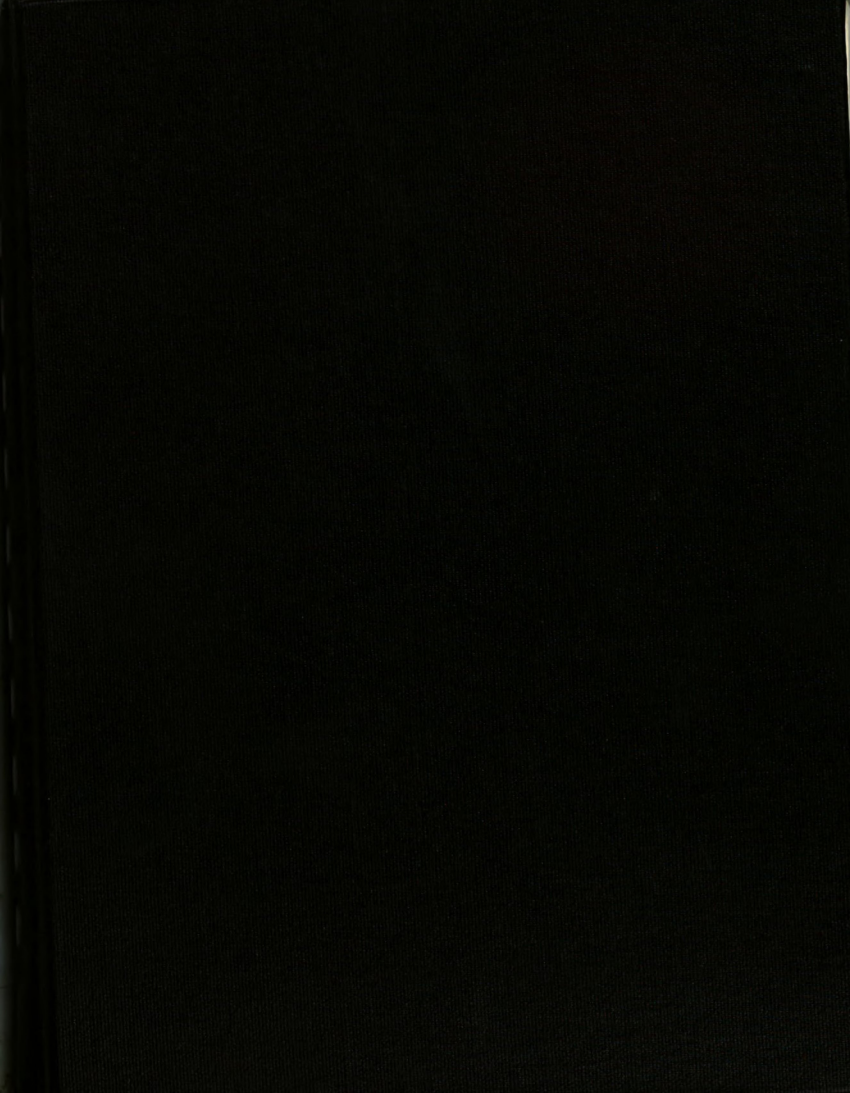






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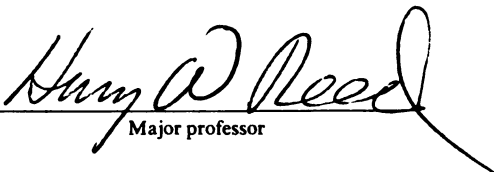
CARTER G. WOODSON AND LORENZO JOHNSTON GREENE:
A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL
ASSESSMENT

presented by

Pero Gaglo Dagbovie

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in History


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ASSESSMENT

Volume I

By

Pero Gaglo Dagbovie

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of History

1999

ABSTRACT

THE FUNCTION AND RESPONSIBILITY OF THE BLACK INTELLECTUAL AS PERSONIFIED AND DICTATED BY CARTER G. WOODSON AND LORENZO JOHNSTON GREENE: A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL ASSESSMENT

By

Pero Gaglo Dagbovie

This study is an examination of Carter G. Woodson (1875-1950) and Lorenzo Johnston Greene (1899-1988) and the connections between them. Equally important, it uses these two men as a window on the nature and development of twentieth-century Black historians, scholars, and intellectuals. Its primary objective is to accomplish three major goals. One, this study seeks to explain the bases and benefits of an examination of Woodson and Green together in a single volume. Two, it critically explores the scholarship, historiography, and popular writings on Carter G. Woodson and on Black historians in general. And, most importantly, this work strives to critically examine the manner in which Woodson and Greene applied their knowledge and unique skills as professionally trained historians, scholars, and intellectuals towards defining their purposes in life and towards fulfilling their goal of ultimately liberating and empowering Black Americans, while simultaneously struggling to reform American society.

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To my parents, ancestors, and teachers
whose devotion, intelligence, and sacrifice
made this work possible.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people have played a part in helping me write this dissertation. Family, ancestors, teachers, financial supporters, and friends generously gave me the moral, material, and intellectual support that allowed me to push on through graduate school and complete this study. Dr. Norman Pollack has significantly impacted my critical thinking skills. Since late in my undergraduate years, Dr. David Bailey has gone out of his way to encourage my intellectual development. I thank Dr. Elizabeth Eldredge for sharpening my interpretations of African history and for demanding that I produce sound scholarship. I thank Dr. Darlene Clark Hine for supporting and challenging me throughout my graduate years of study. Dr. Wilma King has challenged and encouraged me beginning in January of 1994 when I enrolled in one of her graduate seminars. Witnessing her high standards and highly organized teaching and researching methods have helped me become a more serious scholar over the last five years. I thank her for her many acts of kindness. I want to especially thank the Chairperson of my committee, Dr. Harry A. Reed. Since I first began conducting research under his guidance in the summer of 1992, he has consistently helped me hone my skills as a historian, a lecturer, a teacher, and a critical thinker. He has been a mentor and one of my closest friends. I can best repay him by passing on the various lessons which he has taught me to my future students.

Throughout my Ph.D. studies, I have been fortunate to have received several grants and fellowships. The CIC Predoctoral Fellowship, the King-Chavez-Parks Future Faculty Fellowship, the Summer Acceleration Fellowship, and research funding from the Graduate School have been very

helpful. I thank Dr. Dozier Thorton and Dr. Dorothy Harper Jones for their support.

I thank my close friends and extended family for their encouragement and support. Special thanks go to the Otubanjo family for, in the tradition of African hospitality, providing me with a home away from home during my research trips to the Library of Congress.

My family is a constant source of inspiration and caring. My wife, TShaka, has always supported my studies. Her devotion to the teaching profession and her love of family life has helped me re-define my purpose in life. My two children, Perovi and Kokou, have challenged me to grow up faster than I may have liked to. My sister, Sika, keeps me on my toes as she breezes through graduate school and develops into a strong, focused, and self-assured young woman. My parents and ancestors are the ones who really prepared me to complete this study at hand. Their sacrifices, intelligence, and unceasing love made this study, and in essence my life, possible.

And to Carter G. Woodson and Lorenzo Johnston Greene, appreciation and respect for humbly me and for demonstrating that one person can accomplish a lot by working hard.

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INTRODUCTION

This study is an examination of Carter G. Woodson (1875-1950) and Lorenzo Johnston Greene (1899-1988) and the connections between them. Equally important, it uses these two men as windows on the nature and development of twentieth-century Black historians, scholars, and intellectuals.¹ Its primary objective is to accomplish three major goals. One, this study seeks to explain the bases and benefits of an examination of Woodson and Greene together in a single volume. Two, it critically explores the scholarship, historiography, and popular writings on Carter G. Woodson and on Black historians in general. And, most importantly, this study strives

¹In their study on the Black historical profession, August Meier and Elliott Rudwick focus on "the professionally trained historians, the products of the system of university graduate education that matured by the beginning of the twentieth century." They were concerned only with "individuals with Ph.D.'s and a record of significant publication." My focus is also on professionally trained, Ph.D. holding historians. However, I do not require that they have "a record of significant publication" and, like Earl E. Thorpe, I do include several non-Ph.D. holders and/or non-professional historians in my discussion, namely William Wells Brown, George Washington Williams, Monroe N. Work and Arthur Schomburg. See, August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), xii; Earl E. Thorpe, Black Historians: A Critique (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1971. My conceptualization of the term *scholar* is derived from Horace Mann Bond. According to Bond, scholars were those "actively engaged in the advancement of knowledge through research, or at some levels, through the construction administration of research." Bond added that "the academic doctoral degree has become the badge of the man who has at least been admitted to the fraternity of those willing and able to engage in research, and claim the right to the title, 'scholar.'" See, Horace Mann Bond, Black American Scholars: A Study of Their Beginnings (Detroit: Balamp Publishing, 1972), 14. In using the term "intellectual," I am satisfied with William Banks comprehensive definition. He posits that intellectuals are "individuals who are reflective and critical, who act self-consciously to transmit, modify, and create ideas and culture." See Banks, Black Intellectuals: Race and Responsibility in American Life (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996), xvi.

to critically examine the manner in which Woodson and Greene applied their knowledge and unique skills as professionally trained historians, scholars, and intellectuals towards defining their purposes in life and towards fulfilling their goal of ultimately liberating and empowering Black Americans, while simultaneously struggling to reform American society. This study is sub-divided into three major parts.

The first part of this study is what Michael Stanford terms as a "historical historiography,"² critically tracing and analyzing the manner in which the history of the major scholarly discourses to which this study seeks to make a contribution have been written. This dissertation attempts to add to the knowledge generated in two major sub-fields of historical inquiry: scholarship and research on both Carter G. Woodson and on Black historians in general.³ The first two chapters critically explore those significant

²Many scholars have written on historiography. For a synopsis of these ideas, a definition of comprehensive "historical historiography," and a list of other sources dealing with historiography, see Michael Stanford, A Companion to the Study of History (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 5-7. "Historical historiography," Stanford pointed out, "traces the ways in which history has been written in the 2,500 years since Herodotus . . . Like history itself, historical historiography is subdivided, often by periods, countries or issues, each providing a topic for the many books of this kind; there are also studies of individual historians" (5). Of course, such an approach is impossible and unnecessary in this study. I have probed as deeply as I thought necessary in order to better comprehend the development of the historical scholarship on Carter G. Woodson and on Black historians.

³I have not included scholarship on Lorenzo Johnston Greene as a "major sub-field of historical inquiry" since only a handful of studies have been published which critically analyze Greene's life, work, and thought. These few studies do not constitute a significant scholarly, historical discourse. See, Meier and Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980, 79-83; Earl E. Thorpe, Black Historians: A Critique, 176-177; Gary R. Kremer, "Lincoln University, Black Culture Mecca of the Midwest, 1921-1955," in William L. Andrews, Gerald Early, Gary R. Kremer, James Madison, and Harriet Ottenheimer, Black Heartland: African

writings, those original, documented ideas which were either influential in a broader historical discourse and/or crucial to an understanding of Woodson and Greene. When possible, the motivations of these authors and the influence of their ideas are also examined. I also briefly look at popular magazines and newspapers in order to understand how Woodson and Black historians in general have been viewed by, and presented to, the Black and White publics.

