of the local people and she asserted that they should choose the direction of the school.

Education Lifted Out of the Slough of the Passive Voice

In a chapter entitled "Methods of Instruction," she wrote, "I am always sorry to hear that such and such a person is going to school to be educated. This is a great mistake. If the person is to get the benefit of what we call education, he must educate himself, under the direction of the teacher."[124] And later in the text:

> Again, we want to lift education out of the slough of the passive voice. Little Mary goes to school to be educated, and her brother John goes to the high school for the same purpose. It is too often the case that the passive voice has the right of way, whereas in the very beginning we should call into active service all the faculties of mind and body.[125]

The traditional approach to education in the late Nineteenth Century – especially for those young Black students just emerging from enslavement who were seen as unruly and primitive – was very much into lock-step indoctrination which promised corporal punishment to those students who resisted learning the pre-determined curriculum in the military-style schools. While Coppin was indeed classically trained, she articulated an understanding for a need of varied approaches to teaching and that the student was a necessary active participant in the learning process. In 1970, Paulo Freire critiqued the "banking method of education" for negating the human spirit in the student and the collaborative effort that education should represent. Liberatory education, he argued, required the recognition that students were not Black slates to be inscribed upon, nor were they simply to memorize and regurgitate standard materials. In 1913, six decades before Freire, Coppin advocated for this type of engaged teaching – and showed how to apply it within a classroom setting. Yet in contemporary educational theory there are few references to Coppin and many to Freire. In line with the assertion that students take an active part in the learning process, Coppin also advocated for the students' right to

choose a particular course of study. Her experience with barriers to classical education led her to be an administrator who attempted to offer the widest possible choice in vocation. While everyone was expected to work and the labor of the students was restricted by the narrow definitions of gender characteristic of the era, Coppin challenged the boundaries of opportunity to trades. She separated her school from the confining vocational training of the day by distinguishing between a "Trade" school model at the ICY and a "Training" school. In her estimation, a trade school offered choices of study, while a training school simply utilizes work as a means of learning without any regard for what interest the student has. She was in constant battle with the Board of Managers because while the world was rapidly advancing in the industries by study of science and mechanics, the Managers insisted on relegating the Black students of ICY to labor studies of agriculture and farm studies; they constantly admonished her for her intellectual ambitions and required that she "tone down" the curriculum.[126] The Board was very much in line with the Hampton-Tuskegee unskilled labor-school model and refused to reward Coppin's intellectual or skilled-labor ambitions for ICY.

The Institute for Colored Youth was primarily a teacher training school and Coppin created many tools for the preparation of thousands of teachers. She emphasized the need for the students' and the teacher's improvement. Education in the active voice meant an exchange of information between the teacher and student that allowed for the learning and growth of each party.

Pedagogy - Methods and Skills for Classroom Teaching

Coppin offered many practical solutions to enhance the student learning process. She provided many suggestions to teachers willing to engage students within late

Nineteenth Century classrooms. These suggestions included providing opportunities for students to correct their peers' work so students can learn to read different types of handwriting and so that they can gain exposure to different ways to approach a topic. She also advised teachers to break students in small numbers and vary activities so students do not become bored or overwhelmed.

Coppin also emphasized the need for students to master elementary principles; she had an interest in teaching the basics of reading, writing, math because they are the foundation of higher education. Her suggestions to support literacy for children included encouraging parents and children to read in the home as well as in community areas. She was also an enthusiast for teaching grammar. She noted that children do not speak according to rules, but according to what they hear, and words are more interesting than letters and sentences more interesting than words.

This she found to be important because she was against strict memorization of rules or rudimentary application of skills; she insisted on learning for a moral purpose that the student helped to construct and by rules which they clearly understood. Grammar should not be taught absent of meaning and content. She noted that the only way to write better is to write, so providing students ample opportunity to reflect on applied learning was crucial. She offered dictation as an effective exercise to improve both subject comprehension and mechanical writing and listening skills. She wrote that work in literacy only begins with sight reading; it doesn't end there. Often literacy stopped at the ability to read, and students were not pushed to make meaning of what they were reading.[127]

In her curriculum, she insisted that bookkeeping, taxes, and interest need to be taught in elementary school and that cubed roots, solids and power can be learned by changing money; however, the Board of Managers disagreed with this approach and admonished her to stick to more basic – and less economically practical – methods of teaching mathematics. She ventured into details of how to teach geography that challenged the teacher to consider the book versus ball approach for a building topographical globe: she suggested that, as often as possible, teachers use physical representations of texts, charts, and graphs to enhance student learning.

She also offered ways to make the mathematical reasoning involved in understanding climate, nature, elements, calculation of travel times, and the solar system interesting to students of all ages. She limited the use of textbooks in the classroom and instead used alternative materials to convey the lessons.

Regarding classroom management and school administration, Coppin believed in leniency and kindness in education. At a time when corporal punishment was still widely practiced in most schools nationwide, she asserted that punishments that do not correct harden and that educators would do well to try respect and kindness in the place of cruelty. She cautioned "never be in a hurry to punish a child" and cautioned to "be careful of arousing a spirit of revenge in your pupils."

She challenged teachers to not allow cruelty of any kind in the classroom and never participate or allow students to participate in words or activities that diminish a student's spirit. She emphasized in many places in the text that one should never be allowed to call a child dumb and that if the teacher exhibited respectful behavior and had high expectations for the students, that they would rise to those expectations.

Desire for Scholarship to be Linked to the Needs of the Black Community

When Coppin visited Cape Town with her husband in 1902, she noted the South Africans' desire for scholarship. The government officials in charge of monitoring the missions were very concerned that she and other missionary teachers would spur the locals to militant attitudes. While Coppin assured the officials that "we are missionaries, not politicians"[128] she also was clear about admonishing the officials for their treatment of Black South Africans. She wrote that the cause for alarm [over native unrest] comes from the conditions of exploitation and subjugation, not from the people learning to read and write. Although dominant classes have sought to limit the intellectual resources of those subjugated, Coppin assumed that the spirit of resistance would be present regardless of the opportunities to read and write. Surely, access to literacy leads to increased access to language that governs; however, Coppin understood that the root of dissatisfaction lies not in the study, but rather in the condition of oppression. She understood that learning literacy skills was only a tool; comprehension and application to vocational, political, and economic opportunities for Africans in the Diaspora was the purpose of education and that Black people would have to collectively decide what opportunities they wanted access to.

A second way that she demonstrated her understanding of the need for schools to be constructed around community need was her alteration of the teacher preparation program early in her duties as administration. By shifting the training from a "Normal" course that focused on languages to a "Common" course that focused on English reading comprehension and writing preparation, she heeded the changes in needs of future teachers. The state exams were a source of great anxiety and few Black students passed

them. In addition, the local Philadelphia community and the Southern schools, where most teachers worked, reflected a need for teachers with solid literacy training rather than that of classical languages. Although Coppin maintained the need for access to classical studies, she was flexible in her course preparation because she was in touch with the needs of local and Southern schools.

An additional example of Coppin's collaboration with her local community can be seen in the development of a kindergarten school. In 1879, she petitioned the Board of Managers for an early elementary school and her request was denied. Because the request had come from local community members, she assisted them in forming a school without the support of the Quakers and worked with two ICY student teachers to meet the needs of the community.

While Coppin's philosophy of service was not always explicit, it was implicit in her revolutionary dedication to teacher education: she was insistent that Black teachers, who were desperately needed to teach the masses of newly free African Americans, be themselves properly trained for the job. Her attention to the details of pedagogy stands out as *the* predecessor to the much-lauded Hampton-Tuskegee model of vocational education.[129]

However, she was very entrenched in the Philadelphia community which resulted in a curricular relevance that the Hampton-Tuskegee model was not able to achieve. Coppin clearly articulated her ideas of how to integrate community service into institution building through moral instruction and collective learning. With the establishment of each program and course of ICY, intellectual and spiritual development went hand-in-hand with public need.

Anna Julia Cooper (1858?-1964)[130]

Anna Julia Haywood was born on August 10th in Raleigh, North Carolina in approximately 1858 and lived to be approximately 105 years old. She was the youngest of three, born to an enslaved Black mother (Hannah Stanley Haywood) and an unnamed White father. In 1865, she began school at St. Augustine's School in Raleigh and completed studies there in 1881. In July of that year, she applied to Oberlin College in Ohio and in 1884, she graduated with a B. S. in mathematics.

After graduation from Oberlin, she taught college courses at Wilberforce in Ohio for the 1884 school year and in 1885 she returned to St. Augustine's College, her alma mater, as a teacher. In 1887, after earning an M.A. for college teaching from Oberlin, she moved to Washington D. C. to begin high school teaching at the M Street High School.

In 1901, she was appointed principal of M Street where she led children in the institution to great academic achievements including admission to prestigious colleges such as Yale and Harvard. Her guidance in math and language studies was cut short when she was dismissed from her duties in 1906. From then until 1911 she lived in Missouri and taught at Lincoln University. In 1911, she returned to M Street School. As with Fanny Jackson Coppin's tenure at the Institute for Colored Youth, there was considerable political struggle in deciding the administration and the curriculum of the school. When Cooper returned to M Street School (later to be named Dunbar High School in 1916), she returned as a teacher, not as a principal and continued work there until her retirement in 1930. After her retirement from Dunbar, she assumed the presidency of Frelinghuysen University in Washington D.C. and stayed until her retirement in 1941. She continued to

teach through the later years of her life and continued to write and publish into her late 80s and early 90s.

Cooper was a very prolific speaker: in 1886 she spoke to Black clergymen in Washington D.C. on the controversial topic of womanhood; in 1890 she spoke to educators on higher education of women; in 1893 she spoke on behalf of Black women at the Chicago Worlds Fair with Fanny Jackson Coppin & Fannie Barrier Williams; in 1900 she attended the first Pan African Congress in London; and in 1902 she addressed Quakers in New Jersey on ethics & race.

In the summer of 1912, she made her first study trip to Paris. She completed her doctorate in 1925 and in 1945 she published The Third Step as a memoir of the event. She published many pieces of writing and wrote often to newspapers and journals. In 1951, at the age of 93, she published Personal Reflections of the Grimké Family about her social and intellectual life in Washington D.C.

Being proficient in Latin, Greek, and French among other language studies, in 1917 she translated Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne as an intended beginning of a doctoral dissertation at Columbia University. In 1924, Cooper transferred her work from Columbia and she began doctoral work in Paris while on leave from her job as a teacher at Dunbar High School. She had first traveled to Paris in 1912 and was now finishing her research and studies in France during the following summers. She also studied while she was on leave from Dunbar High School. In 1925, she completed her doctoral dissertation on French attitudes towards slavery during the French Revolution, written in French, and on March 23rd defended her dissertation, in French, at the Sorbonne in Paris. She was

presented with the doctoral degree at Howard University on 29 December in a ceremony hosted by the Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority.

On June 21, 1877 Anna Julia Haywood married George A. C. Cooper; the marriage license indicated that she was nineteen at the time. Mr. Cooper died in 1879 and Anna Julia never remarried. In December, 1915 she became the guardian of five infant children and during her lifetime, took care of many more children in her home on T Street in Washington D.C. Cooper volunteered through many agencies and some of her work includes work with the poor in D.C. (1912), service at a War Camp in Indianapolis (summer 1919), and supervision of a playground in West Virginia (summer 1920). She was also a founder of the Colored Young Women's Christian Association in D.C., and a president of Frelinghuysen University (a training school for the working poor). In 1894 she co-founded the Colored Women's League, D. C., the predecessor to the National Association of Colored Women, and she was a supervisor and trustee of a Colored Settlement House in D.C. She was a committed social activist as well as a leading intellect of her day.

The most current, and most comprehensive text on Cooper's original text is The voice of Anna Julia Cooper: including A voice From the South and other important essays, papers, and letters (1998) in which the editors re-publish the original 1892 text and include a selection of additional essays and personal papers. The collection presents Cooper's work from the 1890s to the year 1958; this allows the reader to witness academic and political shifts in Cooper's writing.[131] Throughout her six decades of publication, Cooper's voice is biting and intense. Her Voice from the South foreshadowed a long line of relevant and well-written essays. When she published the

original Voice, she was 34 years old and had been teaching for almost a decade. Her comments were clearly directed to those audiences, White women and men and Black men, who continually doubted the intellectual capacity of Black women. Cooper's continued focus on the social position of Black women can be seen in this broad selection of writing samples. The selections from her later publishing efforts allow the reader to follow Cooper on her continued quest for intellectual fulfillment. The development of her tone does not venture far from her original classical style; however, in selections of her memoirs, she demonstrated a more relaxed feel that suggests she is enjoying the process of storytelling in a way that her earlier work did not allow.

From slavery to the Sorbonne and beyond: the life & writings of Anna J. Cooper by Lenora Gable (1982) is a narrative biography of Cooper.[132] While it does not include much of Cooper's writing, it makes a nice complement to Lemert and Bhan's text because the author, a Smith College professor, is clearly attached to the topic. As a teacher of the French Revolution, Gable possesses an ability to bring out Cooper's trek to academic research that connotes a familiarity with Cooper, but also with the classical references which filled her work. While this piece is well researched, it is not comprehensive and the author passed away before its publication which severely limited what the project could have been, especially with the research that she had conducted.

In Uplifting the women and the race: the lives, educational philosophies, and social activism of Anna Julia Cooper and Nannie Helen Burroughs[133] (2000), Karen Johnson transfers her recent dissertation to a comparative text on two important educators. Her analysis compares the lives and writings of these two women around themes of Family Background, Professional Careers, and Group survival techniques. This

dissertation was written for the ED.D. degree, so the focus on the educational experiences of these two women as students and teachers is helpful. Additionally, the historic context presented in the second chapter has been interesting and informative to my research. However, the amount of material that the author attempts to cover - biographical information as well as religious and political work – precludes an in-depth analysis of what the women themselves actually wrote on any one topic. Further, the author makes broad generalizations about Black women in relation to their experiences that do not allow for recognition of different experiences that Black women educators in history have had.

Fortunately, Cooper's life and work is beginning to gain recognition. I have interacted with professors from education and sociology who incorporate her into their course readings. However, considering the insight that she offered and the academic achievement that she reached, clearly she is not given the scholarly attention she deserves. Cooper's papers (1881-1958) are held at the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center Manuscript Division, Founders Library, Howard University, Washington, D.C.[134]

School and Home/Parent/Family Communication

Lynching of African-Americans has historically taken a great toll on the Black family in America. Many historians have noted the increase of lynching incidents after World War I[135]. When Cooper volunteered in West Virginia immediately after the end of WWI, she encountered a family who were impacted by the murder of the father. While tutoring, she noticed that the children of the Berry family were quiet and withdrawn. In "Sketches from a Teacher's Notebook: Loss of Speech through Isolation" (1923?), she details what took place when she went to visit to the family home. The mother of the

young students was also reluctant to engage Cooper in dialogue. Her husband, an innocent man was lynched; since then, she did not have much to say. Cooper wrote:

> It was not until I had left W- that I understood the tragedy of Mrs. Berry's grim struggle with life. Her husband, an innocent man, had been torn from her arms by an infuriated mob and brutally murdered – lynched. The town realized its mistakes afterwards when the true culprit confessed but it was too late to bind up that broken family, and the humble drama of that obscure black woman like a wounded animal with her cubs literally digging herself in and then at bay dumbly turning to face – America – her "head bloody but unbowed" I swear the pathos and inexorable fatefulness of that titanic struggle – an inescapable one in the clash of American forces, is worthy of an Epic for its heroic grandeur and unconquerable grit. And I wondered what our brand of education, what our smug injunction that the home "is expected" to cooperate with the school will find or create for the help and guidance of such a home.[136]

By this time in her life, Cooper was college educated and had many years of experience as a teacher. She was keenly aware of her need to communicate with family members if she really wanted to understand how to assist the children in gaining communication skills. Yet, because she was intimately familiar with the violence of the larger American society towards Black people, she was also aware that to "expect" the family to "cooperate" with the school teachers and administrators was to negate the responsibility that teachers and administrators have to communicate and cooperate with the family members.

Often in education, schools have placed the burden of proof on the parents to become involved; rarely have teachers and school officials assumed the task of offering the type of engaged, aware, participation that they demand from the parents. Cooper's memoirs as a teacher are a testament to her understanding of how neither experience nor education must be confined to the classroom.

Joy and Fulfillment of Teaching and Learning

Throughout her writings, Cooper, in her classically trained use of language, discussed joy in terms of teaching and learning. When discussing her own satisfaction at being able to engage challenging texts while at Oberlin, she wrote,

> I grant you that intellectual development, with the self-reliance and capacity for earning a livelihood which it gives, renders woman less dependent on the marriage relation for physical support (which, by the way, does not always accompany it). Neither is she compelled to look to the sexual love as the one sensation capable of giving tone and relish, movement and vim to the life she leads. Her horizon is extended.... She can commune with Socrates about the *daimon* he knew and to which she too can bear witness; she can revel in the majesty of Dante, the sweetness of Virgil, the simplicity of Homer, and the strength of Milton. She can listen to the pulsing heart throbs of passionate Sappho's engaged soul.... Here, at last, can be communication without suspicion; Friendship without misunderstanding; Love without jealousy.[137]

This romantic interpretation of reading the classics, in her "Higher Education of Women" (1890-1891) demonstrates Cooper's appreciation for literature but also reveals her dedication to making sure that women – and Black women – are afforded the luxury of literature appreciation. Further, this writing, clearly written to demonstrate that Black women too have the ability to read and evaluate literature, predates Du Bois' essay "Of the Training of Black Men" in his The Souls of Black Folk. He wrote, "I sit with Shakespeare and he winces not. Across the color line I move arm in arm with Balzac and Dumas, where smiling men and welcoming women glide in gilded halls. From out of the caves of evening that swing between the strong-limbed earth and the tracery of the stars, I summon Aristotle and Aurelius and what soul I will and they come all graciously with no scorn or condescension...."[138] Clearly, this was the romantic language of the time; however, in this instance, Cooper's time for romantic appreciation was five years before Du Bois'.

Cooper also spoke of enjoying The Friday night Art Club at Cocran St. and 1706 17th Street on Sundays in Washington D. C. Later in her publishing career, in her essay "Early Years in Washington," 1951, she reminisced on the evenings spent in Washington social life, and she wrote of the pleasure of shared company: "I wish I could find in the English language a word to express the rest, the stimulating, eager sense of pleasurable growth of those days.... The word study (Latin: *studere*) connotes zealous striving... But here was just growth for the sheer joy of growing".[139] Further she wrote of her Oberlin study "And I did enjoy my math...".[140] The fact that she would claim to enjoy learning, and mathematics nonetheless, is political because neither women nor Blacks were supposed to be able to do math, much less enjoy it.

Yet another way that Cooper recorded her love for learning was by recounting the circumstance of her dissertation defense. She was sixty-six years old when she defended her thesis and she did so under the threat of losing her job in Washington. Despite the barriers that many had put between her and this ultimate achievement, she described the satisfaction of her experience in her 1945 essay in which she called the doctoral process "the Third Step." Even though she was experiencing extreme pressure, she described the defense as a *Soutenance* – sustaining. She recalled, "I realized, not unpleasantly that a *soutenance* was not a test "exam" to be prepared for by cramming and cribbing the night before and brazended through by bluff and bluster the morning after by way of securing a "passing" mark; rather and most emphatically a *soutenance* "sustaining," supporting, defending if need be, an original intellectual effort that has already been passed on by competent judges as worthy a place in the treasure house of thought, affords for the public a unique opportunity to listen in on this measuring of one's thought by the yard

stick of great thinkers, both giving and receiving inspiration and stimulus from the contact."[141]

Clearly, Cooper loved learning; she also enjoyed teaching. Her critique of the teaching profession (detailed below) demonstrates her understanding of the possibilities of that learning held for Black women and the responsibilities that teaching held in providing sustenance for the next generation of learners.

Critique of Teaching

In "The Humor of Teaching" Cooper argued for the continued renewal of teacher learning:

> There is a need of ripe scholarship among teachers themselves, specifically the frivolous fledglings just out of college and serving an indeterminate sentence to teach on their way to something hoped for [and] the dry-as-dust abstractions and mental gymnastics embalmed in an outworn college curriculum that have no discoverable connection with the practical life interests of the student …

She asserted that the fault for rotten pedagogy is traceable to the college professor:

> Many fellows come hungering and thirsting to college as to an interpreter and unfolder of life, a warm touch of an understanding friend – but too often in place of the Bread of Life they get a stone." [142]

Because her teaching career lasted for almost seventy years, Cooper experienced many changes in the American educational system, especially as it pertained to African-Americans. She was teaching for ten years when *Plessey v. Ferguson* solidified segregation and was still teaching when *Brown v. Board of Education* was heard. Cooper noticed the damage that segregation caused in Black schools:

> Segregation in education puts an undreamed of handicap on the student in the colored college from the all-unsuspecting teacher himself.… Segregated teachers are largely book-fed. What is worse, they believe what is in the books.

Like Coppin, although she was classically trained, she did not believe everything she read. She was also keenly aware of the trends in educational philosophy. She kept abreast of popular culture as well as academic culture and wrote against the popular trends in teacher training:

> They race to summer schools and institutes, to lecture courses and evening classes to "keep up" with their work and perhaps earn a much needed promotion. All of which is most commendable and highly necessary. But – the lectures and summer courses are unavoidably sketchy and packed in under pressure. They read, mark, learn, but there is no time to 'inwardly digest.'... You must 'keep up' – That's the thing!... She is determined there shall be no flies on her teaching – and there aren't except that she gives herself no joy in the act and loses entirely all sense of humor in the process. Thus saith the book – and that puts the inviolable closure on all further debate.[143]

It seems this critique is still applicable today. There are conferences and institutes and retreats at which teachers ingest the latest in curricula or pedagogy materials. Cooper noticed that many educators ingest the ideas without digesting them. She wrote with a passion for teaching that signaled the need to do more than simply lay out the course; the teacher was expected to engage the material as deeply as the student.

Interestingly, Cooper also offered a critique of testing as the sole means of educational assessment and evaluation. She noted

We have been so ridden with tests and measurements, so leashed and spurred for percentages and retardations that the machinery has run away with the mass production and quite a way back bumped off the driver. I wonder that a robot has not been invented to make the assignments, give the objective tests, mark the scores and – chloroform all teachers who dared to bring original thought to the specific problems and needs of their pupils. But ideas are as potent today as they were 2,000 years ago.[144]

Cooper's distaste for quick pedagogical fixes, her disavowal of objective approaches to teaching, and her insistence on materials relevant to the student show that she was very much in line with other Black women educators.

She also weighed in on community service in a way that is of great relevance to educators who are engaged in education-based service-related pedagogies: she insisted that service was for the purpose of social justice. Social change was not specific enough, justice was to be the end goal of philanthropy and community projects.

Need for Basic Education and Service for Social Justice

Cooper, much like Coppin, asserted that everyone needs to have access to basic literacy skills before, during, and after being trained in a trade. Having been born under the system of American enslavement, albeit in the last of its days, Cooper knew what is was like to be denied access to resources and to be expected to work. She advocated that schools educate beyond making one a "hand" or an occupation, but one with the will to think; yet she also argued that there were different approaches to education and that there was room for different schools of thought.[145] In "What are We Worth?" (1892), her evaluation of industrial education and African-American's collective contribution to America's political economy, she asserted that there was a need for general education for domestic servants and that learning and doing were to take place hand-in-hand.[146] In addition, she was also aware of the role of Settlement houses: She mentions Jane Addams and Hull House in Chicago in an article documenting the history of the institutions.[147] Cooper recognized the value of community based learning as well as the need for those who have had access to formal education to participate in general social uplift. Her critique of economic class systems along with racial caste systems provided a complex

base from which to understand the need of all citizens in a democracy to have access to fundamental benefits of liberatory education.

Anna Julia Cooper was a key connection between the first generation of Black women college graduates and the continuing development of Black women in the academy. Her death in 1964 signaled the end of an era. Cooper wrote extensively on Black women's intellectual and moral capabilities *as Black women*. She saw women's role as a leadership role in both the public and the private sphere and her radical brand of feminist analysis provides fertile ground to explore the intersections of identity and ethics. Cooper wrote that in so far as we see our fate as human beings tied together, to that extent shall we succeed in uplifting all of humanity: if we do not all gain social stability, none of us will succeed – but we can surely all get there together:

> The philosophic mind sees that its own rights are the rights of humanity.... It is not the intelligent woman vs. the ignorant woman; nor the white woman vs. the black, the brown, and the red, -- it is not even the cause of woman vs. man. Nay, 'tis woman's strongest vindication for speaking that the world needs to hear her voice.... Her wrongs are thus indissolubly linked with all undefended woe, all helpless suffering, and the plenitude of her "rights" will mean the final triumph of all right over might, the supremacy of the moral forces of reason and justice and love in the government of the nation.[148]

It is significant to note that Cooper linked her service to race as well as gender. In a 1930 response to a survey by Charles Johnson, the president of Fisk University and director for the National Urban League, she wrote:

> My "racial philosophy" is not far removed from my general philosophy of life: that the greatest happiness comes from altruistic service and this is in reach of all whatever race and condition. The "Service" meant here is not a pious idea of being used; any sort of exploitation whether active or passive is to my mind hateful. Nor is the "Happiness" a mere bit of Pollyanna stuff.... For, after all, Social Justice, the desired goal, is not to be reached through any panacea by mass production.... As I see it then, the patient persistence of the individual, working as Browning has it, "mouth wise and pen-wise" in whatever station and with

> whatever talent God has given, in truth and loyalty to serve the whole, will come as near as any other to proving worthwhile.

Cooper's comments reveal a conviction of the need for service that transcends the sentimental and provides insight into her lifelong dedication of "education of a neglected people".[149]

Cooper Wanted to Create A Language to Articulate Black Women's Position

In 1892, Cooper articulated aspects of what Patricia Hill Collins would in 1991 call "Black Feminist Thought." Much of her writing in A Voice From the South addressed the position of women in American society. In the structure of her writing, she was at once a historian, a philosopher, a sociologist, and a creative writer. In the content of her writing, she was a critical analyst who sought to expose and challenge women's – especially Black women's subjugation. In an essay entitled "Status of Women in America" (1892) she wrote,

> The colored woman of today occupies, one may say, a unique position in this country. In a period itself transitional and unsettled, her status seems one of the least ascertainable and definitive of all the forces which make for our civilization. She is confronted by both a woman question and a race problem, and is yet an unknown or an unacknowledged factor in both.[150]

This essay, along with her writing on "Our Raison d'Etre (1892), "Womanhood: A Vital Element in the Regeneration and Progress of the Race" (1886), The Higher Education of Women" (1890-1891), and "Woman vs. the Indian" (1891-1892), revealed Cooper's dedication to understanding and articulating the Black women's position and to add "this little voice to the chorus."[151] She also spoke on the topic often, and noted the resistance of Black men to recognize the vocal role of Black women or support their leadership in the uplift of the race. She noted, "It seems hardly a gracious thing to say, but it strikes me as true, that while our men seem thoroughly abreast of the times in

almost every other subject, when they strike the woman question they drop back into sixteenth century logic."[152]

In his introduction to her collected works, Charles Lemert analyzes the historic treatment of Cooper; he pays special attention to the ways in which Black feminists have assessed the role of the "Cult of True Womanhood" in Cooper's writing. This essay is an example of the need to critique historical figures within the context of their own era. Cooper, though classically trained, feminine in a very deliberate sense, and an advocate of women's heightened moral and emotional sensibilities, represented a break from the more restrictive gender roles of her era. Her intricate construction of the diverse characteristics of Black womanhood exemplify the need for a continued discussion on cultural identity. Further, her understanding of her position as a Black woman, in relation to other groups, American Indian, White women, Black women, and White men for example, shows her willingness to engage others in discussion of self-definition. Her negative assessment of White males, the next theme in her writing, is especially bold for her time.

Ego of "Barbarian Western dominant race"

Cooper was, by today's feminist standards, genteel and Victorian. However, despite the trappings of her writing style and her Mother of Pearl-Cameo fashion sense, she was indeed proud to be Black. Interestingly, both she and Booker T. Washington were born to Black mothers and White fathers; however, Washington's degrading portrayal of his mother is matched by Cooper's damning of her slave-holding White father and glorification of her proud Black mother. While Washington asserted that Blacks would do well to emulate Whites, Cooper, who read all of the "Classic Great

Books" and spoke many romance languages, rejected the White ideal. Further, she, in her clever manner, rebuked the male dominance of social theory. She mused:

> How like Longfellow's Iagoo, we Westerners are, to be sure! In the few hundred years…we have had to strut across our allotted territory and bask in the afternoon sun, we imagine we have exhausted the possibilities of humanity. Verily, we are the people, and after us there is non other. Our God is power; strength, our standard of excellence, inherited from barbarian ancestors through a long line of male progenitors, the Law Salic permitting no feminine modifications.[153]

In this essay, "The Higher Education of Women," she even dared to refute whiteness as a panacea or ideal:

> Above all, for the love of humanity stop the mouth of those learned theorizers, the expedient mongers, who come out annually with their new and improved method of getting the answer and clearing the slate: amalgamation, deportation, colonization and all the other "ations" that were ever devised or dreamt of. If Alexander wants to be a god, let him; but don't have Alexander hawking his patent plan for universal deification. If all could or would follow Alexander's plan, just the niche in the divine cosmos meant for man would be vacant. And we think that men have a part to play in this great drama no less than gods, and so if a few are determined to be white – amen, so be it; but don't let them argue as if there were no part to be played by black men and black women, and as if to become white were the sole specific panacea for all the ills that flesh is heir to – the universal solvent for all America's irritations.[154]

This daring rant, in "Has America a Race Problem? If So, How Can it Best Be Solved?" (1892) was controversial to be sure, yet it revealed the complexities of what actions one can take (i.e. advocating for access to liberal and higher education) and how those actions do not necessarily convey a particular set of assumptions (i.e. higher learning equals the quest for Whiteness).

She openly disagreed with Washington's accommodationist approach and challenged his assertions that social separateness was acceptable.[155] Clearly, she was an intellectual force to be reckoned with; which may be why her contemporaries did their best to ignore or silence her. Further, in her dissertation, she offered that humans have a

"singing something" that connects them with the universe and compels them toward good. This assertsion refutes the thesis of Dr. Bougle, a professor of hers at the Sorbonne. He asserted that notions of human rights are based on Nordic ideas of equality and are created by humans. Again, Cooper challenged the Western ideal and wrote in support of a spiritual, Divine source that seeks to undermine the prevailing "objective individualism in the academy and in social thought.[156]

Cooper continued her social critique late into her life. She even offered a biting linguistic analysis of the 1930s radio show Amos and Andy. In "The Negro Dialect" Cooper asserted that the language popularized White minstrels in satire of African-American dialect, was, in fact, culturally and linguistically inaccurate:

> "Andy's" "sitchation" runs true to phonic form, preserving the tonic syllable and all of the sound that is essitonal to carrying the sense (as any winged word should); the "u" never having been seen or consciously stressed is of course entirely negligible. The same analysis applies to "regusted" which has nothing whatever in common with the Irish "rr" in its first syllable, being hardly more than the movable "nu" in Greek or the "eh-reh" so often in hesitating for a word...By the same reasoning "am dat", ascribed to Paul Robeson by the press and vouched for by Mr. Hannen Swaffer, must go... It is as artistically impossible to Robeson....His genius leans to flowing sounds, easy liaisons, more French than German, a prevalence of vowels, semi vowels, and liquids. He might say: "whea dat" or "Wheah's dat," or even "whah dat hankycher" – but never, never, I pledge you my word, will you hear a Negro, not drilled into it for stage effect, utter of his own accord: "Where am dat kandkerchief." It is simply impossible.[157]

Clearly, Cooper took learning seriously, especially that which affected the image of Black people in the larger public arena. First, she denied that to love learning was to strive to be White; then she showed that Whites who claimed that they were mimicking Blacks, and doing so to make the latter appear foolish, were themselves demonstrating their ignorance. Her voice was that of a strong Black woman, and yes, she was a lady, but clearly, she considered herself no one to be trifled with.

Mary McLeod Bethune (1875-1955)

Mary Jane McLeod was born on, July10, 1875 in Mayesville, South Carolina; she died May 18, 1955 at her "Retreat" on the campus of Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona Florida. She was the 15th of 17 children and the first one to be born into the McLeod family free from enslavement. She picked cotton for a living, but her family wanted a better life for the youngest child. In 1882, Emma Wilson, a Black missionary opened Mayesville Industrial Institute for Black children at Trinity Presbyterian Church and Mary began attending at seven years old. She graduated in 1886 at 12 years old and in that same year she began study at Scotia Seminary (now Barber-Scotia College) in Concord, North Carolina. She graduated from Scotia in 1894 and in July moved to Chicago to study at Moody Bible Institute.

In 1895, after being turned down for missionary work in Africa for the Presbyterian Board of Missions, she briefly returned to Mayesville to assist Emma Wilson and then in 1896 moved to Haines Institute in Augusta, Georgia to teach 8th graders. Haines was founded by Lucy Laney and Laney was part of the first graduating class from Atlanta U; Laney founded the school after teaching for 12 years in Georgia's public schools and Bethune wrote of the powerful influence that Laney's work had on her own teaching, administration, and institution building.

After one year at Haines, Mary McLeod transferred to Sumter, South Carolina. In May of 1898, she married Albertus Bethune and in 1899 gave birth to Albertus McLeod Bethune (Jr.), her son. At 23 years old, Bethune had moved to Savannah, Georgia and six months after the birth of her son, she accepted a position in Palatka, Florida. She then made history by founding what is now Bethune-Cookman College.

In The Answered Prayer to a Dream: Bethune Cookman College, 1904-1994, Professor Sheila Flemming, a graduate of and historian at Bethune-Cookman College, writes an organizational history: "On October 4, 1904, she opened the doors of the Daytona Literary and Industrial School for Training Negro Girls (DLIS) in Daytona Beach; she started with $1.50, faith in God, and five little girls [ranging from 8 – 12 years old]…".[158] The $1.50 was a down payment on a small building and tuition was .50 cents per week for each girl. In two years, she had 250 students. Because of her administrative savvy, she garnered the philanthropic support of James M. Gamble (of Proctor & Gamble); Thomas H. White (White Sewing Machine Co., Ohio) and John D. Rockefeller who had begun the General Education Board grants for schools.

In 1907, the school moved to a new location with the construction of "Faith Hall" and in 1908, with the admission of many male students, the name of the school was changed to Daytona Educational Industrial Training School. The school was founded on the curriculum of Tuskegee and in 1908 Booker T. Washington, whom Bethune greatly admired, visited her school. Bethune founded, and from 1911 to 1927, ran Patsy McLeod Hospital (named for her mother) with money donated by Andrew Carnegie; in 1927, the city of Daytona Beach took it over. In 1923 there was a merger with Cookman Institute (Jackson, Florida founded in 1872) and Bethune was president of the college until January 1943.

Mary McLeod Bethune donated her entire life to community and public service: While at Moody Bible College, she visited and sang to prisoners, served the homeless at the Pacific Garden Mission, and counseled people on the south side of Chicago. In 1907, she established Tomoka Mission at the varnish/ turpentine migrant worker's camp where

she taught children and counseled adults. She was also involved in the American Red Cross, Planned Parenthood Federation of America, National Sharecroppers Fund, Friends of the Atlanta School of Social Work, Americans for Democratic Action, Harlem Division of the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, National Urban League, National Commission on Christian Education, Association of American Colleges, General Conference of the Methodist Church, Hadassah (the Women's Zionist Organization of America), and League of Women Voters. She served on the board of directors for Southern Conference Educational Fund, American Council on African Education, Council of Church Women, Girl Scouts of America , Hyde Park Memorial for F.D.R. and the National Committee on Atomic Information.

Bethune was very deeply involved in the Women's Club Movement of the early Twentieth Century: In 1917 she was president of the Florida Federation of Colored Women; in 1924 she was the president of the National Association of Colored Women, and in December 1935 she founded the National Council of Negro Women – an umbrella organization for Black women's clubs nationwide. She remained president of the NCNW until 1949. She also served as a president of Carter G. Woodson's organization the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History from 1936 to 1951 and in 1940 became the vice-president of NAACP. In addition, she also founded the Mary McLeod Bethune Foundation to provide for the preservation of her home and collection of papers kept at Bethune-Cookman College.

Bethune was politically astute: she was associated with the presidential administrations of Calvin Coolidge, (1928 conference on child welfare), Herbert Hoover (1929 National Commission for Child Welfare and Commission on Home Building &

Home Ownership), and in 1935 she was appointed by Franklin Delano Roosevelt to a post in the National Youth Administration agency (relief work & job training).[159] In 1936 she was appointed director of National Youth Administration's Division of Negro Affairs making her the first Black women to head a federal agency. In 1951 she was appointed by Pres. Harry Truman as member of Committee of Twelve for National Defense and she traveled widely and was very active in international politics. Bethune was highly decorated: she was awarded the Order of Honor and Merit, Haiti's highest honor (February 1949), and received an honorary Doctorate from Rollins College (Winter Park, Florida, July 1949). In 1985 she was honored with a U. S. Stamp and Bethune Cookman College still stands as a testament to her dedication; the school enrolls approximately 2600 full time students each semester and community service is a requirement of graduation.

Mary McLeod Bethune: building a better world: essays and selected documents [160](1999) is a collection of a wide range of Bethune's writing. The authors divide this writing into sections on "Self-revelation" (autobiographical essays and interviews), "Educational Leadership" (material on the administrative, curricular, and philosophical development of Bethune-Cookman College), "Womanist Activism" (on NACW and NCNW club work), "Politics and Public Issues" (On Bethune's federal appointment to NYA and interactions with political figures), and "The Last Years" (Reflections of a life of struggle and service). This collection provides a vast amount of primary resource material that Bethune penned from 1902 to her death in 1955. Though Bethune did not publish one manuscript, she made contributions to texts such as What the Negro Wants[161] (1944) and wrote hundreds of journal articles, letters, and opinion pieces.[162]

Bethune is recognized as one of the premier educators in African-American history; however, much of the scholarship highlights her actions as an administrator or political figure rather than on her contributions to social theory or educational philosophy. The scholars who collected this invaluable resource have presented an exhaustive list of resources on Bethune. They write:

> The published literature on Mary McLeod Bethune falls into three categories – anecdotal, popular, and scholarly… the earliest full-length biographies of Bethune were written by White women journalists…. These early biographies all suffer from a lack of focus, omission of significant people and Bethune's work with them, and most seriously, the absence of primary sources."[163]

The authors continue to trace the growing literature on Bethune and highlight the various approaches to Bethune as educator, Bethune as political leader, and Bethune as an active member of the Methodist church. They assert that "Scholarly treatment of black women in history demands expansive paradigms to accommodate their multi-layered identities and complexity." In addition, they attribute a "multiple-consciousness" to Bethune and other Black women that extends beyond the "double-consciousness" of Du Bois.[164]

This text, because of the expertise offered by the authors as well as the selection of primary sources, has been a great source of information *about* Bethune while providing the invaluable content of information *by* Bethune. In addition, I have selected a small sample of primary sources from Mary McLeod Bethune 1875 – 1955. A guide to the microfilm edition of Mary McLeod Bethune papers, the Bethune Foundation collection. pt. 1, writings, diaries, scrapbooks, biographical materials and files on the National Youth Administration and women's organizations, 1918-1955[165] in order to supplement the authors' choices with my own. Lastly, (in a text whose title derives from

an Anna Julia Cooper quote), When and where I enter: the impact of Black women on race and sex in America[166] (1984), Paula Giddings offers an extended analysis of Bethune in her historical context that has been useful for this research. Because Bethune was active in many local, state, and federal organizations and institutions, her papers are located in a number of areas. Among these are: Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona Florida; National Association of Women's Clubs headquarters in Washington D.C.; National Youth Administration papers in Washington, D. C.; and National Council of Negro Women's papers in Washington D. C.

Education is as much for the Sake of Character as for Knowledge[167]

In Bethune's "Last Will and Testament," written the year of her death, she recorded a legacy that derived from her long life of struggle. She stated that she wished to pass on 1) love, 2) hope, 3) the challenge of developing confidence in one another, 4) a thirst for education, 5) respect for uses of power, 6) faith, 7) racial dignity, and 8) a desire to live harmoniously with your fellow men. For each gift, she expounded upon what her vision was for those who would come after her. She wrote:

> I leave you a thirst for education. Knowledge is the prime need of the hour. More and more, Negroes are taking full advantage of hard-won opportunities for learning, and the educational level of the Negro population is at its highest point in history. We are making greater use of the privileges inherent in living in a democracy. If we continue in this trend, we will be able to rear increasing numbers of strong, purposeful men and women, equipped with vision, mental clarity, health and education.... I leave you... a responsibility to our young people. The world around us really belongs to youth for youth will take over its future management. Our children must never lose their zeal for building a better world. They must not be discouraged from aspiring toward greatness, for they are to be the leaders of tomorrow. Nor must they forget that the masses of our people are still underprivileged, ill-housed, impoverished, and victimized by discrimination. We have a powerful potential in our youth, and we must have the courage to change old ideas and practices so that we may direct their power towards good ends.[168]

Her legacy, clearly articulated with a realization that she was not to be around much longer, demonstrated her dedication to teaching, even as she knew she would not see the results of her lessons. As Marian Wright Edelman after her, she believed that care for children and guidance of youth was a major focus in her work.

Bethune's insistence on character education stemmed from her own personal experience as a child who was denied access to education, and denied as well common decency by those who did have access. When she reflected on her experience as a child relegated to the corn and cotton fields, she stated that she was painfully aware of the difference of a life of hard labor and one of work coupled with opportunity to expand one's mind:

> I could feel in my soul and my mind was the realization of the dense darkness and ignorance that I found in myself – when I did find myself – with the seeming absence of remedy. What I mean by that was the recognition of the lack of opportunity. I could see little white boys and girls going to school every day, learning to read and write; living in comfortable homes with all types of opportunities for growth and service and to be surrounded as I was with no opportunity for school life, no chances to grow – I found myself very often yearning all along for the things that were being provided for the white children with whom I had to chop cotton every day, or pick corn, or whatever my task happened to be. I think that, actually, the first hurt that came to me in my childhood was the contrast of what was being done for the white children and the lack of what we got… I went out into what they called their play house in the yard where they did their studying. They had pencils, slates, magazines, and books. I picked up one of the books and one of the girls said to me – "You can't read that – put that down. I will show you some pictures over here," and when she said that to me, "You can't read that, put that down," it just did something to my pride and to my heart that made me feel that some day I would read just as she was reading. I did put it down, and followed her lead and looked at the picture book that she had. But I went away from there determined to learn how to read and that some day I would master for myself just what they were getting and it was that aim that I followed. [Later] The first morning on my way to school I kept the thought uppermost, "Put that down – you can't read…. My mother had a great philosophy of life. She came down from one of the great royalties of Africa. She could not be discouraged.[169]

Often, especially in interviews, like one with Charles Johnson (above comment, 1940), Bethune recalled how she gained access to literacy and was insistent on passing the opportunity on to as many Black children as she could.[170] Although she was initially very intimidated when she arrived at Scotia Seminary in North Carolina, she very quickly strengthened her resolve and became recognized as a leader amongst her peers.

She often wrote of the nobility of struggle. While she was aware of her marginalized position as a Black woman in America, she saw service as a duty and struggle as an honor.[171] As a child, she learned for the advancement of her family, as a teacher and administrator, she continued to learn in order to uplift an ever-expanding community of those who were disenfranchised at national and international levels.

Education as Key to Advancement and Fulfillment of Democracy for African-Americans

Bethune was very heavily involved in national and international politics. She treated her political work as an extension of her teaching and administration and vice versa. Often she commented on the need to teach democracy in the home and she founded and participated in many clubs and organizations that were an extension of her teaching of character.[172] In her 1926 Presidential Address to the National Council of Negro Women, she stated:

> Twelve million Negroes are expecting the National Government to remove all hindrances affecting their liberty, opportunities and protection as American citizens. Those of us who are native to American soil or have adopted this land as our home, dispute the right of any to challenge our enjoyment of the privileges and opportunities afforded in this country of ours. I hold that blood and color does not define an American citizen. We stand upon the law here – written and unwritten. This country belongs to Negroes as much as it does to those of any other race. Our forebears [sic] and those of us living in this time have suffered, agonized, bled for this – our land. We have helped to make it what it is today. Denied equal share in the fruits of our sacrificing and suffering, we have protested. We shall protest and protest again....[173]

However, even in the face of her patriotism and belief in the need to challenge America to live up to its highest ideals, she was also invested in bringing together world nations:

> Intolerance, commercial enmities, territorial greed, racial and national hatreds [and] lust for power and blood are never swept away by war, nor disposed of by a stroke of the diplomatic pen, even when used by statesmanship of the British Empire, Republic of the United States, French Republic, Germany, Italy, or Japan. So today the peace of the world is a matter of concern.... I speak to you about the world today because of various nations, peoples, contentions, for peaceful adjustments and settlement on the recognition of equal rights established and enforced by a common will. No living thing stands still in this world. It goes forward or backward, grows upward or downward. Standing still brings about stagnation, decomposition, death. The National Association of Colored Women is a live body. I want you to keep it so; make it livelier than it has been in the humanitarian interests.... Bear in mind, therefore, that the various units of our body are all linked together to form an engine of service far greater than that of any private or individual matter.

In her many realms of responsibility, Bethune assumed that education, work, service were all means toward democratic living.[174] She was involved in government at the highest levels and her close relationship with President Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt is an example of her willingness to work across boundaries to achieve increased access for Black people.

Bethune also practiced this boundary crossing in her own school administration. When she was establishing her school in Daytona, she communicated with many different local constituencies. For example, after a visit from the Mayor, Bethune wrote a letter in the local paper as an open invite to citizens of Daytona for endorsement and contributions to her school.[175] In addition, she held Sunday afternoon community meetings every week for local residents to discuss relevant issues, gather information on classes open to the community, and simply build meaningful relationships by socializing.[176]

Lastly, while Bethune was a benefactor of much philanthropy, she also passed on resources to organizations she worked with. In a 1923 letter to Ms. Payne & Ms. Jackson, matrons of a local girls home she assisted in managing, she wrote, "As long as I have a penny, I am willing to share it with you."[177] Bethune's policy of sharing resources exemplified the communal foundations of the Black Clubwomen movement and of a dedication to collective struggle and collective gain.

Black Girls and Womanhood Training

Much like Cooper, Bethune showed a particular interest in bettering the social position of Black girls. In her estimation, the aim of her work was to "uplift Negro girls' spiritually, morally, intellectually, and industrially…[and] to develop Christian character."[178] She wrote explicitly on Black girls and womanhood training. In her essay "A Philosophy of Education for Negro Girls" (1926), she was clear in her articulation of a philosophical position and overt in her advocacy for the cause of Black girls:

> For the past seventy years the Negro has experienced various degrees of freedom… A great deal of this new freedom rests upon the type of education which the Negro woman will receive. Early emancipation did not concern itself with giving advantages to Negro girls. The domestic realm was her field and no one sought to remove her. Even here, she was not given special training for her tasks. Only those with extraordinary talents were able to break the shackles of bondage… Very early in my life, I saw the vision of what our women might contribute to the growth and development of the race – if they were given a certain type of intellectual training. I longed to see women, Negro women, hold in their hands diplomas which bespoke achievement; I longed to see them training to be inspirational wives and mothers; I longed to see their accomplishments recognized side by side with any woman, anywhere. With this vision before me, my life has been spent.[179]

In her dedication to train young Black girls, Bethune worked within a network of dedicated Black women. She also reveled in recording the commitment and achievement of her contemporaries:

> Has the Negro girl proved herself worthy of the intellectual advantages which have been given her? What is your answer when I tell you that Negro women stand at the helm of outstanding enterprises; such are Nannie Burroughs, Charlotte Hawkins Brown; they are proprietors of business. We recall Madame Walker and Annie Malone; they are doing excellent work in the field of Medicine, Literary Art, Painting and Music. Of that large group let us mention Mary Church Terrell and Jessie Fauset; Hazel Harrison, Caterina Jarboro and Marian Anderson as beacon lights. One very outstanding woman is a banker. Others are leaders in Politics.[180]

Bethune was also aware of the need not only to record the "talented tenth," but also to acknowledge the contribution of the masses of Black women who were, just one generation out of enslavement, making huge strides to participate in this democracy in their own varied ways:

> In the rank of average training we witness strivings of Negro women in the school rooms of counties and cities pouring out their own ambitions to see them achieved in the lives of the next generation. The educated Negro girl has lifted the standard of the Negro home so that the present generation is better born and therefore has the promise of a better future. Negro girls must receive also a particular appreciation for the expression of the creative self.... Negro women have always known struggle. This heritage is just as much to be desired as any other. Our girls should be taught to appreciate and welcome it... Every Negro girl should pray for that pioneering spirit. Let her Arithmetic, History, Economics, and what not, be taught with the zeal of struggle; the determination to win by mettle and fairness and pluck. For such she needs after she leaves the school of life and enters life's school.

Bethune, articulated many additional insights about Black women. Her clear writing show the various experiences that Black girls have had in American history.[181] As a daughter of two enslaved parents who worked hard to build a strong homestead, as an adolescent who worked in cotton fields but who was supported by her family and local community, and as a mother, Bethune spoke quite eloquently about the needs of Black people and the gifts that Black women possessed to meet those needs.

Building An Institution

In seeking to establish a school that functioned to meet the intellectual, spiritual, and material needs of the surrounding community, Bethune monitored the happenings of her school closely and sought out every opportunity to engage local members in her institution. In her Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the President (1926), she asserted:

> The confidence of our community is being very appreciably strengthened. Through the Sunday afternoon community meetings a bond is established that definitely cements the friendship and interest of tourists and residents. The attendance at these meeting[s] all during the year attests to the appreciation and interest of the entertainment of this unique colorful gathering. The cooperation of the community has been secured through the College Musical organizations, the services of the teaching staff, the help of students, evening opportunity classes, and through the Annual Community Conference, which stresses the work and progress of farming, industrial work and home-making in this section.[182]

In her frequent reports to her benefactors, Bethune documented innumerable interactions with various factions of the local, state, national and international communities. She was a genius at networking and a talented organizer with a gift for creating – and maintaining – relationships on a micro and macro level. When she ascended to her federal post, she continued to build on a national level. For example, one of the first duties that she carried out as the head of the National Youth Administration was providing financial support for graduate students at Howard, Atlanta University, Fisk, and Tuskegee.[183]

Many historians note with amazement her ability to voice disagreement with powerful parties, and yet maintain ties and carry out necessary work involving those individuals. Her ability to recruit, maintain, and motivate an incredibly supportive staff in her many institutional endeavors is a testament to her skills as an administrator. That her school is still standing is no less than remarkable and provides amble opportunity to study

how one can create and maintain meaningful community partnerships with disparate communities.[184]

Some of Bethune's contemporaries took issue with her seemingly conciliatory stance with some powerful but unpopular figures. However, Bethune's administrative savvy and diplomatic demeanor provides an interesting case study in politics and public policy agendas.

Need to "Up-lift" the Masses

Because of her childhood as the 15th of 17 children born to parents who were enslaved most of their lives, Bethune was intimately familiar with poverty, hunger, degradation, and want. Yet, because her parents were proud and resourceful people, she was also familiar with determination, dedication, compassion, and accomplishment in the face of adversity. This juxtaposition can assist in explaining how she was so effective as an educator and how she was so effective despite her disadvantaged background. She wrote "The hungry cannot listen well to any teaching but that which relieves their hunger,"[185] and her understanding of this maxim was enhanced by her own experiences of being satisfied and fed in her time of need. Too often Black women are portrayed as strong, invincible powerhouses; while Bethune did "rise-up" and uplift others with her, it is imperative that uplift not be brushed off as something that is the sole responsibility of those who are marginalized. While many during the early Twentieth Century asserted that Black women did indeed possess some innate qualities to guide others toward a moral life, it was still seen as a human responsibility to share in the moral, cultural, and intellectual uplift of the nation as a whole.

Bethune noted the need for family schools and was prolific in her analysis of the changing conditions of the working poor.[186] For example, she wrote about the rural education and Negro tenant farming to highlight the fact that 700,000 Black people were held in sub-standard labor and that affected the educational access as well as economic and spiritual growth of these people. It was important to her to continually sharpen her understanding of the larger conditions of Black people so that she could be effective in identifying ways that she could genuinely be of use.

She advocated an industrial curriculum and formed much of her early school after Washington's Tuskegee model. Yet, she worked at many levels to assess and articulate the situation of the larger Black society and sought to move toward social equality.[187] Bethune's ascension to power at the federal level and her acceptance of philanthropic support left her open for critique; some have argued that her diplomacy was disturbingly similar to Washington's accommodationist compromise. Yet in the realm of educational administration, it is clear that Bethune's organizational connections benefited far more poor Black people than did Washington's selective patronage, thus her quest for uplift had far less casualties than his controlling style of race leadership.

Task to Teach History

Bethune led many organizations and clubs. One of her posts, from 1936 to 1951, was that of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (in keeping with the changing perception of Black identity, "Negro" has since been replaced by African-American). In her 1938 address to that organization, "Clarifying Our Vision with the Facts," Bethune continued the vision of Carter G. Woodson to "scientifically" study Black history and present the facts for measurement in the arena of all cultures. She

began the address with a story of Jean Chrisophe, the Black ruler of Haiti who took power after driving the French out, and she spoke of his stated desire for Black people to have a recorded history. She followed with a resonant message that restates the need for all students to learn and know African and African-American history:

> Through accurate research and investigation, we serve so to supplement, correct, re-orient and annotate the story of world progress as to enhance the standing of our group in the eyes of all men. In the one hand, we bring pride to our own; in the other we bear respect from the others. We must tell the story with continually accruing detail from the cradle to the grave. From the mother's knee and the fireside of the home, through the nursery, the kindergarten and the grade school, high school, college, and university, -- through the technical journals, studies and bulletins of the Association, -- through newspaper, storybook and pictures, we must tell the thrilling story.

She then gives specific examples of culturally appropriate curricula:

> When they learn the fairy tales of mythical king and queen and princess, we must let them hear, too, of the Pharaohs and African kings and brilliant pageantry of the Valley of the Nile; when they learn of Caesar and his legions, we must teach them of Hannibal and his Africans; when they learn of Shakespeare and Goethe, we must teach them of Pushkin and Dumas. When they read of Columbus, we must introduce the Africans who touched the shores of America before Europeans emerged from savagery; when they are thrilled by Nathan Hale, baring his breast and crying: "I have but one life to give for my country," we must make their hearts leap to see Crispus Attucks stand and fall for liberty on Boston Common with the red blood of freedom streaming down his breast. With the Tragic Era we give them Black Reconstruction; with Edison, we give them Jan Matzeliger; with John Dewey, we place Booker T. Washington; above the folk-music of the cowboy and the hill-billy, we place the spiritual and the "blues"; when they boast of Maxfield Parrish, we show them E. Simms Campbell. Whatever man has done, we have done – and often better. As well tell this story, as we present to the world the facts, our pride in racial achievement grows, and our respect in the eyes of all men heightens.[188]

Bethune echoed Cooper's pride in being Black and articulated a clear and powerful a denunciation of Whiteness as an ideal. She goes on to say that educators must especially teach African-American intellectual achievement. After noting the statistics and accomplishments of Blacks in education at the time,[189] she offered:

> It is the duty of our Association [ASALH] to tell the glorious story of our past and of our marvelous achievement in American life over almost insuperable obstacles. From this history, our youth will gain confidence, self-reliance and courage. We shall thereby raise their mental horizon and give them a base from which to reach out higher and higher into the realm of achievement. And as we look about us today, we know that they must have this courage and self-reliance. We are beset on every side with heart-rending and fearsome difficulties.[190]

Bethune suggested that Americans have a "historical hangover" because there is a selective memory when it comes to granting equal access to the resources in this would-be democracy. In her writing on "Certain Unalienable Rights" (1944), she listed eight things Negroes want; of course, education was pointed out as a major demand.[191] In this essay, she likened the racial conflict of riots in Harlem, Detroit, and Los Angeles, to the resistance displayed by those who rioted against England in the Boston Tea Party. In short, she asserted that those who fight for liberty, justice, and an equal place in American systems should be recognized, regardless of their race.

Lastly, through her demand for recognition of African-Americans in history, she implored the members of the National Association of Colored Women to participate in the documentation of the deeds of Black people; "We must create a literature…" she wrote – she knew the importance of passing on documentation of African-Americans' accomplishments.

Although Bethune came from very humble beginnings, as did most Black women educational leaders of the time, the responsibility of up-lift and the ideal of incorporating work with intellect and ethics was quite strong. Then, as now, the working poor take on the majority of the burden of fighting against impossible odds and poor Blacks work to eradicate institutionalized conditions that cause the need for service and poverty relief.

Bethune exemplified the responsibility, and the undying habit, of doing everything with nothing.[192]

Septima Poinsette Clark (1898 – 1987)

Septima Poinsette was born on May 3 1898, in Charleston, South Carolina. Her mother was born free and raised in Haiti, while her father was a slave on the Poinsette's plantation in Charleston, SC. Septima was the second of eight children (there were four sons and four daughters). When she entered school in Charleston, she attended both public and private school and had mainly white teachers until she entered the eleventh grade. In her autobiography, she recalled a strict but enriching environment in her early school years, despite her recollection of being whipped in school. Corporal punishment was very much ingrained in the traditional private school setting. Also in her autobiography, she noted that although there were challenges in her private school, Charleston's public school system offered more severely challenging problems such as overcrowding and health issues (head lice for example.).

After Clark graduated from the ninth grade, she decided to go into teaching; her teachers had suggested that she apply to Fisk University in Tennessee, but she thought that she could not afford it and instead of immediately furthering her own studies, she became dedicated to pursuing a teaching career. She began teaching at the Promise Land school on St. Johns Island, South Carolina in 1916 at the age of 18. While there, she immersed herself in the community and answered the call to teach local residents, young and old. She taught writing to the men of the Odd Fellows, a Black fraternal organization, so they could write their own speeches and she participated in women's sewing circles. Some would view this as "service"; she simply saw this as community participation.

In 1918, she moved back to the mainland to her former school, Avery Normal Institute, and taught the sixth grade. Avery was a school that was supported by the American Missionary Association and was, like most AMA schools, a school staffed mainly with White, Northern, Congregationalist church members. In May, 1920, at 22 years old, she married Nerie David Clark from North Carolina and lived with him there for a year. They had one son and, sadly, Nerie died in 1927. Beginning in 1929, Clark taught in Columbia; after thirty years, she returned to Charleston in order to take care of her ailing mother and she gained employment in the public school system there. She was very active in her Charleston community in the YWCA and mediated potentially explosive situations with the city officials and police department; she was also an activist who helped in the campaign to equalize Black and White teacher's salaries in Charleston.

She spent a couple of summers in the 1930s at Columbia University in New York and in the summer of 1937 at Atlanta University, she took a class entitled "Interpersonal Relationships of Human Beings" with W. E. B. Du Bois.[193] She received her bachelors degree in 1942 form Benedict College in South Carolina and her Masters in 1946 from Hampton in Virginia.

In February, 1956, after teaching for 40 years in South Carolina, Clark was fired from her teaching job in Charleston.[194] She had been involved with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (the NAACP) since 1918 and in the mid-1950s many Black professionals were being fired from their jobs because of social activism in organizations such as the NAACP. Myles Horton, director of the Highlander Folk School, which was then located in Montealge, Tennessee immediately hired Clark to run educational workshops. Highlander was an integrated school founded in 1932 and

chartered in 1934 to provide space for radical teaching workshops focused on community activism. Clark had been attending workshops there since 1954. She was there when Rosa Parks attended a Highlander workshop, two months before her famed one-woman sit-in that sparked the 1955 Montgomery Bus Boycott.

While on St. Johns Island, Clark had worked with Easu Jenkins and he noted that community people kept articulating the desire to vote. At the time, there was a reading requirement for voter registration in most Southern states and the Black literacy rate was low, so the voter registration was low. From that community-defined need of literacy and political involvement, Clark began teaching reading in order to enhance democratic participation. She developed a curriculum relevant to what the community members said they needed: ability to write their name, ability to make out a money order, ability to read and comprehend South Carolina and United States Constitution passages. She developed culturally and politically relevant curricula: instead of teaching an alphabet where the abc's stood for "apple" "bat" and "cat", she taught the abc's where a was for attorney, b for bail, and c for citizen. In math, the problems included the following examples: "Ten students were arrested in the sit-in movement and were fined $75.00 a piece. How much fine was paid?" and "We sent eight people down to register each day for thirty days. How many people were registered?"

On January 7, 1957, under the auspices of Highlander, the First Citizenship School was opened on Johns Island and Clark employed her niece Bernice Robinson, to become head teacher. Robinson owned a beauty shop, and while she had no teaching experience or credentials, she was respected and trusted by the community; she spoke Gullah, and she spent time talking *and listening* to community members. The first

fourteen students who took the literacy test to get their voter registration cards all passed the test, and the effectiveness of the program was duplicated in other southern states. After a 1959 police raid on Highlander, and the 1961 closing of Highlander by the state of Tennessee,[195] Clark – at the suggestion of Ella Baker, an organizer and major influence in the formation of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) – moved the operation to Atlanta with the national Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

With the national teacher training under her purview, she led the way for a national African-American voter registration drive. The movement would be furthered by the 1962 Voter Education Project which involved SCLC, Congress of Racial Equality, NAACP, URBAN LEAGE, and SNCC. In the next four years members of these organizations trained 10,000 teachers for Citizenship Schools and non-violent resistance. By the eve of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, 700,000 Black Americans had registered to vote.[196] This movement was of monumental importance: the Black population united and became powerful and the White resistance was calculating and brutal. When Fannie Lou Hamer became a leader in the Civil Rights Movement, she did so because of the violence, intimidation, and discrimination she encountered as she attempted to exercise her right to register and vote.

Clark recognized that a major factor in citizenship was literacy and she constructed and administered an adult education curriculum based on the principals of active participatory democracy. In 1978, she was awarded an honorary Doctorate from the College of Charleston.

As with Bethune, the resources and research on Clark offer very interesting methodological issues. The primary text is her 1962 autobiography Echo in My Soul.[197] Two other texts, Ready from within: Septima Clark and the civil rights movement (1986) and Refuse to Stand Silently By: An Oral History of Grass Roots Social Activism in America, 1921-1964 (1991), rely on interviews, yet each presents a vastly different tone of voice and chooses different areas of focus. Each manuscript is heavily mediated by the interviewer and reflects the impact of interpretation inherent in interviews. This mediation of the text presents an example of the need to reflect on the means the Black women have to express themselves and the barriers that often arise in an attempt to make oneself heard.

Additionally, two articles have been very helpful for research on Clark: "Septima P. Clark and the Struggle for Human Rights" by Grace Jordon McFadden in Women in the Civil Rights movement: trailblazers and torchbearers, 1941-1965[198] (1993) and "We Seek to Know… in Order to Speak the Truth": Nurturing the Seeds of Discontent – Septima P. Clark and Participatory Leadership" in Sisters in the struggle: African American women in the civil rights-black power movement[199] (2001). The former broaches the topic of Clark's participation as a leader in the Civil Rights Movement, while the latter, builds on the first by surveying a broader base of primary sources and filling in biographical gaps. Both present Clark as an effective teacher, organizer, and national administrator of the effective Citizenship School Curriculum.

Some additional primary sources from Clark's curricular materials have been collected in a series of documents from The Avery Research Center for African-American History and Culture in Charleston, South Carolina. These sources, gathered by

Dr. Thandekile Mvusi, a researcher of Clark and an educational historian, show actual literacy exercises and mathematical problems alluded to in Clark's autobiography and offer a great supplement to Clark's account of the curriculum . There are also a series of letters and documents, such as state voting requirements and letters between Clark and Highlander or SCLC staff that also provide valuable context.

In her publishing, Clark was not as prolific as the other three women. In her effect, she was just as influential in national politics as the other three. There are emerging collections about the contributions of women, Black and White, to what is popularly known as the Civil Rights Movement. These narratives and recorded histories are an attempt to recognize that 1) the fight for Civil Rights did not happen over night and that 2) Martin Luther King neither started nor finished the struggle for equal access for Black Americans. Clark's Echo in My Soul was written when she had just moved from Highlander to SCLC and her story seems written to sway those embattled in the struggle to continue to fight, but also to humanize the protesters within the movement.

Clark's other writing centered mainly around her work on St. John's Island and records social and cultural life that was present in her work as a teacher and principal of the school for Black children. Clark's papers are housed at the College of Charleston, Robert Scott Small Library, Charleston, South Carolina, and the Avery Research Center for African-American History and Culture, Charleston, South Carolina.

White Intimidation and Black Fear[200]

In 1956,[201] Clark was dismissed from her teaching position because of her NAACP membership; this was just one of millions of examples of the retribution visited upon Black people when they tried to improve their social position. The raid on

Highlander, loss of the charter in May 1961, and confiscation by the state of Tennessee of $136,000 in Highlander property illustrates the high level of organization involved in White resistance to the fight for social justice, racial equality, or economic equality.[202]

Clark notes other examples of the egregious violence and intimidation on St. John's Island: there were threats to a local school official so he would not utilize school resources to teach the adults to read (because they may vote). He was afraid if he did participate in community literacy projects, he would lose his job so he failed to make those resources available.[203] Clark also recorded the struggle - and joined the fight - for equal teachers' salaries for Blacks and Whites in Columbia, South Carolina.[204] At every level of education, from positions on the local school boards, teaching salaries and class sizes, to physical resources such as school buildings or teaching materials, African-Americans were denied access to equal resources or denied entry at all. Because of her activism, she witnessed a four-fold increase in her pay when she confronted the Columbia School Board in an organized protest that sought equal pay for Black and White teachers.

When she worked on St. John's Island, she also noted the overt and covert ways that limited access to education affected Black people: the Black children were expected to work longer hours and were not given as much time to attend school; the adults, who had been systematically denied schooling, were very ashamed of not being able to read; and because there was a literacy requirement, fewer than ten adults on the Island voted. Because Whites controlled education; they controlled government, and vice versa.

As a parent and a teacher, she was very aware of the social restrictions put on those adults who would join the Movement. She was also aware of the tragedy of having to teach Black children that their place in society was limited to the bottom rungs:

> The Negro parent's dilemma is fearsome. There is nothing worse, believe me, I KNOW this, than bringing a child into the world and having to teach him that none of the pleasant things of life are for him, or few of them at most. How do you teach a tot where to sit, where to walk, where not to play, and where not to go… like the theatre, art gallery, city parks and public libraries? A parent has a terrible time explaining why the native soil is such a hard place for the native to grow in…. I can testify out of the bitter school of experience.[205]

As a scholar, Clark painstakingly listed the many ways that individuals, groups, and representatives of institutions operated to withhold rights to African-Americans and poor people. In her role as a teacher, she effectively organized groups of people to fight against these operations.

Power of Teaching

Septima Clark felt passionately about her teaching; she wrote, "From early childhood I wanted to be a school teacher." When she mentioned her work in the community, she admitted, "Actually, I did it for my own sheer pleasure. Clark used words like "rejoiced" and "thrilled" when describing her experiences as a teacher and it is apparent that, to her this was more than a job or obligation.[206]

Clark also discussed her approach to hiring teachers for the Citizenship Schools. Bernice Robinson, Septima's niece, "had no college or teaching experience and no training as a teacher – she was someone who will not follow the usual teaching procedures – someone with a fresh point of view."[207] Clark knew the trappings of teacher training and the discriminatory behaviors that many people displayed toward relatively new learners – especially toward Black, illiterate, adult learners; she wanted someone who was trusted by the community and someone who would receive, and give, respect:[208]

> So when we began to look around for a teacher to take charge of our school for the Johns Island illiterate adults, whom should we think of but Bernice? "Let's don't try to get a teacher who will follow the usual teaching procedures," I had suggested when we began our search. "Let's try to get somebody with a fresh

> viewpoint, somebody who will work with us who is interested in the Highlander program and would be willing to follow suggestions from the school."... At first Bernice refused. "But I'm no teacher," she protested. "I run a beauty shop and make dresses. I've never taught school. I'm not even an college graduate; in fact, I've never been to college at all." "But that makes no difference," we assured her. "You did graduate from high school." She completed her high school courses by going to night school when she was living in New York. "And you'll be teaching only the most elementary work anyway, reading and writing and simple arithmetic. The main thing is you'll be able to get along with the island people; they'll be able to understand you and you'll be able to understand them, and you will have their confidence..."[209]

As someone who was not from the Island, but who had spent many years getting to know the people,[210] Clark knew the importance of the relationship of teachers to the communities in which they work. She wrote about Bernice, "The thing in her favor was she spoke their language, Gullah.[211] When the program expanded nationally, this same principle was followed, "We were trying to make teachers of these people who could barely read and write. But they could teach." The assumption that illiteracy equates to ignorance is one that teachers who hoped to be effective on a massive social level could ill afford. Clarke used the Highlander model of working with local people as if they were the experts on the issues, because the locals, illiterate or not, knew their situation better than any outsider.[212]

Education as Political – Democracy, Freedom, and First Class Citizenship

For Clark, education was not an end in itself, it was a means; the true ambition was first class citizenship.[213] She outlines the goal of a democracy, based on the history of Highlander's mission and citizenship schools:

> In its early years, when it was what might be described as a labor school, men who were leaders in their groups went up to Highlander for instruction in such subjects as parliamentary law, in ways of organizing plants, in presenting grievances, in interpreting contracts. They wanted very much to learn these things and they had buckled down to the task. Learning, rather than sharing an integrated mode of living, was their purpose in coming. And if anyone objected to

> integration, he could leave, for the Highlander program cut across racial barriers completely in its striving toward the goal of real democracy. It held, without fuss and fanfare, that freedom of thought, enjoyment of equal rights to a livelihood, an education, health, cultural interests, public services constituted a reaffirmation of democracy in its finest sense..[214]

The mission of Highlander was to improve the Southern standard of living, and because this was of great importance to those participating in the workshops, there was great motivation to work together and learn from each other.[215] The fact that Highlander was racially desegregated drew much resistance from local and national policing agencies. This pressure did not eliminate the effective, collaborative, teaching and learning at the center. She wrote:

> So, our workshops had a unity both in terms of social beliefs and of need.... People came to Highlander to seek enlightenment on issues whose proper solution, followed by adequate social action, would promote the advancement of all. And their determination to learn, we discovered, invariably resulted in speeding the learning process....impelling desire... pushes one to learn more quickly.[216]

Clark noticed that not only did the students learn more quickly, but that by practicing a cooperative rather than a competitive model of learning, the students, as a group advanced more rapidly in their learning. She also wrote repeatedly about motivation and the impact this has on one's ability to learn and demonstrate learning:

> So naturally those who came to our workshop sessions on the mountain came there for the one purpose of learning how to do things for their own people in their various communities. They had MOTIVATION. Highlander workshops were planned and conducted to emphasize a co-operative rather than the competitive use of learning; they hoped through the teaching of leaders to advance a community rather than individuals, though the advancement of the community always advances the individuals in it.[217]

The goal of democracy was an aim that was to be achieved by democratic learning methods.[218] She continually stressed the importance of the idea that learning for a clear purpose – having motivation – will greatly affect the learning outcomes of

students. When students have an active role in deciding why they need to do an activity or learn a skill, they are much more successful in the learning process.

Lastly, Clark advocated for learning outside the classroom; however, she was not simply interested in general "experiences," but rather active learning for a purpose of self-awareness and self-determination.

> The school in which the Negro must be educated is the shopping center he is boycotting, the city council chamber where he is demanding justice, the ballot box at which he chooses his political leaders, the hiring offices where he demands that he be hired on merit, the meeting hall of the board of education where he insists on equal education.[219]

As with Coppin, Clark insisted on the need for students' active participation in their own educational process. As with Cooper, social justice was the desired outcome of education and action, and for her "social justice is not a matter of money, but of will, not a problem for the economist as much as a task for the patriot; to me its accomplishment requires leadership and community action rather than monetary investment."[220] As with Bethune, Clark asserted that democracy was an issue for educators and educators were to teach and learn in communities in order to demand access to all aspects of the democratic political process. Pedagogy, curriculum, and administration of schools were to be tools for participatory democracy. Education was a social affair.

Education as Social Activity

When the students at the first Citizenship School in South Carolina came to learn, there was an inherently social nature to the school. One student mused, "Now we don't have to wait until Sunday to fellowship together!" Clark observed, "The social hour was one of the good by-products of the school that they had not foreseen in starting it."[221] Unlike the traditional model of education where the teacher knows and the students learn

- each in their individual space - only to restate the teacher's iterations, the Citizenship schools fostered, and depended on social interaction. Clark noted that students engaged each other and there occurred a "Chain reaction of learning...Like a pebble thrown in a mill pond."[222] This is very much in line with an Afrocentric approach to philosophy. In European philosophy, existence is an individual exercise (as exemplified in Descartes' "I think therefore I am"). In Africanist philosophy, existence is a collective affair (as articulated in the idea that "I am because we are"). Further, the central role of the Black church within the community can be seen in the student's use of the term "fellowship." Community participation was central in much of Sea Island life; school was no exception.

Much is written about the role of singing in the Civil Rights Movement and songs were a major tool of inspiration of learning at Highlander.[223] The fight for rights was a collective endeavor and the "fellowship" of the Black churches was emulated by fellowship in the Citizenship Schools. The curriculum, voting rights and increased economic and educational equity, lent itself to social study; the democratic process was the chosen means of learning. Here democracy did not mean simply a collection of individuals, rather learning in, by, and for democracy was a unifying theme.

Not only was education social, but as such, it was dynamic. Clark observed, "A great thing about learning and the learning process [is that] knowledge seems to overrun itself and spill over into accomplishments not contemplated."[224]

Student Centered Curriculum

The curriculum of the Citizenship schools was based upon learning goals that the students themselves had identified as desirable. This too was an outgrowth of the Highlander model: "The nature of a specific educational program will be determined by

the needs of the students."[225] In training teachers, the administrators of the school noted that teachers needed to be flexible and change with the needs of the students.[226] When Bernice Robinson began teaching at the first school, she first walked around the town to gain the trust of the people, but also to gather information about what the students had and what they needed:[227]

> Then, the first day's lesson would be "devoted principally to finding out what her pupils were hoping to learn. And quickly, Bernice discovered that they had very definite ideas about what the curriculum should be. First, they wanted to learn how to write their names. That was a matter of pride as well as practical need. Next, they wished to know how to read the South Carolina election laws sufficiently well to qualify for registering to vote. They also wanted to know how to write at least some of the words in these laws, and to explain their meaning. They wanted to know, too, how to fill in order forms when ordering merchandise from mail order houses, and how to fill in money order forms at the post office so that they could send the payments for the things they were ordering from the catalogs. These were the principal things most of the illiterate adults told Bernice they wanted to be taught how to do. So the teacher now knew what sort of curriculum she should teach. She went home and went to work.[228]

Clearly, there were things that the teacher needed to be prepared to teach: the alphabet, basic math, and democratic concepts for example; however, unlike traditional models of education, the means of learning those skills was determined by the interests of the students. The effect was impressive: the first fourteen students to take the voting literacy test passed. Clark also recorded that the average time that it took a student to learn to read well enough to pass the literacy test was less than with other methods.[229] A student was "learning by doing… And even more importantly, learning by doing something of real practical value to him."[230]

Another important aspect of the schools was the ability of the teacher to recognize what assets the students brought to their learning. Often teaching and community work is done with a focus only on what the student *does not* have; Clark noticed the skills that

they *did* have and built on those. She noted, "most of those men, being unable to read, had unusually good memories and were adept at memorizing. You could read something to a Johns Islander and he could repeat it back to you. They were, many of them, amazing that way."[231] As observed in the African tradition of storytelling, elders often foster a capacity to memorize lengthy stories so as to pass them down to the next generation. Though the adults on John's Island were not taught to read, they demonstrated a superior capacity to memorize, comprehend, and critique Constitutional passages regarding the meaning of citizenship. Students who signed up for the schools "came to know HOW" to engage in the practice of democracy, they did not just come to know in the abstract sense of the word.[232]

Ms. Alice Wine on St. John's Island, who regularly rode on Esau Jenkins' bus, said often that "it sure would be nice to learn to read," because she wanted to vote. Jenkins conveyed this to Clark and together, they responded to this desire for a student to learn. The "community" perspective is often lost in "community-serivce," and, as Coppin noted, the student is quite often left out of the learning equation. The Citizenship Schools were founded and grounded in community defined need, which may attest to the high rate of demonstrated learning and the 700,000 increase on the American voter rolls between 1957 and 1964.[233]

Problem Solving Education[234]

"My life has been devoted to the practical and the specific… I have been trying all my days to solve problems, and problems – brother – some ones, at any rate – are annoyingly specific."[235] Clark's focus on student's needs accompanied her realization that the student's needs were linked to specific social issues. She wrote that in her days of

teacher training, "Curriculum" was a big word;[236] catch phrases and buzz words continue to abound, yet Clark recognized that it was the "now what?" question in education that mattered most. In much of service-learning literature the questions "What," "So What," "Now What" appear as ways to identify the issue, locate its relevance, and organize a clear plan of action to address the issue. Dewey articulated the "What" and the "So What" of educational philosophy; however Clark focused on the meaning of the problem, but also concrete ways and strategies to address that problem.

An example of how she thought about problem solving education was how she approached literacy. When discussing the teaching of the alphabet, she wrote, "the idea, as may be plainly seen, is to not only teach the use of words, how to spell them and make sentences and stories with them, but to familiarize the student with words related to the practice of citizenship." This passage is reminiscent of Coppin's assertion that "words are more interesting than letters, and sentences are more interesting than words."[237] Teaching towards a larger concept and practicing applications that are relevant to the life of the students are pedagogical tools recognized by both educators.

Further, Clark would, as at the Highlander School, require that students "come up with an immediate plan of action" and apply the skill or information they have just acquired.[238] In the curriculum, the inclusion of passages from the Georgia or Tennessee State Constitution or the National Constitution, illustrates this principle: learning to read was general, learning to read to pass a voter registration test was specific – and extremely effective.

Though the school segregation laws were changed in 1954, it became obvious, as in prior eras, that community activism would prove to be the most effective means of

fighting for and enforcing ordinances of equal access to education, public accommodation, housing, and employment. Clark, as a teacher, was instrumental in this process of community service/ social justice work.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYZING BLACK WOMEN'S PRAXIS THAT LINKS COMMUNITY, SERVICE, AND LEARNING – LESSONS FOR THE MODERN SERVICE-LEARNING MOVEMENT

In this chapter, I revisit the questions that are present in the first chapter of this dissertation and suggest the contribution that this work makes to Black women's intellectual history. Here, I compare and contrast the experiences and the thoughts of the four Black women case studies. Next, I consider aspects of Black Feminist Thought and outline the impact of cultural identity on individual, social, and institutional aspects of social experience. This social critique can be coupled with historical analysis in order to practice community service-learning in a manner that is culturally appropriate for those involved with communities of color. I discuss history, identity, and Black Feminist Thought in terms of their implications for contemporary community service-learners.

Questions Revisited

The questions that I sought to answer are: 1) What did Coppin, Cooper, Bethune, and Clark write about education and service and links between the two? 2) What role(s) did the larger African-American community play in influencing the administration of their programs and schools? 3) What role(s) did these women play in the education of local, national, and international communities? 4) How did these women incorporate community service into their curriculum and teaching practices? 5) What personal reflections did they offer about their own oppression and inspiration in their lives as students that might give insight into the experience of students of color today? 6) What does their writing offer about social, administrative, pedagogy, and curricular issues

relevant to today's service-learners? 7) How do these Black women's philosophies and practices affect the ideas of "reflection" and "reciprocity" in service-learning?