In Chapter I, I examine significant writings on the Woodson in several categories. These include articles in the Journal of Negro History and the Negro History Bulletin, articles in scholarly and popular journals, chapters or sections in books, M.A. theses and Ph.D. dissertations, and full-length biographies. Since his sudden death in 1950, the body of writings on the founder of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History has evolved, undergoing various changes coinciding in part with the development of the African-American historical profession and with the greater transformations impacting the profession.

Throughout the 1950s and well into the 1960s, for instance, Woodson was most often remembered fondly in published and unpublished tributes by his contemporaries, protégés, and associates. By the Black Power era, a new generation of historians, mainly Blacks, found in the Association Director a source of inspiration and pride. Since the late 1970s and the early 1980s, Woodson has attracted the attention of a more diverse cross section of scholars, including Sister Anthony Scally and Jacqueline Goggin (two White female scholars) who, taken together, have greatly impacted the study of Black historians. While it appears that the more critical assessments of

American Life, The Middle West, and the Meaning of American Regionalism (St. Louis, MO: African and African American Studies Program, Washington University, 1997), 40-45.

Woodson did not surface until the late 1980s and 1990s, in each decade after his death there have been a few scholars who challenged their counterparts to delve deeper into his life and to assess his contributions more critically. And, in a few cases, certain scholars, especially Woodson's disciples, evaluated Woodson more than once in their lives. The best example of this revisiting is found in the work of Lorenzo Johnston Greene, who reflected critically upon Woodson's "intricate" personality from the late 1920s through the mid-1980s.⁴

Chapter II discusses scholarship on Black historians, including groups of historians or individual historians other than Woodson. The analysis is divided into three phases: before 1958, 1958 through the mid 1980s, and the late 1980s to the present. Before the first major study on Black historians was published in 1958 by Earl E. Thorpe, Black historians were discussed in several monographs, in one M.A. thesis, and in a handful of articles published mainly in the Journal of Negro History and the Negro History Bulletin. Until the mid-1980s, Thorpe continued to lead the discourse on the meaning of Black history and on the lives and works of Black historians. In the mid-1980s John Hope Franklin, August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, and Darlene Clark Hine published significant works on the Black historical profession. Since then, the lives and contributions of individual historians such as

⁴See, Arvah E. Strickland, editor, Working with Carter G. Woodson, the Father of Black History: A Diary, 1928-1930, Lorenzo J. Greene (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989); Strickland, Selling Black History for Carter G. Woodson: A Diary, 1930-1933, By Lorenzo J. Greene (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996); Lorenzo Johnston Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson: The Man as I knew Him," unpublished papers, no date, circa 1965-1980s.

Rayford W. Logan, Arthur A. Schomburg, John Hope Franklin, and Darlene Clark Hine have received some serious attention.⁵

The second part of this study reconsiders how Carter G. Woodson sought to reform American culture, while using his skills as an historian, scholar, intellectual, and social critic to liberate, empower, and challenge Black Americans from various socio-economic backgrounds to rethink the status in the United States.

Chapter III is a biographical sketch of Woodson's life until 1922, the year he began devoting his full energies to the Association. This brief discussion suggests that Woodson's early life experiences may have helped shape his decision to popularize and democratize Black history and to publish controversial ideas concerning the role of the "highly educated Negro."⁶ In this chapter, I also explore his place within the early evolution of the Black historical profession as well as the significance of some of his first major scholarly contributions from 1915 until 1922.

⁵See, Earl E. Thorpe, Negro Historians in the United States (Baton Rouge: Fraternal Press, 1958); Joseph Grimes, "A Study of the Negro Historian, 1844-1920." M.A. thesis, University of Iowa, 1935; Darlene Clark Hine, The State of Afro-American History: Past, Present, and Future (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986); Meier and Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980; Robert Kenneth Janken, Rayford Logan and the Dilemma of the African-American Intellectual (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1993); Elinor Des Verney Sinnette, Arthur Alfonso Schomburg: Black Bibliophile and Collector: A Biography (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989); Paul Cimbala and Robert F. Himmelberg, editors, Historians and Race: Autobiography and the Writing of History (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996).

⁶Woodson first used this term extensively in the 1930s. See, Carter G. Woodson, The Mis-Education of the Negro (Washington: D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1933). As Woodson indicates in the "Foreward" of his study, the ideas brought together in this study were "expressed in recent addresses and articles written by the author."

In Chapter IV, I explore how after founding the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History Woodson democratized the study of Black history and legitimized and popularized Black history. Woodson achieved these ends through many different strategies. He extended his services as a lecturer and researcher, often free of charge, to Black communities throughout the country. He opened the Association's doors to lay historians, secondary and elementary school teachers, and "working-class" Blacks.⁷ He founded Negro History Week and other extension services. And, he published the Negro History Bulletin. In this chapter, special attention is paid to the nature of Woodson's messages to various sectors within Black communities, including the Black "middle-class,"⁸ Black school teachers, Black youth, and the Black "working-class."

In Chapter V, I examine Woodson as an important member of what I conceive as the "iconoclastic tradition" of Black thought. I define this concept as it pertains to this study and explain why only a handful of scholars have been grouped with Woodson in this respect. I explore the place of Black women in relation to this group of male scholars. I then examine Woodson within the context of the broader development of the "iconoclastic tradition" of Black thought⁹ and I compare Woodson's thoughts with those of other

⁷For a discussion of Black "working-class" identity, see Robin D.G. Kelley, Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class (New York: The Free Press, 1996), 1-13.

⁸For one of the earliest discussions of the Black "middle-class" identity in economic terms, see E. Franklin Frazier, "The Economic Basis of Middle-Class Status" in Black Bourgeoisie (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), 43-59.

⁹As a concept, the Black "iconoclastic tradition" was first introduced by Bazel E. Allen and Ernest J. Wilson, III. See, Harold Cruse, The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual (New York: Quill, 1984), i-vi.

iconoclasts, including E. Franklin Frazier, Nathan Hare, Harold Cruse, and Adolph Reed, Jr. I also compare and contrast Woodson with one of his first ideological foreparents, Booker T. Washington.

Chapter VI recognizes that Black biographers have tended toward hagiography. However, all human beings are flawed. Most historians have identified Woodson's qualities of independence, stubbornness, and cantankerousness as his Achilles heel. While these assessments may be valid, I argue that one of the best litmus tests for measuring the progressiveness and revolutionary nature of the philosophy and program of a Black male historian and scholar is revealed by the place of women in his mind and program. I therefore examine the place of women in Woodson's scholarship, mind, and overall program.

In the third part of this study, I shift my attention to Lorenzo Johnston Greene. Generational studies usually focus on parents and children, as in the recent accounts of the Beechers and James family. Although Greene was not Woodson's biological son, he provides a crucial opportunity to explain how Woodson's ideas were developed, expanded, sharpened, and, in a way, critiqued by his leading intellectual heir. Greene strove to utilize his training and talents as a historian, scholar, and creative intellectual in defining his purpose in life, especially in helping Black people in need, and attempting to transform American society and culture until 1950.¹⁰

¹⁰ Though Greene died on January 24, 1988, 1950 is a convenient point to stop my examination of his life, work, and thought for several reasons. On April 3, 1950, Woodson died. The Association founder's death was a significant turning point and a great blow to Greene, Woodson's friends, and to the Association in general. When Woodson died, Greene and Woodson's other "Boys" were greatly saddened and for the first time really recognized that Woodson *was* the Association. After his funeral, they met at the Association headquarters and resolved to continue on with the Association,

In Chapter VII, I examine Greene's early life and evolution into a historian and intellectual from 1899 until 1928, before he came under the influence of Woodson. Special attention is given to the difficult years of his youth in Ansonia, Connecticut; his frugal undergraduate years at Howard University and his graduate studies at Columbia University; his early poetry; and his relationship to the Harlem Renaissance.

Chapter VIII focuses on Greene's work as a researcher for the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History from 1928 until 1933. During this brief period of time, Greene worked closely with Charles H. Wesley on a study of the Black church in parts of Maryland, New York, and Virginia; he became Woodson's number one assistant; and he initiated a nationwide book selling campaign for the Association. During these lean years of the Great

despite its chaotic state. With Woodson gone, the second half of the twentieth-century would not be the same for those of his understudies who were still living. At the same time, Woodson's death symbolized an emancipation of some sort. Greene and Woodson's other protégés now had more freedom to interpret and promote Black history on their own terms and under the name of the Association without fearing their elder's disapproval. By 1950 World War II had also ended. The war had redirected much of Greene's energies. In its aftermath, he shifted his focus away from mobilizing African-Americans at home against Nazism and concentrated upon other issues, including editing a scholarly journal at Lincoln University and spearheading Missouri civil rights struggles. Greene also underwent some significant personal changes during the mid twentieth-century. He married famous concert pianist Thomasina Talley in 1941 and they had their only child in 1952. By the 1950s, Greene was for the first time establishing an immediate family of his own. On top of this, by 1950 Greene was at a mid-point of his life and career as a historian. He was fifty-one, he had been teaching at Lincoln University for nearly twenty years, and he had already published his most path-breaking historical scholarship. From roughly 1950 until his death in 1988, Greene's life revolved around several themes, both distinct from and similar to those affecting his life while Woodson was still living. He, for instance, continued teaching at Lincoln University (he formally retired in 1972), he solidified an unwavering commitment to Missouri civil rights, he continued to participate in many academic and political organizations, he spoke at various venues on Black American history, and he developed a scholarly emphasis on Black Missourians.

Depression, Greene learned a lot about Black folk cultures, Woodson's cantankerous character, and about his own purpose in life. It was during this pivotal time when Greene decided to become historian.

Chapter IX chronicles Greene's life from 1933 until 1944 when he began to establish himself at Lincoln University, Missouri. In this decade, Greene embraced many causes which prevented him from being a prolific historian. He became a devoted, yet underpaid, professor; he continued to support the Association and to write poetry; he pushed Lincoln University into fighting for the rights of sharecroppers in Southeast Missouri; and he completed his magnum opus, The Negro in Colonial New England.

Chapter X explores Greene's life at Lincoln University from 1944 until Woodson's death in 1950. I focus on his battles with the University over a salary increase; his involvement in World War II; his activities within the Association; and on his role as the editor of The Midwest Journal.

Why is an examination of Woodson and Greene in a single volume beneficial? There are many reasons why these two particular Black historians can be explored productively together in a study.

A side-by-side examination of them is justified because they worked closely together in popularizing Black history during the first half of the twentieth-century. Woodson was criticized by several of his closest co-workers for "his failure to attach himself to a young scholar" and for having "little consideration for the feelings of his co-workers." But, the fact remains that one of Woodson's greatest accomplishments and legacies was that he introduced gifted, younger scholars to the rigorous, "scientific" study of Black history. "The majority of serious students of the Negro in American history have become indebted to Dr. Woodson for inspiration, encouragement, and, in some cases, more tangible assistance," Alrutheus A. Taylor recounted in

1950, "Indeed, several competent students of other phases of Negro life have become similarly, to a degree at least, obligated to him."¹¹

During the 1910s, the 1920s, and the 1930s, Woodson established and maintained a tight circle of seven younger Black historians who apprenticed themselves to the "Father of Black History" for varying periods of time. Included in this group were Alrutheus A. Taylor, Charles H. Wesley, Luther Porter Jackson, Lorenzo Johnston Greene, Rayford W. Logan, William Sherman Savage, and James Hugo Johnston.¹² Greene was one of these students about whom Taylor spoke. Greene worked very closely with Woodson from 1928 until 1933. From the Depression years until 1950, Greene became recognized as one of Woodson's most important supporters and colleagues. He conducted and published historical and sociological

¹¹Rayford W. Logan, "Phylon Profile: Carter G. Woodson," Phylon 6 (1945), 321; Lorenzo Johnston Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson: The Man As I Knew Him," 15; and Alrutheus A. Taylor, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson: Inspirer and Benefactor of Young Scholars," NHB 13 (May, 1950): 186.

¹²Meier and Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980, 75. Besides their common affiliation with Woodson, these seven historians were similar in other significant manners as well. Woodson's "Boys"--as they referred to themselves as late as the 1980s--were born in the 1890s; they were educated at some of the most prestigious graduate history departments in the country; their Ph.D. dissertations concerned race relations, African-American history, and in the case of Logan Africans in the Diaspora; they all became involved in some form (s) of social and/or political activism; and "all produced important published monographs, some of which have not yet been superseded." Meier and Rudwick also commented that "the seven were all intensely loyal to Woodson and the Negro history movement, even though most of them had their problems with the domineering director." This loyalty must not, however, be confused with following their elder blindly and uncritically. They were dedicated to "the cause," not to Woodson himself. Several of Woodson's protégés stressed this in correspondences to each other while they worked with him and in their memoirs after Woodson died. Furthermore, beginning in 1936, Woodson and Logan fell out over the latter's affiliation with the Phelps-Stokes Fund's Encyclopedia Africana.

monographs and articles under the auspices of the Association. Greene helped Woodson with many of the books for which his mentor took credit. He not only regularly attended and participated in the Association's annual meetings, but also raised money for the Association the hard way by filling in for Woodson as a lecturer on the low paying, but burgeoning Black history speaking circuit. And, after White philanthropists withdrew their support, Greene contributed to the Association out of his own pocket. Woodson, who was very conservative with his complements, told Greene that he was "one of the few who appreciate the objectives of this undertaking and are willing to sacrifice something to attain these ends."¹³

After Woodson died, Greene maintained his ties to his former mentor by remaining active in the Association's work and by sharing his intimate feelings about Woodson with his various colleagues. As examined in Chapter I, Greene portrayed Woodson in an objective manner. He highlighted both the positive and negative characteristics of Woodson's peculiar personality.¹⁴

Besides working closely together, Greene and Woodson were similar in many ways. The most important similarity between them was the goals for which they fought. From the beginning of their graduate years of study, and perhaps earlier, they both rejected the imposition of identity upon Blacks by the dominant culture. Instead, they sought to validate Black America's humanity. They both sought to rectify the conventional teaching of American history at various levels. They both sought to help others in need.

¹³Woodson to Greene, March 23, 1945, The Papers of Lorenzo Johnston Greene, Container 74, Folder 8.

¹⁴Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson."

They both fought against racial, social, and economic inequalities. And they both wanted to leave their marks on American culture and society.

In several ways, their upbringings were similar. Though raised in different parts of the country during different times, Woodson and Greene both hailed from poor, working-class families. Both men knew the value of hard, manual labor and contributed to the economy of their households as children and young adults. Before attending high school at age twenty, Woodson worked on the family farm, he hired himself out for odd jobs, and he worked on railroads and in coal mines of West Virginia. Similarly, before he became a researcher for the ASNLH, a young Greene contributed to his family's economic support in many ways. While in elementary school, he accepted all sorts of odd jobs, "such as carrying dinners to factory workers, sawing wood, cleaning yards, and cutting grass." During his high school years he continued to perform such tasks and also secured a job as a stock boy in a drug store in his neighborhood. After graduating from high school, he became a factory worker. No doubt, Woodson and Greene shared a belief that hard work built character and that there was dignity in all forms of labor.¹⁵

Both Woodson and Greene also had a lot of hands-on experience before they received their Ph.D. degrees. Woodson was thirty-eight when he received a Ph.D. and Greene was forty-two when he was awarded his. It is quite possible that their maturity helped them overcome many of the obstacles they encountered as Black scholars existing in the era of "Jim Crow" segregation.

¹⁵See, Jacqueline Goggin, Carter G. Woodson: A Life in Black History (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993) 1-12; Lorenzo Johnston Greene, unpublished biographical sketch, The Papers of Lorenzo Johnston Greene, Container 1, Folder 8.

Though there was a noteworthy generation gap separating the two, both came of age as scholars and historians during the first half of the twentieth-century and, as a result, they struggled against this era's expressions of racism within the American academy and society in general. They each belonged to a generation of scholars who, on the one hand, received their post B.A. degrees from major White universities and, on the other, were systematically excluded from teaching at such mainstream institutions until after the Civil Rights Movement. Simply put, Greene's generation faced many of the problems that Woodson did.¹⁶

Woodson and Greene also each published important and sometimes ground-breaking scholarship in their respective areas of inquiry. Between 1915 and 1947, Woodson published four major monographs, five textbooks, five edited collections, thirteen major articles, countless book reviews, and five sociological studies with his co-workers. As Jacqueline Goggin argues in her biography, Woodson offered many original ideas and complex explanations concerning various areas of historical inquiry. Though he did not publish as much as his mentor may have wanted, Greene did produce a significant body of scholarship. Before 1950, he published three major articles,

¹⁶For in-depth discussions of the discrimination against Black historians and scholars before the Civil Rights Movement, see Meier and Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980, 75-159; Michael R. Winston, "Through the Back Door: Academic Racism and the Negro Scholar in Historical Perspective." Daedalus 100 (Summer, 1971): 678-719. Woodson's generation, it should be noted, did break down many barriers for the cadre of Black historians born in the 1890s. For instance, by receiving Ph.D.s from Harvard University before World War I, W.E.B. Du Bois and Woodson demonstrated to the caretakers of one of the most exclusive, prestigious universities that Blacks, contrary to popular beliefs, could achieve intellectual excellence.

three sociological studies, and one major monograph. To date, Greene's The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620-1776 has not been superseded.¹⁷

Woodson and Greene's relationship was symbiotic. At times, their relationship was mutually beneficial. As Greene testified many times in his diary from 1928 until 1930, Woodson molded him in many respects. Greene often marveled at Woodson's dedication to legitimizing and popularizing Black history. On February 10, 1930, Greene recorded in his diary, "I know I had found my life's vocation and that Dr. Woodson was my historical idol."¹⁸ From the Association founder, Greene learned researching skills and lecturing techniques. On the other hand, Greene helped Woodson in many capacities. He proofread many of his Woodson's texts. He often ran the Association headquarters in Woodson's absence. He was one of his best students. And, Greene extended Woodson's message to spheres out of his mentor's reach.

Like Woodson, Greene strove to produce "objective" scholarship supported by solid documentation. Greene also expanded upon many of Woodson's social criticisms while working with his mentor. Though Greene was not a member of the "iconoclastic tradition" of this study, he did, upon several occasions, echo Woodson's criticisms of Black intellectuals and leaders. Like Woodson, upon occasion he also indicted the Black church for

¹⁷Goggin, Carter G. Woodson, 140-179; Sister Anthony Scally, Carter G. Woodson: A Bio-Bibliography (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985); Lorenzo Johnston Greene, The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620-1776 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942). For one of the most recent studies to elaborate on some of Greene's points, see William D. Piersen, Black Yankees: The Development of an Afro-American Subculture in Eighteenth-Century New England (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988).

¹⁸Strickland, Working with Carter G. Woodson, 464.

not assuming a more active role in reforming Black American culture. Greene and Woodson shared the belief that the cultivation of Black businessmen was one of the roads to Black "salvation." Both also believed that religion needed to be practical.¹⁹

They were also preservers of the nineteenth-century rooted credo of social uplift, a philosophy which was changing form and fading away during the first half of the twentieth-century.²⁰ While they may have been generally sympathetic to the needs of the Black poor and working-class, during the first half of the twentieth-century they believed that certain features of Black folk and urban culture needed to be changed so that Blacks could be integrated into American society as equals. From the 1920s through the 1940s, Woodson and Greene faced the same dilemmas that Harlem Renaissance intellectuals did. They both sought to celebrate African history and culture as well as Blacks' contributions to America's nationhood. Yet, at the same, they had great troubles in accepting many of the mores and traditions of the very classes of Black people who made America unique. They maintained part of the "Old Negroes" personality in an era when Alain Locke posited romantically that "it is the rank and file who are leading, and the leaders who are following."²¹

¹⁹The shared beliefs between Woodson and Greene are revealed in many of his diary entries from 1928 until 1933. I discuss these specific cases in Chapter VIII of this study.

²⁰For an intriguing discussion of patterns in late nineteenth-century "uplifting" strategies of Black leaders, see Wilson Jeremiah Moses, The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850-1925 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 5-12, 15-31.

²¹Alain Leroy Locke, "The New Negro," in Locke, editor, The New Negro (New York: Atheneum, 1992), 7.

The most important bond linking Greene and Woodson was their shared a social vision which dictated that they make their craft relevant and practical by working closely with and for the rank-and-file of their people. They were scholar-activists, "intellectual-activists," or "liberated intellectuals." That is, as scholar Dia N.R. Sekayi has argued, they made "a career of uplifting the African-American race." Or, as Zak Kondo (former history professor at Bowie State University) has posited, as scholar-activists they viewed the "liberation of their people as a priority" and sought to "utilize most of their talents and resources in this mission."²²

Notwithstanding their noteworthy similarities, Woodson and Greene, were quite distinguishable and can provide us with an interesting case study for a comparison. In general terms, though they both came from poor, working-class homes, each had a distinct upbringing and a life affected by a range of different events and circumstances. And, though they had similar goals, their specific individual historical and social origins may have led them to choose divergent paths towards fulfilling their ultimate goals.