Four Black Women's Educational Philosophies

These four women wrote much about linking education and service. Coppin's insistence that we *lift education out of the passive voice* is valuable because many education-based service projects assume the helplessness and passivity of those in the community participating in programs. Engaging learners of all ages with an assumption that they are capable and willing to contribute to their own learning process – and to that of their "teachers" or "helpers" is a crucial act of humanizing community service. Cooper's articulation of *service for social justice* can help to eliminate the popular notion of somehow "doing good" without challenging the status quo; her writing helps give service providers and educators purpose.

Bethune's challenge to *teach history* assists in developing a curriculum that erases the historic contribution of learners and service recipients to their own development. She was intimately involved in building a community and her contribution was valuable because she researched the history of where she lived and taught in a way that recognized African-Americans' active part in our own uplift. Clark, like Cooper, articulated the need for purpose in education: she was *teaching to solve specific problems*. Each woman wrote to guide educators towards effective practice of community service.

As demonstrated in each chapter, each woman communicated and collaborated with local community members toward the betterment of their own condition. By working in organizations such as the National Association of Colored Women, the National Council of Negro Women, the Association for the Study of Negro History, and

the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, they organized like-minded individuals and participated in a series of movements for the betterment of Black people everywhere. They were not interested in simply penning "best practices"; rather, they were flexible and employed a range of strategies and tactics in their efforts.

Because of each author's social position, two born enslaved and two to parents who were enslaved, each woman was intimate with labor exploitation. However, the type of education that each received, whether classical or vocational, also influenced the ways in which they taught. Each placed heavy emphasis on literacy and there was agreement that no matter what role a person was to play in society, everyone should have access to basic education and rudimentary academic skills in order to fully participate in American society.

Coppin was primarily an elementary, middle, and high school teacher; Cooper taught high school, college, and adult vocational courses;[239] Bethune was primarily an administrator who began teaching vocational and elementary education to adolescents; and Clark taught high school and adult literacy. Though their curricular approaches were necessarily different due to their constituencies, there is continuity in the fact that they all believed in rigorously teaching the fundamentals of literacy and holding students accountable for exceptional work. In addition, these women all educated a wide range of students outside of the classroom.

The church was of central importance to each woman. There was a range of denominational participation: Episcopal and African Methodist Episcopal; Presbyterian; Protestant Episcopal; and quite a bit of Quaker influence. The church is the central institution in Black communities; many times the church was also the schoolhouse, the

settlement house, and the clubhouse.[240] As these Black women participated in the development of academic and intellectual skills, they did so with a regular participation in their religious organizations. Additionally, the Black Women's Club Movement was fed by the organizational participation of both church and sorority women, thus Coppin, Cooper, Bethune, and Clark were central figures in many connecting spheres of organizational activities. These organizations assisted in the development of social service initiatives such as settlement houses, day camps, mission schools, and political protests. Thus, the realm of education, political activity, and community service were inextricably entwined.

The legacy that has been left by each woman reads like a challenge to contemporary educators to go beyond what is expected and to aspire to what is needed. Teacher training, motherhood, public policy, health initiatives, adult literacy, and student activism were all seen as some part of these educators' jobs. Their legacy is to truly become an engaged teacher who moves beyond the popular rhetoric of "civic engagement" toward a realization of social justice.

Each woman had very different ways of voicing her vision; their writing styles included romanticism, moral suasion, political critique, and historical documentation. Their voices were divergent yet harmonious; their voices – still largely unheard – contributed much to American educational philosophy.

Limited Materials on Black Women in Education

With the exception of a few biographies and a handful of collected works, there is shamefully little published about the history of Black women, especially in the field of education. While a search of the holdings of the Library of Congress yields 292

references to Booker T. Washington and 535 to W. E. B. Du Bois, a search for these four Black women educators pales in comparison: Coppin (2), Cooper (5), Bethune (74), and Clark (2). Further, the interest of researchers in educators such as John Dewey (489) and Jane Addams (190) far outweighs that of Black women educators and more contemporary educators such as Paulo Freire (185) have garnered significantly more scholarly attention than Black women who have offered so much to the study and practice of American education.

This work seeks to address the scarcity of literature that focuses primarily on the experiences and insights of Black women educators. Yet, my research contributes more than just an addition to a literary tally. Rather than simply describe what these Black women did, I seek to analyze the relevance of their philosophical positions and offer their theories and paradigms as corrections of the current mismanagement in the educational practice of community service-learning.

Black Women's Roles in Public Service

Traditionally, because of the gendered perception of power, women have been engaged in "service" while men have been engaged in "leadership." It is this misappropriation of power that Carter G. Woodson critiqued in his 1933 Mis-education of the Negro; indeed, he wrote an entire chapter on "The Need for Service Rather Than Leadership." Because of male chauvinism, the likes of which can be seen within many institutions of the Black community, women have appeared to have merely a supporting role in Black American social revolutions. Thus, Black women have mainly engaged in working with the masses of people at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder rather than politicking with governmental leaders at the top. Nevertheless, they have been incredibly

effective in making major changes from the bottom up. It was clear that many Black women knew their work within the community was as essential as the diplomacy that was taking place in the boardrooms of the aristocracy. Thus, Ella Baker would articulate "my theory is strong people don't need strong leaders."[241] During Reconstruction and Jim Crow Eras, Black women's work in community service harnessed a commitment to liberal, vocational, and political education in order to secure social justice.

Black women's educational experiences have been linked, in philosophy and practice, to community service and political advocacy. Although we have a variety of ideologies regarding definitions of community service, and though there have been a broad range of political views regarding the methods, goals, and desired outcomes of formal and informal education, as a group, Black women have maintained an epistemological standpoint that is based on an assumption of a connection between educational attainment and social responsibility.[242]

In response to social oppression such as personal violence, legal, political, and economic disenfranchisement, and social, cultural, and gender subjugation, three main themes seem to emerge from Black women's thought and practice. These themes are *capability* (we can educate and serve), *responsibility* (we must educate and serve), and *inevitability* (we will educate and serve). For Black women, especially Black women engaged in institutional and community-based education, community empowerment and the struggle for equal rights has been an integral part of their philosophies, program development, curricula, and pedagogy. Attitudes like that of Nannie Helen Burroughs – "we specialize in the wholly impossible" – are prevalent in the articulation of community service.

Black women have been an integral part of their communities, but their ideas of "community" have often reached beyond racial or national boundaries. Shaw wrote:

> Starting first with traditional social-service oriented community work, regardless of their occupations and usually in addition to their job assignments, they quickly became involved in community development. And when they realized that community development and race uplift would not get them where they wanted to be as long as they were uplifting only the black race, they went to work on uplifting the white race.[243]

There are important lessons to be learned from the historical experiences of Black women educators who have been involved in community service because community was seen as a central tenet of educational institutions and many effective Black women educators saw all people of the world as their community.

Black Women as Thinkers

My observation is that, though the four Black women in this study had various definitions of service, they all operated under the assumption that education was a type of community service and social justice was, through service, the end goal of education. This belief in an innate, reciprocal, and cyclical relationship between education and service is an element lacking in many contemporary personal and institutional practices of education.

When I began my doctoral research, I asserted that Black women did community service-learning before it was called such. After many fruitful discussions, I have realized that it may be more correct to say that the education and service that Black women practiced had goals similar to those articulated by those who now practice community service-learning. Though there were clearly academic classes and programs that engaged the community and teachers and learners, there were some distinct differences from the way CSL is generally practiced today. It is in differences that some information may be

gathered that can be useful to contemporary practitioners. Too often Black women, especially those involved in mass social action such as the Civil Rights Movement, are admired from afar for their organizational skills without being given credit for their ability to use their *intellects* to theorize, strategize, and organize.

These women were sought after as activists, but not widely recognized as philosophers. This historic and contemporary refusal to acknowledge the thinking power of women is not limited to African Americans. In Reclaiming a Conversation: The Ideal of the Educated Woman, Martin pointed out:

> Since the early 1970s research has documented the ways in which such intellectual disciplines as history and psychology, literature and the fine arts, sociology and biology are biased according to sex. This work has revealed that on at least three counts the disciplines fall short of the ideal of epistemological equality for women: they exclude women from their subject matter, distort the female according to the male image of her, and deny value to characteristics the society considers feminine.... [T]he implicit message is that women have never thought systematically about education, that indeed, they may be incapable of serious philosophical reflection on the topic.[244]

These women were philosophers in their systematic way of thinking about and practicing education. They were influenced by a spectrum of educational philosophies, particularly those of the "classical" canon that is developed out of the idealist and neo-theist traditions. However, it was the practical nature of their work, dictated by the needs of their times, and their relationship to the communities of color that grounded their educational philosophies in the pragmatist school of thought.

In Black History and the Historical Profession, August Meier wrote that "it is an interesting coincidence that, like [Horace Mann] Bond, Marion M. Thompson Wright (1904-1962), the first black woman historian to make a contribution to the field of Afro-American history, did her dissertation on the history of education...."[245] Wright, herself a

teacher, was also a graduate of Howard University and Columbia Teacher's College. She researched education in New Jersey and argued that if Dewey's ideal of education for democracy was to be realized, discrimination in American educational systems would first have to be eliminated.

Some historians have examined the contributions of Black women educators and have outlined the importance of considering Black women as contributors to educational philosophical developments in America. Authors have also asserted that these women's ideas can be beneficial to contemporary educators. In this study, I have sought to push beyond the general assertion that Black women are thinkers. Rather, by looking closely at Black women's writing, I provide a deep analysis of examples of *what* they think. Further, in my final chapter I situate their ideas within the context of Africana philosophy beyond those of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois and the educational philosophies of Dewey. While Black Feminist thought has been considered as a means of framing historic Black women educators, I seek to delve into the text and highlight how certain points that these Black women have articulated in their treatises, have anticipated by many decades the most notable contemporary educational theorists.

Black women authors, like Marjorie Parker, Beverly Gordon, Elizabeth Lindsay Davis, Charles Wesley, Dorothy Salem, Cynthia Neverdon Morton, Anne Meis Knupfer, and Wanda Hedricks, are also writing much on the topic of community service and social welfare.

In the second chapter of this dissertation, I presented the contributions that Black women have made in the areas of history and literature. The emergence of this scholarship has roots to the mid-1700s when Lucy Terry and Phillys Wheatley first put

ink to parchment. However, it was not until the 1980s that Black women's scholarship and study of Black women became prominent. My inclusion of a review of this literature is imperative even though the scope of my research ends in the mid-1960s; for example, the development of the Association of Black Women Historians in 1979 marked a significant turning point in Black women's knowledge production. As the reader will find, it has been a long road to build a critical mass of literature that allowed and encouraged diverse approaches to interpreting Black women's experiences. The women involved in the Club Movement of the early Twentieth Century were prolific and published widely. With Black women's increased access to the academy in the early 1970s, academic research blossomed and the body of intellectual production created by the earlier Club Women finally began to gain the recognition it deserves; however this recognition is still not widely valued in the larger academy.

Although there is much written on Black women's participation in American education, there is no contemporary, full-length monograph addressing the topic. In 1982, the Journal of Negro Education published a special edition on "The Impact of Black Women in Education" and in the guest editorial, historian Bettye Collier-Thomas acknowledged that "apart from the biographical sketches of a few major black female educators and several monographs that survey black female graduates, there are few scholarly articles and essays, and there is no book that documents the history of black women in American education."[246] An in-depth monograph that compiles a larger picture based on a collection of the smaller sketches has still not been produced; this work is an intended step in that direction.

My method for research has been to build upon the historical research of Black women that has been recorded by Black women: one primary text for this research was The Encyclopedia of Black Women in America published in 1994 primarily by a group of prolific Black women historians. Within this two-volume text, much of the legal, social, cultural, economic, and political history of Black women has been recorded.[247] This text is then supplemented by writings of Black women historians such as Linda Perkins, Jeanne Noble, Mary Frances Berry, Angela Davis, and Bettye Collier-Thomas. This history helps to highlight the relevance of Black women's thought to Black history and culture and thus supplements information that is useful in interpreting Black cultural experiences as relevant to the study of educational systems. Coppin, Cooper, Bethune, and Clark have provided a sound basis on which to continue building this historical tradition.

Black Feminist Thought and the Social Construction of Identity

The ideology of education for service is grounded in the history of the de-politcizing efforts of those who have advocated for the Hampton-Tuskegee model of education. Service, in that sense, meant subservience. However, service, if done with an end goal of social justice can nevertheless be recognized as a powerful approach to education. Certainly the study of women performing service is just as important an investigation given the oppression of women in America. Thus, the research of Black women getting educated to serve is necessarily a very complex study indeed.

It is evident that community service of various types was and is a cornerstone of African American education. There are excellent models for service-learning in such Black male institutions as Morehouse College and Black male organizations such as The

100 Black Men of America, Inc. that continue to go unrecognized. For those interested in working with youth in communities of color, these successful philosophical and theoretical paradigms are essential to informed, effective service. Further, authors such as James Anderson, V. P. Franklin, Eric Anderson, Alfred Moss Jr., and William Watkins have followed in the footsteps of Carter G. Woodson, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Horace Mann Bond in providing the larger picture of Black American's educational experiences, and this work, when coupled with research about the participation and experience of African-American women in American life, reveals much about Black women's education. Obviously, African American men have made valuable practical and intellectual contributions to the field of education; however, in the core of this dissertation, I focus on, as Anna Julia Cooper wrote in 1892, "not the men less, but the women more." The focus on Black women's involvement in linking education to community service is essential: While leadership has been perceived to be the responsibility of Black men, lifting the race through service has historically been perceived to be and experienced as woman's work. This next section discovers the connection of Black Feminist Thought to Black women's educational history.

Throughout her text Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment (1991/2000), Patricia Hill Collins describes Black Feminist Thought (BFT) as: a social dialectical relationship in which Black women resist the intersections of oppression, link their experience to ideas, acknowledge challenging experiences common to most Black women, bring to light the complex differences within Black women as a group, constantly change to reflect the dynamic nature of effective resistance, and relate themselves closely to other projects for universal social justice.[248]

Further, she wrote about the central position of Black women educators in African-American and women's social justice movements.[249]

Here, I look at cultural difference and the influence of culture on the politics of individual, social, and institutional definition.[250] Specifically, this work will explore how identities influence experience and how experience influences processes of education. Four years ago at Stanford University's Haas Center for Public Service, I conducted interviews with students, faculty, and staff of nine campus cultural centers. The interviews revealed that, according to the participants, one's cultural identity *did* influence one's definition of service. This present work seeks to analyze the philosophies and theories behind that difference in definition. I also put forth solutions to working successfully with and through internal (personal) and external (societal and institutional) difference. In Experiential Education, it is apparent that students bring their own perceptions to their activities. These perceptions are largely a result of their cultural identity. By considering characteristics of Black women's identities, we can better understand the complexity of Coppin, Cooper, Bethune, and Clark's experiences and perceptions of their teaching and learning activities. This information can then be discussed in the context of the relationship between the cultural identity of the servers and those served.

The successful navigation of this strategic conscousness-raising social justice work stems from Bernice Johnson Reagon's "Coalition [Identity] Politics." My goal is to outline the importance and implications of self-naming as it impacts our social and political status and to outline how strategically manipulating our individual positionality can, potentially, result in more effective collective action, both inside and outside of the

academy. In sum, by researching the complexities of Black women's individual and collective identities, fuller appreciation of Coppin, Cooper, Bethune, and Clark's philosophies can be given.[251]

It is necessary to create space to explore Black issues, to explore women's issues, *and* to create space for Black women's issues.[252] Bernice Johnson Reagon's idea of coalition politics provides a useful philosophy of one's necessary relationship to a multitude of issues rather than assuming a singular approach to identity or social issues. In her article "Coalition Politics: Turning the Century" (1983), she warned:

> Watch these mono-issue people. They ain't gonna do you no good. I don't care who they are. And there are people who prioritize the cutting line of the struggle. And they say the cutting line is this issue, and more than anything we must move on this issue and that's automatically saying that whatever's bothering you will be put down if you bring it up. You have to watch these folks. Watch these groups that can only deal with one thing at a time. On the other hand, learn about space within coalition. You can't have everybody sitting up there talking about everything that concerns you at the same time or you won't get no place.[253]

She wrote that there is a place for "home" (i.e. Black or woman) and a place for "coalition" (i.e. Black women coming together or any combination of men and women of any color or culture). In the quote above she warns against those who only deal with people who are like them and who occupy the same "home" space or issue. We all need to go home sometimes but, because of the complexities of individual, social, and institutional definitions, we all, ultimately, have more than one home whether or not we choose to occupy more than one home base. People, because of the complex characteristics of their identity, must be able to align themselves with others who are similar and dissimilar in order to address a myriad of social issues that are oppressing more than one group of people. The mono-construction of being an "American" does not allow for the recognition of the many characteristics of one's cultural identity, nor does it

encourage investigation into the many systemic ways that people suffer oppression because of compounded aspects of racism, sexism, classism, homophobia, and the like.

Studying the women who began the movement for African American access to education by opening or leading their own institutions will show that higher learning tied to community service is not new to Black women. It is exciting to have the opportunity to explore these new leaders' ideas and academic contributions in light of such a rich history and vast range of Black women's educational philosophies. Pedagogy, the art of teaching and learning, will undoubtedly improve in the American Educational system when serious consideration is given to the intellectual thought, not just the academic practice, of Black women educators, past and present.

The glimpses of Black women that were presented in this paper reveal their thoughts that informed and were informed by principles found in Africanist philosophy, Feminist philosophy, and Black Feminist Thought.

Although Hine (1997) wrote, "...the study of black women is the current frontier in Black Studies" there is no consensus among Black women academicians in the field.[254] For example:

> Gordon contends black liberation represents freedom from racism and sexism, and as such black women should not have to compartmentalize themselves into segments of race versus gender. Both black men's and black women's central goal is to be liberated, and it can happen only if both are fairly treated. Hudson-Weems points out specifically what encompasses a liberated people as she details the characteristics of the Africana woman. She lists 18 features: (1) a self-namer, (2) a self-definer, (3) family-centered, (4) genuine in sisterhood, (5) strong, (6) in concert with male in struggle, (7) whole, (8) authentic, (9) a flexible role player, (10) respected, (11) recognized, (12) spiritual, (13) male compatible, (14) respectful of elders, (15) adaptable, (16) ambitious, (17) mothering and (18) nurturing." Social change must begin with self definition, especially among the youth who must establish firm roots if they are to sustain in the battle that seeks to render them powerless. From this perspective, it becomes apparent that black women and the black community must carefully scrutinize appeals from white

> dominated movements with Eurocentric underpinnings. Black women identify with the women's liberation movement will internalize the rhetoric and perspective of that movement and become alienated from themselves (self-hate), and alienated from the race, as well as from a splendid record of activities against racism.... As the coalition schema illustrates..., a black/white female coalition represents an ill-fated choice for African American women. The more obvious coalition dynamic would be between the various non-white American "Third World" women. That such a coalition is fraught with difficulties is a further indication of the extent to which minority women have, all too often, internalized the white-good/black-bad self-associations which represent the religio-political ideologies of the dominant group. The inability of American non-white women to establish long-term and meaningful coalitions is a complex topic to be addressed by a different paper."[255]

Further, "Contemporary white feminists often attempt to impose upon black women a definition for black male/female relationships based upon their perspectives which identify all men as the enemy."[256]

In 1974, when the Collective wrote "A Black Feminist Statement" (not published in pamphlet form until 1986), they also addressed the issue of mandatory allegiance to race above all else. However, their definition of Black women and the ideal and real relationship to Black men was entirely different from Hudson-Weems' definition of "self-named" or "self-definition." Although they do not advocate for separatism, they claim the right of autonomy from Black men as they come together to work for social justice.[257] This answer is effective in pointing out that the "us now, them later" model of liberation is set to eternally relegate someone, by either gender or race, to the last in line for freedom, equality, and equity. They wrote:

> Although we are feminists and lesbians, we feel solidarity with *progressive* black men and do not advocate the fractionalization that white women *who are separatists* demand (emphasis mine). Material resources must be equally distributed among those who create these resources. We are not convinced, however, that a socialist revolution that is not also a feminist and antiracist revolution will guarantee our liberation."... Finally, "As we have already stated, we reject the stance of lesbian separation because it is not a viable political analysis or strategy for us. It leaves out far too much and far too many people,

> particularly black men, women, and children. We have a great deal of criticism and loathing for what men have been socialized to be in this society: what they support, how they act, and how they oppress. But we do not have the misguided notion that it is their maleness, per se – i.e., their biological maleness – that makes them what they are. As black women we find any type of biological determinism a particularly dangerous and reactionary basis upon which to build a politic."[258]

It is of great significance that Black women focused on Black women's issues. To continue this tradition, educators may also turn to contemporary models of Black women's activism for guidance; intellectual, cultural, and spiritual lessons are ever-present in the activities of Black women's theories, institutions, organizations, curricula, and pedagogy. For example, The Women of Color Resource Center, located in California, publishes an annual National Directory of Women of Color Organizations and Projects[259] that lists over 70 active African, African-American, and Afro-Caribbean organizations that focus on many topics relevant to Black women's formal and informal education. These topics include: arts, literature, and cultural heritage; business and professional development; support systems for survivors of domestic violence and sexual assault; health and reproductive rights; immigrant, refugee and indigenous women's rights/ international support; scholarships, mentoring, and leadership development; sexuality rights and support for lesbians of color; parenting and youth services, increased legal participation and political representation, access to reshaping Black women's images through publishing and media; religion and spirituality development; and economic development including increased income equity, welfare rights, job training, equal opportunity for employment and workers rights. This guide can be an outstanding resource for educators at HBCUs to find organizations to partner with to create an effective service-learning curriculum.

This ongoing debate between Black women about the study of Black women has, and continues to have, the requisite debates over ideology, terms of definitions, and plans of action, just as the broader field of African-American Studies does.[260] Further, African-American scholars, men and women are not only acknowledging that study on Black women's ideological spheres need to be done, but there is an ever increasing push to do the research. V. P. Franklin, current editor of the Journal of African American History, and one of the dedicated scholars publishing on Black educational history, recently wrote an essay on the early developments of Black women's feminist thought. In "Hidden in Plain View: African American Women, Radical Feminism, and the Origin of Women's Studies Programs, 1967-1974," Franklin discussed the diverging perceptions of liberation during the era of the Black Power Movement and delineates the early linkages to political ideologies such as Marxism and Communism.[261] This complex look at the spectrum of views in Black women's studies mirrors the range of approaches in Black Studies. It also presents a clear argument for the need to position oneself strategically within a disciplinary framework.

When I took my first African American history class in 1996 at CSU, Long Beach, in his first lecture, Professor Robinson told us that Black Studies is "a scientific method of problems solving applied to human events." A scientific method of problems solving applied to human events. That is what I memorized, that is why I repeated it – because I memorized it. I believe that this outlook is helpful in understanding the perspective allowed by experience. This definition relates very closely to Asante's work in "Disciplinary Matrix and Analysis":

> African American Studies… [b]y virtue of the work in the field, has become a method of human studies, equal to any other method of human studies in the

> prosecution of its work. African American Studies is a *human science*, that is, it is committed to discovering in human experience, historical and contemporary, all the ways African people have tried to make their physical, social, and cultural environments serve the end of harmony. Unlike most social sciences, it does not examine from a distance in order to predict behavior. Unlike some other disciplines, it is neither purely social science nor humanities but a merging of the two fields as well as the use of several approaches to phenomena stemming from the Afrocentric perspective.... The Afrocentric enterprise is framed by cosmological ["What role does the African culture play in the African's interface with the cosmos?"], epistemological ["What constitutes the quest for truth in the Afrocentric enterprise?"], axiological ["The question of value is at the core of the Afrocentric quest for truth because the ethical issues have always been connected to the advancement of African knowledge, which is essentially function."], and aesthetic ["senses"] issues."[262]

Now, years later, upon reflection, I can appreciate the view that this definition presents and what it tells us about a "distinctive approach." On the one hand, there is a distinctive approach or clear methodology in Black Studies in that only Black people can truly experience what it is to be Black. On the other hand, there is not a distinctive approach in that: 1. all Black people are different and 2. one does not have to be Black in order to intelligently learn, teach, or understand lessons about the politics of the Black experience. The "Black way" to look at the Black experience is as varied as Black people, for all of the terms employed in defining the parts of a methodology are all held in contention by different members of the Black community, academic or otherwise. The question of authenticity of Blackness or a certifiably more accurate Black method of study is one that stems from the question of experience. Cross's analysis of the infinite possibilities of Blackness shows that there are not only endless ways to be Black, there are infinite ways to interpret of what significance Blackness is. Thus claiming authenticity, based on place or time, is questionable at best. However, just because it is impossible to come up with a static definition of Blackness does not mean that there is no such thing as Blackness. Go to a Black church or a Black college; even though there will

be no exact consensus on the definition of Black, due to the historic and cultural common social *experience* (be it a result of real biological features or environmental circumstances), there is obviously, in fact, such a thing as Black people.

It is imperative to criticize the nationalistic tendencies of the Black civil, human, and cultural movements of the past. They did/do have problems; however, as bell hooks points out, throwing out the baby (social justice praxis) with the bath-water (flaws of horizontal oppression in would-be social justice workers) is ludicrous. For example, in Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom (1994), she wrote about the need to both address *and* contextualize sexism within Paulo Freire's (and Frantz Fanon's) work: "...it is difficult to find language that offers a way to frame critique and yet maintain the recognition of all that is valued and respected in the work. It seems to me that the binary opposition that is so much embedded in Western thought and language makes it nearly impossible to project a complex response.... There is no need to apologize for the sexism. Freire's own model of critical pedagogy invites a critical interrogation of this flaw in the work. But critical interrogation is not the same as dismissal."[263] I have definite problems with theories and practices of some Black male professors that I have worked with. Saying so is neither a betrayal of the field of Black Studies nor an ignorance of the politics of talking about this criticism in public. Rather, much like continuing to challenge some White feminists, Black woman homophobes, or self-proclaimed liberals who maintain privilege and complacency regarding isms that don't directly concern them, pointing out flaws is an act of care and interest. Fortunately, many people have cared enough about me to tell me when I am incorrect, mistaken, mis-led, or flat out wrong about something. I believe in the way that the ability to give

constructive criticism can inspire critical reflection and visa versa. It is in this spirit that I reveal some of my experiences in hopes that continued reflection and critique will lead to the discovery of new ways to fight old and new forms of oppression.

In her chapter entitled "Discrimination in New Zealand" in Critical Race Global Feminism: An International Reader, Chen wrote, "[I]t is impossible to separate out my experience of sex discrimination and race discrimination since they often intersect to create a set of experiences unique to immigrant Chinese women. Thus I will deal with these experiences together."[264] Borderlands are political intersections. Politics in intersection is the difference between reading a reference to Bell Hooks in a Black studies journal or bell hooks in a women's studies journal. Politics in intersection is spelling woman with a y (womyn) or writing words like herstory or putting lots of prefixes in parentheses – like (re)claiming or (re)naming. Politics in intersection is capitalizing the first letter of Black or White or neither or either. Politics in intersection is deciding to cite sources in a way that preferences dates (APA) over authors and ideas (MLA). The way we think and express ourselves in writing and action is political. Even unconscious inactivity is political. When I decided to get my doctoral degree in Afro-American Studies, that too was political.

Perceiving the potential for both subjugation and resistance in the act of naming, Trinh T. Minh-ha has pointed to 'the pain and frustration of having to live a difference that has no name and too many names already'. Yet she also acknowledges 'the necessity of renaming so as to un-name'. For this author, the act of naming can become an act of resistance – to undo 'established models and codes' in which 'plurality adds up to no total'.[265] Through the act of writing, Coppin, Cooper, Bethune, and Clark named

themselves and un-named the non-intellectual realities that historians have traditionally given to Black women. When considering Black women as a group, Collins wrote, "The words and actions of these diverse Black women intellectuals may address markedly different audiences. Yet in their commitment to Black women's empowerment within a context of social justice, they advance the strikingly similar theme of the oneness of all human life."[266] I offer, as Collins offers, a range of approaches to Black feminist thought as it pertains to service and education, not to assert that Black women are a monolithic group poised to save the world, bur rather to argue that by researching Black women's history of oppression and resistance, we may find hints on how to eradicate social, political, and economic inequalities through informed service and dedicated learning.

Thus, in this next part of my research, I join Carole Pateman (The Sexual Contract, 1988) and Charles W. Mills (The Racial Contract, 1997) in interrogating contractarianism found in political philosophy. This social contract is important to consider because of the major influence social construction has on educational institutions.

Characteristics of Individual, Social, and Institutional Identity

By considering the characteristics of individual, social, and institutional definitions of identity, we can better understand the historic relegation of Black women to a place of torment, torture, and disgrace in the American social order.

Individual Identity

In the fall semester of 1998, during my senior year in college, I created a concept, S.C.A.A.A.A.R.R.S., to organize my thoughts on what I wanted to study in graduate school. Since then, I have developed this acronym into a tool to assess the aspects of

cultural identity that addresses, at once, individual and social, biological and environmental characteristics (See Appendix C). This framework presents an orderly way of confronting the historic and increasingly contentious topic of cultural identity that, by academic necessity, must surpass the current convenient classifications of "race, class, and gender." As has been pointed out by Professor Robert Paul Wolff, and further corroborated by Professor William Cross, merely describing *some* of the characteristics of being human, (for who can ever truly construct a *definitive* list?), while important, does not explain how these characteristics interact or how we can best understand these complex variations to the benefit of ourselves and others.

Cross's research, published in Shades of Black: Diversity in African-American Identity (1991), discussed the complexity of identity by distinguishing the way one looks from the vantage-point of others versus the way one may see or define themselves: "nominally Black [noticeable characteristics such as skin color] does not equal Black identity. Identity is developed by an individual's constellation of experiences. It is not a linear frame; there is a universe of identities out there in the Black community." Thus, there is a biological and social construct of identity and that identity development is subject to individual circumstance, happenstance, and random situational experience. He continued:

> Each of these identities is a way in which a single human being is trying to make sense of themselves. Their identity is a meaning-making system, in the historical sense, (from where have I come?), in the contemporary sense, and most people when they make identity they are trying to make predictions (where they are going) – all of which are social constructions themselves. Identity models do not exhaust the universe of the people we are talking about. Being gay or Jewish for example, in a nominal sense does not always indicate that a person employs that part of their being to construct their identity or world-view. Or there is the other extreme of the person who makes meaning by incorporating whatever identity trait we are talking about into their world-view. So, for example, a person who is

> nominally Black may use race and culture in the construction of their identity; but a person may be nominally Black - but may be assimilationist – and then does not have a Black identity. This person does not use group in the analysis of the problems of culture. They stress individualism and social mobility. People on the other side [nationalists for example] tend to employ groupness as part of the way in which to analyze a problem and they typically view the group or groups as a resource for solving the problem.

Cross asserted that even within one social group, African Americans for example, people are different; so what? These human variations are important because of the historical reality of politics and the power of assigning both value and resources; here, self-perceived value is as important as socially prescribed value. For the four case studies in this dissertation, it is imperative to note that they were all self-defined race women. Although they were each very different, they self-selected not only to identify themselves as Black, but to work for other Black people within a community which they helped to define.

Chen (2000) observed that "[t]he worst effect of discrimination is self-hatred, hhatred of what you inherently are, and rejection of those things that make you less worthy in the eyes of others."[267] We assign value to ourselves and to others according to how we define "pretty," "smart," "good," and other relative terms. The idea of beauty, for example, is a subjective term, yet in the past and present women all over the world distort, defile, and destroy their bodies in an attempt to get to this ever-unattainable state of (usually male defined) perfection. Similarly, people (usually "of color") have been and continue to be subjugated because a standard of purity or piety has been constructed specifically to exclude those who have, by force or coercion, been denied the power of self-definition. In American educational systems, the curriculum has traditionally been

racist. In the field of community service, at PWIs, "outreach" has been done with an approach that assumes ignorance and helplessness of those served.

The politics of definition for individuals has great personal importance. How you finish the sentence "I define myself as..." reveals what characteristics you choose to foreground or highlight and which characteristics you choose to background or ignore. This self-definition may or may not happen (for some of us avoid asking or answering this question), it may change over time, and it may vary depending upon the audience who is listening to the answer.

The politics of definition for individuals has real ramifications. For example, it may determine who has access to opportunities and resources. Professor Cross, a psychologist who studies, among other things, "how people, particularly African Americans, experience themselves," points out the power and importance of naming oneself. He stated that "Jew" means something entirely different if the person who is saying the word is Jewish than if the person is a Nazi. This is imperative to understand the range of effects that desegregation had on African-American educational systems. Initially, desegregation was seen as a cure-all for racism. However, as can be seen with racist incidents from the mid-1950s to the mid-1980s, shared physical space between races in the classroom did not mean a change in racial consciousness for the dominant race. In Coppin's time, her battles with the Quaker managers showed the difference that student-choice and self-determination can have in a curriculum; she constantly attempted to justify course and program additions that the surrounding Philadelphia community members demanded, but that the Board of Managers did not see as essential. When considering the allocation of resources, being spoken for can mean being made invisible

altogether. For example, the American government has counted African Americans as 60% of a human being and, as Pateman pointed out in The Sexual Contract, "Locke's 'individual' [has been assumed to be] masculine" thus effectively eliminating women.[268]

Identity is inherently political and can be used offensively or defensively, thus, in Impossible Purities: Blackness, Femininity, and Victorian Culture, DeVere Brody (1998) has pointed to difference as:

> not only an identity, but a strategy to circumvent the mainstream oppressions which rely on stereotypes: naming and re-naming our own differences moves us from passive object to active subject. 'As a self-identified collective, U.S. women of color became a trope for a heterogeneity that can be mobilized for political opposition. Highlighting terms such as oppositional and differential consciousness, Sanduval perceives this collective not as a monolithic subject but as a tactical position of resistance'.[269]

Defining who you are is an imperative step towards *declaring* who you are, yet "identity does not automatically authorize politics."[270] Towards expunging negative images that have been internalized, Alexander and Mohanty (1997) wrote that "[d]ecolonization involves thinking oneself out of the spaces of domination, but always *within* the context of a collective or communal process (the distinction between identification as a woman and gender consciousness – the former refers to a social designation, the latter to a critical awareness of the implications of this designation)."[271] Thus, knowing that one is subjugated does not always result in critical consciousness; knowledge of oppression may not always be recognition of oppression, and recognition of oppression does not always lead to action. Narayan wrote:

> An awareness of the gender dynamics within one's family and one's "culture," even a critical awareness, does not suffice to make women feminists. Women may be aware of such dynamics but may consider them to be personal problems to be dealt with personally, without seeing them as a systematic part of the ways in which their family, their "culture," and changing material and social conditions script gender roles and women's lives, or without feeling that they must contest

> them in more formal, public, and political ways. It takes political connections to other women and their experiences, political analyses of women's problems, and attempts to construct political solutions for them, to make women into feminists in any full-blooded sense, as the history of women's movements in various parts of the world show us.[272]

Similarly, the ability to develop awareness of the "intersectionality" of identity, and thus the overlapping possibilities for oppression, is an important step towards developing definitive strategies of claiming the right to multiple areas of subjective political participation. As Brody (1998) observed "Black feminist theory, a form of *cultural criticism* that reads "race," class, gender, and sexuality as overlapping discourses, is a useful tool.... Black Feminist theorists such as Valerie Smith, Hazel Carby, and others have long offered interpretations that account for "intersectionality," to use critical legal studies professor Kimberle Crenshaw's term."[273]

It is clear in each one's writing that Coppin, Cooper, Bethune, and Clark were each keenly aware of her subjugation. Further, there was also an acknowledgement of the role that education played in either oppressing them and suppressing their "voice" or the ability for the process of education to bring her voice out. Each was also aware that her educational experience hinged on an intersection of race, gender, class, age and other vital characteristics. Anna Julia Cooper's articulation of being neither solely Black, nor solely female is an example of the critical consciousness displayed by these women over a century ago.

This experience of dynamic, and sometimes conflicting, personal characteristics forms what Wolff (1989) called a personal "narrative" which, when combined with other individual's experiences develops a "collective narrative."[274] In his article entitled

"Narrative Time: The Inherently Perspectival Structure of the Human World," he explained:

> In the real world, the object of our cognitive representations is ontologically prior to our representation of it. Truth is then conformity of representation to object, and perspective in representation is the consequence of the specificity of the spatio-temporal location from which the knowing mind apprehends what exists in isotropic space and time.... In a fictional world, however, the representations bring the world into existence.[275]

Objectivity, Wolff asserted, is not only impossible in scientific research, it is an impossibility in the real, socially constructed, human world (i.e. "Jew" has no real meaning outside of subjective – for example Jewish person or Nazi person – meaning making system). Our interpretation of the world around us is political; assigning value to identity is political; designing a curriculum, teaching in a classroom, and administration of American educational systems has been political. As one of Professor Wolff's students showed him, it is after we see the world we decide what to do and how to act. Given how we are socially constructed, after we evaluate the world, we must choose how to act in it. Eventually, "[y]ou have to make a choice, and after that, you will know who your friends and allies are, and whose interests you are prepared to fight for."[276] This is also important in understanding why and how educators define "service" differently.

My assertion is that because of the complex construction of individual identity, and the dynamic experience of oppression, one may effectively choose more than one "home" and thus choose more than one side to fight for. Although I have been told that the politics inherent in the realm of academic employment make it virtually impossible to effectively "serve two masters" (or gain tenure while in a joint appointment)" ultimately, attempting to choose, permanently, only one camp (i.e. race or gender) results in a ranking of characteristics and thus, a retreat from one or more parts of one's self. The

idea that one must swear complete allegiance to either race or gender ignores the history, scholarship, and activism of centuries of women of color and buys into the age-old strict binaries of what bell hooks called the "white supremacist, capitalist patriarchy."[277] However, it is not enough to claim "Black womanhood" as a permanent home. There is a need to coalesce with others of similar marginalized positions and allow the challenging work of ally building to take place. Cooper's idea of Black womanhood in her "when and where I enter" statement is simply a point of entry; she proceeds to engage national and international communities in the long, hard – collective – work of social justice for all.

It is impossible to separate parts of ourselves; therefore, there is a necessary simultaneity in defining ourselves. Timothy Libretti (1998) wrote, "[o]ne is not black, female, and a worker but rather a black woman worker; one has not multiple identities but a composite identity overdetermined by factors such as race, class, gender, nation, generation, and so on. Here [Cherríe] Moraga's concept of the simultaneity of oppression can be invoked."[278]

In sum, there are five aspects of individual definition that must be discussed in recognizing the construction and function of personal borders: (1) we all have various intersections of different characteristics of race, religion, sexuality, economic class, educational access, gender, sexuality and such. (2) These individual characteristics intersect and combine to form a complex (biological and environmental) mix of social possibilities. (3) Knowledge of how this individual identity in any given historical or geographical location constructs our position does not automatically presume a commitment to change that position. (4) Once we realize our adverse social position, we may have an interest in allying ourselves around more than one set of identity

characteristics because our oppression may result from any combination of characteristics, which one particular "camp" may not be wholly invested in rallying around. (5) "Strategic essentialism" can be an effective way of claiming a permanent, but not exclusive, "home" thus committing to a long-term struggle on one front while not abandoning struggles on other fronts as well.[279] Thus Black women who are "race women" are not excluding ourselves from all other characteristics; we are simply choosing an entry point to education, service, and social justice work.

In the next section, I discuss the political realities of the defining the social realm.