The most fundamental difference between Woodson and Greene centered around the arenas in which they chose to live out their lives as scholar-activists. From 1910 until 1922, Woodson taught at various Black educational institutions. Woodson's chief sphere of social activism was not, however, within the walls of Black secondary schools or colleges, but in the ASNLH, where he devoted himself to legitimizing, democratizing, and popularizing the serious study of Black history. Before leaving West Virginia

²²Dia N.R. Sekayi, African American Intellectual-Activists: Legacies in the Struggle (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), 4, 7; Zak Kondo, The Black Student's Guide to Positive Education (Washington, D.C.: Nubia Press, 1987), 65.

Collegiate University in 1922, he sought to accomplish his goals by founding the Journal of Negro History, publishing four monographs, and founding the Associated Publishers. From 1922 until his death, Woodson continued to pursue his goals by beginning an Encyclopedia Africana; publishing seventeen more books, many articles, and countless book reviews; mentoring younger Black historians and scholars; by founding Negro History Week; by collecting data on Blacks from all over the world; and founding the Negro History Bulletin. Woodson earned the title the "Father of Black History" and the ASNLH *was* his life.

For six decades of his life Greene was a committed member of the ASNLH. During Woodson's lifetime, however, Greene and others did not have much of a voice in the Association's runnings. Woodson ran the Association with an iron fist. For about six years, Greene was one of Woodson's employees. A great distinction between the two is that Greene was not an institution founder or creator in the same sense as Woodson. Greene sought to achieve their common goals by becoming a history teacher at Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri, where he taught full-time from September of 1933 until 1972. Greene used Lincoln as his base of operations. Unlike Woodson, who created an institutional framework, Greene tapped into a pre-existing institution where, until the 1970s and 1980s, Black scholars were forced to work. In these years there occurred what Manning Marable has called "black institutionalization within white colleges and universities" or the "brain drain" of Black colleges.²³

²³According to Marable, in the 1970s and 1980s, some of the "most productive" Black scholars "were drawn away to white institutions for higher salaries, research support, and better conditions." He suggested that "the significant paradox of desegregation was that the institutional forms that had nurtured and given life to the black intellectual tradition were seriously

In conversation and his action, Greene challenged and encouraged his students and colleagues in Missouri to think about fighting for social justice and to consider joining the ranks of scholar-activists. Greene's call to action was embodied in his day-to-day life style. While Woodson was nationally recognized in Black communities as the "Father of Negro History," Greene was the Black history movement at Lincoln and in the state of Missouri. Greene carried on Woodson's work with his own new twist. When viewed within the context of the broader evolution of the study and popularization of Black history and the development of Black scholar-activists' identities, their methods were intertwined and complemented each other.

Another fundamental difference between Woodson and Greene was their strategies and approaches to fulfilling essentially the same general goals. Though there were non-professionally trained Black historians before him, Woodson laid the foundations for the introduction of the study of Black history into Black American culture and into American academic culture. Though Woodson's thinking was not static and his words and actions classify him as a scholar-activist, nonetheless he repeatedly argued in public circles that rigorous, "scientific" scholarship could not be meshed with propaganda and that being a scholar could not be confused with being a social or political activist. Woodson stressed this separation between "scientific" scholarship and propaganda or polemics because part of his goal was to legitimize Black history in the eyes of White academia. Such a task could not be accomplished with propaganda and overt protest, he reasoned. On the other hand, while Woodson may have legitimized his scholarship and the Association with

undermined by the very success of the Civil Rights Movement." See, Manning Marable, "Black Studies and the Black Intellectual Tradition," Race and Reason 4 (1997-98): 5.

such assertions, he did, in fact, often mesh his rigorous scholarship with his polemic diatribes.

Greene agreed with Woodson that Black history needed to be rigorous and avoid being propagandistic. Greene's The Negro in Colonial New England was, for instance, heavily documented in part because he did not want it to be dismissed as protest literature or propaganda. But , very much unlike Woodson, Greene never really published an in-depth polemics. Further, Greene was also not pre-occupied with publicly encouraging his fellow workers not to be political activists and rigorous scholars simultaneously. Greene strove to do both separately. He recognized the value of both and operated in both arenas throughout his life. While he did not inject polemics concerning the responsibility of Black scholars as social-activists, (as I explore in Chapters IX and X), Greene brought social activism into the classroom. One senses that he sustained his life as a scholar through his life as an activist and vice versa. Partly because of the generation into which he was born and reared, Greene was much less concerned than Woodson with the acceptance of his work by the mainstream White academy. Greene was not a public figure and, therefore, he did not need to be as much concerned with his public persona in forums before a White audience.

Woodson's and Greene's published work differed in many regards. Woodson, unlike Greene, placed a very high value on publishing books which directly addressed racist scholarship and which sought to instill within Blacks a sense of pride and self-esteem. On the other hand, Greene published very little for mass consumption. During Woodson's lifetime, Greene only published a handful of articles in the Bulletin.²⁴

Woodson and Greene were different as writers in other ways. Greene, who wrote about one hundred poems between 1921 and the late 1930s, routinely expressed his innermost feelings in poetry and personal correspondences. Unlike Woodson, who wrote very de-personalized, brief letters to his colleagues, employees, and dearest friends, Greene's correspondences with colleagues and friends are written with care and a personalized flair. Greene had a very special way of constructing thoughts on paper whether it be in a poem, a memo or letter, a lecture or speech, or a scholarly publication. Greene, who proofread many of Woodson's manuscripts, had mastered the mechanics of writing more than his mentor had. Woodson, who often employed stenographers, did not think as long and hard about his word selection. From 1915 through the 1940s when he saw himself as laying the foundation for a historical tradition about Black Americans, Woodson sought to publish as much scholarship as possible. Greene, on the other hand, published much less, but at the same time wrote an unpublished book of poetry and countless detailed letters.

Woodson is distinguished from his protégé in another important manner which is explored in Chapter V. The Association founder was one of the most outspoken critics of "highly educated Negroes," as he so often referred to middle-class Black Americans. Greene may have shared some of his elder's sentiments, but he did not candidly announce them as his elder did. In his sociological monographs on Black professionals, his famous The Mis-Education of the Negro, his annual reports and book reviews in the Journal of Negro History, his personal papers, and many newspaper articles, Woodson indicted the "highly educated Negro" for turning his/her back on

²⁴For a listing of Greene's major publications, see "Dr. Lorenzo J. Greene, Emeritus-Professor of History: Curriculum Vitae," The Papers of Lorenzo Johnston Greene, Container 2, Folder 5.

the masses, seeking assimilation, and for suffering from an inferiority complex. In doing so, Woodson was unique and in some sense an outcast. He was one of the first Black scholars and one of the only Black historians to outline the dilemmas endured by Black college graduates, critique them in bold terms, and outline what he perceived their responsibilities to be. Since their beginnings, nationally recognized Black intellectuals and scholars, often deemed the leaders and spokespersons of the Black rank-and-file by themselves and those who study them, have intensely debated the meaning of their leadership status, their roles in relationship to the working-class, and the best way to cope with their people's social, economic, political, and cultural hardships.²⁵ In every era since Antebellum times, Black thinkers have critiqued and dismissed those posing ideologies different from their own. Some of the most celebrated debates involved Delany and Douglass; Washington and Du Bois and "The Intellectuals;" Du Bois and Garvey; and Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X. Modern historians have widely

²⁵During the Ante-bellum era, Black intellectuals formulated, debated, and transmitted such ideologies in a range of autonomous arenas, including churches, newspapers, literary, benevolent, and fraternal societies, schools, and conventions. While they advocated various conflicting positions, the parameters of their thought was determined by the complex institution of slavery. In the immediate post-emancipation era, Black intellectuals faced a set of new social, political, economic, and cultural circumstances. This setting encouraged the development of more diverse ideas than the Antebellum did and could have. The era from roughly 1865 until 1915 gave birth to a definite black intellectual group, a body of thinkers who assumed the duty of speaking on behalf of the masses and the first identifiable body of university trained Black scholars. For overviews of the early development of Black intellectual leadership, see William Banks, Black Intellectuals; John H. Bracey, August Meier, and Elliott Rudwick, editors, Black Nationalism in America (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970); Howard Brotz, editor, Negro Social and Political Thought, 1850-1920 (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965); Harry A. Reed, Platform for Change: The Foundations of the Northern Free Black Community, 1775-1865 (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1994).

agreed that these debates stemmed from dichotomies between accommodation and protest, assimilation and nationalism, and integration and separation.

Underneath the veneer of the discussions of these conflicts, there existed countless heated debates among lesser known Black intellectuals. These social commentaries were often brief, surface level in their analyses, and no more than spontaneous retorts. Very few of these thinkers carefully and candidly diagnosed the problems characterizing their immediate foes and those emulating them in monograph or extended article form. One key reason why Black thinkers have not published such critiques in great numbers is because such an act has been considered taboo in the Black community, the "washing of our dirty linen in public" as Nathan Hare suggested.²⁶ Even Malcolm X, who relentlessly critiqued Martin Luther King, Jr. and other integrationists, eventually called upon Black leaders to come together and stop insulting each other in public circles. It has also been believed by Black spokespersons that such critical self-analyses detract from the broader problems facing Black America at the hands of their oppressors. At the same time, some may have also articulated such ideas which simply escaped the historical record. Whatever the case may be, there still exists throughout history a small, distinct vanguard of African-American scholars, an "iconoclastic tradition," who have published path-breaking writings which have stood out for their bold, candid, and critical assessments and theories on the problems affecting certain members of their own community of scholars and intellectuals. Woodson is a vital part of this body of thought.

²⁶Nathan Hare, The Black Anglo-Saxons (New York: Marzani and Munsell Publishers, Inc., 1965).

This study does not consider Greene to be a member of the "iconoclastic tradition." As I touch upon in Chapter IX, Greene did share some of Woodson's sentiments about Black leadership and leading Black intellectuals. But he did not publicize them in his rhetoric or scholarship. Further, early on in his career, Greene seems to have disagreed with Woodson's strategy as a polemicist. In August of 1931, Greene recorded in his diary that Woodson's "diatribes against influential persons certainly did not redound to the advantage of the Association, however calculated to do so," Greene added, "Yet, every week, in every Negro newspaper, there appears these releases, which, instead of imparting historical information, have denigrated into the veriest of muckraking."²⁷ In addition, Greene was less vocal with his personal opinions in the Black public sphere. While Woodson's identity as a scholar-activist and critic of his colleagues are revealed through his polemics, scholarship, and actions, Greene's identity as a scholar-activist is manifested most clearly from his actions.

How does this study attempt to add to the existing scholarship? This study seeks to fill in many voids. Even though published historians August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, Arvah Strickland, Jacqueline Goggin, and Robert Kenneth Janken have touched upon Woodson's relationships with his co-workers, their studies do not reveal the various fundamental similarities and differences in their ideologies and strategies.²⁸ Though this is not a chapter by chapter comparison of Woodson and Greene, this study does at one level

²⁷Strickland, Selling Black History for Carter G. Woodson, 368.