Social Definitions and Cultural Identity

Oppression is the very real consequence of un-critically assigning value to characteristics of identity. Underneath the levels of individual, social, and institutional constructs lie further distinctions that allow us to understand the interacting components of these categories. In the category of individual identity, we see, as exemplified by the S.C.A.A.A.A.R.R.S. model, different parts of the individual. In the category of social (and what Adams, Bell, and Griffin call the cultural identity), oppression takes place in two realms: the public and the private. Race can be experienced in the public realm (e.g. the lynching of a Black man as pointed out by Bethune). However, as a construct, it can be experienced as oppressive in the private realm as well, (e.g. skin color or hair texture tyranny within a household in the Black community as pointed out by Clark). For example, biological sex, gender, sexuality, and sexual orientation (all very distinct categories) are also experienced in both in the public and private realm. The private and public domain are not exclusive, rather the oppression in one realms influences oppression the other and vice versa. Pateman (1988) explained:

> The story of the original [social] contract tells of the genesis of a society that is constructed into two spheres – although we are usually told only half the story and so we only hear about the origin of the public 'universal' sphere. To tell the missing half of the story, to uncover the sexual contract and the origins of the private sphere, is necessary for an understanding of modern patriarchy. Yet, it is very difficult to reconstruct the story of the sexual contract without losing sight of the fact that the two spheres of civil society are, at once and the same time, both separate and interwoven in a very complex manner. To state that the social contract and the sexual contract – the original contract – creates the two spheres, can be seriously misleading in so far as such a formulation suggests that patriarchal right governs only marriage or the private sphere. In the classic tales the sexual contract is displaced into the marriage contract, but this does not mean that the law of male sex-right is confined to marital relations. Marriage is extremely important, not least because the private sphere is constituted through marriage, but the natural power of men as 'individuals' extends to all aspects of civil life. Civil society (as a whole) is patriarchal. Women are subject to men in both the private and public spheres; indeed, men's patriarchal right is the major structural support binding the two spheres into a social whole. Men's right of access to women's bodies is exercised in the public market as well as in private marriage, and patriarchal right is exercised over women and their bodies in ways other than direct sexual access, as I shall show when I consider the connection between the marriage contract and the (public) employment contract."[280]

Pateman clearly mapped out an example of the intersecting individual identities within public and private social realms that can determine one's social position. Further, just as there is a complex relationship between individual characteristics, there is a complex relationship of oppressive relationships between the individual/social/institutional and public/private realms resulting in what Romany (2000) has called "compound subordination."[281] As an excellent example, in her book, Women, Race, and Class, Angela Davis (1983) problematized Pateman's sexual contract that draws similarities between (White) wives and (Black) slaves.[282] Davis goes beyond the "civil" status of enslaved peoples to bring out the features of race and gender that are just as important in determining one's social position. In "Woman vs. the Indian," Cooper's challenge to Shaw is based on the premise that oppression of some means the oppression

of all and attempting to rank one's own group (women) above another oppressed group (Indian) does not change the conditions of oppression for either group.

While it is imperative to expose the inherent differences in group oppression, it is not a worthwhile journey to attempt to quantify pain or ask which oppressed group has had it the very, very worst in American or human history. To ask whether White women had it/have it better or worse than Black women is to fall for the red herring of divisiveness that keeps one from recognizing that boundaries of race and gender can not be drawn definitively: the debate must go beyond female/male and Black/White dichotomies. Debates that wish to focus on ranking individual or collective oppressions keep us from asking questions such as How and where do complex oppressive conditions of gender, race, civil status, and working conditions persist today? What social justice strategies have been historically successful in improving living and working situations for White women and for Black women? What parts of these strategies can be replicated and what parts need to be thrown out? How and what can we learn from historical and contemporary international social justice successes? Clearly, if we spend time in value- and ego- laden debates about who had it/ has it worse, we will miss the opportunity to seriously investigate various historic and contemporary movements in order to find how different people coped with - and changed - their particular oppressive public and private social situations.

Additionally, claiming the desire to "neutralize" gender has the same effect as adopting "color-blindness": these simply ignore the real and attempt, unsuccessfully, to wish the ideal into being. As Alexander and Mohanty (1997) have pointed out:

> Postmodernist discourse attempts to move beyond essentialism by pluralizing and dissolving the stability and analytic utility of the categories of race, class, gender,

and sexuality. This strategy often forecloses any valid recuperation of these categories or the social relations through which they are constituted. If we dissolve the category of race, for instance, it becomes difficult to claim the experience of racism. Certainly, racism and the processes of racialization are far more complicated now than when W. E. B. Du Bois predicted that the 'problem of the color line is the problem of the twentieth century [sic].' But the relations of domination and subordination that are named and articulated through the processes of racism and racialization still exist, and they still require analytic and political specification and engagement. Global realignments and fluidity of capital have simply led to further consolidation and exacerbation of capitalist relations of domination and exploitation – what we refer to in this collection as 'processes of recolonization.' Thus, while the current "color line" may suggest more complicated forms of racialized identities, the hierarchical relationships among racial groups and geographies have not disappeared."[283]

Social categories are neither neutral nor static. In attempting to claim neutral ground or objective standards, such as one saying she or he is simply "American," there is a retreat into the standard of "normal" that has, historically and internationally, been defined and constructed – in the ideal - to mean White, male, heterosexual, and middle-class. Mills observes that philosophically, "[t]he literal state of nature is reserved for nonwhites; for whites the state of nature is hypothetical."[284] The resulting phenomenon is an "ethnocentric gaze" which Cossman (2000) said may be negotiated "...without falling into a cultural relativism that would abandon the very project of looking beyond.... Such a refusal to look outside ourselves and our culture would after all undermine one of the most basic objectives of the postcolonial project, that is, exploring the transnational flows of culture and the ways the colonial binaries... have long been mutually constituting."[285] Thus, those of us who are "Other" should not merely seek to return that gaze, becoming voyeurs ourselves, but rather each individual and each culture, needs to reflect on how we each construct ourselves and each other. This would go beyond standpoint theory. Wood (1997) wrote that in standpoint theory, "[a]ll views are partial because each reflects only a particular standpoint within a culture stratified by power," and "[t]o survive, subjugated

persons have to understand people with power, the reverse is not true."[286] In order to break down the current racist imperative, a few mirrors are needed, not a collective old-fashioned evil-eye stare-down.

In sum, there are five aspects of social definition that must be discussed in recognizing the construction and function of cultural borders: (1) Social and/or cultural groups are developed by interrelated spheres of public and private relation. (2) Group situation and station is determined by shifting definitions of group power relations. (3) Comparing historic group oppression with the intent of ranking pain takes much needed time and energy from understanding how social groups have achieved social justice or improved social status. (4) A singular or value-neutral group definition is, like individual objectivity, impossible. (5) Attempting to maintain group affiliation by means of stated opposition, to either the "target" (oppressed) or "agent" (oppressing) group, is futile. Though maintenance of power for an agent group may remain (i.e. White and male = power), individual group affiliation is as tenuous as group status: unsuspected circumstances may, at any given time, change the relation of the individual to the group (i.e. White and – homeless, disabled, war veteran – male = relatively less power). The perception that one group can maintain permanent power by objectifying another group is an illusion: only an individual's critical reflection can break the trance of the gaze. Only an individual's constant re-evaluation of relation to group can provide a realistic self-reflection. This analysis is helpful because while each of these women were Black women, they did not think in the same way and did not come from the same place; however, their differences do not preclude combining them into a category of "Black women" for the purpose of interrogating the education or service industries.

In the next section, I discuss the political realities of defining the institutional realm.

Institutional Definitions and Cultural Identity

"...[W]e live in a world which has been *foundationally shaped for the past five hundred years by the realities of European domination and the gradual consolidation of global white supremacy*."[287] The individual and the social/cultural constructs that human beings have developed are complimented by our formation of inter-related and inter-dependent institutions. Wijeyesinghe, Griffen, and Love (1997) defined institutions as:

> Established societal networks that covertly or overtly control the allocation of resources to individuals and social groups and that set influential cultural norms and values. Examples of social institutions include the legal and criminal justice system, various forms of the media, banks, schools, and organizations that control access to or the quality of employment and education. In addition, since religious groups, family units, governmental bodies, and civic organizations influence social norms, policies, and practices, these agencies can also be defined as social institutions.[288]

Overall, these institutions are governmental, economic, religious, military, and intellectual and they, like individual and social characteristics, form a network; this network is generally referred to as, (mostly by those who have been crushed under the network), "The System." The four political aspects of definition that must be discussed in recognizing the construction and function of institutional borders are: (1) Institutions within "The System" are inter-related and inter-dependent. (2) Institutions are not neutral, value-free, or ideal. (3) Subjugation of individuals and social groups within institutions is profound and compound. (4) Institutions exacerbate, but are not singularly responsible for oppression.

Despite any historic or contemporary claim to the contrary, governmental, economic, religious, military, and intellectual systems are related. For example, as

Professor Sinha (2000) pointed out in The Counterrevolution of Slavery: Politics and Ideology in Antebellum South Carolina, religion and government were combined, in order to prove that "man's right to 'property in man' [and woman] had been 'consecrated by the Bible."[289] In her work we also see how "southern nationalism" and engagement of the Carolinian planter politicians in the "proslavery, antidemocratic discourse" of "southern nationalism" is reflected in contemporary claims for states rights over big government.[290] Institutional borders, like individual and social borders are complex, relative, and shift with perspective: both northern and southern brands of nationalism laid claim to the Bible and the debate between state and federal government jurisdiction over definition of rights – or, for example the right of interpretation of 2000 Florida presidential election results – continues to rage on. For another clear, contemporary example of how governmental, economic, religious, military, and intellectual systems are related, take out a one-dollar bill. Study it carefully. How many interlocking systems can you identify? This works with any denomination of any nation's currency.

Those who point to the ideology of America's, or any country's institutions as neutral, value-free, or ideal are operating in a fantasy world. All national, transnational, or international institutions' philosophies are constructed by human beings, thus these philosophies, and practices, are subject to the imperfect realities of human beings regardless of any previous or present attempts to create an abstract ideal.

Subjugation of individuals and social groups within institutions is profound and compound. Lott[291] has tied health to literacy, literacy to education, education to income, and income to health. Once individuals or social groups are denied access to one institution, they are likely to be caught in an almost inescapable cycle of oppression by

being denied justice or access to other institutions. While it may seem that a particular group is making gains in a certain institution, economics for example, the reality may be hidden from view in a flurry of manipulated statistics. This is why many critique Booker T. Washington's economic approach to uplift. A key illustration of this difference lies in the crucial distinction between income and wealth. Mills wrote, "Middle-class blacks, for example, earn seventy cents for every dollar earned by middle-class whites but they possess only *fifteen cents for every dollar of wealth* [cumulative value with compound interest] held by middle-class whites"[292] (emphasis mine). Further, due to the political nature of definition of "access" to institutions, incorporation into an institution guarantees neither equality nor equity. Again, Mills pointed out that "[o]riginally denied education, blacks were later, in the postbellum period, given an education appropriate to postchattel status – the denial of a past, of history, of achievement – so that as far as possible they would accept their prescribed roles of servant and menial laborer, comic coons and Sambos, grateful Uncle Toms and Aunt Jemimas. Thus in one of the most famous books from the black American experience, Carter Woodson [1933] indicts 'the mis-education' of the Negro."[293] Any service experience that does not challenge the student and teacher to reflect on the basic assumptions found in American educational systems will not be effective in illuminating the social inequalities that caused the need for the service to be provided.

The debate about whether to change an institution from without or from within has been and continues to be of interest to those who would be change agents. Regardless of the method of change chosen, it is obvious that even for those who manage to "succeed" within an unjust institution, success is relative. There will always be those

within social systems to whom "no amount of education, achievement, contribution to society, or acculturation can make [the Other] legitimate, because some people do not respect achievements."[294]

In "The Political Dynamics of White Predominance in the Workplace," a section of a chapter entitled "The Modernization of Prejudice," Jones (1998) demonstrated how racism, much like race itself, is relative rather than static. She cites an example of a labor strike in which White unionists charged that "blacks lacked the intelligence and judgment to serve as 'practically an assistant engineer,'" while White managers countered that "black men's brute strength and endurance made them particularly suited for this kind of work."[295] In this excerpt from American Work: Four Centuries of Black and White Labor, Jones showed that White supremacy, like all oppression, can be very concrete but also very slippery; There is no one way to be racist – there are many.

In the institutions of labor, Jones delineated four areas of private sector labor: professional positions (law, medicine, high technology, business, and finance); middle-level jobs (firefighters, police, construction workers, teachers); personnel offices of business (administration of social welfare services within local, state, and federal governments); and low-status, low-paying, and often highly exploitative positions (labor-intensive industries with low profit margins, factory work, [and I would add service industry]."[296] Labor stands at the intersection of other institutions and is a vital construct in society; work, like any other system exemplifies the politics of power, and the power of politics, within a system.

Additional examples of politics of institutional definition can be seen in the historical increase in the medicalization of women's lives. Reissman studied the step-by-

step colonization of women's process of "childbirth, reproductive control, premenstrual syndrome, weight and body image issues, and mental health," and this system, economic, governmental, and intellectual, is additionally influenced by controlled, popular media images driven by capital interests built upon an empire of multiple oppression and subjugation.[297] The increasing (Western male) control of health care, while making billions of dollars for a few "experts" with monied interest in "research," has cost millions of people access to effective, affordable, and preventative healthcare.

When discussing politics of defining institutions, I must point out, it is easy to blame "The System." The White men did it all. The media did it all. The White men who control the media did it all. While it is relatively easy to rally around the idea of one static, identifiable enemy, it is more difficult to look at how individuals have simultaneously been victimized and have victimized others within the series of social institutions that make up "The System." This realization that to demonize one set of society, reducing all White men to a biologically determined evil, actually relieves those responsible parties, most of whom are White men, from blame. "White" itself is a social construct and without interrogating the development of that particular ideology, those who benefit from it and those who are victimized because of it, can not effectively work to change the result of its construction.

Further, pointing to different kinds of oppression, i.e. "horizontal oppression," in no way apologizes for the historic and contemporary atrocities that White men who control resources, including but not limited to the media, have and still continue to commit. To point out the individual and social as well as institutional source of oppression, is to say that *in addition* to holding the public criminals accountable for their

massive human rights abuses, we must continue to search for and identify the "guilty" individuals within our own communities. Much like the complex simultaneity in individual identity development, and much like compound characteristics of social persecution based on certain characteristics of those individual identities, institutional "isms" are not easily separated into a simple innocent "us" and guilty "them." Those who are truly interested in social justice, which is to say individual and institutional justice as well, cannot choose to fight institutional racism, sexism, heterosexism or the ism of choice without searching for personal, private, and public ways to eradicate the oppression of other "Others."

The American educational system is, as the crafters of the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision asserted, "perhaps the most important function of state and local governments" [that] "is the very foundation of good citizenship" and is a "principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment." Studying the writing of Black women can help educators and policy makers better understand how the educational system has been used to suppress the growth of its citizens. This analysis can also offer effective approaches to eradicating the inequalities that exist in the schools and those that are present in the larger society.

In debate, it is imperative to define terms.[298] If one party concedes the right of definition, it is extremely difficult to gain the debate match. Similarly, if one does not have the right or ability to define self and relationship to other, one's capacity to determine the direction and action of individual, social, and institutional parties is diminished and control of resources is unlikely. The options for naming are self-

definition or definition by others. Professor Cross's work clarified the difference. Coppin's teachers told her that her race was not good in math; Cooper's employers attempted to prohibit her from pursuing her doctoral degree and threatened to fire her from her teaching position; Bethune's White neighbors, children, told her that she could not read – it was not her place; the School Board fired Clark from her teaching position, after 40 years of service, because of her membership in an organization that sought to improve conditions for Black teachers and students. Racist and sexist institutions and educational administrators told these women who they were and imposed limitations on who they should become – fortunately, none of these women listened.

Implications for Service-Learners

Reflection and reciprocity are important concepts in the field of service-learning. The study of Black women's experiences and philosophies will assist in challenging those who reflect in the classroom to consider a wider theoretical base in their analysis. In addition, the concept of reciprocity will be much affected by this research. Often, student volunteers assume that the communities in which they serve have nothing to contribute to the student's process of learning or to their own lives. These Black women were, in the larger society, slaves and children of slaves; this dehumanization of people by limiting access to institution and by applying demeaning labels still continues today. The implication of "needing service" is that the student gives and the needy receive. By challenging the conventional idea of community service, especially as it applies to the needs of Black people, students can realize the opportunity to learn valuable intellectual and moral lessons from those whom they engage with in service.

In a critique of Mary Daly's definition of "woman" and "Indian woman," a contemporary example of this attempt to limit the definition and power self-naming by women of color can be seen. Both Audre Lorde (Sister Outsider 1984) and Uma Narayan (Dislocating Cultures 1997) challenged Mary Daly's dedication to radical feminism while at the same time ignoring the effects of white domination. The beginning of this critique resembles Cooper's 1892 critique of Shaw; however, Lorde and Narayan also challenged Daly's portrayal of racialized women who claim their racial culture as inherently victimized. Often, "consciousness raising" in feminist studies has been an effort to convince women of color that they are oppressed by their racialized culture. Similarly, those who attempt to "serve" communities of color often impose an interpretation of powerlessness on the people in the areas where they work.

In her essay, Lorde pointed out that Daly, without context, presented only a deficit model of African women's history and experience. Weedon wrote, "[a]t issue here is the question of difference. Daly's emphasis on the universal nature of patriarchy and her failure to challenge a Eurocentric view of women of colour as victims leads to the denial of the positive aspects of other women's cultures and their resistance to patriarchy."[299] Lorde questioned Daly's scholarship for two reasons: first because it did not acknowledge the victimization of Black women by *White* patriarchy, and second because it presented African women only as victims rather than as powerful women capable of self-definition and social-determination. In the field of community service-learning this is seen as "need-based" assessment rather than "asset-based" assessment. In women's studies, this is also represented by the "crisis model of health" rather than a "balanced

model of health." Towards approaching a more accurate criteria for definition, it is necessary to search not for binaries, but for balance:

> ...[A]n analysis of recent writings by Paula Gunn Allen, Gloria Anzaldúa, and Audre Lorde indicates the possibility of developing configurations of identity that destabilize self/other, margin/center dichotomies by challenging traditional humanist notions of a unitary self and its various forms of conventional identity politics. As self-identified lesbians of color, these three writers could be considered *triply* marginalized; however, they do not reify their multiple marginal positions into the paradoxical feminist center Suleri describes. Instead, they use their epistemic privilege performatively to negotiate diverse sets of socially constructed spaces.... To borrow Victoria Turner's phrase, they are 'threshold people.'[300]

Attention to self and relationships – investigating thresholds - creates a dialogue. This dialogue can be seen throughout the history of women's studies. Dialogue and perspective has created feminisms: Liberal, radical, psychoanalytic, Marxist/socialist, postmodern, third wave, and Third World feminisms are all a result of the continued interrogation of one's relationship – standpoint – to other feminists.[301]

What I intended to do when constructing my S.C.A.A.A.A.R.R.S. model of cultural identity was to point to the fact at we are *all* threshold people. By exploring variations within human beings and differences between people, we see that we are all other, thus eliminating the notion of White, middle-class, male, heterosexual ideal as the invisible norm or standard: each of us, then, shows signs of "scarification." As Brody does, "I borrow the term 'scarification' from the title and revolutionary message behind Jayne Cortez's second book of poetry, a product of the Black Aesthetic Movement. Scarification can be interpreted in two ways: (1) in terms of the scars left by oppression, mental as well as physical scars, and (2) as ritualistic tribal markings that define not only the people to whom you belong but also the place."[302] Further, interpretation of history is greatly affected by how one names oneself: Historically, whether someone saw

Christopher Columbus and General Custer as heroes or villains probably largely depended on if they were White or Indian.

It is said that history is written by the winners, but those who espouse the "top down" approach to history have only "won" the right to define the popular view of historical events and, thanks to the multitude of voices which represent different perspectives of experiences, that victory of elitist definition is proving to be temporary.

Wolff (2000) defined philosophy as "literally, love of wisdom, philosophy is the systematic, critical examination of the way in which we judge, evaluate, and act, with the aim of making ourselves wiser, more self-reflective, and therefore better men and women."[303] Because of the volatile nature of interpretation, especially those terms listed in the above definition, I know that my educational philosophy, both in teaching and in learning, will continue to walk the lines and cross the lines of personal, social, and institutional politics.

My analysis of cultural identity has explored the politics of definition, both the real and ideal definitions, as they are constructed in individual, social, and institutional realms. Accurate individual, social, and institutional definitions come about only through disagreement, dialogue, discussion, and debate. Just as it is important to contribute to the definition of the ideal, it is also important to add our individual voices to the interpretation of the largely skewed "real" historical account. Mills suggested that, "by looking at the *actual* historically dominant moral/political consciousness and the *actual* historically dominant moral/political ideals, we are better enabled to prescribe for society than by starting from ahistorical abstractions."[304] Richard Wright is said to have written "literature is the struggle over the nature of reality." This dissertation has been an attempt

to define the stakes of the struggle between educators, public servants, and those they serve while at the same time, as Professor Deschamps has said, "write myself into being."[305]

In this research, I have been introduced to many Black women who served and educated those in need and who made a difference in the lives of national and international community members. One important text that highlights an important group of these women is Trailblazers and Torchbearers. Though interracial collaboration between women's groups are highlighted, the majority of the text is dedicated to Black women and their place within the movement for improved conditions (economic, civil, and individual) for Black women and men during the modern Civil Rights Movement. At a conference in October of 1988, many women contributed to a collective effort to honor those who struggled for fairer treatment during the mid-Twentieth Century; the result is a published text which calls out the names of those women who were responsible for significant efforts to bring about social justice and social change. Readers are introduced to and given great detail about the issues and events which took place in Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia, New York, Boston, Maryland, and Tennessee. Women struggled for co-ops, voting rights, increased literacy rates, desegregation of schools and public space, and the right to organize and express themselves, creatively, in opposition to any force which would deny them equality and prosperity.

Yet the pieces of this book go far beyond simple glorification of those names which have, to some, become familiar and worthy of praise and admiration. The nationally recognized names of Ella Baker, Rosa Parks, Septima Clark and Fannie Lou Hamer are accompanied by (other) everyday women such as Annie Devine, Lou Emma

Allen, and Jo Ann Robinson. The collection of essays represents the important notion that the Black women who were involved in the Civil Rights Movement were not a monolithic or homogeneous group. Although there was generally an idea of shared-power and governance (a stark contrast from the "leader" model put forth by the hierarchy within organizations literally dominated by Black men) there was a spectrum of behaviors and beliefs among the Black women activists. Black women held different ideas of exactly what role religion played in the movement and they posited varied strategies to deal with the eviction, jailing, shooting, police harassment and brutality, and organized terror that came as a backlash against their assertion of personal and political freedom.

Recognizing the differences in approach, commitment, and in the development of coping mechanisms employed by Black women encourages the realization that the myth of the "strong Black woman" is exactly that – a myth. There is no question that these Black women were strong, indeed they rescued the virtue of strength from the typical association with "traditionally" defined notions of masculinity; however, these Black women were simply, above all, dedicated human beings. The problem with hero worship is that it robs heroes of their humanity and it alleviates the responsibility of other everyday people from acting to produce change within our own parts of the world. In sum, these women were not super-human, they simply did something that we should all be responsible for doing: making our voices heard. The fact that they confronted the sexism of Black men within the movement is just as important as their dedication to confronting racism in the larger society. Viewing Black women as a single-subject group

of simple-minded individuals misses the whole point of looking at specific questions within groups of Black women who struggle towards shared (and/or similar) goals.

Regardless of whether one took Coppin's relatively traditional approach to education, Cooper's liberal approach, or the more political approach of Bethune and Clark, Black women's philosophies, educational institutions, and curricular structures had community-service at their root. Despite the many ways of *practicing* education, these women's articulation of the *function* of education was tied directly to community service. It does not follow that they all had the same definition of service. However, the tenor of the century between the mid-1800s and the mid-1900s was social uplift of African Americans in general and African American women in particular. Regardless of the tone, the voices of Black women educational leaders called for improving access to the skills and resources that formal and informal instruction would bring.

In Black History and the Historical Profession, August Meier wrote that "it is an interesting coincidence that, like [Horace Mann] Bond, Marion M. Thompson Wright (1904-1962), the first black woman historian to make a contribution to the field of Afro-American history, did her dissertation on the history of education...".[306] Given the direct relation of educational attainment to improved social status, it seems no coincidence that, when given the opportunity, both Black men and women aspire to understand and influence issues in the field of education. In the post-Civil War Black community, regardless of the supposed dichotomous debates between liberal (Du Bois's focus) or industrial (Booker T. Washington's focus) means toward the end of learning, both approaches considered learning *in-and-of-itself* as a service to the community. Black people who gained access to formal educational were then expected to help raise the

status of other Black people. Service was central to the post-emancipation collective African American experience and thus essential to the Black philosophy of education. Education worked and African Americans sought to make it work for them, regardless of the various methods employed to attain it.

In response to social oppression such as personal violence, legal, political, and economic disenfranchisement, social, cultural, and gender subjugation three main themes emerge from Black women's thought and practice of education for service and education as service. These themes are *capability* (we can educate and serve), *responsibility* (we must educate and serve), and *inevitability* (we will educate and serve). An examination of educators who lived and worked prior to school desegregation show how the themes of capability, responsibility, and inevitability can serve as models for involvement in community service-learning today.

The main themes of responsibility, capability, and inevitability in Nineteenth century Black women's philosophy of education reveal an intersection of pragmatism with other philosophies of education, namely perennialism, idealism, and reconstructionism. These women were pragmatists: the circumstance of living in the very dangerous climate of racist America forced them to become problem solvers. They did, to varying degrees, hold thoughts of idealism: most believed in an absolute Justice with a capital "J". They also held ideas of perennialism: some of them studied – mastered even – the "Classical" curriculum in order to prove their intellectual ability. Those who engaged in scientific racism (biological determinism and eugenics movement for example) that was rampant during the late Nineteenth and early twentieth century and asserted that Africans and women – certainly African-American women - were incapable of true

intelligence. These women understood that as an African American woman "you don't have to be as good as white people, you have to be *better* or *the best*"[307], so they studied and taught the classic curriculum of the "Gentleman's Course" in a very deliberate manner. Lastly, most women offered a reconstructionist approach to their educational philosophy; they were very active socially, and dedicated to both social justice and social change.

Despite the unanimity of belief in the role of education and service in these three themes, there was no consensus on how these themes are applied. The variance in attitude and approach that these women took can be linked to their upbringing and social position. Whether one was born slave or free, was light skinned or dark skinned, came from middle-class or poverty, whom one was married to, and political influence, allegiance, or alliance at the time, certainly all influenced the way that African American women were socialized in their educational institution and how they saw their roles as leaders in their own schools.[308]

Similarly, the size, location, constituency, mission, and affiliation of an institution will greatly influence the definition of education and of service just as the cultural characteristics of the students and the community members will greatly influence the development of relationships. Such disparate colleges and universities as Oberlin, CSU, Monterey Bay, Colorado State University, and University of Utah have made an institutional commitment to advance service-learning on campus. As schools with a predominantly White student base, these approaches and student experiences will differ drastically from those of Historically Black colleges and universities. Even within the realm of HBCUs, there is not one singular correct approach for community service-

learning; however, it is especially important for HBCUs within majority Black areas to return to the foundations of community-based learning.

Today, many HBCUs need to be recognized for their fundamental contribution to the theory, institution building practices, and curricular foundations of community service-learning. Currently, Florida A &M, Clark Atlanta, Morehouse, Spelman, Dillard, Xavier, Morgan State,[309] Tougaloo, Bennett, North Carolina Central, Cheyney and Lincoln (Penn) are all members of Campus Compact, an organization of university presidents dedicated to institutionalizing community service-learning.[310] Further, Howard,[311] Shaw, Florida Memorial College, Lemoyne-Owen College, have outstanding community service-learning efforts and there are many more HBCUs connected to the groundbreaking United Negro College Funds (UNCF) and the Ford Foundation's service-learning initiative.[312] However, community service-learning still falls mainly into the realm of women's work: African-American women dominate the field of education[313] and African-American women students are almost twice as likely to participate in community service activities than African-American men students.[314]

Though there are some similarities between the cultural identity of the four Black women and myself, I do not suppose that they, or I hold "the answers" to service work in all Black communities. Indeed, the diversity in opinion and experience between this small group of Black women shows that "the Black community" is a difficult concept to pin down. As Dewey argued, the ideas of "society" or "community" are misleading because both of those bodies are so ambiguous, that in order to speak of them, the larger group must be broken down into smaller pieces. This concept is in line with what Bernice Johnson Reagon called different "home" spaces. As such, Black women as a group in

society, do hold an interesting set of characteristics which can be discussed collectively, although there is much division within the group itself. There are commonalities in expression and experience that make this group as a cultural division, relevant to those who practice education and service. One of the ways Black women can be helpful is in defining what aims are desirable for Black children, whether as students who serve or as recipients of volunteer services.

Dewey wrote, "Any individual has missed his calling, farmer, physician, teacher, student, who does not find that the accomplishments of results of value to other is an accompaniment of a process of experience inherently worthwhile."[315] Thus, education should have a purpose. In African-American educational history, members outside of the Black communities have often decided, *a priori*, what educational accomplishments were desired and the value that those outcomes were to provide to the larger society. This research helps to show the value in listening to Black women who have ideas about what processes should be involved in education and what outcomes should be deemed valuable, as judged by members of Black communities involved.

Unlike some Black women educators who have historically written on and participated in community-based service-learning, I do not argue that Black women have a greater capacity or responsibility for human empowerment than does any other race or gender. However, I do show that, based on statistical evidence, Black women - prior to desegregation and after- participate in both education and service fields more than men; thus if we are to improve contemporary service-learning practices, we must look to the prevalent models that have been effective in advancing the education of African-Americans.

Now as ever, Black woman teachers trained by Black colleges are primarily teaching Black children in Southern and/or urban schools where Black children comprise the majority of the school.[316] Service-learning is a pedagogy that can enable Black teachers, Black students, and the Black communities that surround schools and universities to advance intellectually and socially. By turning to Black women's educational tradition and moving away from the top-down leadership model of social change, it can be possible to re-claim community service and political origins in American education for all students and educators, regardless of race or gender.

For those interested in working with youth in communities of color, regardless of their own race and ethnicity, these successful philosophical and theoretical paradigms are essential to informed, effective community-based education. Any work done in these communities of color that does not build upon the rich history of the successes and mistakes of HBCUs in general and Black women educators in particular, will inevitably fall short of the goal of sustained community relationship and town/gown transformation.[317]

I have worked with community service-learning for six years, yet it was not until I started to consider where service-learning, experiential education, and pragmatism are placed in relation to idealism, realism, behavioralism, and other schools of thought, that I began to gain a better understanding of what I *thought* I was doing, what I was *actually* doing, and what I *wanted* to do with service-learning. To understand service-learning without considering the range of underlying assumptions and premises of the related educational philosophies, is to mis-understand service-learning. Debates of what service is and what service should be will be far more substantial when we consider our own

philosophical assumptions that precede the definition of the term "service." Considering the ideas of these Black women educators can help inform that process of the need for philosophical investigation.

As service-learning practitioners, it is imperative for us to consider the following questions: How do I identify myself? How do I identify the communities in which I serve? How might my cultural identity impact how I view our relationship? How do the people in those communities define themselves, individually and collectively? When Fanny Coppin still maintained high expectations of her class, it was indicative of her experience with having people doubt her intellectual capacity. My experience with students in service-learning classes is very different; many times there is an assumption of mental or moral inferiority of those being served. Most service learning faculty ask their students to reflect on these questions when engaging in community service. However, because of academic institutions' emphasis on objective practice (despite the unattainable nature of objectivity in learning and teaching[318]), faculty rarely fully insert themselves into the service learning equation. Black women's intellectual history is an effective "new" paradigm to frame the study of service-learning precisely because that history reveals solutions based on their intimate experience with the "served" that is far less removed than the conditions most of us work in now. Reading their reflections on service and education can help us with our own.

Beyond considering our own cultural identities and then comparing our own ideas with contemporary stances, we must place ourselves, our thoughts, and our work in historical context. By seeking to contextualize questions and answers by seriously studying the educators of the past, including those who come from communities we seek

to partner with and those who are routinely ignored as educational philosophers, we can find ourselves equipped with well worn tools of social justice. While these women did in fact "go before and prepare the way for others," as the popular text on service-learning suggests, these women were NOT "pioneers." To some degree, they did possess the "independent, entrepreneurial, and pathbreaking" spirit that would, in some cultural contexts, designate them as adventurous explorers. However, within their own cultural and historical contexts, these women were CLUB WOMEN: they belonged to families that defied the popular static or nuclear ideals and they created communities that rejected the autonomy of American individualism. Their destiny was manifest in their community.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION: PATHWAYS FOR FURTHER STUDY AND MY NOTES ON LEARNING

I have not yet approached in a significant manner the large body of work dealing with historic educational philosophies of W. E. B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, John Dewey, Jane Addams or the like. It is my wish, after completing the requirements of the doctoral degree in Afro-American Studies with a concentration in history, to expand my understanding of these Black women thinkers by placing their ideas side-by-side with these educators. In this way I will be able to explore the areas of agreement and the points at which these thinkers diverge from one another and from their contemporaries. However, I have begun to see examples of what such research may yield. In the context of community service-learning, I think a brief consideration of Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Dewey's historical relation to these women might serve as a teaser of the infinite possibilities for comparison. Below is the introduction to such an exploration.

African-American Intellectual History and Philosophy: W. E. B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington[319]

The Bureau of Refugees, Freedman, and Abandoned Lands (commonly known as the Freedman's Bureau) was housed in the War Department, just as the Bureau of Indian Affairs would be later. Educating Black people was not a priority of the Freedman's Bureau; it was initially organized for the managing of property and the maintenance of social order during a time of relative upheaval. When the education of African-Americans did become an issue for the post-bellum federal government, the missionary approach that most White Americans took assumed Black inferiority. Those few who did

advocate for educational access for Black people, pre-supposed a moral, intellectual, or cultural absence within Black families and communities; thus the brand of education was aimed toward attempting to get the "Negroes" to accept their lower status in society. Although there was no absolute conformity in the approach that many White educators took, there was a general uniformity in assuming Black people's limited capacity to be education for self-determination. There was also a disagreement between Black educators during the eras of Reconstruction and Jim Crow. W. E. B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington were seen as the premier commentators on African-American life in general and African-American educational affairs in particular.

In this section, I consider questions regarding Washington's and Du Bois' ideas about the education of African Americans. I look not only at what they thought, but how their thought impacted Black people during the dawn of the twentieth century and how their ideas have affected the development of educational access for African Americans since that time. Education prepares one for life. Census data have always shown that one's level of educational attainment has a direct impact on the level of financial and social status; conversely, those with access to financial resources and social mobility have the greatest access to higher levels of education. In the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education decision, the Supreme Court recognized the central importance of education in a child's life:

> Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principle instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment.

During the era of Du Bois and Washington's ascendancy, millions of Black people who were denied access to any education were, after reconstruction, feeling the burn of retroactive social policies that would relegate them to slave-like conditions.

Race leaders of the time developed social philosophies about many of America's institutions: political, social, economic and educational. Here I seek to answer questions regarding these specific leaders' approach to education in order to learn more about the efficacy and viability of their overall agendas and platforms for social change. The four questions that I address below are: What were the educational philosophies of Washington and Du Bois?; What was the efficacy of Du Bois' and Washington's educational program for the masses of Black people during the turn of the century?; Was their educational philosophy successful; if so, what are the criteria by which we are gauging "success"?; and What are the contemporary implications of Washington's and Du Bois's educational philosophies in relation to Brown v. Board of Education, desegregation, and equal access to representative education ?

What were the educational philosophies of Washington and Du Bois?

Here, I analyze three aspects of these two leaders' educational philosophies: their ideas about the preferred or ultimate structure of education; their ideas about the preferred or ultimate function of education; and the kind of educators they were.

By 1901, when Booker Taliaferro Washington penned Up from slavery, he was already hailed as America's leading Black educator. He was a graduate of Hampton University in Virginia and in 1881 founded Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. In his (second attempt at an) autobiography, Up From Slavery, Washington illustrated in great detail how he lifted himself up by his very own bootstraps. The social danger that his work

historically represents lies in the notion that anyone, therefore everyone, can within the American system, achieve both economic and educational social success, and that those who do not do so only have themselves to blame. This viewpoint overlooks or diminishes the very real boundaries that have been forced on certain communities and ignores the fact that though everyone may posses the inherent ability and desire to create a free and comfortable life, not everyone, despite their best efforts, can overcome the odds that have faced "minority" populations in this country. Yet, although his writing focused almost squarely on the "uncivilized" habits and thought processes of newly freed Blacks and the "pleasant" and overwhelmingly gracious nature of Whites, Washington's fundamental belief in the inherent abilities of each Black individual to move beyond the social constraints of the time, is deserving of attention in its own right. In The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935, (1988), Anderson clearly identifies General Samuel Armstrong, the leader of the Hampton Institute in Virginia, as the paternalistic source of Washington's manual labor work regime, economic focus, and anti-political educational philosophies.

Washington was very definitely calculating in his strategy for personal and racial upward mobility. It is easy, especially armed with the advantage of hindsight, to track his personal and professional advances in direct correlation to his ability to kowtow to the demands of White expectations of deference. His description of his unending personal fortitude and his frequent forays into the details of his best "friends" and "lessons" at the hands of (and, some would argue, at the feet of) White women and men shows that he viewed himself as a role model to Black citizens because of his ability to get along in the White community. On the other hand, his practical approach to education was relevant.

Despite his oftentimes condescending and sweeping generalizations of Black backwardness, Washington expressed pride at being a part of a noble and able "sable" race.

In the end, regardless of his forthright determination, Washington was definitely more of an accommodator and apologist than an agitator and activist. Yet, his advocacy for increased educational and occupational opportunities for Blacks was sincere, substantial, and most importantly, incredibly effective. Clearly, he had an agenda, and it involved not angering the White citizens of America. His evocation of the passive voice when it comes to oppression of Blacks is meant to soften the edges of abuse and reduces White violence to a mere disservice to Blacks and a source of moral shame and degradation to Whites. For example, when talking about the Ku Klux Klan he states that "[d]uring this time, not a few couloured people lost their lives" but that "To-day there are no such organizations in the South, and the fact that such ever existed is almost forgotten by both races."[320] He even pardons his presumably White "father" with a statement that both Whites and Blacks were victims of the uncontrollable system of slavery. Although it was not always clear which color or economic class he *really* valued most, his words and actions that provided real opportunity for Black women, men, and children who were desperate to learn basic and advanced skills should always be given at least as much consideration as those actions that were as questionable and hostile as Bledsoe in Ralph Ellison's Invisible Man. Outside of his stubborn, calculating, and seemingly immovable character, and surely sometimes because of it, Washington nevertheless remains a formidable figure in Black history and a fascinating example of the complexities inherent in the varied means and ways of gaining social equality for Black people.

Washington envisioned a mass of Black people who would be educated to work in order to gain economic independence. In My Larger Education (1911), Washington wrote about how he envisioned justifying a school for Black people to learn to work:

> It may seem strange that a man who had started out with the humble purpose of establishing a little Negro industrial school in a small Southern country town should find himself, to any great extent, either helped or hindered in his work by what the general public was thinking and saying about any of the large social or educational problems of the day. But such was the case at the time in Alabama; and so it was that I had not gone very far in my work before I found myself trying to formulate clear and definite answers to some very fundamental questions. The questions came this way: Coloured people wanted to know why I proposed to teach their children to work. They said that they and their parents had been compelled to work for two hundred and fifty years, and now they wanted their children to go to school so that they might be free and live like the white folks – without working. That was he way in which the average coloured man looked at the matter. Some of the Southern white people, on the contrary, were opposed to any kind of education for the Negro.[321]

As always, Washington takes a humble "aw shucks" approach to recording what his educational goals for Tuskegee were. He records the history of the Institute in a way that assumes the inherent inferiority of Black people; he says that they simply needed basic guidance and training on how to be useful. Only then, he asserts, can Black people be worthy of the (political) citizenship that he faulted other people of his day for demanding. Washington wrote against the idea of an intellectual class of Black people; in fact, he wrote against the intellectuals themselves. In the same work, he wrote:

> The first thing to which they objected was my plan for the industrial education of the Negro. It seemed to them that in teaching coloured people to work with the hands I was making too great a concession to public opinion in the South. Some of them thought, probably, that I did not really believe in industrial education myself; but in any case, they were opposed to any "concession," no matter whether industrial education was good or bad. According to their way of looking at the matter, the Southern white man was the natural enemy of the Negro, and any attempt, no matter for what purpose, to gain his sympathy or support must be regarded as a kind of treason to the race. All of these matters furnished fruitful subjects for controversy, in which all of the college graduates that I referred to were naturally the leaders.[322]

Washington goes on to tell stories of useless intellectuals who, after getting their high degrees from Northern colleges, couldn't find anything meaningful to do in service to the race. He justifies his particular approach to education – industrial training as a means to financial security - and documents his trek in building a small industrial college. Regarding teaching style, he credits General Samuel Armstrong of Hampton for his ability to pass on what he sees as fundamental common sense education. On its surface, Washington's practice of his educational philosophy was a basic structure and function of minimalist pragmatism.