²⁸Meier and Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980, 74-94; Strickland, Working with Carter G. Woodson, xvii-xxxii; Jacqueline Goggin, Carter G. Woodson; Janken, Rayford W. Logan and the Dilemma of the African-American Intellectual, 85-93.

attempt to demonstrate the manners in which Woodson's and Greene's thoughts and strategies were similar and different during the Association founder's lifetime.

In 1958, Thorpe lamented that no historical scholarship on Black historians existed. Nearly three decades later, August Meier and Elliott Rudwick did not acknowledge the existence of scholarly writings on Woodson or on Black historians in general. In examining the development of scholarly, historical, and popular writings on Black historians and on Woodson, the historiographical section of this dissertation is one of the first of its kind.

Only one full-length, scholarly biography has been published on Woodson. Jacqueline Goggin's 1993 study is meticulous in chronicling various aspects of Woodson's life and work. She has laid a solid foundation upon which historians can contribute further analyses. This dissertation seeks to take the scholarship on Woodson to another level by addressing specific facets and issues concerning his life which have been ignored. In comparison with others belonging to the "iconoclastic tradition" of Black scholars, my analysis of Woodson seeks to extend Woodson's contributions beyond his most widely-celebrated accomplishments. I elaborate upon important ideas generated in Patricia Watkins Romero's, Alfred Young's, and Jacqueline Goggin's path-breaking dissertations by exploring how and why Woodson popularized and democratized Black history.²⁹ This study also breaks new

²⁹See, Goggin, Carter G. Woodson: A Life in Black History; Patricia Watkins Romero, "Carter G. Woodson: A Biography," Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1971; Alfred Young, "The Educational Philosophies of Booker T. Washington and Carter G. Woodson: A Liberating Praxis," Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1977; Jacqueline Goggin, "Carter G. Woodson and the Movement to Promote Black History," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1983. The details of these dissertations are analyzed in Chapter I of this study. The Papers of Carter G. Woodson and the

ground by critically exploring the place of women in Woodson's scholarship, thought, and overall program. Further, my dissertation has also benefited significantly from an extensive examination of the recently released Papers of Carter G. Woodson and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1915-1950.

The scholarship on Woodson's protégés is greatly lacking. In their path-breaking studies, Earl E. Thorpe and August Meier and Elliott Rudwick have touched upon the contributions of Woodson's major understudies. Charles H. Wesley has been the subject of a Ph.D. dissertation and Rayford W. Logan's life has been treated in a published biography. Yet, to date no full-length biography on Lorenzo Johnston Greene has been published. Sources are by no means lacking. This study is among the first to incorporate the wealth of information from *The Papers of Lorenzo Johnston Greene* processed by the Library of Congress in 1994. This collection, including approximately 44,100 items, is truly a documentary treasure. My treatment of Greene seeks to acknowledge his valuable contributions to the Black historical profession and to the identity formation of Black scholar-activists.³⁰

This study invites its readers to carefully analyze the scholarly, historical and popular writings on Carter G. Woodson and Black historians. It invites its readers to reconsider Carter G. Woodson. Even though he was oftentimes cantankerous, stubborn, and single-minded, he was committed to struggling against racial oppression and against social injustices. Even though many of

Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1915-1950 were released on 35mm microfilm by University Publications of America, Bethesda, Maryland, in 1999.

³⁰See, Earl E. Thorpe, Black Historians: A Critique, 173-183; Meier and Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980, 74-94; Janette Harris, "Charles H. Wesley, Educator and Historian, 1891-1947," Ph.D. dissertation, Howard University, 1975.

his books are not read widely today, he did offer some ideas, strategies, and programs which deserve reconsideration. This study also offers its readers a window into Lorenzo Johnston Greene's life, work, and thought until 1950. One of the most remarkable dimensions of Greene's life was his desire and ability to continuously develop as an individual despite numerous obstacles. At the same time, he insisted that his own personal growth be closely intertwined with, and essentially dependent upon, helping those in need and reforming American society. As we enter a new millennium and reflect upon significant individuals of the twentieth-century, it is fitting to discuss Woodson, Greene, and Black historians in general.

PART ONE
SCHOLARSHIP, HISTORIOGRAPHY, AND POPULAR WRITINGS ON
CARTER G. WOODSON AND BLACK HISTORIANS

CHAPTER I

CARTER G. WOODSON AS REPRESENTED IN SCHOLARSHIP, HISTORIOGRAPHY, AND POPULAR WRITINGS, 1950-1999

Woodson's impact on American and African-American academic culture is evidenced by the fact that his accomplishments were highlighted in a handful of publications before his death. In the year Negro History Week was founded, Kelly Miller published a pamphlet on Woodson under the auspices of the ASNLH in which he analyzed Woodson's philosophy and rationalized his sacrifices. Whether Woodson encouraged or commissioned the Howard based intellectual to write this piece is unknown.¹ In the late 1920s, Woodson was included in the pages of Who's Who in Colored American. A Biographical Dictionary. Decades later, he was profiled in more widely circulated reference books including Who's Who in America (1926-1950), Current Biographical Dictionary of Notable Living Men and Women in the United States, and Who's Who and Why. With the possible exception of Miller's piece, these sketches were furnished by Woodson himself. Woodson was among the few Blacks included in White authored reference

¹See, Kelly Miller, An Estimate of Carter G. Woodson and His Work in Connection with the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc. (Washington, D.C.: ASNLH, 1926). I could not get a hold of this document. Howard University supposedly does not own it. According to Sister Anthony Scally's Carter G. Woodson: A Bio-Bibliography (1985), it omits a lot of important information about Woodson. "The value of the account," Scally surmised, "lies in Miller's analysis of Woodson's philosophy and the rationale of his sacrifices" (153). Miller only published one article in Woodson's journal, see Kelly Miller, "The Historical Background of the Negro Physician," Journal of Negro History 1 (1916): 99-109. In 1925, the Journal reviewed his The Everlasting Stain. He did not seem to have had a close relationship with Woodson.

books. The editors of such texts were probably very impressed with his receiving the Spingarn Medal in 1926.²

In 1935, Joseph Grimes, an M.A. candidate at the University of Iowa, wrote a thesis on Black historians and briefly mentioned Woodson's contributions.³ His findings went largely unnoticed until several decades after his death. In his 1940 autobiography, Harlem Renaissance figurehead Langston Hughes briefly recounted his experiences with the Association Director. In the 1920s, he worked as his personal assistant in the ASNLH offices. Hughes described his work as being very difficult, "much harder than the laundry" which he previously did. "Although I realized what a fine contribution Dr. Woodson was making to the Negro people and to America, publishing his histories, his studies, and his *Journal of Negro History*," Hughes remembered, "I personally did not like the work I had to do."⁴ He preceded many of his contemporaries who waited until the commemorative May 1950 or the 1965 Special Summer issue of the Negro History Bulletin to share their experiences with Woodson.

The lack of analytical writings on Woodson by his other protégés before his death, and their reservations after his death, can be largely explained by the Association Director's well-known "peculiarities." One example demonstrates this more than ever. In late February of 1940, L.D. Reddick wrote Lorenzo Johnston Greene and proposed that along with Luther Porter

²For an overview of how Woodson is treated in these widely circulated reference books, see Scally, Carter G. Woodson: A Bio-Bibliography, 146-147.

³See, Joseph Grimes, "A Study of the Negro Historian," M.A. thesis, University of Iowa, 1935.

⁴Langston Hughes, The Big Sea (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1940), 211.

Jackson, James Hugo Johnston, Charles H. Wesley, Sherman Savage, A.A. Taylor, and Rayford Logan, and a few others, they publish a tribute to their elder. "It has occurred to me several times and I am sure to many others that it is about time we got together a volume of essays in honor of Dr. Woodson," the Schomburg Collection curator wrote Greene, "The old boy is getting along and though he might last longer than any of us, I am sure that it would gladden his heart for 'his boys' to do just such a thing. Of course, it is necessary for me to say how significant his work has been, despite his peculiarities."⁵

According to Reddick's plan, the essays would need to be collected by July so that they could surprise their "teacher" with the volume at the September Annual Meeting, the Association's Silver Anniversary in Chicago. Coincidentally, on March 1, 1940, Greene sent a similar, yet more detailed, letter to Reddick and about a dozen other persons "who have either been associated directly with Dr. Woodson or who have sought their inspiration from him." Greene suggested that for the Silver Anniversary "some tangible expression of appreciation should be extended to Dr. Carter G. Woodson," a small volume of essays totaling about 200 pages, covering "a cross section of relatively unexplored areas dealing with the Negro." Greene, who first began thinking about such a project in New Orleans in October of 1939 with Luther Porter Jackson, William Sherman Savage, and David Jackson, proposed that the book should be sold for \$1.00 in order to capitalize on the "enthusiasm

⁵Reddick to Greene, February 26, 1940, The Papers of Lorenzo Johnston Greene, The Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Container 75, Folder 3.

generated by the meeting." Greene suggested that the essays should be submitted by June 1.⁶

Practically every leading scholar of the time to whom Greene wrote, including Rayford W. Logan who was publicly attacked by Woodson in a December, 1936 circular, responded enthusiastically in support of the project. By mid-March, Greene and Reddick had agreed to serve as joint-editors, though the former took the lead in securing the contributors' promises. By March 16, Greene had received tentative paper titles from L.P. Jackson, Clarence Baycote, Logan, Horace Mann Bond, Taylor, Savage, Mercer Cook, Wesley, Ralph Bunche, Johnston, James Browning, and David Jackson. Reddick agreed with Greene to write an essay tracing the contributions of Black historians from William Cooper Nell to Woodson. This essay was to be the volume's opening piece. It seems that for part of March, April, and May the contributors were taking their works quite seriously. Then, a month before the deadline, the fruits of Greene's labors were dealt a great blow from the very person to whom it was to be dedicated. On the first day of May, Woodson wrote a brief and insulting letter to Greene. Woodson said:

The purpose of this letter, however, is to write you about the book of essays which you outlined for me sometime ago. I have never taken the matter very seriously because some of the persons called upon to contribute know very little about history and cannot write correctly in the English language. I would seriously object to a volume dedicated to the undersigned, unless he has a chance to see that the work be published in proper style and conforming with the rules of modern historiography. I do not

⁶Greene to Reddick and others, March 1, 1940, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 75, Folder 3.

care to be put to shame on the occasion of our twenty-fifth anniversary.⁷

Greene waited for nearly a month before he shared Woodson's sentiments with the others. In late May, he informed Reddick. "Since I last heard from you, I received a letter from Dr. Woodson which I regard as a deliberate and unwarranted insult to us who are attempting to honor him. It made me so angry that I have virtually decided to drop the entire project," Greene continued, "Savage has already stopped writing. Many of the fellows, I believe, would assume a like stand." Greene concluded that they should publish the essays "at a later date when the gentleman might not be so publicly 'humiliated.'" This particular tribute was never published. Nearly a year after Woodson's death, Reddick wrote a letter to Woodson's "Boys" seeking to re-inaugurate the project as a "fitting memorial" for the Association founder. "My notion, " Reddick proposed, "is that it should contain a sketch of his life and work, and about a dozen or so essays on various aspects of Negro life and history." Though this particular proposal did not appear as a single volume, many tributes to the fallen founder appeared after his death, months before Reddick's letter was circulated.⁸

This incident of 1940 raises several important issues. One, it demonstrates the desire that Woodson's protégés had to honor their mentor. Two, it gives more credence to those who described Woodson as being cantankerous and hard to get along with. And, it helps explain why Woodson's protégés did

⁷Greene to Reddick, March 16, 1940; Reddick to Greene March 18, 1940, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 75, Folder 3; Woodson to Greene, May 1, 1940, Container 74, Folder 8.