However, although it was clear that Washington was interested in training Black people to work, it was clear to some that he did not mean Black people's work only to be subservient menial labor. One of Washington's White southern critics wrote in the Saturday Evening Post (1905):

> [Washington] is the greatest diplomat his race has produced. Yet he who reads between the lines of his written and spoken words will find the same purpose and the same faith which his more blunt and fearless brethren have honestly and boldly proclaimed. In his book, The Future of the Negro, we find this careful sentence: "To state in detail just what place the black man will occupy in the South as a citizen when he has developed in the direction named is beyond the wisdom of any one." Yet on page 69 he says: "The surest way for the Negro to reach the highest positions is to prepare himself to fill well at the present the basic occupations."... independent industries, of course -- for, mark you "*Tuskegee Institute is not a servant-training school.*"

By pointing out that Washington had economic equality in mind, Thomas Dixon asserted that Washington had total social equality, and eventual racial assimilation, in mind all along. Because Washington was not up front about all of his intentions, there is much debate about whether he was really a closet radical. This view does not accurately consider the amount of power that Booker T. Washington held for himself at the expense of other African-Americans. However, his philosophy of education for work was not

necessarily an automatically advocating a subservient social position for Black people; Most Southern Whites were against even industrial education for Blacks because it might mean competition for White workers in the trades.

At the turn of the Twentieth Century, while Booker T. Washington was focusing on what the White Southerners and Northerners *could* and *should* do to ease the hard times of Black people, W. E. B. Du Bois exposed the horrible realities of what the Whites were *actually* doing to make the life of Blacks unbearable. The Souls of Black Folk (1903) was dangerous to the much lauded desired "harmony" between the races proposed by Washington and others because in his writing, Du Bois exposed the hypocrisy of current hegemony and expressed his unfulfilled longing for more than the Nation was willing to give at that time. He wanted more equitable economic opportunity for the masses of helpless proletariats, he wanted more social freedom and safety in movement, he wanted more access to basic and higher education for his people, and he wanted more public consideration regarding the varied desires of the many different kinds of Black people. In short, he wanted the opportunity to explore, expose, and express himself as a Black man and he wanted to secure the right of all people to do the same.

In The Souls of Black Folk, Du Bois lifted the curtain to expose the realities of those who lived "behind the veil" and by writing this hidden story, he endangered the White power structure of the day. By shedding light upon not only the inequalities within the United States, but the historic, philosophical, and economic origins of those social problems and by explicitly naming those responsible for the perpetuation of those injustices, his little book created a lot of doubt in the existing system and the white power structure in charge of defining individual, social, and institutional liberties. It is not that

both Black and White folks didn't know that there was injustice and who was responsible for the social inequalities; it is simply that Du Bois' special talent was presenting the picture, masterfully painted in bold and bright colors, so that no one could *claim* ignorance any longer.

In the first chapter, Du Bois was very specific in his outline of the problem; he covers the misconceptions of the meaning and opportunities of Emancipation, theories of benefits in various types of education, the need for secured Black suffrage, and Black cultural self-realization/self-expression. All of these he saw as imperative components to explore in order to achieve anything that resembled true freedom. Du Bois answers a resounding "No" to George Moses Horton's question

> Alas! And am I born for this,
> To wear this slavish chain?
> Deprived of all created bliss,
> Trough hardship, toil and pain![323]

Horton was an enslaved Black poet from North Carolina who published his work in 1829, 1845, and 1865. The freedom of expression that he desired, worked for, and articulated in his poetry is the seed which Du Bois seeks to nurture. In Du Bois' writing, he holds a mirror up to a so-called civilized society to make them accountable for fulfilling its claim of liberty and promise of democracy.

Through an interdisciplinary approach, Du Bois exemplifies the manner of education which he advocates: he is at once the artist, sociologist, economist, and political agitator that he insists resides within, yet is unrecognized, in all of the Black community. He brings up the questions that have difficult implications and then proceeds to answer them in a way that made him a nuisance to those who would advocate for the status quo or for slow change. Fittingly, his imagery is disturbing: repeatedly walls and

veils impede the way of those shadowed souls who would soar to bluer skies. Du Bois wrote of challenging yet necessary ways to move beyond the white wall to unveil his longing black soul – and the collective longing of the soul of Black folk.

While Du Bois was a college-educated, middle-class Black man who was interested in developing widespread labor, business, and educational opportunities for African Americans, he consistently wrote against the idea of caste. He sought to uplift the race in concert with the many other people in high social positions who would organize with and for the masses. Du Bois certainly wanted to gain social power; however, his desire was for a collective power for Black people, not a power that bestowed rights only on himself and his chosen cohort and not a power that would put a select few in charge of gate-keeping resources for the larger population of disenfranchised Black people. This is not to say, however, that Du Bois was not interested in the idea of leadership; indeed his idea of the talented tenth rested upon this very notion. He believed that education along with political, social, and economic gain, was the key to true liberation of Black people. He wrote:

> We ought not to forget that despite the pressure of poverty, and despite the active discouragement and even ridicule of friends, the demand for higher training steadily increases among Negro youth… here, then, is the plain thirst for training; by refusing to give this Talented Tenth the key to knowledge, can any sane men imagine that they will lightly lay aside their yearning and contentedly become hewers of wood and drawers of water? No. The dangerously clear logic of the Negro's position will more and more loudly assert itself in that day when increasing wealth and more intricate social organization preclude the South from being, as it so largely is, simply an armed camp for intimidating black folk.[324]

Many have taken this "talented tenth" quote in a manner that assumes Du Bois advocated class segregation. However, it seems that in the passage he is simply arguing for Black children to be afforded the choice of study and access to resources to support

that choice. The idea of the talented tenth actually originated from General Morehouse who was president of Atlanta Baptist College (now Morehouse College). In an 1896 speech, Morehouse articulated a concept of training African-American men to teach their own people.[325] The concept gained wide currency at the time so Du Bois was building on the idea that many others were also embracing. Coppin's insistence on child-centered education and Bethune's hope for Black girls to pursue their inner drive seems to lie in the same vein as Du Bois' idea of a talented tenth. In addition, Cooper's "mouth wise or pen wise " implies a right of students to choose their own academic and vocational path and her own aspiration to attain the highest degree demonstrated that she believed in the idea of opening up access of higher education to those who desire to take that path.

Du Bois points out further in "On the Training of Black Men," that it was the liberal education that Washington so rails against that made the teaching force at Tuskegee possible.[326] Further, Du Bois argues that it is the mission of the college to train Black people to think but also to work for collective social uplift. He wrote, "The function of the Negro college, then, is clear: it must maintain the standards of popular education, it must seek the social regeneration of the Negro, and it must help in the solution of problems of race contact and co-operation."[327] Finally, he asserted:

> The function of the university is not simply to teach bread-winning, or to furnish teachers for the public schools, or to be a centre of polite society; it is, above all, to be the organ of that fine adjustment between real life and the growing knowledge of life, an adjustment which forms the secret of progress.[328]

The Black leadership would, of course, need to be trained at universities in order to have access to the information that was the producer of knowledge and culture for the society. To Du Bois, Washington's idea of industrial education was not going to provide enough opportunity for Black people to fully participate in America as equal citizens.

They needed to understand the language and foundation of the American political and social systems if they were to truly participate as citizens.

Du Bois' ideas about racial uplift, and the role that education played in that movement, were flexible, complex, and evolving. In his dissertation W. E. B. Du Bois' Educational Ideas, Richard Brody wrote that Du Bois was unclear about his ideas regarding the most useful approach to education:

> We will see this central theme [of the intersection of race, identity, and leadership] work out in his educational thought providing a unity explaining what would seem otherwise to be confusing contradictions. If DuBois' educational writings appear contradictory, it is simply because they reflect an identical confusion in the larger body of his thought.[329]

What Brody calls confusing is simply Du Bois' progression of thought over his very long life. Without providing the context in which Du Bois was making his assertions, and without understanding the range of thinkers who were public figures at the time, it is impossible to fully consider what Du Bois was reacting to; certainly, without proper analysis of the range of experiences of Black people in a 70 year span, Du Bois' work would be confusing. However, when reading the thought and action of early Twentieth Century race leaders like Ida B. Wells, Henry McNeal Turner, T. Thomas Fortune, and William Monroe Trotter, Du Bois' ideas and fluctuation of his ideas over time become much clearer. Similarly, in considering the vast time span in which Du Bois was writing, and the wide range of events that he was reacting to, it becomes clearer why his ideas on the role of education in social uplift were altered over time. The fact that Coppin, Cooper, Bethune, and Clark each lived very long lives, is an indication of the need to acknowledge the potential impact of changing external forces (impact of

experiences) and changing internal forces (interpretation of experiences) within one human being's lifespan.

In order to get a better understanding of how education played into the lives of the masses of Black people, we can look closely at the implications for Washington's and Du Bois' educational ideas during the beginning of the twentieth century, then look at the implications of those ideas for later in the century.

What was the Efficacy of Du Bois' and Washington's Educational Program for the Masses of Black People During the Turn of the Century?

Washington was a man concerned with controlling the movement of Black people. Washington's approach to leadership was paternal. He set himself up to be a guardian of power and progress for the Black community; he stated that he needed to control the comings and goings of Black people in order to make sure that they did not push too far, too fast and end up ruining the opportunity for advancement that he saw Whites willing to give incrementally. A prime example of this was his treatment of the faculty, staff, and students on Tuskegee's campus: no students could leave the school without permission. He believed that, for their own good, the students must be kept from any trouble that they could run into outside of Tuskegee's gates. It was true that the world outside of Tuskegee was not a safe place for Black people. This can be seen in each of four general histories of the period: Origins of the New South, 1977-1913 (1971/1997), Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877-1919 (1987), Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow (1998), and The Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South, 1901-1969 (1972). However, it seems that Washington was so obsessed with loyalty and control that any divergence from his orders meant that the students were not necessarily safe within Tuskegee's walls either.[330]

Some have argued that had Washington not been so concerned with controlling his environment and those in it, and had he not catered to the White powers that be, his institution would not have been sustainable. Given the difficulty of maintaining an institution during that time, one had few choices: 1) one could attempt to support a school with limited patronage, always scraping by, such as Charlotte Hawkins Brown with Palmer Memorial Institute in North Carolina or 2) one could cater to the moneyed Whites, as Booker T. Washington and Mary McLeod Bethune did. Yet, for a better understanding of the level of Washington's acquiescence to White thought on education, one can also look towards his attitude regarding education and Africans. His missions to Togo, Nigeria, the Belgian Congo, the Sudan, and Liberia show that he had internalized a colonial-like approach to educating the "natives" of Africa.[331] His view of Africans as primitive speaks volumes about his approach to educating African Americans. Yet this view was not uncommon. In her memoirs of her trip to South Africa, Coppin also spoke of Africans as "primitive."

It is clear that from the 1880s until the formation of the Niagara Movement in 1909, Booker T. Washington held a larger influence over the masses of Black people. As far as the number of Black people who were exposed to Booker T. Washington, his access to the press and the visibility of his school gave him a wide audience.[332] However, influence does not make for success if success is measured by actual support of social uplift for Black people. The level of relief provided can be seen in the way that each envisioned his leadership and in the legacy that each left behind. Washington's actions did not tangibly improve the condition of the masses of Black people during his time

because he did not join the many Black leaders who were agitating for change. Painter notes:

> Shortly after the Atlanta riot Washington reported that conditions had returned to normal, that the best people, white and black, were restoring racial tranquility. But for large numbers of blacks, Washington's reluctance to condemn Georgia's politicians and rioters disqualified him from race leadership. The 1906 meeting of the Afro-American Council passed resolutions calling for federal action against racial violence, providing one of several examples of the repudiation of Washington's style in the wake of the Atlanta riot.[333]

The accommodationist position that Washington took refused to acknowledge the level of strife between the races and sought to diminished the perception of the horrible living conditions of Black people - especially in the South. He did fight against peonage, but because he was still appealing to the "philanthropic white men of the state," his battles were fought but not won.[334]

Washington did leave a lasting legacy to which Black people have and can still turn to advance themselves: Tuskegee. He did in fact succeed, (some would say despite his best efforts rather than because of them), in leaving a legacy of racial uplift. Though Washington did not succeed in challenging or changing the oppressive system, he did provide an institution which still stands today as a means from which to do so. Ultimately, however, Washington's educational agenda, in-and-of-itself, *as he articulated it*, was not successful, nor beneficial for Black people. My earlier assertion that his work did leave a path for uplift is based on the importance of Tuskegee as a model institution rather than on Washington's educational ideas. Tuskegee was an important HBCU because it gained such patronage and that would demonstrate the need and ability of HBCUs to accept funding from those who had it to offer. However, it is true that Washington, while he was head of Tuskegee, cut off other people's access to those funds.

Thus, again, while it can still be said that Tuskegee, as a school, provided real avenues toward educational – and thus social – advancement for Black people, Washington's ideas about education did not in-and-of-themselves provide for that advancement.

Washington's ideas about labor as they related to education were dependent on the interest of the White southerner in social equality, which was not present. Thus, to relegate Black people to industrial education was not a viable means of uplift. The fact that Washington himself put his son and daughter through liberal education can attest to that fact that he did not fully subscribe to industrial education as the one most beneficial means of schooling.

Du Bois' contribution during his lifetime was much like the legacy that he left behind: his voice was his institution. It can be said that both Du Bois and Washington were middle-class Black people who were, as Litwack states, isolated from the masses of Black people whom they would seek to represent. However, Du Bois did spend much of his time teaching and researching the plight and accomplishments of Black people, so he knew the masses intimately. Through his twenty-three books and hundreds of journal articles, Du Bois contributed to the struggle for fair labor, housing, wages, educational opportunity, political access, and social equality.

It can be said that if he were not so effective, he would not have been so despised by those in high positions. Because Du Bois' was so radical in his political orientation, he was constantly a target of political powers in the United States. He was jailed, publicly humiliated, and denied access to travel overseas due to the accusation of communist activity. Eventually, he grew so outraged at his persecution that he abandoned America in favor of Ghana. Although he left America, he did not leave Black Americans; his legacy

of scholarship stands as a constant reminder of the accomplishments of Black people as well as a challenge for Black people to continue to agitate for the freedom he never could attain while stateside. Lewis wrote:

> In a real sense, Du Bois was seen by hundreds of thousands of Americans, black and white, as the paramount custodian of the intellect that so many impoverished, deprived, intimidated, and desperately striving African-Americans had either never developed or found it imperative to conceal.[335]

During his lifetime, which continued far beyond Booker T. Washington's death in 1915, Du Bois gave Black people an articulate voice of resistance. We can ask, What did this matter to those who were kept hostage by the debt peonage system or to those who were denied access to political voice? Who was Du Bois talking to? Certainly not to the vast majority of poor, illiterate, Southern Black folks. Yet when we seek to measure the improvement of condition for the lowest stratum of society, it is relevant to consider that Du Bois was talking to those in power who were responsible for holding Black people down. That he did so in a way that put him in danger shows that he was indeed heard by those in power. That he did so with such prolific eloquence shows that his he too left a legacy of success.

Du Bois' educational ideas were tied to social uplift of the race. He, like many during his time (most notably Anna Julia Cooper) saw the quest for letters as both a service to Black people and a means to a service for Black people. Anyone gaining access to higher levels of education had the same – indeed more – responsibility to serve the collective interests of the race. Education, for the sake of putting on airs, as Washington portrayed those aspiring to college, was absurd. All education, including liberal arts, was for personal betterment and for improvement of all of the race.

If the measure of success is continued amelioration of the condition of Black people, then I have learned that, while there is more than one way to be successful, the surest way is a combination of direct agitation, institution building, and constant – written and oral – analysis of the issues at hand. Thus, education must be – as Fannie Jackson Coppin stated in 1913, Clark in 1962, and Paulo Freire echoed in 1970 – concerned with allowing students to avail themselves of an *active* role in the educational process that will result in individual self-determination and a collective progression toward equitable access to resources.

In many ways, the condition of Black people has remained poor since the era of Washington and Du Bois. When one considers the treatment at the polls, on the job, or in the schools, it is obvious that intimidation and violence by the White dominant culture still reigns in keeping Black people on the outskirts of freedom. "Success" is still illusive. How, then, did we get from Du Bois and Washington to current ideas of education?

What are the Contemporary Implications of Washington's and Du Bois's Educational Philosophies in Relation to *Brown V. Board Of Education*, Desegregation, and Equal Access to Representative Education?

On June 7, 1892, Homer Adolph Plessy was arrested for sitting in a White section of an East Louisiana Railway car. His case, filed against Judge John H. Ferguson of the Criminal District Court for the Parish of New Orleans who had ruled against Plessy in the local court, went to the United States' Supreme Court in 1896. At the federal level the justices, with the exception of Justice John Marshal Harlan, ruled that, because of the elasticity of individual states' rights, segregation in public areas did not violate Black people's "privileges, immunities, and equal protection of the law" that is guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment.[336]

There were six total cases that were heard regarding the doctrine of "separate-but-equal" and education after the 1896 Plessy ruling – all had upheld the precedent.[337] From 1896 to 1954 the highest court in the land held that second-class citizenship was legally sanctioned for Black Americans.

Beginning in the 1920s a cadre of Black lawyers, trained at Howard University during Mordecai Johnson's presidency, were preparing to begin the long trek to actualizing racial equality in the United States – at least racial equality on legal terms. Under Charles Hamilton Houston, the new Dean of Howard's Law School who would go on to become the first Black man to argue a winning case for the NAACP before the Supreme Court, these lawyers tried a series of court cases that set the path towards Brown. This team, led by Lincoln University graduate Thurgood Marshall,[338] and including Constance Baker Motley,[339] began working closely with each other and with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In 1939, Marshall was appointed the head of the newly formed NAACP Legal Defense Fund Inc., and with an astounding collection of lawyers, educators, and professional research staff, the path was clear to continue the carefully orchestrated assault on the Plessy ruling. [340]

A half of a century after Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas would be the capstone of a seemingly endless legal struggle to gain equal access for all Black people to the whole of the American educational system. Brown,[341] was the key victory in the legal aspect of equal educational opportunity. However, in the end, it would take an additional case, Brown II ruled by the Court in May 1955, to address the lack of meaningful application and concrete implementation of the ruling reached in Brown I. The social implementation of the ruling has yet to be fully realized even today.[342] The

2002-2003 struggles in the admission policies at the University of Michigan show that guaranteed, legal, equal access has yet to be a reality for African Americans or any other such minority whose citizenship status is not construed as normative.

By the early 1950s, African Americans had joined civil rights organizations, such as the NAACP, in droves. The call for civil rights was not new; Black people had, since February 1644, argued for citizenship rights.[343] Thus, the eight NAACP lawyers who argued the Brown case had a vast amount of legal history to rely on and they were well versed in the legal history of American citizenship. They understood the basic assumptions that lie beneath the historic disenfranchisement of Black people.

During the testimony, which began on the morning of December 13, 1952, the lawyers and their witnesses argued that even if the educational institutions provided for Black students were equal in funding, structure, staffing, and equipment, the fact that there was a prohibition of access based on race, made the institutions unequal. Kluger wrote about the fundamental question:

> [H]ow do you instill pride in segregated schoolchildren – indeed, how do you imbue them with even rudimentary values of good citizenship – when the very fact of their separation overwhelms nearly every other aspect of their education and belies any claim of pride? On the answer to that question would hang the fate of legalized segregation in the United States.[344]

The lawyers argued that the very act of segregation retards the child's sense of self. Part of their evidence was the, now famous, "doll test." In the mid-1940s, Kenneth and Mamie Clark, two social scientists in New York, developed a series of techniques to test children's ability to 1) know their own race and 2) articulate a preference for race. The results of the test showed that children knew what race was and that Black children,

segregated in the schools, had learned that being Black was not as "good" as being White.

This evidence was used in the Brown case to support the NAACP's case. Segregation, the lawyers argued, was a form of dehumanization that was inconsistent with the ideals of citizenship that were integral to the construction of the Constitution. One could not be considered equal if in the schools, the place where one learns social knowledge and cultural values, they were held at a distance. Even a child could tell that separate was not equal.

The first section of the Fourteenth Amendment, the section relevant to this case, states:

> All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person without its jurisdiction the *equal protection of the laws* (emphasis added).

The equal protection clause was the rule of law that the NAACP focused on. They asserted that separate-but-equal was an oxymoron that, when placed next to the equal protection clause did not hold up. The Court ruled, unanimously, that they were right. In the Opinion of the Court, Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote:

> In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available on equal terms. We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does. [345]

In The Racial Contract (1997), Charles Mills pointed out that "[o]riginally denied education, blacks were later, in the postbellum period, given an education appropriate to

postchattel status – the denial of a past, of history, of achievement – so that as far as possible they would accept their prescribed roles of servant and menial laborer, comic coons and Sambos, grateful Uncle Toms and Aunt Jemimas. Accordingly, in one of the most famous books from the black American experience, Carter Woodson [1933] indicts 'the mis-education' of the Negro."[346]

The Brown case was a key step in realizing Du Bois' educational vision: equal access. Unfortunately, as was seen in the 1970s busing debacle taking place around the country, access to racially de-segregated schooling was not a panacea: racism was still a social and educational issue. It can be seen as understandable, then, that the fight for control of the curriculum in the 1920s and 1940s and the long road to desegregation in the 1950s, would give way to a demand for voluntary, selective self-segregation and self-determination in the 1960s. The students who had discovered the "power" in Blackness did not want to subject themselves to racist educational ideologies. This, however, did not mean that they did not want access to those institutions, this simply meant that at any institution they attended, they wanted full recognition of their inherent equality.

Notable student strikes have taken place throughout history. In 1924, the students went on strike against McKenzie's administration, and they were backed in their protest by the alumni, the black press, and the local black community. On the day following the student rebellion more than twenty-five hundred black citizens of Nashville convened and formally declared that McKenzie's 'usefulness as president of Fisk is at an end.' The protest forced McKenzie to resign in April 1925.[347]

In the 1960s, student activism rose again to reject social, intellectual subjugation and constrictive administration, ideology, and policies. In November 1968 Black students

at San Francisco State College began a five-month strike against the administration. It was to be the longest strike during that time of strikes and it was the most publicized.[348] Among the demands[349] were:

1) That all Black Studies courses being taught through various other departments be immediately made part of the Black Studies Department, and that all the instructors in this department receive full-time pay.

2) That there be a Department of Black Studies which will grant a Bachelor's Degree in Black Studies; that the Black Studies Department, the Chairman, faculty and staff have the sole power to hire faculty and control and determine the destiny of its department.

3) That all unused slots for black students from Fall 1968 under the Special Admissions Program be filled in Spring 1969.

4) That all black students wishing to be admitted in Fall, 1969 [be admitted].

5) That twenty (20) full-time teaching positions be allocated to the Department of Black Studies.

6) That Dr. Helen Bedesem be replaced from the position of Financial Aids Officer, and that a black person be hired to direct it, that Third World people have the power to determine how it will be administered.

7) That the California State College Trustees not be allowed to dissolve the black programs on or off the San Francisco State College campus.

Three months after the beginning of the San Francisco State strike, the Berkeley strike began. It lasted 52 days. In the instance of campus protests, the students were clearly reacting to oppressions on and off campus. An example of the extreme duress that students were under on predominantly non-Black campuses can be seen at Cornell University. At 3:00 a.m. on Friday, April 18, 1969, a burning cross was thrown on the porch of the Black girls' co-operative.[350] The responding officers, after putting out the fire, left the scene, thus leaving the co-op unprotected. Later, the University dismissed the incident as a "thoughtless prank," and - until they were pressured by Black students to

provide a guard for the building and acknowledge the seriousness of the incident – nothing was done about the cross burning. As a result of this non-reaction, and growing list of every-day discriminations that the Black student body as a whole continually faced, at 6 a.m. on April 19, 1969, Black students took over the Willard Straight Hall (Student Union). As was seen also at Northwestern, the Cornell takeover was a result of a series of critical incidents that prompted the students to join the national and international protest for "equal protection under the law."

This realization is reflected in Coppin's call for Black people to be active in their education and her assertion that the pressures that students face in their academic pursuits are exacerbated by racism, sexism, and social inequalities. Cooper's analysis of the particular position of Black women helps to clarify that the students were calling for their own cultural identities to be recognized and reflected both in the administration of the school and in the curriculum.

As when Booker T. Washington ran Tuskegee, there was much racial tension that the Black students experienced while on college campuses – whether at an HBCU or a Predominantly White Institution (PWI). There was increased student participation in political and cultural activities on Black campuses, and dire conditions of the oppression that surrounded them on and off campus. Thus, the purpose for joining the campus struggles was a combination of the need for equal protection from race-based violence, equal access to resources, and the need for institutions to support equal opportunity of expression of cultural identity. These needs were present, even on Black campuses. Further, there was a feeling that perhaps because Black students were attending HBCUs, there was an even higher responsibility for the administration to support the students'

quest for social equality. Washington insisted on learning to work, however, the students on campuses all across the nation were rejecting his ideology: labor was not the way to Black actualization, education for real power was the means and the goal. Septima Clark's "learning for liberation" was present in this era of a massive quest for Civil Rights.

Citing Kwame Nkruma's speech at the opening of the University of Ghana, Ralston (1973) has asserted that a Black university must, by necessity, be more active in addressing the needs of the larger community of African American people. In "The Role of the Black University in the Black Revolution," he wrote:

> In other words, the black university in the United States so conceived would have a different set of concerns or would establish different priorities among its traditional concerns, which would have them view their tasks as the universities of new nations do. They would operate as an institution contributing to the purposes, needs, and demands put upon it by the society it serves, a society in search or in need of wellsprings of ideas and ideals. .... In some sense, the black school must operate on that borderline where the black community meets the external world and is, thus, presented with the opportunity for service as funnel of the positions and dispositions of that community vis-à-vis the wider society, at the same time that it services as critic and purveyor of more traditional formulations, scholarly inputs, and wider philosophical frameworks for the black community.... Whether they want it or not, the black universities appear to be faced with this task, and the quality of their survival will probably be determined by their success at balancing those aspects of truth-seeking and objectivity within a socially and politically charged and action-oriented campus atmosphere, directed toward problem solving as much as toward the external verities.[351]

Ralston, like the Black students, felt that because HBCUs were founded in Black communities for the benefit of Black communities, it was imperative that their mission, teaching and research all serve the needs of the larger Black community.

When looking at the issues that students wanted addressed it is easy to see that, at all universities, they expected a level of justice that they felt should be emulated in the larger society. Their demands included: an increased minority population in the colleges

and universities, access to financial assistance, Black housing, institutionalized power-sharing & decision making (including support of Black organizations), hiring Black faculty, and the development of Black Studies. These concerns, at a micro level, mirror what African Americans have been asking for in the United States: equity (not just equality), real representation in all levels of organizational and administrative policy making bodies, power sharing, access to resources (financial and otherwise), a stake in the national agenda, and, yes, equal protection under the law.

The subsequent demand for the development of Black Studies is the extension of Bethune's demand for history issued in her 1938 presidential speech to the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. Similarly, in "Black Studies: A Political Perspective," Michael Thelwell (1969) argues that Black Studies scholars, in fact, have a duty to pursue a course of study that is critical of the sham that has been masquerading as formal education in this country. He argues that there is a "necessity of this generation of black intellectuals to engage and demolish the racist mythology and distorted perception and interpretation of the black experience, culture and reality which constitutes the intellectual underpinnings of white racism in society."

Considering the development from the debate between proponents of liberal education versus industrial education to the movement through desegregation and the eventual move towards the development of Black Studies programs and a quest for literacy and suffrage, it is plain to see that Washington's ideology of industrial education did not hold up. Fundamentally, the topics of education, social training, and cultural transmission are issues that revolve around the volatile ingredients of power, resources, and values. Those who have the power to define themselves – and to insert that definition

into the national curriculum – have the greatest access to resources. In moving toward the right of definition, it is imperative that there be those Black people who claim a liberal education and exercise the responsibility of creating a vastly different narrative than the pitiful one that has historically been constructed for us. While Washington did study Black people, he did so under the European assumption of the inherent inferiority of Africans. Cooper's critique of paternalistic egotism and the limitations of standardized testing can bring new light to analyses of curricula and development of standards at the turn of the century. Many sources point out that Northern White philanthropy gave resources to Hampton-Tuskegee industrial-style education and denied support to any liberal arts programs. Further, when accreditation standards were developed for colleges, these same philanthropic organizations then seemed surprised that few Black schools met the minimum criteria for classification as first-rate universities.[352]

In 2002, Harvard began its Doctoral program in Afro-American Studies. It was in this same year that the Doctoral program in Afro-American Studies at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst graduated its first three Ph.D. scholars. While there is still no agreement about what exactly Black Studies, Afro-American Studies, African American Studies or Africana Studies should look like, there is a common understanding between these programs that the vision Du Bois, Cooper, and Wells were fighting for in the 1900s, Houston, Marshall and the NAACP were fighting for in the 1950s, and that Black students were fighting for in the 1960s was meaningful, necessary, and worthwhile. In the tradition of Brown v. Board of Education, students at the University of Michigan are still fighting for equity of resources and equal access to admissions. In 1999 Berkeley

students went on a hunger strike to protest the Board of Regents, (headed by Ward Connerly), and their outright attack on the Berkeley Ethnic Studies program.

With Congress bowing to appease George W. Bush (the poster-boy of academic mediocrity) in his quest for high-stakes testing- (White supremacist-) based education,[353] there is still quite a way to go in realizing the dream of "equal protection" for Black students in the American educational system and in actualizing the self-help that Washington's rhetoric symbolized. In sum, when comparing the educational philosophies of thinkers in the Twentieth Century, it is imperative that educators realize there was no one road to absolute social and political freedom. Similarly, in the Twenty-first Century, those involved in service-focused education must identify the deficiencies in past strategies and adopt effective means of employing education and service towards social justice. However, attempting to negotiate for increased power without restructuring the foundations of education and engaging in service that does not challenge the status quo is as futile as running on a treadmill holding one's bootstraps hoping that uplift will come from the pulling of bootstraps rather than from the challenging of those in charge of the treadmill. This is the trap that many contemporary service-learners have fallen into.

Community Service-Learning, Educational Philosophy, and John Dewey

When considering motivations for and definitions of community service and civic engagement, the cultural identity of the volunteer and that of those "being served" need to be taken into consideration. Values, beliefs, and assumptions are key to avoiding "random acts of kindness." The women in this study present ideas that are just as interesting and problematic in their intellectual presumptions and potential applications as

those presented by other educational theorists. However, the questions that are raised by this work are vastly different.

Questions that arise out researching their contribution are philosophically complex and can add much to the fields of philosophy and public policy: 1) How can students from marginalized communities overcome any internal or external stigmas that may impede their learning process and realization of their full personal and professional potential?; 2) Should we all aspire to the same ideals, or is Anna Julia Cooper correct in her critique of the "great white male hope" as a model to save the world?; 3) Should Black women aspire to struggle as Bethune suggests?; 4) Is struggle a value that everyone should possess?; 5) To what extent should education reflect the needs of the student and solve specific social, economic, and political problems and what issues are age appropriate for elementary, secondary, and adult education?; and 6) How can the idea of problem solving education be reconciled with the standards and high-stakes-testing driven movement exemplified by the recent "no child left behind" initiative? These questions are more interesting for me to study than those of benign abstraction that that I have found present in the field of community service-learning. These questions are also infinitely more relevant to the populations of students that I work with.

This process of shifting our philosophical focus to reflect various viewpoints, indeed, this critical reflection, can be facilitated by seeking to find alternative "experts" to contribute to the collective work that service-learning practitioners must adopt if they are to be effective. Black women educators offer a long history of such potential contributions. Further, currently 80% of African-American teachers are women, and the majority are teaching in southern schools where Blacks make up over 60% of the school

population.[354] Those would-be leaders in public service and civic engagement who are working in Black communities need to be taking their cues from this pool of thinkers and practitioners rather than the same old heralded experts – typically white male academics - who go about hawking their service-learning wares. For if the fundamental assumptions of ever-growing service-learning and civic engagement organizations and initiatives don't shift, the outcomes will continue to be the well-funded Trojan horses that many community members assert university service programs represent. Many of the false prophets of community rely on the prolificity of John Dewey; unfortunately those who quote Dewey generally neither know his true value as a theorist, nor are astute at identifying his ideological limitations.

John Dewey (1859-1952)

As stated earlier, it is not my intention to assert that John Dewey has no place in the education and service of Black communities. Quite the contrary; when reading Dewey in the light of these four Black women educators, the value and contribution of his work becomes obvious. Though it is not my focus in this dissertation to examine Dewey's work in great detail, a few simple examples can illustrate the natural intersections between this body of work and Dewey's contributions. For instance, by perusing two of Dewey's seminal works, Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education (1916) and Experience and Education (1938) the reader can instantly identify similarities in critical approaches to education.

The first parallel can be seen with Coppin's idea of the need to "lift education out of the passive voice" (1913). Dewey wrote, "In education, the currency of these externally imposed aims is responsible for the emphasis put upon the notion of

preparation for a remote future and for rendering the work of both teacher and pupil mechanical and slavish."[355] Later, he noted, "The trouble with traditional education was not that educators took upon themselves the responsibility for providing an environment. The trouble was that they did not consider the other factor in creating an experience; namely, the powers and purposes of those taught."[356] Further, he asserted, "There is, I think, no point in the philosophy of progressive education which is sounder than its emphasis upon the importance of the participation of the learner in the formation of the purposes which direct his activities in the learning process....[357] Clearly parallels can be seen; however, it must be noted that Coppin published her work three years and twenty-five years (respectively) *before* Dewey's two oft-cited texts.

Cooper published A Voice from the South in 1892, five years before Dewey published "My Pedagogical Creed" (1897). Cooper's Voice was heard the same year the that the University of Chicago school opened; it was at this school, in 1894, that Dewey would become Chairman of the Department of Philosophy, Psychology, and Pedagogy. This is not to suggest that Coppin or Cooper had a direct influence on Dewey. However, although I have yet to find any evidence of their meeting, I intend to do further research on where Dewey's other influences might have been (outside of William James, Charles Sanders Peirce, and George Herbert Mead).[358] There are also other intriguing connections that I would like to investigate; for example, both Dewey and Washington were on the Board of the new ICY when it moved to Cheyney. In future research, I would like to find out how deep the ties between these educators run.

Since Cooper did begin study at Columbia University in 1914 and Dewey taught there from 1904 to 1930, there is a good chance that they may have known of each other.

Certainly, Cooper knew of educational theorists of the day: in her 1913 "The Social Settlement: What it is and What it does," she made extensive reference to Jane Addams and her work with the Hull House in Chicago and she was quite aware of the European antecedents to the American settlement movement during the Progressive Era. Addams published "A Function of the Social Settlement" in 1899, which was later reprinted in her Twenty Years at Hull House (1910).[359] Cooper was also well aware of the limitations of the American social settlement movement: she wrote a scathing critique of the racism rampant in the many manifestations of the progressive service movement of the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth centuries. She observed:

> Paradoxically enough, the very period of the world that witnesses the most widespread activity in uplift movements and intensest devotion to social service finds in America the hard wall of race prejudice against Negroes most emphatically bolted and barred. This is perhaps because the transfer of narrow minds from individual selfishness to group selfishness covers with the glamour of religious consecration the sordid meanness of one race towards another.[360]

While there is much evidence that these four women were well aware of the leading educational theorists of the day, there is not much evidence that the leaders such as Addams, Dewey, Du Bois, and Washington were aware of, or cared to give credit to, the work of Black women educators and theorists. Yet, it is hard to imagine that neither Coppin, Cooper, Bethune, Clark, nor any other Black woman – with the vast array of profound thought and effective practice – left no discernable mark on these popular educational theorists. There is scattered evidence that would suggest otherwise; while one could certainly choose not to acknowledge the contributions to the field of education, these women's dedication would be difficult to ignore.

Certainly, while she was studying for the doctorate at the Sorbonne in France, many people knew of Cooper: in a memoir about her doctoral experience, she recalled

how, after having her doctoral prospectus approved, a reporter from the Paris edition of The Chicago Tribune approached her for an interview.[361] Regardless of whether there was mutual influence, there was indeed a parallel between Cooper's and Dewey's general approach to education. Cooper's philosophy of life stated that each person should work according to his or her own gifts and that service for social justice should not become an act of martyrdom. This is in line with Dewey's ideas that while accomplishments of individuals should be to benefit the whole, there is no value in one doing such work in a manner that is self-sacrificing or self-perfecting.[362]

When Dewey articulated his Pedagogical Creed (1897), he wrote, "I believe that the school is primarily a social institution." It can be clearly seen that these four Black women shared that belief: Coppin and Bethune openly invited the citizens of Philadelphia and Daytona into their schools for community review, Cooper incorporated Frelinghuysen into her home, and Clark held citizenship classes in beauty parlors and parks in the community. Where Dewey was prolific in his enunciation of what education, community, and service were to be, these women provided concrete examples of what those definitions meant in the various forms of Black American experience. While Dewey wrote on the abstract concept of "The Significance of Geography and History," (1916)[363] Coppin's "How to Teach Geography" (1913) suggested ways to implement those ideals in the classroom curriculum and daily exercises, while Bethune's "Clarifying Our Vision with the Facts" (1938) gave examples of the significance of knowing and teaching African-American history as well as European history.

This type of methodical task is simply the very beginning of a necessary process in which scholars and practitioners excavate the knowledge base of Black women and

place it side-by-side with the many recognized American educational philosophers for rigorous analysis and appropriate application.

These examples are a simply a beginning foray into the vast intellectual legacy of Black women educators who, because of their low social status in American society, have not been recognized as critical thinkers and contributors to the best in educational philosophy and American social thought.

In future studies, I would like to conduct further research on how one's cultural identity may impact 1. Definitions of service 2. Definitions of learning and 3. Ideas of the value and purpose of education in a way that goes beyond the experience of Black women. When I was a research fellow at Stanford's Haas Center for Public Service, I conducted interviews with students and administrators from the various cultural centers on campus; the results were fascinating. I plan on following up and completing that work because it is clear that assorted groups within Asian American, Native American, African American, Hispanic/Latino, Jewish, disabled, women and other broad populations have definitions of service that can inform the static philosophical groundings of the service-learning movement.

I will visit Coppin's archives to learn more about her administrative innovations and teaching practices. I want to learn French so that I may read Cooper's dissertation. I would also like to work at Bethune-Cookman College in order to learn more intimately about the impact that one Black woman can have on an educational institution. Of course, I will visit Highlander, Avery Center in Charleston, South Carolina, and the SCLC archives in Atlanta so that I can learn more about how Clark constructed and changed her Citizenship School Curriculum over time. In addition, I would like to explore archives of

each of these women to discover interactions that they had with each other and prominent educators of their time.

Lastly, I anticipate researching the literature on Black intellectualism and clearing a more prominent space for Black women thinkers. There are many texts written on Black thinkers: The Education of Black People: Ten Critiques, 1906-1960, W.E.B. Du Bois (Editor, Herbert Aptheker 1973/2001); African-American Intellectual-Activists, (Dia Sekayi 1997); "The Black Intellectual and the 'Crisis Canon' in the Twentieth Century" (Jonathan Scott Holloway 2001); Philosophy Born of Struggle: Anthology of Afro-American Philosophy from 1917, (Editor, Leonard Harris 1983/2000); Existentia Africana: Understanding Africana Existential Thought, (Lewis Gordon 2000); Existance in Black: An Anthology of Black Existential Philosophy, (Editor Lewis Gordon 1997); "Africana Thought and African Diasporic Studies" (Lewis Gordon, 2000); Breaking Bread: Insurgent Black Intellectual Life, (bell hooks and Cornel West 1991); The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual: A Historic Analysis of the Failure of Black Leadership, (Harold Cruse 1967/1984); Transcending the Talented Tenth: Black Leaders and American Intellectuals, (Joy James 1997), "The Necessity of African-American Epistemology for Educational Theory and Practice" (Beverley Gordon 1990), and Black Intellectuals (William M. Banks 1996) for example. I would like to peruse these and other bodies of research that discuss African-American philosophical, social, and political thought and ensure that critical voices like Coppin, Cooper, Bethune, and Clark are present and accounted for.

All of these projects would have made this dissertation more detailed; however none of them were essential to gleaning basic lessons of import about general aspects of

these women's educational philosophies. In so many ways I feel dwarfed by their great contributions. In other ways, it was the awareness of their great contributions that pushed me to finish this dissertation so that I may go on to produce more work relevant to Black Feminist Thought and to get out and get a job that allows me to put this learned principals into practice for the good of a *specific* community.

The work on Black women educators can be enriched by historical research; however, it is also important to consider the experiences of contemporary Black women educators to compare and contrast circumstances, experiences, strategies, and outcomes over time. Below, I offer a brief analysis of my three years teaching experience as a way to reflect on my ideas and circumstances resemble or differ from those women who I study.

My Notes on Learning, Teaching, and Serving

In her 1892 A Voice From the South, Anna Julia Cooper placed herself in the middle of a debate that claimed the right to fight on many fronts, from many "homes" in her cultural identity. Fanny Jackson Coppin and Septima Clark wrote autobiographies that demonstrated their many personal and public identities. Mary McLeod Bethune wrote on education, public policy, and spirituality in a way that reflected the many aspects of her life. Through my research, I am claiming a right to do the same: I write from an interdisciplinary perspective in my academic (public) space that reflects the complicated way that I see "Black womanhood" and my individual (private) space.

Weedon (1999) wrote "one important feature of identity politics is the sense of solidarity and positive identity that it offers to marginalized groups, forming a basis from which to develop strategies for contesting specific forms of oppression.... Perhaps the

major problem with identity politics is the tendency to define identity in particular fixed ways which ultimately work to exclude many of these women that the group in question wants to reach and represent."[364]

In this last part of the dissertation, I am claiming space to put forth my educational experiences in order to offer a case study that reflects both similarities and differences from those four women whom I have studied in the past four years. Increasingly, storytelling – especially that of a personal ilk – is gaining limited acceptability in academic circles.[365] By telling my story, I am adding my voice to the chorus; I see this as crucial, despite those who would shun such a practice in favor of "objectivity."

In my educational experience, I do not remember reading a book by a Black author before my sophomore year in college. Nor do I recall having any Black teachers in my elementary or secondary schooling. I do remember in sixth grade memorizing "Motto" by Langston Hughes and "Incident" by Countee Cullen alongside Lewis Caroll's Jabberwocky. However, because my step-father was in the Air Force, and we spent most of our time overseas or in the Southwest, I did not live in any area that had a critical mass of Black people in the school system or in the surrounding community. In school, in the home, or in my social experiences, I was not presented with Black women as intellectual role models. Surely, I was exposed to intelligent Black women; however, none of these was in the context of an academic achiever, so the fact that I enjoyed school was, to me, an anomaly.

In Jr. High, I did have a dedicated dance teacher who was only the second person in a school system who I remember taking an interest in me and conveying a sense of

value in my work. Pam Copley taught me that "dancers don't sweat, they glow," but she also challenged me to behave in a responsible, moral way in the classroom. Further, she was adamant that being a good dancer was not enough to make one a good person; to be "good" one must treat all people as equals and further, achievement in the dance studio was to be matched by achievement in the English, math, and science classrooms as well: No passing grades meant no performance in her shows.

I was not politically aware; even though Ms. Antonucci, my 12th grade American Government teacher, emphatically insisted that we students who are of age go exercise our right to vote, she never told me a good reason why it was relevant to *me*...she didn't know anything about me. In fact, none of my teachers, despite their best attempts, convinced me that education was imperative to my life. I desperately wanted to go to college, but I had moved out at sixteen years old and working to pay my bills seemed more of an imperative than furthering my schooling; the only time I had been on a college campus was when I was in the band and we gave a performance at the University of Arizona. My school counselors had nominated me for a scholarship to the U of A and I had received it but I didn't go because I didn't know how to fill out an application. I didn't know that there were dorms or financial aide available. For all of the encouragement, practical assistance was absent.

When I finally entered college at the age of twenty-five, I attended St. John's college in Santa Fe. The curriculum of the school was the "Great Books" list which, of 100 texts, included only one African-American (Frederick Douglass) and one woman (Jane Austin) but, outside of one or two elective texts, certainly no Black women. Part of the reason why I feel especially attached to Coppin and Cooper in my research is because

I too studied Greek translation, Euclidian math, Homer, Aeschylus, and Plato. I left after the first year, in search of a course of study that reflected my own experiences and beliefs, for despite the claims of my instructors, Plato's ideas are not universal. His questions regarding social, educational, and political imperatives may be of universal import, but social thought does not begin and end with him. Here, Cooper's critique of the egotism of "Western civilization" was especially gratifying; I had been vindicated in my quest for a broader range of study.

In addition, because of my ability to relate academic topics to personal experiences and community activism, and make education meaningful through service, I graduated Phi Beta Kappa and got accepted to three graduate programs. As I have stated earlier, my studies at CSULB came together around community service experiences and explorations of cultural identity. The frustrations and observations in my early education, at St. John's and CSULB, all grounded my graduate research. Being involved in a course of study that I was allowed to construct allowed me to be active and engaged in the meaning making process and pushed me to excel and attain academic honors.

In my experience of teaching thus far, my areas of interest center around educational and social philosophy because of my lack of exposure to Black women theorists in my early intellectual development. In addition, I am extremely passionate about the process of writing because I was not challenged to reach my highest potential when I was at the basic levels of schooling. Because I had lived in Germany from approximately 3rd to 6th grades, I developed an ability in the German language and higher proficiency in the English language. When I came back to the public school system in Tucson, Arizona, not much was expected of me. I went to school in Arizona

when it was the only state in the Union in which the Governor was protesting Martin Luther King Day as a national holiday; what type of culturally appropriate education could I have possibly received in that atmosphere? I wrote well "for a Black girl" so I passed with good grades and my teachers were too busy being surprised that I wrote well at all to challenge me to write more clearly. Now, I challenge myself, and my students to engage in writing at increasingly difficult levels.

As a teacher for the Upward Bound program, I found myself trying to approach education in the exact opposite way that I was taught: I tried to find out about my students and I challenged them to define their interests and increase their ability to think clearly and write clearly so as to be understood when they define who they are and who they want to become. When I discovered Coppin's Hints on Teaching, I had fancied that I happened on a gold mine; she offered what I was looking for: detailed teacher training from a Black woman's perspective.

In my college teaching experiences at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, I have been a teaching assistant in an introductory Women's Studies course and I have instructed a Civil Rights Movement Afro-American History course. Both of these courses enabled me to, as Bethune wrote, "teach history." The best thing that I have found about teaching is that, as a teacher, I get to learn things about women's history and African-American history at a deeper level than I had been introduced to while as a student. However, I am very sensitive to the fact that as a Black woman teacher, I am expected to know everything or I feel like I have failed. Much like Coppin, I feel that I have the whole race upon my shoulders; if I don't know something, especially because I am in the "talented tenth" and I am expected to know, then I have somehow disappointed the

ancestors and proven that Black people – even Black doctoral candidates – really are inferior to Whites. As much as I know that this is an unreasonable attitude, reading Coppin's reflection helps me to understand that internalized racism is a force to be dealt with in many minority students' educational experience.

My experience with community service is very interesting in the context of this research. Unlike Coppin, Cooper, Bethune, and Clark, I have not stayed in one place long enough to actually have a home or community. My family is spread across the nation, and I don't feel particularly close to any faction, so I have not had the experience of belonging to a community, much less a Black community. However, even as a community service-learning student, I found myself questioning the assumptions that were often presented in the literature around CSL practice. The detached assumptions about "outreach" that many authors articulated were very different from my own, even if I could not identify why. I knew when I worked on a community clean up project or cultural art education project as a college student that I too was an interloper. However, since I lived relatively close to the sites where the community service was being performed (North Long Beach, the "bad" side of town where Snoop Dog was from), I was Black (and was reminded of such often when walking or shopping in Long Beach), and I was financially broke, I somehow felt a sense of solidarity with the communities of color with whom I worked. As I have progressed in my teaching and practice of community service-learning, I have been well aware that my initial questions regarding theoretical models and inherent assets within communities of color were right on. This research has been helpful in helping me detail what exactly is missing in the CSL

literature and what exactly can be done to mobilize resources in the community for a commonly defined common good.

In my administrative role at the Swearer Center for Public Service at Brown University, I have attempted to reconcile my values derived from my experience and my research with the realities of the demands of the position. My role is one of supervising Brown student volunteers (mainly White and upper-middle class) who coordinate service programs with Brown student volunteers (mainly White and middle class), for school and community center-based education programs that serve Providence middle and high school students (mainly for lower class minorities). Even after working at Brown for a very short time, it was evident that I had very different experiences, values, administrative, and philosophical ideas than the people who run the center and the Brown students who volunteer there. This research has helped me to understand why this is so and how I can work to change my situation to reflect the ideals that I identify with in Coppin, Cooper, Bethune, and Clark's work.

Now, as I am approaching decisions of professional development and as I am searching for an occupational and academic home, I anticipate looking to belong to a community in which I can implement the lessons that I have learned from my research and gauge my teaching efficacy over time. This work has assisted me in defining my own path to incorporate service into teaching and learning in a way that enhances access and opportunities for disenfranchised populations, especially Black women. Further, this research has allowed me to develop a solid sense of beliefs that assists me in deciding where to come down on debates such as high-stakes testing or initiatives like the new "No Child Left Behind" decision. These women have provided an interesting set of

principles from which I can begin further studies into educational history and philosophy. Among other things, Fanny Jackson Coppin has taught me kindness and the importance of being actively engaged in one's own learning process. Anna Julia Cooper has taught me to appreciate the joy of learning and to employ joy in my teaching process; she has also taught me that a decent philosophy of life includes service, not for the sake of service, but for social justice. Mary McLeod Bethune has taught me love and an appreciation for a responsibility to take care of young people. She has also taught me the importance of teaching – and making – history that is relevant to the lives of Black people. Septima Clark has taught me how to hope in the face of apparent doom: The last passages in Echo in My Soul demonstrate Clark's ability to hope despite all that she has been through. She wrote,

> I believe that throughout our southland, and in other sections of the nation, too, we have been singing a song....There are several...swinging, fighting songs. But I like best a very old song.... It's an early Quaker hymn that originated long ago when George Fox and other founders of the Society of Friends were being imprisoned for their beliefs, but it is relevant today: My life flows on in endless song above earth's lamentation/ I hear the real though far-off hymn that hails a new creation/ Through all the tumult and the strife I hear the music ringing/ It sounds an echo in my soul; how can I keep from singing![366]

And later,

> Indeed, I hear the music ringing.... Yes, but the new year will be better. And the years after it better, and better. I so desperately hope that they will be, I so earnestly pray that they will be, I have complete and utter faith if we falter and faint not, if we continue in good will and outreaching love the good fight, the truth some early day if not tomorrow will make us free. This then is how I define my philosophy. Indeed, we WILL overcome."[367]

Given the dismal state of American government and media, this is a most important lesson. Clark also taught me to employ problem-solving education that includes the perspectives of poor Black people in defining the problem and in creating

solutions. These lessons I will take with me as I expand my experience as a teacher and learner and develop my own philosophy of service and education.

The Final Analysis

On July 1 of 2001, Dr. Ruth Jean Stubblefield Simmons took office as the 18th president of Brown University. Many thought that it was a very big deal when in 1995, Simmons began her tenure as president of Smith College in Northampton.[368] The fact that she did not stop there is at once groundbreaking and par for the course. While Simmons is the first African American woman to head an "Ivy League" school, she is but one of many African American women who have headed institutions of higher learning.

Black women have contributed much to education since Mary Jane Patterson first obtained her A.B at Oberlin in 1862.[369] Ruth Simmons, Mary Francis Berry, Delores Cross, and Johnetta B. Cole are just a few of the many to inherit the legacy of Coppin, Cooper, Bethune, Laney, Brown, Burroughs, and the multitudes of Black women educators from past centuries. These women were and are an integral part of the communities that they serve, thus their ideas are grounded in the type of connected, sustainable relationship with community that many university folk covet nowadays. Any work done in these communities of color that does not build upon the rich history of the successes and mistakes of HBCUs in general and Black women in particular, will inevitably fall short of the goal of sustained community relationship and town/gown transformation.

When I began writing this dissertation, a colleague of mine asked me "Have Black women had *actual philosophies* of education?" This research, though not presented here merely to answer such an ill-informed question, addresses the topic of what role

education – especially those ideas relevant to service – plays in the *range* of philosophies of African American women educators. I hope this work will help teachers to challenge our ideas by bringing to the fore those historic critical thinkers – those philosophers – who have been rendered invisible even today. It has been exciting to have the opportunity to explore these leaders' ideas and academic contributions in light of such a rich history, given the vast range of Black women's educational philosophies.

In her description of Black Feminist Thought, Collins states that Black Feminist Theorists seek to provide research that rearticulates the standpoint of Black women and recognize them as agents of knowledge.[370] Of all the complex concepts that I have come across in the last nine years of university study, this is the philosophy that resonates most in my writing. I have found inspiration in seeking to speak directly to the needs, beliefs, and values of Black women. I believe that this desire to imagine Black women as my primary audience has three foundations: 1) The lack of Black women role models in my early academic development; 2) The lack of culturally appropriate womanhood training in my early personal development; and 3) The wide range of spiritually fulfilling personal and professional interactions with Black women during my college and graduate school experience.

I have written this dissertation in hopes of filling some of the void left by my elementary and secondary educational experience. As Mary McLeod Bethune wrote, "I could feel in my soul and my mind was the realization of the dense darkness and ignorance that I found in myself – when I did find myself – with the seeming absence of remedy."[371] For me, this darkness and ignorance was spiritual, cultural, and intellectual; the remedy was my doctoral studies.

When I began to read the words of Black women educators, I began to feel whole. I am writing to add my voice to the chorus of Black women's intellectual legacy. I am writing what I needed to know as an adolescent – that what Black women think matters. Thus, in the final analysis, although I hope that this dissertation meets and exceeds the expectations of my colleagues, mentors, professors, and university administrators, ultimately, it is only Black women - past, present, and future - who must validate my work and weigh its worth.

CHAPTER 6

A DISCUSSION ON SOURCES

In this last chapter, I present a literature review of relevant texts in the fields of community service-learning and African-American Educational Historiography that have informed my research on Black women's intellectual heritage.

Community Service-Learning as a Field of Study

I am inclined to argue that service-learning is now a field of study. There are departments that offer majors in the study of service learning and entire universities, such as California State University, Monterey Bay, that build entire curricula and graduation requirements around the praxis.[372] In CSL research, there is no consensus on what term should be used to describe a particular practice. Often service is linked to concepts of civic engagement, public service, and volunteerism. Although contemporary literature on service-learning reveals no consensus on one definition of this pedagogy, major publications such as Service-Learning: A Movement's Pioneers Reflect on Its Origins, Practice, and Future (1999), Community Service in Higher Education (1997), Where's the Learning in Service-Learning? (1999), and Successful Service-Learning Programs (1998) all focus on the importance of meaningful service, measurable learning, and guided reflection. In addition, current practitioners seem to agree that service-learning must in some way involve the reciprocal learning of students and community members and must in some way inform the student's sense of social responsibility.

There is debate about when the term service-learning was first used; however, it is widely acknowledged that the concept is far older. Though the term "service-learning" first came into widespread use in the late 1960s, it clearly describes practices combining

service and learning that were in effect long before the name was attached to a course at the University of Tennessee in 1968.[373] Few of the philosophies, definitions, or theories in the literature of community service-learning consider the history or experience of African Americans or challenge liberal definitions of service that function, in large part, to offer short-term solutions to social problems or that simply sustain inequalities.[374]

In Service-Learning: A Movement's Pioneers Reflect on Its, Origins, Practice, and Future (1999), Timothy K. Stanton, Dwight E. Giles, Jr. and Nadinne I. Cruz edit a very useful and complex history about CSL. The work reflected the oral histories of thirty-three participants who have come to service, teaching, and learning through varied paths. The result was a rich tapestry with many textures that moves readers toward challenging the notion of a homogenous definition or practice of service.

In the introduction to this text, Seth Pollock, outlined the debate surrounding interpretations of ideal forms and functions of education and shows that debate extends into the role of service in education. Regarding the range of definitions of service, he wrote:

> Service is also much contested. Service can be understood as charity, with the goal of addressing immediate needs, or it can focus on resolving deeply embedded social problems and bringing about structural changes in both social and economic relations… There will be differing views [that will] determine whether service is an element in the process of social reproduction or social transformation.[375]

Pollock's analysis of the various ways that service can be defined may also assist in unearthing the complexities of community service within Black communities. Although there has not been a unified approach to linking service to education in Black communities, it is apparent that, perhaps because of their historic disadvantaged social

position, even those who did "charity" work in African-American education demanded a change in the inequalities present in the American social structure.

Pollock suggested three paths that pioneers of service-learning took: 1) the Education/Service approach by which service-learners seek to answer, "How does education serve society?"; 2) the Service/Democracy approach which focuses on the question, "What is the relationship between service and social change?"; and 3) the Democracy/Education approach by which service-learners seek to answer, "What is the purpose of education in a democracy?"[376] Again, this outline of various approaches to service learning becomes helpful in identifying how students and educators have envisioned their approach to the pedagogy of service-learning, and it highlights the mixture of approaches that African-Americans have taken in their education-based community service. However, it becomes apparent that these separations are more problematic when applied to Black educational history in general and Black women's educational history in particular. The lines of separation put forth by the participants in the Pioneers text are much more pronounced than those historical practitioners that I study. I wish to argue that the history of Black people's educational experience reveals an inherent culturally-based service approach to education that prohibits the separation of education from either service or democracy.[377]

Lastly, the authors in this text point to an additional problematic feature of CSL theory: the growing interest in CSL as a pedagogy has created space for many articulations of "best practices" which often reflect a narrow conception of community, service, and learning. In the 1980s, the term "service-learning" began appearing in major publications and there was an expansion in development of national organizations like the

National Center for Service Learning for Early Adolescents (founded in 1982), the Campus Outreach Opportunity League (COOL, a student-led organization founded in 1984), and Campus Compact (an organization of university presidents founded in 1985). Now, the search for a "best practice" quick fix is almost an inevitable conclusion in any discussion at CSL conferences.[378] I have had more than one experience where someone has asked for a citation for an author in my research without wanting to read the reference itself; it is disheartening to know that with a positive reception of this work will also come a desire to package it into new, hot, and "best" quick fixes.

In addition to the larger collection of interviews in Pioneers, there have been individual narratives such as Community Service and Higher Learning: Explorations of the Caring Self, Robert A. Rhoads (1997); The Call of Service: A Witness to Idealism. Robert Coles (1993). Community Service and Higher Learning focused on student surveys, journals, and interviews in which undergraduates (90%) and graduates (10%) shared their experiences with community service. Rhodes did offer a detailed analysis of the students' cultural identity that assists in a better understanding of their interpretations of the service experience. Further, Rhodes employed feminist research that undoubtedly spoke to the needs of the mostly White (80%) female (60%) college students in his study. In addition, the author raised a concern over the racial dynamics of the predominantly Black community that these students were serving. However, the single most telling factor about this book is that the author employd bell hooks, Angela Davis, Cornell West, James Baldwin, Toni Morrison, Zora Neale Hurston, and others in his course material which suggests he attempted to balance the reflection of his students with some insight into possible cultural reflection of the community members with which they were

interacting. This inclusion of Black historical, fictional, and philosophical texts, is only one step in making a subject of oft-dehumanized, objectified Black community residents – yet it is an important step indeed.

While The Call of Service offered insightful stories and useful theories of community service, the stories reflect the standpoint of the author and, when discussing work in communities of color, takes on a voyeuristic feel. While the author is definitely aware of the limitations of his outsider status, particularly in the Black communities in which he works during the Civil Rights Movement, there is an exoticization and mysterious feel in the approach to learning from the residents. In addition, while there are many references to SNCC, Dr. King, Stokley Carmichael, and James Foreman, there is neither reference to Septima Clark nor Ella Baker; this is unfortunate. There is no evidence that the author has been presented with any models that considers Black women as intellectual beings.

With a such selection of critical reading that brings to light alternative histories, perhaps white students who go to communities of color will be less taken off guard when Black residents, young and old, men and women, espouse critical dialectical reflection about their relationships with the "serving" interlopers. One of my assumed audiences are teachers and students at Predominately White Institutions. There is an increasing number of researchers at HBCUs, Rosalyn Jones of Johnson C. Smith and Beverly Jones at North Carolina Central University for example, who are showing ways that Black students are serving Black communities that raise different issues and this critical research is recording how these students and teachers take different approaches than their White counterparts.

"The Theoretical Roots of Service-Learning in John Dewey: Toward a Theory of Service-Learning" (1994)[379] provided a much referenced approach to service-learning. In part, the authors seek to answer the "anti-intellectualism" of those who "resist theory" by way of shunning Dewey in favor of unreflective pedagogy. There is, indeed, an apparent camp of anti-Deweyites rampant in the service-learning movement, and many do in fact slough off the need for a clearly articulated philosophy of community-based learning. However, to be sure, there are just as many service-learners who run to Dewey in lieu of articulating a well thought out theory of their own. My challenge to Dewey and his idolaters as anti-intellectual; on the contrary, I challenge those who quote Dewey excessively to read the works of Black women educators and broaden their understanding of Dewey and of his cultural context.

In "Theoretical Roots," Giles and Eyler attempted to set a concrete approach to service-learning theory and in doing so, did much to legitimize the field to those who insisted that service had no clear place in education or held no measurable benefit to students. The authors explore Dewey's thoughts in two sections: 1) Reflection, Inquiry, and Experimentalism: Learning from Experience, and 2) Citizenship, Community and Democracy. They then offer nine points that will assist service-learners in developing and testing theories: 1) The continuity of experience, 2)The principle of interaction, 3) Inquiry, 4) Reflective activity, 5) Truly educative projects, 6) Concrete and abstract knowledge, 7)The Great Community, 8) Citizenship, and 9) Democracy. These themes, while initially approached in a surface manner, provide an excellent framework for future studies that seek to conduct an in-depth cross-cultural analysis.

Texts such as "Where's the Community in Service-Learning Research?" (2000) [380] and Where's the Learning in Service-Learning? (1999) [381] have followed up the initial attempt to locate a theory for CSL. In addition, the authors of these later texts sought to push the boundaries of the early theoretical works by exploring the perspectives of various partners in CSL pedagogy. Further, there are works that discuss in detail the ideas of democracy,[382] as well as empirical research that measures the impact of service on students. In many empirical studies, researchers have mainly been concerned with measuring the effects and impact of community service on student learning in order to "prove" that service is to the benefit of the student. My question regarding this approach is whom do the researchers wish to convince of the value of service in education? It seems that many with power of definition in the academy assume that individuality and objectivity are better values than community and collaborative learning. Thus, because service-learning has been treated as an optional and marginalized field in pre-dominantly White universities, a central thrust of service-learning researchers has been to justify service.[383]

Lastly, there is a very lively counter-culture in service-learning research and the proponents seek to continually challenge the way service is practiced and defined in educational systems of all levels. "To Hell with good intentions," "A Challenge to the Notion of Service," "The Vanity of Volunteerism," "The Irony of Service: Charity, Project, and Social Change in Service Learning," and "Why 'Servanthood' is Bad" are examples of articles in this line of research.[384] Each of these challenges the "random acts of kindness" that often seems to be taking place in schools and universities across the

country. One of the major points raised by some of this research is the need to see "recipients" of community service as more than simply a group of deficient victims.

These examples in research are but a few of the seminal texts in the advancing field of community service-learning. However, they represent the larger picture of a body of work that, unfortunately, maintains a dearth of critical analysis offered by Black cultural, historical, and philosophical thought.[385] The problems of critical multi-cultural absence and historical mis-representation that are found in the modern CSL movement can be located in broader educational philosophical contexts. It is not within the scope of this research to expound on the larger scope of community service-learning and experiential education in relation to pragmatism, progressivism, and other liberal philosophies of education. However, it might be helpful to the reader to trace the basic links of CSL and experiential education to these larger ideas.[386]

Experiential education is most closely associated with the educational philosophy of Pragmatism. Pragmatism is one of many schools of educational thought; examples of other approaches to education include Cultural, Idealist, Realist, Perennial, Reconstructionist, Analytic, Marxist, Behavioralist, Postmodernist, and Existential philosophies.[387]

The root of the word pragmatism is a Greek word meaning "work." Pragmatism is a philosophy that encourages us to seek out the processes and to do the things that work best to help us achieve desirable ends. Since this idea is so sensible, one might wonder why people insist on doing things and using processes that do not work. Of course, there are any number of reasons why such impracticality exists, and among these are the weight of custom and tradition, as well as fear and apathy.[388]

Ozmon & Craver have linked Francis Bacon (1561 – 1626), John Locke (1632 – 1704), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712 – 1778), August Compte (1798 – 1857) and Charles Darwin (1809 – 1882) to Pragmatism as well as to other philosophies.[389] American Pragmatist thought has been attributed mainly to Charles Pierce (1839-1914), William James (1842-1910), and John Dewey (1859-1952).

There is a need to explore connections between Pragmatists, especially Dewey and Addams, and African American educators such as Du Bois, Washington, Cooper, and Bethune. In "The Gain from a Belief" (1892), Anna Julia Cooper engages the thought of Hume, Locke, Kant, and Compte at a level which demonstrates her dedication to the pursuit of existentialist philosophy. Dr. Du Bois was a noted intellectual, yet Dr. Cooper who worked in the same circles as Dr. Du Bois, still goes largely unnoted. In this research, my main goal is to clearly map the ideas of Black women educators; once examples of Black women's thought are compiled, it will be easy to relate to the ideas of the shapers of these other particular approaches to education. This approach will, in later research, also allow me to approach thinkers such as Plato, Kant, St Thomas Aquinas, Locke, Friere, Dewey, Addams, Du Bois, Washington, and others in an effort to draw parallels and distinctions between the historical context and the philosophical leanings of these thinkers.

Dewey, a Pragmatist, is said to be one of the founder of Progressive education. The ideals of Progressive education were embodied by the Progressive Education Association which operated from 1919 until 1955.[390] In 1919, the PEA articulated seven principles that they felt should be present in educational reform:

1) Freedom to develop naturally

2) Interest as the motive for all work

3) The teacher as guide, not as taskmaster

4) Scientific study of pupil development

5) Greater attention to all that affects the child's physical development

6) Cooperation between school and home to meet the needs of child life

7) The progressive school as leader in educational movements

While there are apparent differences in the approaches between traditional and progressive approaches to education, the lines become blurred when one considers African-American educational experiences. By the late 1930s, there were many critics of the Progressive education movement, including Dewey himself, and some of the seemingly fuzzy approaches to education that are being replicated by current liberal education practices.[391] Clearly there are intersections with some aspects of Progressive education; however, African-American educational history presents quite a different perspective and raises concerns that go beyond the scope of Idealist, Realist, and Essentialist critiques of Progressivism.

A full century before our current service-learning movement, historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) were built and developed on the principle of community service by means of the "head, hand, and heart."[392] During the mid-Nineteenth century, much of the philosophical connection of learning and service was developed by Black women. I do not mean to assert that Black women invented CSL or founded the principles of Progressive education; in fact, many of their ideals are grounded in Quaker philosophies. Rather, I state that the way Black women came to think about education is, because of their social position, intrinsically connected to issues

important to the communities of color. It is also significant that in the past and present, statistically, Black women have constituted an overwhelmingly large percentage of African-American teachers.

By looking at the origins of community service-learning, experiential education, pragmatism, and progressive education within Black educational traditions – and then narrowing the focus to the traditions grounded in Black women's experiences – educators can engage service learning practitioners and participants from a historically-grounded, and hopefully more informed point of view.

Historiography of African-American Education

Much has been written on the history of Black education in America. There are broad studies that explore social, political, economic, and historical contexts of education, African-American educational historiographies, as well as state and regional studies. In addition, there are individual school studies, biographies and autobiographies. There are also studies focused on higher education, White philanthropy, and legal issues within African-American education. Those texts that are most relevant to my work are mentioned below.

African-American Educational Historiography

In his "Introduction Essay: Changing Historical Perspectives on Afro-American Life and Education" (1978)[393] Vincent P. Franklin outlined his approach to African-American history. He traced the early group of historians such as Frederick Jackson Turner, Charles Beard, and Vernon Parringon who were influenced by the Progressive Era and positioned Carter G. Woodson within a broad context of approaches to the study of Black people in America. Franklin situated Du Bois, Horace Mann Bond, Booker T.

Washington, and Rayford Logan within the context of educational debates that seek to explain Black people's role in Twentieth Century educational structures. Written in 1978, at the beginning of the current reclamation of African-American educational history, this text was a crucial step in the study of African-American education and included historians such as Linda Perkins and Darlene Clark Hine who, at this early date in Black educational historiography, provided research central to this dissertation.

In Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980, (1986) August Meier and Elliott Rudwick provided a lengthy analysis of historians' interest in recording the history of Black Americans. This text is crucial to understanding how Black history, as a field has developed; it is a history of historians. The first chapter, on Carter G. Woodson, traced Woodson from his childhood as a son of ex-slaves to his doctoral degree from Harvard in 1912. The authors explored resources that explain Woodson's desire to record Black history and contextualize his development of the organization and journal that became national vehicles for doing so. The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH), developed in 1915 and the Journal of Negro History developed in 1916, became the intellectual foundation of what has resulted today in Black History Month. The authors presented the development of historical approaches and mention important events in the organization's history, including Mary McLeod Bethune's presidency of the ASNLH in 1936.[394]

This text traced historians such as Rayford Logan, Eric Williams, Marian Thompson Wright, Benjamin Quarles, and John Hope Franklin and situates different approaches of White historians, such as Leon Litwack, Herbert Apthecker, and the authors themselves, who write Black history. Philosophical and pedagogical debates in

the 1960s between young Black intellectuals such as Maulana Karenga, John Bracey, and Mike Thelwell, were especially interesting since I have had the opportunity to study with each of these professors.

In Negro Thought in America Meier and Rudwick presented aspects of Black intellectual thought at the turn of the Twentieth Century. While group members debated about engaging in business, religion, politics, or education as a way to improve Blacks' social standing, they also struggled to reconcile different view of who Black people were.[395] The name of the national Black community was just as controversial an issue as the agenda of if, why, and how to gain power and equality in America. Though everyone, no doubt, wanted a better quality of life, how he or she would define and prioritize those desired changes defied consensus. Booker T. Washington claimed to be a leader of his people, yet "his people" often vehemently disagreed with his ideas of uplift and the accommodating manner in which he proposed to gain social acceptance from Whites.

In the area of Black educational history there are interesting examples of individual school studies, biography, and autobiography that provide relevant context to this study. Educating the Disfranchised and Disinherited: Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Hampton Institute, 1839-1893 (1999),[396] gave insight into the man who developed the Hampton Institute and the historical situations that surrounded the schools founding and development. Hampton, located in Virginia is where Booker T. Washington was trained, and his Tuskegee Institute, opened in Alabama in 1881 was the philosophical and curricular beneficiary to the Hampton model of education. This text is significant because it tracts the history of the builder of the most popular approach to educating Blacks between Emancipation and the beginning of the Twentieth Century. Armstrong, a White

conservative with liberal tendencies, championed the idea of labor-based and non-political education for Blacks.

Black Scholar: Horace Mann Bond, 1904-1972 (1991)[397] exemplified how a biography of one educator can contribute to understanding of a larger American educational history. Wayne J. Urban explored the life of Bond, the son of an Oberlin graduate and teacher, but also gave detailed consideration to Bond's intellectual contribution to the fields of education and history. The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order (1934) and Education for Freedom: A History of Lincoln University (1976) showed Bond's broad range and long publishing career. Because of Bond's mix of administrative and scholarly experiences, this text provides an excellent case study for comparative work with Cooper and Bethune in particular.

There are also important general studies in Black history that present education in social, political, and economic historical contexts. The Abolitionist Legacy: From Reconstruction to the NAACP (1975),[398] demonstrated how the study of African-American educational history can be found in topical studies. In Part II: "Education for Freedom," McPherson traced the changing role of formal and informal education in the quest for Black enfranchisement between 1865 and the first decade of 1900. Because this text considers the legacy of protest and liberation struggles within Black history, it is especially relevant to this study. This is yet another source that confirms that for African-Americans in the mid-Nineteenth Century, education was seen as the key to freedom.

In Woodson's The education of the Negro prior to 1861 (1919)[399] and Bond's The education of the Negro in the American social order (1934),[400] two leading educational historians provided an astounding amount of primary research on the state of African-

American' access to intellectual resources and formal training prior to the Civil War (Woodson) and from 1860 to 1930 (Bond). In each study, the authors documented numerous examples of community participation and the detail the role that Black people played in creating our own educational institutions. Woodson's work is especially of interest to this study because his work provides background to the development of Quaker participation in Black education, which clearly influenced the work of each woman in this study. Bond's work provides primary sources that contextualize African-American experiences in creating vocational, economic, and academic space for individual and collective advancement.

The United Negro College Fund's Frederick D. Patterson Research Institute published a three volume African-American Education Data Book (1997) that is a more contemporary example of broad study. This series is filled with statistical analyses about Black experiences in pre-school, primary, secondary, and higher education as well as studies on school to college and school to work studies. An Executive Summary that gleans the most striking points from the broader fields accompanies each of the three volumes.[401] I have used much of this research in my first chapter to bring to light the current state of Black women in education. There is concern about the use of secondary sources as the foundation of this research. Some scholars, while appreciative of this resource, are not satisfied with this publication because it does not rely on statistics that come from HBCUs and Black serving institutions, but rather utilizes the government census where the data is not always in accordance with HBCU data.

State and regional studies are examples of additional types of historical texts that have informed my research. The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935[402] (1988),.

Race and Schooling in the South, 1880-1950: An Economic History [403] (1990), Negro Education in Alabama: a Study in Cotton and Steel[404] (1994), The Color of Their Skin: Education and Race in Richmond, Virginia, 1954-89[405] (1992), Separate and Unequal: Public School Campaigns and Racism in the Southern Seaboard States, 1901-1915[406] (1958), and Black Education in New York State: Grom Colonial to Modern Times [407](1979) are examples of texts which helped to inform my interpretation of the Black educational experience. Here, the importance of region is made clear. Changes in regional demographics, funding sources, and curriculum-type are essential variables to consider when calculating the range of Black teaching and learning experiences.

Although my definition of "education" covers many types of education, namely primary and secondary teacher training (Coppin), liberal and graduate studies (Cooper), community schools and college administration (Bethune), and adult education (Clark), the majority of my analysis deals with issues in higher education. Although CSL is taking place within K-12 education at an increasing level, it is at the college and university level that the theory and research most applies. My studies of the development and experience of Black students at HBCUs and PWIs has been instrumental in my understanding of current practices. History of Schools for the Colored Population (1969), The Evolution of the Negro college (1970), Black Colleges in America: Challenge, Development, Survival (1978), The Divine Nine: The History of African American Fraternities and Sororities (2000), "The College Bred Negro" (1910) and similar texts[408] were very helpful in this area. These texts helped to raise important questions about the impact of cultural identity on one's philosophy and administration in higher education. Whether one is Black or White may not determine conservative, liberal, or radical approaches to education or

social change; however, the reflections offered in these texts suggest that one's identity does influence approaches to college participation and community activism.

Recently, historians have furthered the investigation into ideological underpinnings of White Philanthropy in Black education. Many take the position that philanthropy, service, volunteerism, and "helping" in general are either value-neutural or inherently "good" for underserved, minority, underdeveloped or any other type of population designated to be in need. However, in education, as in CSL, there are those who challenge this idealistic approach to education-based social service. Dangerous Donations: Northern Philanthropy and Southern Black Education, 1902-1930 (1999) and The White Architects of Black Education: Ideology and Power in America, 1865-1954 (2001) are examples of the willingness of educational historians to problematize the idea that all "helping" or "giving" is good.[409] In White Architects, the author considered the work of Du Bois, Washington, and Bond through analyses of major sources of Black institutional control such as the American Missionary Association, Hampton Institute (run by Samuel Armstrong), The General Education Board (John D. Rockefeller's philanthropic organization, founded 1902), the James G. Phelps Stokes Fund (established 1911), Anna T. Jeanes[410] Fund (established 1907), the Julius Rosenwald Fund (established 1917) and others. Dangerous Donations is similar in focus, but different in approach. Anderson and Moss delve deeply into the personal lives of the founders of these philanthropic ventures and takes a more individualized approach to the topic while Watkins addressed the broader thematic and ideological implications of such institutions. While Anderson and Moss provided much biographical and institutional historical

background, Watkins presented strong arguments on the detrimental effects of White philanthropy on African-American's intellectual and economic development.

Although I am keenly aware that many Black male historians have been instrumental in mentoring up-and-coming Black women educational historians, Black women are mentioned virtually nowhere in either text. Additionally, in James Anderson's work, both Bethune and Cooper are absent and Coppin is not mentioned as a major force in the Institute for Colored Youth's teacher training program. Although James Anderson's text was published in 1988, just as the explosion of Black women's history was appearing on the landscape of academia, the latter two texts could have easily made use of the current research on the central role of Black women in African-American educational experiences. I believe my research will demonstrate ways that Black women's philosophical, political, and ideological history can be worked into mainstream Black historical research. For example, Coppin's relationship with the Quaker Board of Managers presents an excellent opportunity to extend the analysis in Watkins' important text, while Bethune's 1904 founding of what has become Bethune-Cookman College would have greatly enhanced Anderson's analysis.

A final aspect of Black educational historical research that has influenced this dissertation is that of legal educational studies. One text in particular has been essential to understanding the legislative implications of racist social conventions. Simple Justice: the History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality: The History of *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Epochal Supreme Court Decision that Outlawed Segregation, and of Black America's Century-long Struggle for Equality Under

the Law (1977) by Richard Kluger has provided rich groundwork on which to place my research on Black women educators.

Brown v. Board of Education was a landmark case that was built upon many important and strategically placed milestones. Herman Sweatt (Sweat v. Painter, 1950), Ada Sipuel (Sipuel v. Oklahoma, 1948), George W. McClauren (McClauren v. Oklahoma, 1950), Lloyd Gaines (Gaines v. Missouri, 1938), and Donald Murray (Murray v. Maryland, 1936), were central markers in the quest for equal access to education. These people represented the willingness to actively pursue and attain the promise of the Fourteenth Amendment clause that guaranteed equal protection under the law by working to strike down the "separate but equal" doctrine established in the 1896 Plessey v. Ferguson case. Kluger introduced the people who stepped forward to be represented and he outlined, in great detail, the range of people who held a stake in the outcome of the cases dealing with segregation. The reader is introduced to the families of the people who, in a non-heroic nonetheless dedicated and symbolic fashion, wanted better educational access and opportunities for their children. We are then given the full tour of the actions and emotions of everyone who could possibly be related to the case, which is to say everyone. Members of the White societies, Black societies, lawyers, law makers, court justices, and presidents are all presented with such an attention to detail that the Brown case, in and of itself, is simply one of many important events that effects all members of the American society as a whole.

If one wanted a "simple" legal analysis of this case, this is not the book in which to find it. For those in law school, the analysis would look like this:

Issue:	Is segregation of White and Black students in public schools constitutional?
Rule of law:	Equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment
Analysis:	After a series of state cases, a team of top NAACP and Howard affiliated lawyers literally cracked the case of segregated schools, leading the way towards attempting to reduce "separate-but-equal" social practices, providing legal precedents and mandates for societal desegregation.
Conclusion:	Warren court ruled that separate schools were "inherently unequal" ending (or at least beginning to end) nearly sixty years of legalized racial discrimination.