⁸Greene to Reddick, May 1, 1940, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 75, Folder 3; Reddick to "Fellows," October 2, 1950, Container 73, Folder 12.

not often publish their personal thoughts about the Association founder before his death and perhaps why none of them decided to write a comprehensive biography of him in the decades immediately following his death. Had Woodson been less hard to please and more supportive of these efforts, perhaps scholarship on Woodson and Black historiography could have been further enhanced.⁹

Despite Woodson's wishes, several Black historians profiled his life and work in the mid-late 1940s. Five years before his mentor's death, Rayford W. Logan published a brief article in Du Bois' Phylon. This was the first of several important articles in which Woodson's immediate successor as Director commented on him. In his 1945 profile, Logan called upon the public to recognize Woodson's contributions which had been overlooked by Edwin Embree's Thirteen Against the Odds. "For by any criterion of solid achievement Dr. Woodson should rank among the first five contemporary Negroes," Logan declared. At the same time, he critiqued his mentor's leadership skills and personality traits. "Dr. Woodson's refusal to join this rival project illustrates what even some of his friends term his great weakness, that is," Logan recounted concerning their intense conflict over the Phelps-Stokes Project's Encyclopedia Africana, "his devotion to his own cause which makes him suspicious of any one else engaged in the same work." Logan then defended himself against the harsh judgments leveled against him in the early 1930s by Woodson. He also criticized the Association founder for not paying his employees enough and for not supposedly taking

⁹Take, for instance, the essay assigned to Reddick. Had it been completed for publication, it would have most likely been fairly intriguing, given the dynamics of his 1937 article "A New Interpretation for Negro History." It would have, no doubt, constituted one of the first studies of Black historians from the Antebellum era to the reign of Woodson.

anyone directly under his wing. "Perhaps the one quality lacking in Dr. Woodson to make him great," Logan concluded, "is his failure to attach himself a young scholar who loves the work as much as Dr. Woodson does and who would dedicate himself to perpetuating it as the greatest monument to his magnificent achievements." According to one of Woodson close friends, "Rayford's profile in *Phylon* . . . made Dr. Woodson furious."¹⁰

Logan was so open with his criticisms about Woodson for several reasons. It had something to do with Logan's wide range of experiences before joining the Association. By the early 1930s, he had graduated from Washington's most prestigious secondary school for African-Americans; he attended Williams College; he participated in World War I; he traveled throughout France and Europe; he assumed a high position in the post 1919 Pan-African Conferences; he taught at Virginia Union University; and he had established himself as a leading African-American political activist, intellectual, and polemicist. He was unlike many of Woodson's less experienced protégés. Early on, he was an outspoken critical thinker. He was especially offended with how Woodson publicly dismissed him before the Black scholarly community, Black college presidents, and the Journal readership in the 1930s. Logan, who was outspoken in the U.S. armed forces, in France, and at

¹⁰Rayford W. Logan, "Phylon Profile VI: Carter G. Woodson," Phylon 6 (1945): 315, 318, 321. To see why Logan was upset with Embree, see Edwin Embree, Thirteen Against the Odds (New York: The Viking Press, 1944). According to Embree, his book chronicles "the struggles and achievements of thirteen Negroes who are tops today." These thirteen--Marian Anderson, Mary McLeod Bethune, George W. Carver, Du Bois, Langston Hughes, Charles S. Johnson, Mordecai Johnson, Joe Louis, A. Philip Randolph, Paul Robeson, William Grant Still, Walter White, and Richard Wright--were selected by a "special panel of two hundred persons, colored and white, who know the group best." William M. Brewer to Greene, June 30, 1950, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 72, Folder 8.

Virginia Union University, could not allow his character to be defamed as such.¹¹

In the remainder of the 1940s, Woodson's achievements were noted in a handful of other publications. Self-taught, Jamaican born historian J.A. Rogers (1883-1966), for instance, included the Association founder in the second volume of his World's Great Men of Color. Rogers was most impressed by Woodson's outspokenness on the failure of the Black bourgeoisie to solve the problems of the masses. It appears that Rogers may have included excerpts from their conversations. It is also interesting to note that Rogers did not publish in the Journal or the Negro History Bulletin during Woodson's lifetime. The Father of Black History did objectively review Rogers' Sex and Race. While the Journal's chief reviewer noted that Rogers was not a "scientifically trained historian" and that he made several small errors, he complimented the Jamaican immigrant for his tenacity and thoroughness in collecting and publishing data "at his own expense."¹² A year before his death, it appears that Woodson was becoming a little less cantankerous in terms of those who sought to write tributes to him. By 1949, for instance, he welcomed one tribute. Poet Georgia Douglas Johnson wrote a several paragraph tribute for the short lived Midwest Journal. Johnson told Greene that Woodson was "real pleased" with her sketch.¹³

¹¹For the most in-depth treatment of Logan, see Kenneth Robert Janken, Rayford Logan and the Dilemma of the African-American Intellectual (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1993). It is reviewed later in this chapter.

¹²J.A. Rogers, World's Great Men of Color: Volume II (New York: J.A. Rogers, 1947), 668-671; Carter G. Woodson, "Book Reviews," INH 28 (January 1943): 91-92.

The first distinct scholarly body of writings on Woodson flowered immediately following his death. Those who undertook the task of seriously chronicling Woodson's life faced major dilemmas in terms of sources. Patricia Romero, who in 1971 completed the first major Ph.D. dissertation on Woodson, explained the problems that scholars researching Woodson faced. According to Romero, when she first arrived in Washington in June of 1965, in the Association headquarters there were various file cases containing manuscripts for the Journal, materials dealing with the Encyclopedia Africana, various pamphlets and journals, and a handful of correspondences between Woodson and Victor Daly. Within the first few months after she was in Washington, Romero recounted, a Willie Miles had once "intimated" to her "that she had burned a lot of the junk in the files." Romero told Lorenzo J. Greene roughly a decade later that "what happened to the Woodson correspondence between the founding of the organization and his death is a complete mystery to me." Sometime in the mid-late 1970s, Romero was accused of stealing the Woodson Papers and she concluded that the Association was "using that accusation as a mechanism for keeping researchers out of what they did have."¹⁴ Before 1978, we can assume that researchers stumbled upon valuable primary documents or that they were able to use letters that they might have had or those written to other of his co-workers, like those Charles Wesley possessed.

After Woodson died, the White American scholarly community remembered this pioneering intellectual in the back pages of their journals, if

¹³Johnson to Greene, March 16, 1950, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 57, Folder 14; Container 54, Folder 7.

¹⁴Romero to Greene, July 7, 1978, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 70, Folder 8.

that. In June of 1950, the American Sociological Review noted his death and provided a brief biographical sketch resembling those found in the Washington Post and the New York Times.¹⁵ He received even less attention in American historical journals. Under the editorship of Wendell H. Stephenson and Fred C. Cole, The Mississippi Valley Historical Review totally ignored his death. The American Historical Review did not mention his passing either. Both journals knew the Harvard graduate. From 1918 until 1920, Woodson reviewed three books in the MVHR and in 1927 he supplied the AHR with one review. The Journal of Southern History mentioned Woodson's death. It was, however, in passing. In the "Historical News and Notices" section of the August, 1950 volume, the JSH noted the April 12, 1950 death of Luther Porter Jackson, one of their members, and mentioned Woodson by association. "Shortly before his own death, Professor Jackson had returned from the funeral of Carter G. Woodson, founder and editor of the *Journal of Negro History* and author and editor of many volumes on the American Negro."¹⁶

On the other hand, many Black scholars and leaders remembered their elder and contemporary. In the dawning of the 1950s, Rayford W. Logan, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Charles H. Wesley published brief accounts of their deceased friend and mentor in the Journal. The latter's article was the most in-depth. Wesley laid out the five major characteristics making Woodson a scholar to emulate. He was, in Wesley's estimation, "a Discoverer of the Truth," who "did not want the Negro people to meet 'the

¹⁵"News and Announcements," American Sociological review 15 (June 1950): 441.

¹⁶"Historical News and Notices," The Journal of Southern History 16 (August, 1950): 412-413.

awful fate of becoming a negligible factor in the thought of the world" and who "never hesitated to abandon the false for the true, whatever the cost to him or the cause;" "a Contributor to Truth" by publishing and editing extensively; "an Organizer of Truth" who left behind a movement; "a Disseminator of Truth" to scholarly and unscholarly audiences; and he was "a Fighter for Truth" who fought all "traducers" of the race, regardless of race or class.¹⁷

While the Journal only briefly touched upon Woodson in the decade following his death, the more widely read by the rank-and-file Negro History Bulletin celebrated him. The May, 1950 edition featured a characteristically forward-looking photo of Woodson on the cover, included several photos and memorabilia, and every article therein was devoted to him. The "Biographical Sketch" in this volume was reprinted from Current Biography--Who's News and Why (1944). It highlighted his major achievements and reprinted direct quotations from the Virginia native. The Association President at that time, Bethune, recounted how he helped her develop. "He helped me to maintain faith in myself," she recounted, "He gave me renewed confidence in the capacity of my race for development, and in the capacity of my country for justice for her own people and for all peoples." John Hope Franklin placed Woodson within the context of American historiography and measured his "far-reaching" contributions in terms of his published scholarly and popular books and his editing skills of rare primary sources and journals. L.D. Reddick, the "youngest member of the Woodson circle" who "early on advocated an avante guard approach to black history," applauded Woodson's "most characteristic creation," Negro History Week. Others, including Arnett

¹⁷Charles H. Wesley, "Carter G. Woodson--As Scholar," INH 36 (1951): 12-24.