Kluger's work shows that in every legal case involving civil educational rights, there are a multitude of personalities that, once discovered and studied at length, can inform and help to resolve larger societal dilemmas.

My research on community service-learning and the necessary study of African-American's educational history in an analysis of experiential education has been essential to understanding the broader educational and cultural contexts in which Black women's educational experiences take place and the contribution that our history can make to the present practice.

NOTES

[1] Timothy Stanton, Dwight Giles Jr., and Nadinne Cruz. Service-Learning: A Movement's Pioneers Reflect on its Origins, Practice, and Future. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1999).

[2] For a listing of these increases, see Campus Compact Annual Report, 1999.

[3] For Service-Learning definitions and resources, visit http://csf.colorado.edu/sl Colorado State University website with references to service-learning resources.

[4] See Susan Warner Weil and Ian McGill eds., Making Sense of Experiential Learning: Diversity in Theory and Practice. (1986; rpt., Guildford, England: Philadelphia, Society for Research into Higher Education, 1996), xviii.

[5] "Foundations of Experiential Education." National Society for Experiential Education. (NSEE Foundations Document Committee, 1997).

[6] Dewey, Experience and Education, 40.

[7] John Dewey (1859-1952), educational theorist and prolific writer on educational philosophy. Dewey is well known for his construction of the education department and laboratory schools at the University of Chicago and Columbia University. David Kolb is an educator who is credited with contributing theories to the field of community service-learning, especially with his 1984 "model for learning, derived from Dewey's constructivist theory of how the learning process takes place…". Janet Eyler and Dwight Giles, Where's the Learning in Service-Learning? (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1999), 194.

[8] John Dewey, Experience and Education. (West Lafayette, Indiana: Kappa Delta Pi., 1998), 40.

[9] Darlene Clark Hine and American Historical Association. The State of Afro-American history: past, present, and future. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1986).

[10] After conducting research on this topic, I have established the following indicators to define the structures of "presence, oppression, contribution, and creative resistance." I identified these characteristics as recurring themes in the literature on African-American educational experiences in the century between 1865 and 1964:

Categories of indicators of "experience" (subject key):

I. Presence (literacy rates, admission to & graduation from to elementary, middle, high school, college, and graduate school, religion & denomination, teaching placements, administrative appointments, occupation & labor, population & migration, birth rates & marriage rates, location [country, region, state, county, & town], language and

nationality, organizations & sororities public/private school, school funding: land grant & philanthropy, HBCUs, non-HBCUs, law & legislation, international issues)

II. Oppression (economic income & social class, occupation & labor, race relations/status - inter [Black/White], relations/status - intra [Black/Black], gender relations/status - inter [male/female], gender relations/status - intra [female/female], teaching & pedagogy, curriculum & course of study [eg. Ladies' course], learning & testing, politics of education/ educational ideology, political events, law & legislation, enslavement, violence, and segregation)

III. Contribution and creative resistance (ideology & values, clubs & organizations, journalism & communication, community service and activism, social/cultural events and popular culture, published materials, visual and performing artistic instruction, community service-learning, teaching & pedagogy, curriculum, learning & testing, HBCUs, non-HBCUs, politics of education/ educational ideology, social movements, political events, law & legislation, international issues).

[11] Gesa E. Kirsch, Ethical dilemmas in feminist research: The politics of location, interpretation, and publication. (New York: State U New York Press, 1999), 21.

[12] Historian Bettye Collier-Thomas made quite a contribution towards outlining the need for further research on Black women educators in "The Impact of Black Women in Education: An Historical Overview" Journal of Negro Education. 51, 3 (Summer, 1982):173.

[13] Stephanie J. Shaw, What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do: Black Professional Women Workers During Jim Crow Era. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 98.

[14] Ibid., 94-95.

[15] Shaw, Chapter 3 "We are not educating individuals but manufacturing levers": School reinforcements," 68-104.

[16] Ibid., 42.

[17] Carter G. Woodson, The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861. (1919; rpt., New Hampshire: Ayer Co, Salem, 1991).

[18] Anderson, J. Education of Blacks in the South, 113.

[19] Horace Mann Bond, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order (New York: Octagon Books, 1966).

[20] Timothy Reagan "'A Wise Child is Talked to in Proverbs': Traditional African Educational Thought and Practice." Non-Western Educational Traditions: Alternative

Approaches to Educational Thought and Practice.(Mahwah, N.J.: L. Erlbaum Associates, 2000).

[21] Edward Zlotkowski, Successful Service-Learning Programs: New Models of Excellence in Higher Education, (Bolton, MA, Anker Pub. Co. 1998), 110.

[22] Beverly Jones, "Rediscovering Our Heritage: Community Service and the Historically Black University" in Edward Zlotkowski Successful Service-Learning Programs. (1998), 109-123.

[23] J. Anderson, The education of Blacks in the South; Bond, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order.

[24] According to Linda Perkins, the 1930 census data showed that there were 45,672 Black women in the teaching profession and only 8,767 Black men. "Education" in Darlene Clark Hine, Elsa Barley Brown, and Bettye Collier Thomas. Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia (Indiana University Press, Indiana, 1994), 380-387.

[25] Perkins, "Education."

[26] Unless otherwise noted, all statistical information will come from Hine et. al., The Encyclopedia of Black Women in America (1994).

[27] Jacqueline Jones, Labor of love, labor of sorrow: Black women, work, and the family from slavery to the present. (New York: Basic Books, 1985).

[28] Woodson, Education of the Negro Prior to 1860; McPherson, The abolitionist legacy; W. E. B Du Bois and Augustus G. Dill The college-bred Negro American. Report of a social study made by Atlanta university under the patronage of the trustees of the John F. Slater fund; together with the Proceedings of the 15th annual Conference for the study of the Negro problems, held at Atlanta university, on Tuesday, May the 24th, 1910. (Atlanta, Ga.,, The Atlanta university press, 1910); Perkins, "Education."; J. Anderson, The education of Blacks in the South.

[29] J. Anderson, The education of Blacks in the South.

[30] Perkins, "Education"; Bond, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order; Woodson, Education of the Negro Prior to 1860.

[31] Shaw, What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do; Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, Afro-American women of the South and the advancement of the race, 1895-1925. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989).; Karen Ann Johnson, Uplifting the women and the race: the lives, educational philosophies, and social activism of Anna Julia Cooper and Nannie Helen Burroughs. (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000).; Perkins, "Education."; Paula Giddings, When and where I enter: the impact of Black women on race and sex in America. New York: W. Morrow, 1984).; Deborah Gray

White, Too heavy a load: Black women in defense of themselves, 1894-1994. New York: W.W. Norton, 1999).

[32] Noble, "The Higher Education of Black Women in the Twentieth Century." John Mack Fargher and Florence Howe eds., Women and higher education in American history: essays from the Mount Holyoke College Sesquicentennial Symposia. New York: Norton, 1988); Shaw, What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do; Neverdon-Morton, Afro-American women of the South; Bond, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order; Woodson, Education of the Negro Prior to 1860.

[33] When Maria Stewart spoke in Boston, Massachusetts in 1832, she was the first to speak to a mixed-race audience Maria W. Stewart and Marilyn Richardson, Maria W. Stewart, America's first Black woman political writer: essays and speeches. (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1987). The first petition for the American Methodist Episcopal Church General Conference to license women to preach was defeated in 1844. Theses incidents represent the silencing of Black women's voice during this era. Hine et. al., Black Women in America, 1309-1332.

[34] Perkins, "Education,"; Shaw, What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do.

[35] For examples of White rejection of Black womanhood see the case of Prudence Crandall in Canterbury Connecticut as well as the exclusion of Black women from colleges founded for White women (Mount Holyoke, founded in 1837 for example). For an in-depth discussion of the social politics involved in Black women's middle-class values of this period, see footnotes in Lemert's "Anna Julia Cooper: The Colored Woman's Office," The Voice of Anna Julia Cooper: including A voice From the South and other important essays, papers, and letters. (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998).

[36] William H. Watkins, The White architects of Black education: ideology and power in America, 1865-1954. (New York: Teachers College Press, 2001); Woodson, Education of the Negro Prior to 1860.

[37] Ellen NicKenzie Lawson and Marlene Merrill, The Three Sarahs: documents of antebellum Black college women. (New York: E. Mellen Press.1984).

[38] Pulliam et al., History of education in America.

[39] J. Anderson, The education of Blacks in the South; Bond, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order.

[40] There is a growing body of work that problemitizes the White philanthropy of organizations such as these and that asks questions about the politics of control and administration of predominantly Black schools and colleges. For examples of these arguments, see Eric Anderson and Alfred Moss Dangerous Donations: Northern Philanthropy and Southern Black Education, 1902 - 1930 (Columbia, Missouri:

University of Missouri Press, 1999) and Watkins The White Architects of Black Education: Ideology and Power in America 1865-1954, (2001).

[41] Rebecca Lee Crumpler, Mary Eliza Mahoney, and Mary Ann Shad Cary respectively. Hine et. al., Black Women in America, 1309-1332.

[42] For example the stewardess of the A.M.E. Church general conference (1868) and Julia Foote, the first ordained female deacon of AME Zion church (1894).

[43] Elizabeth Thorn-Flood in Alemeda County, California (1857), Mary S. Peake in Fortress Monroe, Virginia (1861), Lucy Laney in Agusta, Georgia (1886) and Cornelia Bowen in Mt. Meigs, Alabama (1888) for example. Hine et. al., Black Women in America, 1309-1332.

[44] Sarah Woodson at Wilberforce University in Ohio (1866), Fanny Jackson Coppin at Institute for Colored Youth in Philadelphia (1869), Maria Louise Baldwin in Boston (1889), Josephine A. Silone Yates at Lincoln University in Missouri (1889) and Mary Church Terrell in Washington D.C. (1895) respectively. Hine et. al., Black Women in America, 1309-1332.

[45] In 1881 Tennessee passed a state railroad segregation law. Similar laws are passed in Florida (1887), Mississippi (1888), Texas (1889), Louisiana (1890), Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky (1891), South Carolina (1898), North Carolina (1899), Virginia (1900), Maryland (1904), and Oklahoma (1907). Hine et. al., Black Women in America, 1309-1332.

[46] Perkins, "Education." Hine et. al., Black Women in America., 385

[47] The economic deprivation already present was exacerbated by the failing of the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company, chartered by the U.S. Congress. With business confined to Black people went under in 1874: 61,000 African-Americans lost nearly 3$ million dollars and the gains being made during the Reconstruction period between 1865 and 1877 were met by losses of devastating proportion. Hine et. al., Black Women in America, 1309-1332.

[48] Two very important strikes were the 1877 strike by domestic workers in Galveston, Texas and the 1881 strike by 3,000 washerwomen in Atlanta. The most well known settlement house during this era was Janie Porter Barrett's Locust Street Settlement House in Hampton, Virginia established in 1890. Hine et. al., Black Women in America, 1309-1332.

[49] Giddings, When and Where I Enter; For a clear outline of the formation of this organization, as well as information on four other influential Black women's organizations between the 1890s to the 1990s, see White, Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994. For larger political agendas of Black Women's Clubs, see Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, "Advancement of the Race through African American Women's Organizations in the South, 1895-1925," and Evelyn Brooks

Higginbotham, "Clubwomen and Electoral Politics in the 1920s" both in Ann D. Gordon et. al. African American Women and the Vote, 1837-1965 (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1997).

[50] In April of 2002, Henry Louis Gates published The Bondwoman's Narrative, by Hannah Crafts, a Fugitive Slave, Recently Escaped from North Carolina. (New York, Warner Books, 2002). This is now recognized as the first novel known to have been written by a black woman in America, as well as the only one by a fugitive slave. After authenticating the claims of the author, Gates estimated the text was written between 1855-1859.

[51] Dr. Rebecca Lee Crumpler (1883), Lucy Wilmot Smith (1888), Julia Ringwood Coston (1891), and N. F. Gertrude Mossell (1894) respectively. Hine et. al., Black Women in America, 1309-1332.

[52] White, Too Heavy a Load.

[53] Mary Ann Shad Cary's "A Plea for Emigration or Notes on Canada West, in Its Moral, Social, and Political Aspect: With Suggestions Respecting Mexico, W. Indies and Vancouvers Island for the Information of Colored Emigrants" (1852) and Ida B. Wells' "Red Record: Tabulated Statistics and Alleged Causes of Lynching in the United States 1892-1894" (1894) are examples of Black women teacher-journalist-activists. Hine et. al., Black Women in America, 1309-1332.

[54] Lemert and Bhan, The Voice of Anna Julia Cooper.

[55] Perkins, "Education."

[56] There was also a surge in Black women's artistic teaching and learning: (1916), (1943), (1950) as well as opportunities in sport education. Hine et. al., Black Women in America, 1309-1332.

[57] Perkins, "Education." 386.

[58] Ibid., 384.

[59] Ibid., 384, 385.

[60] In government, Violette N. Anderson became the first Back woman to argue a case before the Supreme Court (1926), Minnie Buckkingham-Harper, (appointed to complete her widow's term in the West Virginia Legislature) becomes the first Black woman to serve in a U.S. Legislative body (1927), Anna Arnold Hedgeman is named executive director of the National Council for the federal Fair Employment Practices Commission (1944), and Arie Taylor becomes the first African-American to become a Woman's Air Force classroom instructor (1951). Hine et. al., Black Women in America, 1309-1332.

[61] An example of this was the general exemption of women from The American Negro Academy which was founded in 1897 by Alexander Crummell. There is debate around the possible membership of Anna Julia Cooper in the Academy, however structurally, membership was limited to men from the organization's beginning. Lemert "The Colored Woman's Office."

[62] Leon Litwack, Trouble in Mind: Black southerners in the age of Jim Crow. (New York, Knopf, 1998), 11.

[63] Ibid. 12.

[64] Perkins, "Education."

[65] Ibid., 384.

[66] Fanny Jackson Coppin, Reminiscences of school life and hints on teaching. (1913; rpt., New York: G.K. Hall, 1995), 44.

[67] Georgia Douglass Johnson (Heart of a Woman 1918), Nella Larson (Quicksand 1928 and Passing 1929), Zora Neale Hurston (Jonah's Gourd Vine 1934 and Their Eyes Were Watching God 1937), Margaret Walker (For My People 1942), and Gwendolyn Brooks (A Street in Bronzeville 1945, Annie Allen 1949, and Maud Martha 1953) all passed through and surpassed the era of the Harlem Renaissance and imagined Black women's poetic and dramatic history in a way that still informs the creative existence of Black women's intellect. Hine et. al., Black Women in America, 1309-1332.

[68] Examples of a combination of these tactics are evident in the development of Settlement Houses such as Victoria Earle Matthews' White Rose Mission in New York City (1897) and the 1938 I. N. Vaughn Company tobacco worker strike led by Louise "Mama" Harris (Richmond, VA 1938). Hine et. al., Black Women in America, 1309-1332.

[69] Jones, Labor of Love, 215.

[70] Bettye Collier-Thomas and V. P. Franklin, My soul is a witness: a chronology of the civil rights era in the United States, 1954-1965. (New York: Henry Holt, 2000).

[71] In 1960 women totaled 9,758, 423 in a U.S. Black population of 18,871,831. Of all Black women in the labor force, 32.5% were employed in domestic service, 21.4 % were in other service positions, 10.8 % were in clerical and sales, and 6% were in professional positions. By 1970, women total 11,831,973 in a U.S. Black population of 22,580,289. Of all Black women in the labor force 17.5% were employed in domestic service, 25.7% were in other service positions, 23.4% were in sales and clerical positions, and only 10.8% were in professional positions. The continued relegation of Black women to service and low-paying, low-skilled labor has shifted very little. Hine et. al., Black Women in America, 1309-1332.

[72] In 1961, Federal Courts ordered Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes admitted to the University of Georgia. In 1976 Mary Frances Berry became chancellor of the University of Colorado at Boulder - the first African-American woman to head a major research university - before moving on to be appointed the assistant secretary for education in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in 1977. By the end of the 1970s, Black women had moved into the physical and natural sciences and in 1979 Jenny Patrick is the first Black woman in the U.S. to earn a Ph.D. degree in Chemical Engineering (Massachusetts Institute of Technology). In this era, Jean Blackwell Hutson became curator of what is now the New York Public Library's Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture and guides its development (1955-1984), Dorothy I. Height was elected the fourth president of the National Council of Negro Women (1957) and she continued leadership of the organization into the 1990s, Charlemae Rollins was the first Black person to be elected president of the Children's Services Division of the American Library Association (1957), and Margaret Burroughs, with her husband, Charles, established the Ebony Museum of African-American History in her South Side Chicago home (1961) which becomes the DuSable Museum of African-American History. In 1968, Elizabeth Duncan Koontz became the first African-American to serve as president of the National Education Association (NEA), in 1970 Effie O'Neal Ellis, M.D., became special assistant for health services to the American Medical Association and was the first Black woman physician to hold an administrative post or executive office in the American Medical Association. In 1975, Gloria Randall Scott became the first Black woman to serve as national president of the Girl Scouts, U.S.A., and in 1976 Pauli Murray was the first African-American woman priest ordained in the Episcopal Church. In that same year, Clara Stanton Jones was the first African-American to be president of the American Library Association. In 1978 Faye Wattleton was the first Black person and first woman to serve as president of Planned Parenthood Federation of America. Hine et. al., Black Women in America, 1309-1332.

[73] In 1959, winning the election for county court judge in Philadelphia, Juanita Kidd Stout was the first Black woman *elected* to a judgeship in the U.S., Helene Hillyer Hale became Hawaii's county chairperson, a position equivalent to mayor (1961), and in 1964 Constance Baker Motley became the first Black woman elected to the New York State Senate. Two years later, in 1966, Motley was confirmed by the U.S. Senate as a U.S. district court judge, becoming the first Black woman on the federal bench. In that same year, Barbara C. Jordan became the first Black woman in the Texas Senate and she was later elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and distinguished herself during the Watergate hearings. Leila K. Smith Foley (first African-American female mayor in the Continental U.S., Taft, Oklahoma 1973), Sara J. Harper (first woman appointed as a justice for the U.S. Marine Corps 1973), Yvonne Braithwaite Burke, representative from California, became the first woman to chair the Congressional Black Caucus, and Unita Blackwell became the first African-American mayor in Mississippi (1976). Hine et. al., Black Women in America, 1309-1332.

[74] Grace Jordon McFadden "Septima Clark and the Struggle for Human Rights," Vicki L. Crawford, Jacqueline. A. Rouse, and Barbara Woods, Women in the Civil

Rights movement: trailblazers and torchbearers, 1941-1965. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993).

[75] Hine et. al., Black Women in America, 1309-1332.

[76] Hine, Black Women in America, 181.

[77] The Long Shadow of Little Rock (Daisy Bates 1962), Coming of Age in Mississippi (Ann Moody 1968), and I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings (Maya Angelou 1969), along with writings by Alice Childress (*Like One of the Family: Conversations from a Domestic's Life* 1956), Paule Marshall (Brown Girl, Brownstones 1960), Lorraine Hansberry (A Raisin in the Sun- on Broadway 1959 and To Be Young Gifted and Black - on Broadway1968), Lucille Clifton (Good Times 1969), Sonia Sanchez (We a BaddDDD People 1970), Alice Walker (*The* Third Life of Grange Copeland 1970), Ntozake Shange (For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide When the Rainbow Is Enuf 1976), and Toni Morrison (The Bluest Eye 1970 and Song of Solomon 1977) represented a continuation of literary interpretations of the Black woman's experience. Hine et. al., Black Women in America, 1309-1332.

[78] Crawford, Women in the Civil Rights movement, 73; 164.

[79] For example Joan Murray 1965 in New York, Xernona Clayton Brady 1969 in Atlanta, and Charlayne Hunter-Gault 1978 on the MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour. Hine et. al., Black Women in America, 1309-1332.

[80] This number does not include all African-Americans. In the first Census of the millennium, a multiracial category became an option for census participants; 2.4 percent of U. S. population in the year 2000 (6,826,228) were reported to be two or more races, so that slightly affects the overall number of Black Census respondents.

[81] Bishop Leontine T. C. Kelly as the first Black woman Bishop of United Methodist Church 1984, Barbara Clementine Harris as first Black woman elected Bishop in the Episcopal Church in Boston 1989, Moderator Joan Salmon Campbell of the Presbyterian Church 1989, Pastor Cora Billings as first Black nun in the U.S. to head a Catholic parish, and Vashti Murphy McKenzie as the first female Bishop of African Methodist Episcopal Church in its 213-year history. Hine et. al., Black Women in America, 1309-1332.

[82] Mary Frances Berry U.S. was appointed Commission on Civil Rights (1980), Juanita Kidd Stout was the first to serve on a state Supreme Court in Philadelphia (1988), Sharon Pratt Dixon Kelly became the first native-resident Mayor of Washington D.C. (1990), Carol Moseley Braun of Illinois was the first Black woman and first Democrat U.S. Senator (1992), Jocelyn Elders was confirmed as U.S. Surgeon General in 1993, and Condolezza Rice became the first woman National Security Advisor by the appointed president, George Bush (2000) for example. Hine et. al., Black Women in America, 1309-1332.

[83] See "Black College Presidents: Pioneering on the Frontiers of Education" Ebony 56,11 (September, 2001).; and New Black College Presidents. Ebony. 54,12 (October 1999).

[84] Perkins, "Education." 386; Michael T. Nettles and Laura W. Perna, The African-American Education Data Book: Preschool Through High School Education. (Fairfax, Virginia: Frederick D. Patterson Research Institute of the College Fund/UNCF, 1997). (Hereafter cited as Data Book). Data Book I, 27; Date Book 1, xx.

[85] Data Book I Executive Summary, 19; Data Book 1, 429.

[86] Date Book I, 434.

[87] The antebellum barring of education for most African-Americans left a large percentage of the post-bellum teaching of Black youth to be educated by Whites who were trained in reading and writing, but not in anti-racist modes of teaching or by Blacks who were dedicated to education, but largely under-trained themselves. The training of Black teachers was the main focus for Black education in the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction eras. Bond wrote, that, "excluding West Virginia, Delaware, and the District of Columbia, McCuistion reported that in 1930 there were 47,426 Negro teachers certified in fifteen Southern states. Education of the Negro in the American Social Order, 264.

[88] Noble, "The Higher Education of Black Women in the Twentieth Century."

[89] Digest of Education Statistics 2000 Edition. National Center for Education Statistics, U. S. Department of Education, Table 96.

[90] Ibid., Table 68.

[91] More than one-half (53.4 percent) of African-American public school teachers in 1993/94 received their undergraduate degrees from HBCUs. Data Book II Executive Summary, 21.

[92] Data Book II, 217-218.

[93] Data Book II Executive Summary, 18.

[94] Ibid.,202-212.

[95] Both the Hyde Amendment of 1977 and the 1980 Harris v. McRae decision (which cut off Medicaid funding for safe and legal abortions) negatively impacted Black women's options in making choices about their own reproductive health. It is the coupling of legal and political decisions with the Eugenics-inspired race-based sterilization abuse and "birth-control" medical exploitations that have further limited Black women from healthy options for family planning and health care (Angela Davis and Joy James, The Angela Y. Davis reader. (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1998).

[96] See Manuel Roig-Franzia Washington Post article "My Kids Were Used as Guinea Pigs": Lead Paint Study Adds To Debate on Research." Saturday, August 25, 2001 for example.

[97] Bond, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order. (1966); Jonathan Kozol Savage inequalities: children in America's schools. (New York: Crown Publishing, 1991); Data Book II (1997).

[98] Kimberly Springer Still Lifting, Still Climbing: Contemporary African American Women's Activism. (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 303.

[99] Ibid., 307.

[100] Angela Davis, The Angela Y. Davis Reader 1998.

[101] In a survey of the 1992 annual earnings of 1980 high school sophomores the first year after attaining their highest degree revealed that Black women, at most every levels of earned degree, earned less than Black men. For those with a high school degree the difference in average salary was $3,070; for those with a certificate or license $3,001; and for those with an Associate's degree Black women's income average outranked men by $1,277. For those with a Bachelor's degree, men averaged $2,993 and for those with advanced degrees, Black men's average income outweighed Black women's by $15,518 (*Data Book* Volume III, Table 42). In elementary and secondary education, Black women averaged public school teaching salaries that were on par with Black men's ($34,157 versus $33,170). For full-time private school teachers, the salaries were much lower than the salary earned by Black men ($19,083 versus $25,757), White women ($20,659), and White men ($26,028) (Data Book Volume II, Tables 32 and 33). Black women principals slightly outnumber Black male principals (5.8 % public and 2.9 % private compared to 4.3 % to 1.4 % private). However, in urban areas, where most of the principalships are located, Black women's average salaries are $6,356 lower than Black men's (Table 25). In higher education, Black women faculty averaged salaries of $45,483; this was on par with White women faculty ($45,773), but still vastly under the average for Black men ($53,000) and White men ($58, 343) Data Book I Executive Summary, 20.

[102] In 1991 the nation witnessed the quintessential struggle of the Black woman: Anita Hill's televised testimony before the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee during the confirmation hearings of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas represented the precarious position of the crossroad of race and gender. In attempting to assert her right not to be sexually harassed, Hill felt the backlash of those in the Black community who felt that sexism is not as imperative an issue for the Black community as racism is. At the very least, the Black woman's charge of harassment by a Black man certainly left many feeling as if they had to rank their race or their sex in order to make a definite statement regarding the public display of what, for historical imperative reasons, have remained private race issues. Such is the historic position of the Black woman: neither solely Black, nor solely woman, she has been twice-degraded as a result of the combined subordinate position of both standpoints. Toni Morrison, Race-ing justice, en-gendering

power: essays on Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas, and the construction of social reality. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992).

[103] For example, at the 2002 ASALH, Black women graduate students and faculty presented their research on the topic: Carol McClain (Scholars from the past), Marshanda Smith (Black women tenured faculty at Michigan State), Arnell Hammond (1940-1949 Black women in higher education and curriculum), Lori Patton, and Afena Cobham (Black women and tenure) to name a few.

[104] John Bracey, "Afro-American Women: A Brief Guide to Writings from Historical and Feminist Perspectives." Contributions in Black Studies 8 (198601987): 106-110.

[105] In 1981 Barbara Smith and Audre Lorde began Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press; this signaled a shift from writing texts to the production of texts and an investment of Black women to educating Americans about Black women's experiences. In 1986 The Oprah Winfrey Show aired nationally and in 1989 Oprah bought Harpo, her own television and movie production company. The show still airs 15 years later and Oprah's extension into areas such as her Book Club and Oprah Magazine are reminiscent of Madame C.J. Walker's entrepreneurship in the early 1900s. In the 1980s, Black women's articulation of their experience moved into mainstream areas such as science fiction where writer Octavia Butler's (Kindred 1979, "Speech Sounds" 1984, Blood-child 1984, and Parable of the Sower 1993) explored the many dimensions of Black womanhood, history, and creative writing. In 1991 Barbara Brandon became the first Black female syndicated cartoonist ("Where I'm Coming From) and Julie Dash's Daughters of the Dust became the first feature film by an African-American woman to have national release. Clearly, in each of these works, Black women brought their understanding of their own history, race, class, and gender into the development and release of their visions for both entertainment and public education about ways to view Black women's experiences that are over-and-above the narrow, popular representations of Black womanhood. Hine et. al., Black Women in America, 1309-1332.

[106] With her memoir No Disrespect (1996) and novel The Coldest Winter Ever (2000), Sistah Souljah told of the experience of a very real urban college student and a fictional, but nonetheless very real, urban daughter of the drug-infested New York streets that gave voice to the complex psyche and inspirational wit of young Black girls. "Telling our own story," has become a major agenda item outside and inside of the academies of higher education.

[107] Books such as Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman (Michelle Wallace 1978), Ain't I A Woman: Black Women and Feminism (bell hooks 1981), Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches (Audre Lorde 1984), Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black (bell hooks 1989), Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment (Patricia Hill Collins 1990/2000), Reading Black, Reading Feminist: A Critical Anthology (Henry Louis Gates ed. 1990), Theorizing Black Feminisms: The Visionary Pragmatism of Black Women (Stanlie M. James and Abena P.

A. Busia ed 1993), The Rising Song of African American Women (Barbara Omolade 1994), Female Subjects in Black and White: Race, Psychoanalysis, Feminism (Elizabeth Able ed. 1997), Sisterhood, Feminisms and Power: From Africa to the Diaspora (Obioma Nnaemeka ed. 1998), Not Just Race, Not Just Gender: Black Feminist Readings (Valerie Smith 1998), Blues Legacies and Black Feminism: Gertrude 'Ma' Rainey, Bessie Smith, and Billie Holiday (Angela Davis 1999), Shadowboxing: Representations of Black Feminist Politics (Joy James 1999), and The Black Feminist Reader (Joy James and T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting eds. 2000), and Dark Continent of Our Bodies: Black Feminism and the Politics of Respectability (Mapping Racisms) (E. Frances White 2001) have increased the dialogue of Black women between themselves about what strategies for change have been effective and what actions need to be employed for the advancement of Black women in particular and of Black men and the larger African Diaspora in particular.

[108] Some, like the Association of Black Women Historians, Association of Black Women in Higher Education, Black Women Organized for Educational Development, International Cross-Cultural Black Women's Studies Institute, Mary McLeod Bethune Counsel House, and National Coalition of Black women focus mainly on public education and intellectual development around issues relevant to Black women. Some organizations, like Black women's sororities (such as Alpha Kappa Alpha, Delta Sigma Theta, Sigma Gamma Rho, and Zeta Phi Beta), National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, and National Association of Negro Business and Profession Women's Clubs focus on education and mentoring. However, Black women are teaching and learning in formal and informal community education as much as they are participating in institutional education. Health remains a focus for organizations such as the Bay Area Black Nurses Association, National Black Nurses Association, Black Women's Physicians Project, and Women of Color Breast Cancer Survivors Support Project. Black women's organizations continue to address issues of community education and Black women's intellectual development in many areas.

[109] Patricia Hill Collins, Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment. (1991; rpt., New York: Routledge, 2000), 39.

[110] Ibid., 43.

[111] Perkins, Chapter xx.

[112] She wrote under the pseudonym "Catherine Casey" and began the column in 1878.

[113] She delivered this address as part of a triad of speeches given by herself, Anna Julia Cooper and Fannie Barrier Williams.

[114] University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1978, 356 pages. Ph.D. Digital Dissertation abstract number AAT 7821222.

[115] Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 51, No. 3; Also, "The Impact of Black Women in Education: An Historical Overview" by historian Bettye Collier-Thomas made quite a contribution towards outlining the need for further research on Black women educators. (Summer, 1982), pp. 181-190.

[116] Linda Perkins, Fanny Jackson Coppin and the Institute for Colored Youth, 1865-1902, (New York: Garland, 1987). 334-343.

[117] Ibid., 24.

[118] Ibid, 15.

[119] Ibid.,119.

[120] Ibid, 26-27.

[121] Shelly P. Haley, "Introduction," xxx; Coppin, 61.

[122] Coppin, 59.

[123] Ibid, 40; 64.

[124] Ibid, 39.

[125] Ibid. 9-44.

[126] Perkins, Fanny Jackson Coppin and the Institute for Colored Youth, 257; 279.

[127] Coppin, 67; 70-71.

[128] Coppin, 127.

[129] Ibid., 188.

[130] The year of her birth is contested. For an in depth discussion of this, see Lemert, "Anna Julia Cooper: A Colored Woman's Office," The Voice of Anna Julia Cooper.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Leona C. Gabel, From slavery to the Sorbonne and beyond: the life & writings of Anna J. Cooper (Northampton, Massachusetts: Smith College Department of History, 1982).

[133] Karen Ann Johnson, Uplifting the Women and the Race. Harry Morgan, Historical Perspectives on the Education of Black Children (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1995) is another example of an education text that incorporates history into an educational analysis, but does so uncritically. While the author does provide a useful

summary of historic facts, his analysis of those facts is not helpful in the context of my research. For example, the author asserts, "In 1863 President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation which change the status of Africans. Slaves, previously define as property, were now citizens" (3). This is a surprisingly narrow approach to Black history: Lincoln only freed the slaves in states where he had no jurisdiction, the 13th Amendment (by an act of Congress, not by Lincoln) in 1865 (not in 1863) ended legal slavery, and the 14th Amendment, in 1868 granted citizenship rights to Blacks. Further, in this text Bethune is only mentioned as the merging partner with Cookman Institute, not in her own right as an educator.

[134] Additional texts that have been of interest to my research are: Karen Baker-Fletcher, A Singing Something: Womanist Reflections on Anna Julia Cooper (New York: Crossroad, 1994).; Sharon Harley, "Beyond the Classroom: The Organizational Lives of Black Female Educators in the District of Columbia, 1890-1930." Darlene Clark Hine, Black women in American history. (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson Publishing, 1990).; and Bettye Collier-Thomas, "The Impact of Black Women in Education: An Historical Overview." Journal of Negro Education, 51, 3 (Summer, 1982): 254-265.

[135] For examples of lynching historiography see Leon Litwack's Trouble in Mind and James Allen Without Sanctuary (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Twin Palms, 2000).

[136] Lemert, Voice, 229.

[137] Ibid., 82.

[138] Du Bois, Souls, 102.

[139] Lemert, Voice, 312.

[140] Ibid., 313.

[141] Ibid., 328 – 329.

[142] Ibid., 233.

[143] Ibid., 235.

[144] Ibid., 235.

[145] Ibid., 251-253.

[146] Ibid., 257.

[147] "The Social Settlement: What It Is, and What it Does" (1913), Ibid., 218.

[148] "Woman versus the Indian," (1891), Ibid., 88-108.

[149] Ibid., 236-237.

[150] Ibid., 112-113.

[151] Ibid., 51.

[152] "The Higher Education of Women." Ibid., 85.

[153] Ibid., 73-74.

[154] Ibid., 132.

[155] In "Angry Saxons and Negro Education" (1938) she chided Washington for his 1895 Atlanta Compromise Speech. Clearly, she continued to hold a grudge against the leader of the Tuskegee Machine long after he had passed.

[156] "Equality of Races and the Democratic Movement' (1925), Ibid., 291-293.

[157] Ibid., 240.

[158] Sheila Flemming, The Answered Prayer to a Dream: Bethune Cookman College, 1904-1994. (Virginia Beach: Donning Company Publishers, 1995), 23.

[159] Ibid., 16-24.

[160] Mary McLeod Bethune, Audrey T. McCluskey, and Elaine M. Smith, Mary McLeod Bethune: building a better world: essays and selected documents. (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1999).

[161] Rayford W. Logan and Mary McLeod Bethune, What the Negro Wants (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944).

[162] McClusky and Smith wrote, "The largest concentration of Mary McLeod Bethune's published writings consist of her columns in the following periodicals: Aframerican Women's Journal (renamed Women United), 1940-1949; Chicago Defender, October 16, 1848-June 4, 1955; National Notes 1924-1928; Pittsburgh Courier, January 23, 1937-June 18, 1938." In a panel at the 2002 ASALH meeting in Orlando, Florida, the authors commented on a limitation of their text: Because the price of primary resources from one of the newspapers that Bethune contributed to was exorbitant, none of those materials from that source (to remain unnamed) appeared in this text.

[163] Ibid., 11.

[164] Ibid., 15; 4.

[165] Elaine Smith, Editorial Advisor, Project coordinator and guide compiled by Randolph H. Boehm. (Bethesda, Maryland: University Publications of America, 1997).

[166] Giddings, When and Where I Enter.

[167] Daytona Educational and Industrial Training School for Negro Girls, 6th Annual Catalog, Bethune, Smith, and McClusky, Mary McLeod Bethune: building a better world, 78.

[168] Ibid., 60-61.

[169] Ibid., 35-36.

[170] See also Ibid., Equality of Opportunity, 114; Black Children Had Nothing to Aspire To, 39; and Whites Thought Black Education was Folly, 40,

[171] Ibid., Spiritual Philosophy and To educate for service, 56; Service and Struggle: Heritage of Struggle Equals a Pioneering Spirit, 85; Nobility of Struggle, 52; Struggle, 68; Mary Church Terrell, 83; I Think of you and Nannie Helen Burroughs and Lucy Laney and myself as being the most sacrificing class, 94; In Resignation, says "service" nine times in 2 _ pages of text , 24; Meditation and communion with God, 53; Golden Rule, 54; very early in my life…, 84.

[172] Ibid., Are we teaching democracy in our own homes, at our own hearthstones?, 191.

[173] Ibid., 159-161.

[174] See also Ibid., 193; continued demand for equal access to "civic engagement" 159-160; 67; Social Justice and human welfare, 112; Various degrees of freedom – Freedom rests on the of education the Negro will receive, 84; Good citizenship in the home, 85; Education as largest business enterprise – why? 1. Science, 2. Ideal of Democracy, 3. Religion - Colleges have three responsibilities: 1. investigations, 2. Interpretation, and 3. Inspiration – Teachers need to take vows…; Organization as watchword, 88; Southern Federation of Colored Women's Clubs articulation of issues: number four – education; signed by Lucy Laney, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Janie Porter Barrett, Mrs. Margaret Murray Washington and Bethune, 147; Incorporating ideas, 69; Curriculum: Fine arts co-educational and community involved in classes, 98; Academic industrial summer school, 98-100; resistance to desegregation is not democratic, 274; Problem with those against desegregation – applying breaks instead of steam to get up the hill, 273.

[175] Ibid., 82.

[176] Ibid., 96.

[177] Ibid., 125.

[178] Ibid., 77.

[179] Ibid., 84-86.

[180] Ibid.

[181] Ibid., Religious training, 79; Needed as home makers, wives, teachers, and missionaries, 79; Emphasis on educating Black girls (influence from Scotia Seminary), 67; follow inner urges, 71; They are in sore need of some wholesome training to prepare them for usefulness in this life, 76; To meet the pressing need, 76; Daytona Normal founded in 1904 to train Negro girls to be good Christian women and it has well fulfilled its mission, [47 completed full High School course (1920)] 82;; Trained nurses from our hospitals are rendering service, 82; Moral responsibility of Negro girl, 85; Proposal for re-establishment as girl's school, but "boys will stay," 118; All Negroes in Florida must save our girls – opening of Home for Delinquent Girls.

[182] Ibid., 96-97.

[183] Ibid., 223.

[184] Ibid., "Our work now deals with High school and Jr. College. It is necessary for us to concentrate upon higher standards and a finer caliber of student.... I want the institute to be very efficient rather than large. We are working hard toward getting the work standardized and when we accomplish this, we hope to put on the other two years of college work..."94; crafts, commercial dietetics, need large gymnasium, library, music, secretarial courses, expand to offer four-years of study, vocational instruction; Mother's philosophy of life – she could not be discouraged, 36; Miss Wilson, dedicated administrator at Bethune Cookman, 40;

[185] Ibid., 276.

[186] Ibid., 231.

[187] Ibid., 70.

[188] Ibid., 213-214.

[189] Ibid., "Illiteracy has decreased from about 95 percent in 1865 to only 16.3 percent in 1930. In the very states that during the dark days of Reconstruction prohibited the education of Negroes by law, there are today over 2million pupils in 25,000 elementary schools, 150,000 high school pupils in 2,000 high schools and 25,000 students in the more than 100 Negro colleges and universities. Some 116 Negroes have been elected to Phi Beta Kappa in white Northern colleges; over 60 have received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from leading American universities and 97 Negroes are mentioned in Who's Who in America.

[190] Ibid., 215.

[191] Ibid., 21-25.

[192] As an institution, Bethune-Cookman College continues to build on its foundation of "heart, head, and hand" philosophy; the motto is an integral part of the university, from its mission statement to its official seal. In the 2001-2002 course catalog, it states that community service is an integral part of the General Education requirements for all Freshman students. In the syllabus for the second semester of the required Freshman Seminar, it is stated, "Through professional seminars, you will begin the important process of collecting information about career avenues, graduate schools, internships, professional expectations, conduct, ethics, and SERVICE. ...Community service and service learning are emphasized in GE 111; both are rooted in Bethune-Cookman College's 90-year history. The institution's Mission Statement which includes the sentence, 'The College has deep roots in the social history of America and continues to provide services to the broader community,' is especially relevant considering the critical problems confronting the individuals and communities across the Nation." It is clear that weaving community service into the fabric of the university has been an essential step in institutionalizing socially-conscious intellectual development; integration of service into the curriculum has been an essential part of institution building.

[193] Septima Clark and Cynthia Stokes-Brown, Ready from within: Septima Clark and the civil rights movement. (Navarro, California: Wild Trees Press, 1986), 116.

[194] Though Clark gives the date of her dismissal in Echo in My Soul. (New York: Dutton, 1962), page 111, there are quite a few incorrect references to the date of Clark's dismissal. One example can be seen in John Rachal "We'll Never Turn Back: Adult Education and the Struggle for Citizenship in Mississippi's Freedom Summer." Adult Education Quarterly, 50,3 (May 2000).

[195] After two relocations, Highlander is now operating in New Market, Tennessee and is still holding workshops on social justice issues.

[196] In an interesting twist of ironic fate, in Bethune's 1937 calculation, there were 700,000 Black farmers who needed to have access to instruction... "Rural education and Negro tenant farming" Bethune, McClusky and Smith, Mary McLeod Bethune: building a better world, 231.

[197] Clark, Echo in My Soul.

[198] Crawford, et. al., Women in the Civil Rights movement.

[199] Collier-Thomas and Franklin My soul is a witness.

[200] Clark, Echo in My Soul, 65.

[201] Ibid., 111-112.In his introduction to Clark's interviews, Eliot Wigginton lists 1955 as the date of her dismissal, this is incorrect. Refuse to stand silently by: an oral history of grass roots social activism in America, 1921-64. (New York, Doubleday., 1991), 3.

[202] Clark, Echo in My Soul, 206, 211, 227.

[203] Ibid., 138.

[204] Ibid., 82, 83.

[205] Ibid., 237.

[206] Ibid., 13; 151-152.

[207] Bernice was Septima's Aunt's daughter thus making her a niece, Echo in My Soul, 140. In Ready from Within, Cynthia Stokes-Brown, in a narration by Septima Clark, incorrectly identifies her as Septima's cousin, 49. It is uncertain whether Septima herself said this or not; this is an example of the interesting conflict of information that can happen within narrated biographies.

[208] Clark, Echo in My Soul, 141.

[209] Ibid.

[210] Ibid., community service and club work 77-79, 90-91.

[211] Ibid., 43-44.

[212] Ibid., 64.

[213] Ibid., 48.

[214] Ibid., 179.

[215] Ibid., 132.

[216] Ibid., 178.

[217] Ibid.

[218] Ibid., Goal of democracy and definition of democracy, 197.

[219] Ibid., 238.

[220] Ibid., 236.

[221] Ibid., 159.

[222] Ibid., 162.

[223] Ibid., group singing and moral building, 186.

[224] Ibid., 149.

[225] Ibid., 198.

[226] Ibid., 64.

[227] Ibid.

[228] Ibid.

[229] Ibid., Clark surveyed those involved in her program to measure effectiveness. Those who were learning to read by the Citizenship School method took, on average, 80 hrs to pass the voting rights test. Other methods took longer: 98 hours (Lauback method) or 150 hrs (Adult Education Association Method), 194-195.

[230] Ibid., 201.

[231] Ibid., 51.

[232] Ibid., 178.

[233] Ibid., 136.

[234] Ibid., 183.

[235] Ibid., 234.

[236] Ibid., 84.

[237] "How to Teach Reading and Spelling." Coppin, Reminiscences, 65.

[238] Clark, Echo in My Soul, 183-184.

[239] In "An Educational Controversy: Anna Julia Cooper's Vision of Resolution," Frances Richardson Keller acknowledges Cooper's visionary creation of a system that has come to called "community college." NWSA Journal, 11, 3 (Fall 1999), 172.

[240] For a denominational study of such church organizations, see Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, Righteous Discontent:The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993).

[241] Carol Mueller, "Ella Baker and the Origins of 'Participatory Democracy,'" Crawford, et. al. Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941-1965.

[242] Shaw; What a woman ought to be and to do; White, Too Heavy a Load; Neverdon-Morton, Afro-American women of the South.

[243] Shaw, What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do , 2.

[244] Jane R. Martin, Reclaiming a conversation: the ideal of the educated woman. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 3.

[245] August Meier and Elliott. Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980. (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1986).

[246] Bettye Collier-Thomas, "The Impact of Black Women in Education," 173.

[247] Also of much use is the 16 volumes of essays and monographs compiled in Darlene Clark Hine, Elsa Barkley Brown, Tiffany R. L. Patterson, and Lillian Williams Black Women in United States History: From Colonial Times to the Present. (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlton Publishing, 1990).

[248] Patricia Hill Collins, Black Feminist Thought, 21-43.

[249] Ibid., 211-213.

[250] In Maurianne Adams, Lee Ann Bell, and Pat Griffin, eds. Teaching for diversity and social justice: A sourcebook. (New York: Routledge, 1997), the autors write that they "realize that developing a social justice process in a society steeped in oppression is no simple feat. For this reason we need clear ways to define and analyze oppression so that we can understand how it operates at various individual, cultural, and institutional levels (4). The structure of the body of this paper was formed around this idea of the need for a multi-leveled analysis.

[251] The complexities of identity are mirrored in the dynamic construction and the interdisciplinary approaches to Black Studies, Women's Studies, and Black Women's Studies.

[252] Alexandrina Deschamps, ed. Women's Studies. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000), 23.

[253] Bernice Johnson Reagon, "Coalition politics: Turning the century." in Barbara Smith, ed. Home girls: A black feminist anthology (New York: Women of Color Press, 1983), 363.

[254] J. L. Conyers, Jr. Africana studies: A disciplinary quest for both theory and method. (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 1997), 14.

[255] Conyers, Africana Studies, 156-157.

[256] Ibid., 170.

[257] Undoubtedly, some might characterize this behavior, claiming space outside of Blackness, as "false consciousness." Some nationalists characterize any attempt to

coalesce outside of the race as misguided. While indeed the tendency toward assimilation into an imaginary ideal results from a self-hatred, selective autonomy and alliance is neither inherently "ill-fated" or a result of cultural brainwashing. T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting provides a helpful analysis of Fanon that removes race study from the realm of biological determinism, or in this case, cultural determinism. She postulates that while his intent, in Black Skin, White Masks, *is* to demonstrate "neurotic" and "schizophrenic" relationships between colonized Blacks and colonizing Whites, he "foregoes a blanket assessment of black and white behaviors" thus allowing for the possibility, albeit rare, of healthy interracial relationships. T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, Frantz Fanon: conflicts and feminisms (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998), 12.

[258] William R. Scott and William G. Shade, eds. Upon these shores: Themes in the African-American experience, 1600 to the present. (New York: Routledge, 2000), 27.

[259] www.coloredgirls.org/pub/pub_directory_index_race.html#African.

[260] See for example, Kimberly Springer, "Third Wave Black Feminism?" Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society. 27, 4 (2002); Deborah Gray White, Too Heavy a Load: or Stanlie M. James and Abina P. A. Busia, Theorizing Black Feminisms: The visionary pragmatism of black women. (London: Routledge, 1993).

[261] V. P. Franklin, The Journal of African American History, special issue: "New Perspectives on African American Educational History." 87 (Fall 2002): 433-446.

[262] Conyers, Africana Studies, 75-76.

[263] bell hooks, Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom (New York, Routledge, 1994), 49.

[264] Mai Chen, "Discrimination in New Zealand."Adrien Katherine Wing, ed. Global critical race feminism: An international reader (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 130.

[265] Trinh T. Minh-ha When the Moon Waxes Red: Representation, Gender, and Cultural Politics. (New York: Routledge, 1991), 14-15; Stanley, S. K. Other sisterhoods: Literary theory and U. S. women of color. (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1998), 3

[266] Patricia Hill Collins Black Feminist Thought:, 43.

[267] M. Chen, "Discrimination in New Zealand."), 135.

[268] Carol Pateman, The Sexual Contract (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1988), 21.

[269] Jennifer DeVere Brody, Impossible Purities: Blackness, Femininity, and Victorian Culture Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1998), 3.

[270] Libretti in Stanley, Other Sisterhoods, 217.

[271] M. Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Feminist genealogies, colonial legacies, and democratic futures. (New York: Routledge, 1997). xxviii.

[272] Uma Narayan, Dislocating cultures: Identities, traditions, and Third-World feminism. (New York: Routledge, 1997), ii.

[273] Brody, Impossible Purities, 9.

[274] Robert Paul Wolff, "Narrative time: The inherently perspectival structure of the human world." Midwest Studies in Philosophy 15, (1989).220.

[275] Ibid., 214-215.

[276] Ibid., 222.

[277] bell hooks, Outlaw culture: Resisting representations. (New York: Routledge, 1984), 197.

[278] Cherie Moraga clearly explains this concept in This Bridge Called My Back: writings by radical women of color. (Watertown, Massachusetts: Persephone Press, 1981), 29.; Libretti, in Stanley Other Sisterhoods, 204).

[279] Wing, Global critical race feminism, 11.

[280] Pateman, The Sexual Contract (1988), 113.

[281] Celina Romany, "Themes for a Conversation on Race and Gender in International Human Rights Law," in Wing ed., Global critical race feminism), 53.

[282] Angela Davis, Women, Race, and Class (New York: Vintage Books, 1983).

[283] Alexander and Mohanty, Feminist genealogies, . xvii; In "The Forethought" of The Souls of Black Folk, Du Bois (1903) actually wrote "Herein lie buried many things which if read with patience may show the strange meaning of being black here at the dawning of the Twentieth Century. This meaning is not without interest to you, Gentle Reader; for the problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line. I pray you, then, receive my little book in all charity, studying my words with me, forgiving mistake and foible for sake of faith and passion that is in me, and seeking the grain of truth hidden there" (xxxi).

[284] Mills, The Racial Contract, 66.

[285] Brenda J. Cossman in Wing, ed., Global critical race feminism, 28.

[286] Julia T. Wood, Gendered lives: Communication, gender, and culture. (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1997).65-67.

[287] Mills, The Racial Contract, 20.

[288] Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice: A Sourcebook (New York: Routledge, 1997), 93.

[289] Manisha Sinha, The Counterrevolution of Slavery: Politics and Ideology in Antebellum South Carolina (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2000), 89.

[290] Ibid., 33.

[291] Lott, in Deschamps, ed., Women's Studies, 174.

[292] Mill, The Racial Contract, 38.

[293] Ibid.,88.

[294] Ibid.,133.

[295] Jacqueline Jones, American Work: Four Centuries of Black and White Labor (New York: W. W. Norton., 1998), 306.

[296] Ibid.,. 372-375.

[297] Deschamps, ed., Women's Studies. 201-230.

[298] When attending high school and college debate matches, it became obvious to me how lawyers and politicians are trained; Oftentimes, debate has become about winning the match rather than coming to a logical collaboration around policy that should be put in place or action that should be taken. .

[299] Chris Weedon, Feminism, theory and the politics of difference (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1999), 39.

[300] Ibid., 24-25.

[301] Janet Kourany, James P. Sterba, and Rosemarie Tong, Feminist Philosophies. (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1992); Amrita Basu and Elizabeth C. McGrory, The Challenge of Local Feminisms: Women's Movements in Global Perspective. (Colorado: Westview, 1995); Leslie Heywood and Jennifer Drake, Third Wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminism. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1997).

[302] Brody, Impossible Purities, 68.

[303] Wolff, "Narrative Time," 4.

[304] Mills, The Racial Contract, 92.

[305] Much of this research was conducted in Professor Alexandrina Deschamps' Women's Studies seminar, "Critical Race Feminist Theory" course. Fall 2000. University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

[306] Meier and Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession.

[307] The Delany sisters go on to say "when Negroes are average, they fail, unless they are very, very lucky. Now, if you are average and *white*, honey, you can go far. Just look at Dan Quayle. If that boy was colored, he'd be washing dishes somewhere." In Having Our Say, the Delany sisters offer an incredible story of a century of American history. Their journey is an amazing example of the development of middle-class, educated Black women and their wisdom is admirable. Sarah Louise Delany, Annie Elizabeth Delany, and Amy Hill Hearth, Having our say: the Delany sisters' first 100 years. (New York: Kodansha International, 1993), 162.

[308] See "Rethinking Place" in White, Too Heavy a Load for an excellent analysis of how these vast differences played out in the political arena of the New Deal Era. Also see; Shaw, What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do and McClusky and Smith, Mary McLeod Bethune.

[309] Morgan State's Office of Community Service provides an outstanding example of co-curricular service-learning. There are fourteen programs that involve mentoring, cultural activities, musical instruction, and tutoring for elementary, middle school, and high school students: www.csatmsu@morgan.edu .

[310] National Campus Compact, www.compact.org.

[311] Howard's Center for the Advancement of Service-Learning is a significant example of program and curricular based service-learning, www.howard.edu/CenterUrbanProgress/CASL.html.

[312] United Negro College Fund/Ford Community Service-Learning Project, http://www.uncf.org/ford/index.htm.

[313] As in prior eras, the vast majority of primary and secondary teachers are women. In the 1993-1994 school year, 80.2 % of Black women (151,138) versus 19.8 % Black men (37,233) were public primary and secondary schoolteachers nationwide. Women's rate of teaching, more than four times the rate of men, is mirrored in the White female and male participation rate, thus the elementary and secondary teaching profession is still very much a woman-dominated occupation. Data Book II, 217-218.

[314] Ibid., 195.

[315] Dewey, Democracy and Education, 122.

[316] The majority of Black teachers continue to be HBCU-trained: more than one-half (53.4 percent) of African-American public school teachers in 1993-1994 received

their undergraduate degrees from HBCUs, Data Book II Executive Summary, 21. Further, now as ever, they are teaching in the South (63.7%) and in urban areas (55.6% public schools and 68.1% private schools) where the majority of Black children reside. Further, a majority of Black teachers (47.1% public and 56.4% private)[316] teach in schools where Black children comprise the majority (61 % to 100 %) of the schools' population.. Ibid., 18.

[317] In addition, there are many community-based organizations that are making incredible changes in Black communities. A prime example of a community-development organization that would produce a mutually beneficial partnership with a university based service-learning program is New Road Community Development Group on Virginia's Eastern Shore. Ms. Ruth Wise, with the assistance of the Virginia Eastern Shore Economic Empowerment and Housing Corporation and alongside six other Eastern Shore communities, is transforming a small all-Black town that just got plumbing in 2000 into a potentially vibrant learning cultural-based community. See www.fanniemaefoundation.org/news/pr/2002win/020305_6.shtml and http://leadershipforchange.org/awardees/awardee.php3?ID=35 for more information.

[318] Wolff, "Narrative time."

[319] Much of this research was conducted in Professor Bill Strickland's seminar "W. E. B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington." Fall 2001, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

[320] Booker T. Washington, Up From Slavery. (1901). (New York, N.Y.: Penguin Books 1986), 78-79.

[321] Booker T. Washington, My larger education; being chapters from my experience. (1911; rpt.; Miami, Florida: Mnemosyne Publishing, 1969), 21-22.

[322] Ibid., 112-114.

[323] First stanza of a poem entitled "On Liberty and Slavery," Joan R. Sherman, ed. The Black Bard of North Carolina: George Moses Horton and His Poetry. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 75.

[324] Du Bois, Souls, 100.

[325] J. Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South, 243; McPhereson, Abolitionist Legacy, 222.

[326] Du Bois, Souls, 95.

[327] Ibid., 101.

[328] Ibid., 87.

[329] Richard Samuel Brody, W. E. B. Du Bois' Educational Ideas. (Dissertation. Rutgers University, 1972.), 16.

[330] C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, 1977-1913. (1971; rpt., .Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), Nell Irvin Painter, Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877-1919. (New York: W.W. Norton.1987); Leon Litwack, Trouble in Mind; Pete Daniel The Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South, 1901-1969. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972).; Louis Harlan, Separate and unequal: public school campaigns and racism in the Southern Seaboard States, 1901-1915. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1966).

[331] Harlan, Separate and unequal, 170.

[332] David L. Lewis W.E.B. DuBois. (New York: H. Holt, 1993), 324 – 327; Woodward, Origins of the New South, 336 - 367

[333] Painter, Standing at Armageddon, 223.

[334] Daniel, The Shadow of Slavery, 67 – 71.

[335] Lewis, W.E.B. DuBois, 3.

[336] Kluger, Simple Justice, 73 – 74.

[337] Ibid., 703.

[338] Thurgood Marshall eventually went on to become the first African American justice appointed to the United States Supreme Court. He was appointed by President Johnson in 1967 and was confirmed by the Senate on August 30. Ibid.

[339] Constance Baker Motley went on to become the first African American woman justice named to the federal bench. On August 30, 1966, she was confirmed as a U.S. District Judge in New York. Ibid.

[340] The relevant cases that followed *Murray* were *Gaines v. Missouri* (1938); *Sweatt v. Painter* (1947); Sipuel v. Oklahoma (1949); and *McLauren v. Oklahoma* (1950).

[341] There were four additional cases that were heard in the same 1953 collective civil action as the *Brown* case: *Briggs et al.* [appellants] *v. Elliott et al* [of South Carolina].; *Davis et al.* [appellants] v. County School Board of Prince Edward County, Virginia et al; Gebhart et al. v. Belton et al. [Respondents, of Delaware]; and Bolling v. Sharpe [of Washington D.C.] Ibid.

[342] J. L. Hochschild, Thirty years after Brown. (Washington D. C.: Joint Center for Political Studies 1985), 3.

[343] Lerone Bennet Jr. notes, in Before the Mayflower (New York: Penguin Books, 1993), that eleven Black people petitioned for their freedom in New Netherlands (New York) after working as indentured servants for their company for over seventeen years. The Council of New Netherlands granted their petition for freedom.

[344] Kluger, Simple Justice, 170.

[345] Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U. S. 483 (1954).

[346] Charles Mills, The Racial Contract, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1997), 88.; Carter G. Woodson, The Mis-Education of the Negro. (1933; rpt.; Hampton, Virginia: U.B. & U.S. Communication Systems, 1992).

[347] J. Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South, 269.

[348] George Napper, Blacker than thou; the struggle for campus unity. (Grand Rapids: Eerdman, 1973), 62.

[349] Nathan Hare, "The Battle of Black Studies," Black Scholar. 3 (May), 32-27.

[350] Edwards, p. 167.

[351] Ralston, 270.

[352] J. Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South; Watkins, he White architects of Black education; Ronald Butchart Northern schools, southern Blacks, and Reconstruction.; Anderson and Moss, Dangerous donations.

[353] See USA Today front page, "Congress close to agreement on education." Wednesday, November 28, 2001.

[354] UNCF Data Book.

[355] Dewey, Democracy and Education. (New York: Free Press,1916)., 110.

[356] Dewey, Experience and Education, (1938), 45.

[357] Ibid. 67.

[358] For a list of how these thinkers are attributed to Dewey's writing, see "Introduction" Reginald D. Archambault, John Dewey on Education: Selected Writings. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1974).

[359] Christopher Lasch ed., The Social Thought of Jane Addams. (Indianapolis: Bobbs – Merrill, 1965).

[360] Lemert and Bhan eds., The Voice of Anna Julia Cooper, 219

[361] "The Third Step: Cooper's Memoir of the Sorbonne Doctorate" Lemert and Bhan eds., The Voice of Anna Julia Cooper, 325.

[362] Ibid, 122.

[363] Dewey, Democracy and Education, 207-219

[364] Weedon, Feminism, theory and the politics of difference, 168.

[365] Julianne Malveaux, "When the Personal is Political: Telling and Selling Our Stories." Black Issues in Higher Education. 19, 20 November 21, 2002:36.

[366] Clark Echo in My Soul, 242.

[367]She ends the book with 'The Lord will see us through,' 243.

[368] "Sister President" Journal of Blacks in Higher Education. (Winter 1995-1996), 51.

[369] There were 64 Doctoral Degrees awarded to Black women from 1876-1947. Hine et. al. Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia. v.6 (1994), 459.

[370] Collins, Black Feminist Thought, 266-268.

[371] Bethune, Smith, and McClusky, Mary McLeod Bethune: building a better world, 35.

[372] There are similarities in the fields of CSL, African-American Studies, and Women's Studies. Not only are there a range of approaches, but the fields each offer a spectrum of theory and methodology and they each are interdisciplinary.

[373] Stanton et. al., Service-Learning, p.164. Although it is not often mentioned, In January of 1968, M. Lee Montgomery, a professor at Temple University, stated that there were "community building and learning centers" already in existence with "more than 25 'learning partners' participating in an 'in-service training program that assisted in development of curriculum" (278). There are also many exiting international dialogues taking place around experiential education that can be enlightening to those who practice community service-learning.

[374] Ken Reardon in Service-Learning, 220-221.

[375] Ibid., 18.

[376] Ibid., 19.

[377] Though it can be said that both Fanny Jackson Coppin and Booker T. Washington were apolitical in their assertions, it was evident in their actions that they were heavily involved in politics.

[378] This trend began with "Community Service learning in the Curriculum." by Jeffery Howard in which the author espouses ten student-focused guidelines to ensure a better learning experience, in Praxis I: A Faculty Casebook on Community Service Learning. Jeffery Howard ed. (Ann Arbor, Office of Community Service Learning Press: University of Michigan, 1993).

[379] Dwight E. Giles Jr. and Janet Eyler. "The Theoretical Roots of Service-Learning in John Dewey: Toward a Theory of Service-Learning." Michigan Journal of Service Learning. 1,1 (Fall 1994): 77-85.

[380] Nadinne Cruz and Dwight E. Giles Jr., "Where's the Community in Service-Learning Research?" Michigan Journal of Community Service-Learning. Special Issue (Fall 2000): 28-34.

[381] Janet Eyler and Dwight E. Giles, Jr. Where's the Learning in Service-Learning (1999).

[382] For example see Thomas Ehrlich, "Civic Learning: Democracy and Education Revisited." Educational Record. (Summer/Fall 1997): 57-65; Michel Marriott, "Trying to Build Better Citizens: Universities are aiming beyond academics, with a focus on community." New York Times, Education Life. August 4, 1996.; David Mathews, "The public's disenchantment with professionalism: Reasons for rethinking academe's service to the country." Journal of Public Service and Outreach. 1,1 (Spring 1996).; Lori E. Varlotta, "Service-Learning: A Catalyst for Constructing Democratic Progressive Communities." Michigan Journal of Community Service-Learning. 3,1 (1996): 22-30.; and Shelah Mann and John J. Patrick eds., "Service Learning and Civic Education" Richard M. Battistoni. In Education for Civic Engagement in Democracy: Service Learning and Other Promising Practices. (The ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education 2000).

[383] Arthur A. Stukas, Mark Snyder, and E. Gil Clary, "Mandatory Volunteers: The Effects of 'Mandatory Volunteerism' on intentions of the volunteer." Psychological Science: A Journal of the American Psychological Society. 10, 1 (January 1999): 59-64.; Dan Conrad and Diane Hedin. "School-Based Community Service: What we know from Research and Theory." Phi Delta Kappan. (June 1991):743-749.; Elaine K. Ikeda and Jennifer A. Yee, "Executive Summary: How Service Learning Affects Students. Alexander W. Astin, Lori J. Vogelgesang, Higher Education Research Institute. (University of California, Los Angeles. January 2000).

[384] Ivan Illich, "To Hell with good intentions." National Society for Internships and Experiential Education. 1, 1 (1990): 314-320,; Sara Mosle, "The Vanity of Volunteerism," New York Times Magazine. July 2, 2000,; Keith Morton, "A Challenge to the Notion of Service," The Michigan Journal of Service Learning. (Fall 1995): 19-32,; John McKnight, "Why 'Servanthood' is Bad" The Other Side. (Jan/Feb 1989):38-41.

[385] Other texts of interest include: Barry Checkoway, "Reinventing the Research University for Public Service." Journal of Planning Literature.11,3 (February1997):307-319.; Julie Neuruer and Robert A. Rhoads, "Community Service: Panacea, Paradox, or Potentiation?" Journal of College Student Development. 39,4 (July/August 1998): 321-329.

[386] The primary resource that I consulted for a general understanding of the changing trends in educational philosophy and policy was John D. Pulliam,. and James J. Van Patten, History of education in America. (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Merrill, 1999). This text is used as required reading for a course at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst and while it is unabashedly broad, it does provide a general framework useful for this study. For a broad survey of educational history see Joel Spring, American education. (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 1998). To explore various theorists approaches to education, see William Cronon, "Only Connect: The Goals of Liberal Education," The American Scholar 67,4 (1998): 73-80.; For discussions of education and ethics see Edmund W. Gordon Education and Justice: A View From the Back of the Bus. (New York: Teachers College Press. 1999); Segun Gbadegesin and Joyce A. Ladner Ethics eds., "Higher Education and Social Responsibility." Selected papers from the proceedings of the conference on ethics, higher education, and social responsibility. (Washington, DC: Howard University Press. 1996).; Joan F. Goodman and Howard Lesnick, The Moral Stake in Education: Contested Premises and Practices. (New York: Longman. 2001).; Jonathan Kozol, Savage Inequalities: Children in America's Schools. (New York: Crown Publishing, 1991).; Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner, Teaching as a Subversive Activity, (New York: Delacorte Press, 1969).; John H. Walker, Ernest J. Kozma, and Robert P Green. On education and policy see American Education: Foundations and Policy. (St. Paul:, West Publishing Company, 1989); Alex Molnar ed., Social Issues and Education: Challenge and Responsibility. (Alexandria, Va., Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1987); Susan Gushee O'Malley, Robert C. Rosen, and Leonard Vogt, eds., Politics of Education: Essays from *Radical Teacher*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990).; Jack Demaine ed., Sociology of Education Today. (New York, N.Y.: Palgrave, 2001).; and Jack L. Nelson, Stuart B. Palonsky, and Kenneth

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[387] Pulliam and Van Patten, History of education in America. (1999); Howard Ozmon and Samuel Craver eds., Philosophical foundations of education. (Columbus, Merrill. 1990).

[388] Ozmon & Craver, Philosophical foundations of education. (1990), 118.

[389] The authors note that while separating philosophical ideas of education is helpful for presentation of ideas within a text book format, it nevertheless provides a false sense of the philosopher's thinking in that the presentation represents merely a portion of a larger structure of ideas on education.

[390] Pulliam and Patton, History of Education in America.

[391] History of Education in America, 181-183.

[392] James D. Anderson, The education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

[393] V. P. Franklin, and James D. Anderson, New perspectives on Black educational history. (Boston, G. K. Hall, 1978).

[394] Woodson's dynasty of historical research is still comprised of engaged historians; part of this dissertation was presented at the annual meeting in 2002 in Orlando, Florida where I was able to interact with V. P. Franklin, Darlene Clark Hine, Linda Perkins, Sheila Flemming, and other luminaries in the field.

[395] Since the early 1900's the debate has raged on. In a 1961 debate between Malcolm X and James Baldwin, X fumed about the reluctance of the "so-called American Negro" to claim an African heritage. Today the debate has expanded; there are camps not only about being Black, but, because of the increase in scholarship, about how to go about studying being Black. The questions that would allow for engaging debate on the subject are the very ones that sparked the debate in the era of Du Bois, Washington, and Garvey: Who are we? What do we want? How will we get what we want? Who should lead the way?.

[396] Robert F. Engs, Educating the disfranchised and disinherited: Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Hampton Institute, 1839-1893. (Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1999).

[397] Wayne J. Urban, Black scholar: Horace Mann Bond, 1904-1972 (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1991).

[398] James M. McPherson, The abolitionist legacy: from Reconstruction to the NAACP (Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1975).

[399] Woodson, C. G., Education of the Negro prior to 1861 (1919/1991).

[400] Bond, The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order (1966).

[401] Both the larger volumes and the executive summaries are invaluable resources. For more information call the Frederick D. Patterson Research Institute at 703-205-3570 or visit http://www.patterson-uncf.org to request The African-American Education Data Book.

[402] Anderson, Education of the Negro in the American Social Order, (1988) .

[403] Robert A. Margo, Race and schooling in the South, 1880-1950: an economic history (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1990).

[404] Horace Mann Bond, Negro education in Alabama: a study in cotton and steel. (1939; rpt. Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 1994).

[405] Robert. A. Pratt, The Color of Their Skin: Education and Race in Richmond, Virginia, 1954-89. (Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 1992).

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[407] Carleton, Mabee, Black Education in New York State: From Colonial to Modern Times. (Syracuse, N.Y., Syracuse University Press, 1979).

[408] John Flemming, "Blacks in Education to 1954: A Historical Overview." John Fleming, Gerald R. Gill, and David H. Swinton eds., The Case for Affirmative Action for Blacks in Higher Education. (Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Study of Educational Policy Howard University: published for ISEP by Howard University Press, 1978). "Black Students in Black and White Institutions" Helen S. Astin and Patricia H. Cross.

[409] Ronald E. Butchart, Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980) and Johnetta Cross Brazzell "Bricks without straw: Missionary-Sponsored Black Higher Education in the Post-Emancipation Era" Journal of Higher Education 63,1 (1992): 26-49 are similarly interesting examples.

[410] In White Architects, the Jeanes Fund is incorrectly listed as the Jeannes Fund.

APPENDIX A

THEMES BLACK WOMEN'S EXPERIENCE IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

	1619 – 1850 Colonization, Slavery, & Abolition	1851 – 1896 Civil War & Reconstruction	1897 – 1954 Jim & Jane Crow	1955 – 1979 Civil Rights & Black Power	1980– Present Current Era
Presence National Demographics School involvement Government Ed. Community Ed./Labor	Home/ free schools (religious orgs, private) ; churches founded; Oberlin; 1st 2yr and 4 yr.. degree granted to Black women	Exodus to schools; (Govt. & missionary); 1st med, law, and nursing doctorate degrees; exodusters from the South; HBCUs founded; 1st women's colleges	1901, 252 Bas (vs 2,272 men's) 1st Ph.D.s; more schools founded; advanced degrees in music, science, and flight; teacher ed. & training; women more college than men (except 1920s); argue in supreme court	Political & military ranks; head of national organizations; desegregation; preservation; 51.9 % domestic & service. 6% professional. (1960); 43.2% domestic & service. /10.8% professional (1970)	Math & science; college presidents; judgeships; religious heads; top govt. positions; 56.3% domestic & service./ 14.8 professional (1990).
Oppression Personal Violence Legal & Political Issues Economic & Social Issues	Enslavement and rape; anti-literacy; "womanhood " (Cult of True Womanhood) qualifications; no access to Black leadership positions	Lynching; domestic work or teaching only; no civil rights or employment opportunities; economic deprivation	Lynching; "womanhood" (Birth of a Nation); segregation and no funding for schools – separate is not equal	Desegregation backlash; church bombings; rape in jails; political prosecution; economic deprivation; dispersion of Black critical mass	Reagan/Bush administration (civil rights, economics set backs); "welfare to work" limits; increasing incarceration rate for Black women
Contribution & Creative Resistance Individual Voice Direct Action Petition/ Legislation Organizations	Abolition clubs; literary clubs; lawsuits (freedom); narratives and autobiography	Suffrage clubs; 1st novel; national Black women's.club movement and massive social organization; journalism & reporting; strikes	1st Sororities; memoir & biography; law suits (school access); students in civil rights organizations.	Student organization in Civil Rights and Black Power Movements; citizenship education; movement to arts production as popular education - 1st Broadway play	Assoc. Black Women Historians; Media as popular education: 1st nationally released film by Black woman; sci fi & comic strips; ownership of book press, movie & t.v. production; national health projects; Black women studies;

APPENDIX B

FIVE ERAS OF NOTABLE AFRICAN AMERICAN EDUCATORS

I. 1619 – 1850: Colonization, Slavery, and Abolition

Octavia Victoria Rogers Albert (1853 – 1890)
Anne Marie Becroft (1805 – 1833)
Mary Ann Shadd Cary (1823 – 1893)
Marie Bernard Couvent (c. 1757 – 1837)
Catherine (Katy) Ferguson (c. 1774 – 1854)
Margaretta Forten (c. 1815 – 1875)
Sarah Louisa Forten Purvis (1814 – 1883)
Milla Granson (born c. 1800)
Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (1825 – 1911)
Mary Smith Kelsey Peake (1823 – 1862)
Mary Anne Prout (c. 1800 - 1884)
Maria W. Stewart (1803 – 1879)

II. 1851 – 1896: Civil War and Reconstruction

Maria Louise Baldwin (1856 – 1922)
Janie Porter Barrett (1865 – 1948)
Cornelia Bowen (1858 – 1934)
Martha Briggs (1838 – 1889)
Hallie Quinn Brown (c. 1845 – 1949)
Josephine Beall Willson Bruce (1853 – 1923)
Mary E. Cary Burrell (c. 1863 – 1920)
Mary P. Burrill (c. 1884 – 946)
Fannie Jackson Coppin (1837 – 1913)
Minnie M. Geddings Cox (1869 – 1933)
Olivia America Davidson (1854 – 1889)
Sarah Mapps Douglass (1806 – 1882)
Kate Drumgold (n.d.)
Sarah Jane Woodson Early (1825 – 1907)
Sarah S. T. Garnet (1831 – 1911)
Charlotte L. Forten Grimke (1837 – 1914)
Emma Azalia Smith Hackley (1867 – 1922)
Julia Britton Hooks (1852 – 1942)
Lucy Craft Laney (1854 – 1933)
Adella Hunt Logan (1863 – 1915)
Emma Frances Grayson Merritt (1860 – 1933)
Nellie B. Mitchell (1845 – 1924)
Lucy Ella Moten (1851 – 1933)
Mary Jane Patterson (1840 – 1894)
Sara Stanley (1837 – 1918)
Susie Baker King Taylor (1848 – 1912)
Susan Paul Vashon (1838 – 1912)
Josephine Turpin Washington (1861 – 1949)
Elizabeth Evelyn Wright (1872 – 1906)
Josephine Silone Yates (1859 – 1912)

III. 1897 – 1954: Jim and Jane Crow

Anna Julia Cooper (1858 – 1964)
Mary McLeod Bethune (1875 – 1955)
Charlotte Hawkins Brown (1831 – 1961)
Sara Winifred Brown (b. 1870)
Mary P. Burrill (c. 1884 – 1946)
Nannie Helen Burroughs (1879 – 1961)
Lauretta Green Butler (1881 – 1952)
Selena Sloan Butler (c. 1872 – 1964)
Mary Ellen Cable (1881 – 1944)
Lucie E. Campbell (1885 – 1963)
Ida Rebecca Cummings (1867 – 1958)
Juliette Derricotte (1897 – 1931)
Alice Ruth Moore Dunbar-Nelson (1875 – 1935)
Alice Allison Dunnigan (1906 – 1983)
Eva Beatrice Dykes (1893 – 1986)
Jessie Redmon Fauset (1882 – 1961)
Dorothy C. Boulding Ferebee (1898 – 1980)
Mamie Elizabeth Garvin Fields (1888 – 1987)
Memphis Tennessee Garrison (1890 – 1988)
Annie W. Daughtry Holland (c. 1871 – 1934)
Frances Joseph-Gaudet (1861 – 1934)
Elizabeth Duncan Koontz (1919 – 1989)
Myrtle Athleen Smith Livingston (1902 – 1973)
Ethel Hedgeman Lyle (1887 – 1950)
Harriet Gibbs Marshall (1868 – 1941)
Enolia Pettigen McMillan (1904 –)
Camille Lucie Nickerson (1887 – 1982)
Louise Thompson Patterson (1901 –)
Virginia Estelle Randolph (1874 0 1958)
Juanita Saddler (c. 1892 – 1970)
Maude Sanders (1903 –)
Lucy Digss Slowe (1885 – 1936)
Georgiana Simpson (1866 – 1944)
Celestine Louise Smith (1903 – 1975)
Carlotta Stewart-Lai (1881 – 1952)
Mary Morris Burnett Talbert (1866 – 1923)
Laura Wheeler Waring (1887 – 1948)

IV. 1955 – 1979: Civil Rights and Black Power

Augusta Braxton Baker (1911 –)
Letitia Woods Brown (1915 – 1976)
Marjorie Lee Browne (1914 – 1979)
Selma Hortense Burke (1900 –)
Mary Fair Burks (d. 1991)
Margaret Taylor Goss Burroughs (1917 –)
Margaret Just Butcher (1913 –)
Septima Poinsette Clark (1898 – 1987)
Jewell Plummber Cobb (1924 –)
Anne (Reid) Cooke (1907 –)
Dorothy Foreman Cotton (1931 –)
Hilda Andrea Davis (1905 –)
Bernadine Newsom Denning (1930 –)
Marion Douglas (1920 –)
Helen Gray Edmonds (1911 –)
Roselyn Payne Epps (1930 –)
Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher (1924 –)
Ruby Middleton Forsythe (1905 – 1992)
Eliza Atkins Gleason (1909 –)
Grace Towns Hamilton (1907 – 1992)
Willa B. Player (1909 –)
Jewel Limar Prestage (1931 –)
Bernice Robinson (1914 –)
Delores Margaret Richard Spikes (1936 –)
Merze Tate (1905 –)

V. 1980 – Present: Current Era

Marguerite Ross Barnett (1942 – 1992)
Mary Frances Berry (1938 –)
Sister Thea Bowman (1937 – 1990)
Sylvia Trimble Bozeman (1947 –)
Flossie M. Byrd (1927 –)
Johnnetta Betsch Cole (1936 –)
Marva N. Collins (1936 –)
Angela Yvonne Davis (1944 –)
Gloria Gilmer (n.d.)
Barbara Charline Jordon (1936 –)
Hajj Bahiyah Betty Shabazz (1936 –)
Barbara Sizemore (1927 –)
Rebecca Walker Steele (1925 –)
Niara Sudarkasa (1938 –)
Frances Walker (1924 –)

Source:

Darlene Clark Hine, Elsa Barley Brown, and Bettye Collier Thomas. Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia (Indiana University Press, Indiana, 1994).

In the index, there are 114 women listed as professional elementary, secondary, college, and/or university educators (page 1347–1348).

APPENDIX C

CULTURAL IDENTITY WORKSHEET–S.C.A.A.A.A.R.R.S*

In the fall semester of 1998, during my senior year in college, I created a concept, S.C.A.A.A.A.R.R.S., to organize my thoughts on what I wanted to study in graduate school. Since then, I have developed this acronym into a tool to assess the aspects of cultural identity that addresses, at once, individual and social, biological and environmental characteristics. This framework presents an orderly way of confronting the historic and increasingly contentious topic of cultural identity that, by academic necessity, must surpass the current convenient classifications of "race, class, and gender." By creating this system I seek to demonstrate the incredible complexity of identity so that when one speaks of diversity, the conversation confronts images and realities in a truly diverse fashion rather than employing a concept to avoid discussion of the detailed implications of real trends in social stratification.

S.C.A.A.A.A.R.R.S. represents the intricate marking or naming process of one's identity within any given culture; it is a way of considering and re-considering the way we label ourselves and the way in which we are labeled (or libeled) by others. S.C.A.A.A.A.R.R.S. is a way of digging deeper in our quest for diversity and for casting a wider dragnet when attempting to identify and extinguish various means and ways of oppression.

By completing the following worksheet you can consider and discuss the many ways in which various aspects of your make-up interact to form a whole being. By completing this worksheet, you can also pinpoint the many ways in which you are similar and different from others.

Sex:

Gender -
Sexuality -

Class:

Economic -
Educational -
Occupational -
Citizenship status -

Age: -

Era -
Generation -

Ability:

Physical -
Mental -
Learning Style -

Affiliation:

Political -
Institutional -
Familial -
Community -
Relationship to land -

Artifacts:

Symbols -
Values -
Social norms -
Artistic expression -
Appearance [including hair, skin color, clothing style] -

Race:

Ethnicity -
Nationality -
Region -
Language -
Ancestry -

Religion:

Spirituality -
Philosophy -
Scientific Ideologies -

Size:

Body Image -
Health Status -

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