G. Lindsay, A.A. Taylor, and Langston Hughes, remembered the Association Director for his seriousness, his mentoring abilities, his hard work ethic, and his high expectations.¹⁸

The Bulletin's "Children's Page" paid special tribute to Woodson. Above a reprinted copy of Woodson's impressive, motivational Teacher's High School Certificate is a brief sketch of his life and work. "But Dr. Woodson was not always a writer, lecturer, and a teacher," the female authors of the "Children's Page" pointed out in encouragement, "He was once a little boy, with all the love of fun and mischief which other boys have." Following these words are a set of fill-in-the-blank questions quizzing the young readers' knowledge of Woodson. An eight year old Washington, D.C. student's poem simply entitled "Dr. Woodson" illustrates the understanding that many children had of the Negro History Bulletin founder:

Dr. Woodson, all of his days
Improved his mind, improved his ways.
He wrote history for school,
And never broke the golden rule.
He wrote history for our race
And never made himself a disgrace.
Now Dr. Woodson was a kind man;
His death left heavy hearts.
I don't think that anyone else
Could step in and take his part.¹⁹

¹⁸Mary McLeod Bethune, "True Leadership is Timeless," NHB 13 (May, 1950), 173; August Meier and Elliot Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980, 103-104; John Hope Franklin, "The Place of Carter G. Woodson in American Historiography," NHB 13 (May, 1950): 174-176; L.D. Reddick, "Twenty-Five Negro History Weeks," Ibid., 178-179; Arnett G. Lindsay, "Dr. Woodson as a Teacher," Ibid., 183, 191; Alrutheus A. Taylor, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson: Inspirer and Benefactor of Young Scholars," Ibid., 186, 189; Langston Hughes, "When I worked for Dr. Woodson," Ibid., 188.

¹⁹"A Great American," NHB 13 (May, 1950): 180; Patricia Fletcher, "Dr. Woodson," Ibid., 181.

The Association founder was not, however, eulogized uncritically by all of his associates. In 1950, W.E.B. Du Bois wrote a scathing critique of Woodson in Masses and Mainstream. Though he praised Woodson for his "crowning achievement," Negro History Week, the sage of Great Barrington devoted his brief article to critiquing his contemporary. According to Du Bois, Woodson had "a good mind, but was by no means "brilliant;" he "lacked background for broad historical writing" (for he "never read Marx"); he overate; he was stubborn; he had "no ties, family or social;" he was a loner without a "rather narrow outlook . . . He was, and had to be, a cramped soul. There was in him no geniality and very little humor. To him life was hard and cynically logical; his writing was mechanical and unemotional. He never had the opportunity to develop warm sympathy with other human beings; and he did develop a deep-seated dislike, if not hatred, of white people of the United States and of the world," Du Bois ascertained, "In his death he does not leave many very warm friends; there were few tears shed at his grave." Du Bois' article vexed at least one of Woodson's close friends. "Dr. DuBois has a nasty article on Dr. Woodson in Masses and Mainstream for June 1950 which does DuBois no credit," William Brewer told one of Woodson's protégés.²⁰

Why was Du Bois so critical of Woodson after he died? For one, the Phylon editor was one of Black America's most thoughtful social critics and intellectuals. He was often openly critical of other spokespersons for Black Americans, as it was the case with Booker T. Washington, Marcus Garvey, and Walter White. It was easier for Du Bois to openly critique Woodson

²⁰W.E.B. Du Bois, "A Portrait of Carter G. Woodson," Masses and Mainstream 3 (June 1950): 19, 21, 23, 24. Brewer to Greene, June 30, 1950, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 72, Folder 8.

because they did not have a very close relationship. One of Woodson's closest co-workers commented that he could not recall ever seeing Du Bois in Woodson's office. On top of this, Du Bois and Woodson had a topsy-turvy relationship. The long-lasting debate between the two began in about 1918 when the NAACP received some philanthropists' money to do a project on Black participation during World War I. At the same time, Woodson was denied funding for a similar project. This did not totally destroy their relationship. In the 1920s, upon Woodson's invitation, Du Bois participated in various ASNLH annual meetings. In 1925, Du Bois nominated Woodson for the NAACP's Spingarn medal. "Woodson is not a popular man," The Crisis editor wrote to John Hope, "He is, to put it mildly, cantankerous. *But he has done the most striking piece of scientific work for the Negro race in the last ten years of any many that I know. He has maintained his integrity, his absolute thought and action, and has been absolutely oblivious to either popular applause or bread and butter.*"²¹ By the early 1930s, however, their working relationship was damaged by the Phelps Stokes Project's Encyclopedia Africana. Woodson, who refused to work with the inter-racial organization, deemed Du Bois a traitor to the race in a 1936 edition of the Afro-American (Baltimore) for serving on the editorial board which, at first, excluded both men. When the encyclopedia was completed in 1945, Woodson wrote a scathing critique of it in the Journal.

Being the intellectual titan and mentor whom he was, Du Bois may have influenced many of his younger counterparts to re-evaluate their teacher of "Spartan existence." Throughout the remainder of the decade Woodson's

²¹Jacqueline Goggin, "Carter G. Woodson and the Movement to Promote Black History." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1983, 317-318.

characteristically serious picture and prophetic words graced the pages of the Negro History Bulletin. Most of these brief articles praised his achievements. L.D. Reddick in one sense challenged his colleagues, publishing one of the first articles in the Negro History Bulletin after 1950 which portrayed Woodson as more than a fallen hero. He revised his own obituary for Woodson appearing in Du Bois' organ three years earlier.²² Like Logan and Du Bois, he discussed Woodson's seriousness and authoritative nature. "If anything, Woodson was forthright. Much of his stimulation to others came by way of challenge. He had little more than contempt for pretense or excuses," the Chief Librarian of the Trevor Arnett Library in Atlanta ascertained, "Those who did not know him too well considered him to be a 'hard' man--and, upon occasion, he could be as cantankerous and as irascible as they came."²³ At the same time, Reddick remembered how much he profited from "the good Doctor" in their long "engaging" discussions every once in a while when Reddick visited the D.C. areas from his former residence in New York. Like John Hope Franklin, he also placed Woodson within the proper context of his time. In Reddick's estimation, Woodson mirrored his predecessors in realizing that racial stereotypes were facilitated by institutional racism and that these anti-Black images simultaneously facilitated institutionalized oppression. Woodson was a pioneer because he initiated and sustained, "as almost nobody before him had done," the Black History Movement to combat this. He speculated that his mentor was

²²See. L.D. Reddick, "Carter G. Woodson (1875-1950) An Appreciation," Phylon 11 (1950): 177-179.

²³L.D. Reddick, "As I Remember Woodson," NHB 17 (November, 1953): 36. It seems that Meier and Rudwick take only segments of Reddick's testimony when they characterize Woodson in their study of the Afro-American historical profession.

naturally driven to such accomplishments by his childhood, adolescence, and early adulthood experiences; his "rugged" health; and his commitment to a solid set of principles. Reddick concluded by calling upon young scholars to join the ASNLH in modernizing the Black History Movement, in continuing the work of a "truly great man!"

In the rest of the 1950s, Woodson did not receive a lot of scholarly attention in journals or other scholarly publications. Of course, the Association's Negro History Bulletin routinely saluted its founder, but there were not extensive discussions of Woodson coming close to those in the May, 1950 volume. In fact, in the period of time between the May, 1950 Bulletin and Earl E. Thorpe's pioneering 1958 publication on Black historians, only a handful of scholars commented on Woodson's contributions. One of these assessments was John Hope Franklin's "The New Negro History" published first in Crisis fittingly during February of 1957. Franklin, at this time one of the most respected and established authorities on African-American history, emphasized that "the changes that have occurred in the writing of the history of the Negro race are as significant and, in many ways, even more dramatic than the very events themselves that the writers have sought to describe." Franklin underscored that the power derived from so-called scholarly misrepresentations of Black people "provided the historical justification for the whole complex of mischievous and pernicious laws designed to create and maintain an unbridgeable gulf between Negroes and whites." Though he acknowledged the pioneering efforts of John Russworm, William Cooper Nell, and George Washington Williams, he credited Woodson for "launching the era of 'The New Negro History.'" He noted that the new movement sprung from a combination of factors of American life, but he underscored Woodson's and the Association's work. Consider the following:

This [Woodson's efforts] was, perhaps, the most far-reaching and ambitious effort to rewrite history that has ever been attempted in this country. But it was more than an attempt to rewrite history. It was a remarkable attempt to rehabilitate a whole people—to explode racial myths, to establish a secure and respectable place for the Negro in the evolution of the American social order, to develop self-respect and self-esteem among those who had been subjected to the greatest indignities known in the Western world. Finally, it was a valiant attempt to force America to keep faith with herself, to remind her that truth is more praiseworthy than power, and that justice and equality, long the state policy of this nation, should apply to all its citizens and *even* to the writing of history.²⁴

The first extensive critical assessment of Woodson was authored by Earl E. Thorpe (b. 1924), a Black historian who came of age in the years following the Father of Black History's death. Influenced greatly by Helen Edmonds, who did both her master's and doctoral studies in Black history several decades before it was in vogue, Thorpe completed a pioneering dissertation on Black historians in 1953 at Ohio State University. Five years later, he published the first monograph on Black historians. The broad, inclusive nature of Negro Historians in the United States helps students appreciate the historical development of this vocation. At the same time, such broadness oversimplifies the life and work of many. As a student of psychology, Thorpe also insightfully tried to explain the evolution of each of his four schools of scholars. But, in doing so, he applied mid-twentieth-century psychology to

²⁴John Hope Franklin, "The New Negro History," INH 43 (April, 1957): 90, 91, 93, and 94. The original article first appeared as "The New Negro History," The Crisis 64 (February, 1957): 69-75. As I point out later in this chapter, The Crisis did not even acknowledge Woodson's death. So, in one sense this article represents the NAACP's first, and perhaps most elaborate, portrait of the Association founder.

late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century patients. He also often glossed over his case studies' personal development over time. In Thorpe's defense, he was writing in a time when such panoramic studies were needed in order to establish a Black historiographical and historical tradition. He was very instrumental in initiating a discourse which is still in its fetal stage. He critically assessed a group of thinkers from whom he had obviously received a lot of spiritual strength. He transcended the vindicationist tendency of celebrating and romanticizing Black history.

For this Helen Edmonds disciple, W.E.B. Du Bois and Woodson "stand above all other Negro historians."²⁵ But this designation did not, by any means, excuse them, especially Woodson, from the scrutiny of Thorpe's critical eye. Thorpe outlined "Woodsonian convictions" as being threefold. They included a belief that race prejudice resulted from the failure to acknowledge Black history; an unrelenting struggle to show Blacks that they have a credible history; and a desire to educate Whites of Blacks' role in America's past and the growth of world civilization. Based upon a few short articles in the Journal, Thorpe began his deeper analysis by briefly outlining Woodson's life. Even though he ignored the Negro History Bulletin and a handful of Woodson's personal recollections, he recognized the popular appeal of Woodson's work. "Businessmen, ministers of the gospel, housewives, lawyers, doctors, school presidents or principals or grade school teachers," this pioneering Black historiographer highlighted, "they came from all walks of life and made some aspects of the work of the Association a middle-class 'mass movement.'"²⁶ Thorpe then identified more than twenty

²⁵Earl E. Thorpe, Negro Historians in the United States (Baton Rouge: Fraternal Press, 1958), 55.

of those non-Ph.D. holding, ordinary Black folk who labored in the trenches for Woodson's cause.

Thorpe's reading of Woodson's published monographs was, however, at best surface level. From 1915 until 1942, Woodson published twenty-two books. It would be very hard, nearly impossible, to adequately explore these books in a study of less than two hundred pages. Thorpe reviewed them in less than ten pages. All of the books received extremely shallow treatment. For instance, in a review of The Mis-Education of the Negro, which he mis-dated as being published in 1923, Thorpe failed to place this one-of-a-kind polemic in its proper context.²⁷ Thorpe also reiterated the concerns of many White critics. "A significant aspect of the historical writings of Woodson, as is the case with about every Negro historian," Thorpe contended, "is his failure to present the negative aspects of the black man's role in the U.S."²⁸ Surely, Woodson did not dwell upon "bad features as high crime rates, slums, disease, and other undesirable phenomenon" in books like The Negro in Our History. But, he did conduct sociological studies critically addressing such problems and, more importantly, in most of his books he did look critically at the past record. In the final analysis, for Thorpe Woodson's writings represented no major contributions in scholarly terms and his style was "not

²⁶Ibid., 95.

²⁷Ibid., 99. Upon a first reading, it may seem that the mis-dating of The Mis-Education of the Negro was a typo. This does not appear to be the case, especially since more than a decade later he makes the same error. See, Earl E. Thorpe, The Mind of the Negro: An Intellectual History of Afro-Americans (Baton Rouge: Ortlieb Press, 1961), 23 and Thorpe, Black Historians: A Critique (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1971), 122.

²⁸Thorpe, Negro Historians in the United States, 106.

very impressive." He contended that his major achievement was to be found in the launching and popularizing of a "successful movement."

Thorpe's pioneering 1958 study, reprinted thirteen years later with very few changes, does not seem to have attracted the attention of any of Woodson's biographers. On the other hand, his study was important because it constituted the first panoramic book on Black historians and, to a lesser degree, because it challenged the recollections of Woodson's disciples. Thorpe drew great inspiration from his predecessors and went on to serve as the Association's president from 1980 until 1982. When criticizing Woodson and his co-workers, he probably saw himself as taking the profession to a new level. He was also comfortable in making such criticisms because he was not closely associated with the Father of Black History, like Wesley, Reddick, Greene, A.A. Taylor, or Luther Jackson.

A year before Thorpe's pioneering study appeared, in June of 1957 the American Society of African Culture was founded by a group of leading African-American scholars who attended the First International Congress of Negro Writers and Artists. In the fall, Alioune Diop asked the group if they would provide two volumes of Presence Africaine dealing with how African-Americans viewed Africa and how they interpreted the problems facing them in the United States. As a result, Africa as Seen By American Negroes was published in 1958. Woodson's contributions were touched upon in several articles. Ulysees Lee, an associate professor of English at Morgan State University, assistant editor of The College Language Association Journal and a member of the Journal of Negro History's editorial board at the time, wrote a detailed article on Woodson's interest in Africa as revealed by the Journal writings and ASNLH activities from 1916 until the late 1950s. Lee highlighted how the Journal served as a vital discursive arena in which leading scholars,

Black and White, reconstructed African history. According to Lee's findings, the Journal's significant articles dealing with Africa concerned "broad aspects of African civilizations and cultures;" Africa's relationship with the New World, Europe, and the international community; Liberian political and social history; colonialism; and Africa as a subject for anthropologists.²⁹ The Association, Lee added, also "developed a number of other activities and projects which became vehicles for the expression of interest in Africa," including annual meetings addressing Africa's problems, the Encyclopedia Africana, the Dictionary of Negro Biography, and the Negro History Bulletin. The Morgan State professor also highlighted that Woodson himself was very much responsible for Black America's recasting of Africa in the first half of the twentieth-century. Woodson wrote most of the book reviews on Africa, he traveled to Europe in the 1930s to collect primary documents dealing with African, and, in sum, he devoted the last several decades of his life to topics in African history, especially the Encyclopedia Africana. Lee's article stands out because he was one of the first scholars to carefully comb through articles in the Journal and to conduct a thematic study of Woodson's work.³⁰

Ironically, during the decade referred to as the period of Black cultural awakening there were no major studies written on Woodson. During the

²⁹Ulysees Lee, "The ASLNH, The Journal of Negro History, and American Scholarly Interest in Africa," in John A Davis, editor, Africa Seen By American Negroes: Africa from the Point of View of American Negro Scholars (Paris: Presence Africaine, 1958), 413-414.

³⁰One of the first scholars to carefully comb through the articles of the Journal as a whole was Ella Gaines Yates. See her "Annotated, Cumulative Index to the Journal of Negro History from January, 1916 through October, 1940," M.A. Thesis in Library Service at Atlanta University, 1951. It is also interesting to note that Woodson respected Lee's scholarship. See Woodson, "Negro Historians of Our Times," NHB 8 (April, 1945): 155-159, 166.

1960s his life and work was only touched upon in several books, a few journal articles, and he was featured in one M.A. thesis.³¹ In 1965, at the 50th Anniversary Annual Meeting of the Association in Atlanta, there was a "Carter G. Woodson Memorial Session" with tributes presented by James E. Stamps, Willie Miles, William H. Brewer, Louis R. Mehlinger, L.J. Greene, C. Walker Thomas, and Harry V. Richardson. Why nobody chose to write a serious biography on Woodson during this decade is somewhat baffling. Enough time had elapsed for his protégés to more objectively chronicle his life and work. Woodson would have been a prime candidate for serious study considering the intensified interest in Black history. Yet, historians interested in Black America coming of age during this dynamic era were more concerned with revising fields of inquiry such as slavery than with pioneering a discourse like African American intellectual history. The 1960s was not, however, totally unproductive in terms of Woodsonian scholarship.

Throughout the early 1960s, Woodson was recognized in a re-appearing "About the Founder" sketch located on the Negro History Bulletin's back page. He was also featured on the cover page of a February volume. The mid-1960s witnessed a resurgence of writings on Woodson in the Bulletin. The 1965 Special Summer Issue celebrated fifty years of the Association. Wesley introduced the "Golden Anniversary Number" with a detailed, yet

³¹For these publications, see Sister Anthony Scally, Carter G. Woodson: A Bio-Bibliography (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985), 147-160 and 191-192. Included among these sources is Noreen Hale, "Carter G. Woodson: Historian of the Negro American." Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of San Francisco, 1969. In addition, in the late Earl E. Thorpe re-issued several of his writings on Black history and Woodson. See, for example, "The Father of Negro History" in Earl E. Thorpe, The Central Theme of Black History (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979), 49-75.

brief, account of Woodson's work. The magazine's readers read first hand accounts of the Association's early years. Wesley eloquently captured the disposition with which Woodson approached his mission:

Despite the founding associates, Woodson, our Founder, belonged to the list of post-nineteenth century pioneer personalities in the techniques of American life who believed that it was necessary to work one's plan alone. He had, in this respect, a type of intolerance and self-opinion, which some of us regarded with humor and indulgence because we looked upon the cause as well as the man as equally valuable. This was an aspect of rugged individualism, which has helped to create the greatness of our nation through individual initiative and energy. He belonged to the era, the earmarks of which we hope have not entirely disappeared, when the individual will endeavor to be creative in his contributions and not to act so as merely to imitate the work launched by another.³²

What others who did not know him too well deemed selfishness and self-centeredness, Wesley interpreted as being a beneficial characteristic and a product of his age. He ended his assessment with a call to others to join the cause: "Let us take up the Torch, lighted up fifty years ago by Carter G. Woodson, our pioneer, our historian . . . We follow in his footsteps with his Torch . . . We shall not fail him or ourselves!"³³

Included in this volume are other valuable insights into the impressions Woodson left on his coworkers. Jessie H. Roy told Bulletin readers how Woodson mentored her and other women.³⁴ In the twenty-eighth volume

³²Charles H. Wesley, "Our Fiftieth Year: Our Golden Anniversary, 1965," NHB 28 (Summer, 1965): 173.

³³Ibid., 195.

of the Bulletin, Lorenzo Johnston Greene shared some of his experiences with Woodson in 1930 from his detailed journal. Greene "marveled" at Woodson's leadership and devotion to Black history. "His capacity for work is certainly outstanding. Eighteen hours a day seems to be routine for him," Greene noted, "He does everything from writing books, editing the Journal, wrapping books, mailing letters and parcels. Nor is he above acting as janitor and sometimes as his own cook. Truly a remarkable man."³⁵

Greene was much more critical of Woodson in a paper, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson: The Man As I Knew Him," which he delivered at various venues from the mid-1960s until the early 1980s. Greene's paper went far beyond simply honoring Woodson. Greene's critique angered at least one of Woodson's contemporaries. William Brewer, long-time editor of the Journal after Woodson's death, "became irate" when Greene once read a "shorter version" of this paper in Atlanta. "He swore I had defamed Woodson; further that so long as he was editor, it would not be published either in the Journal or the Bulletin," an eighty five year old Greene recounted in a letter to one of his confidants.³⁶

What was it that Greene said that made Brewer so furious? Like other of Woodson's "Boys," Greene shared many positive memories about "the master," such as his endless devotion to "the cause;" his "forceful, sincere, clear, and convincing speaking abilities;" his unmatched work ethic; his

³⁴Jessie H. Roy, "Some Personal Recollection of Dr. Woodson," NHB 28 (Summer, 1965): 186.

³⁵Lorenzo Johnston Greene, "Dr. Woodson Prepares for Negro History Week, 1930," NHB 28 (Summer, 1965): 195.

³⁶Greene to Romero, March 15, 1984, The Papers of LJG, Container 70, Folder 8.

isolated acts of extreme kindness; his "phenomenal memory;" his love of children; and his modesty. He also stressed that "Dr. Woodson was a complex, many-sided man." "Many admired Woodson, but few could love him. It was certainly so with me," this faithful yet critical former assistant of Woodson declared, "Woodson had little consideration for the feelings of his co-workers. On several occasions when he cruelly hurt me, I remained faithful to him but only because of the movement which he personified. . . He was egotistic, opinionated, truculent, sarcastic, vindictive and at times seemed to take a sadistic delight in offending or hurting persons. We used to say at the office when Woodson spoke, no dog barked." The New England native underscored his point, "Woodson often disparaged and derided his associates. He seemed to take pleasure in crushing any vestige of self-confidence in them."³⁷ Greene shared many personal examples and several cases of other employees validating his claims. He added that as an employer, Woodson paid his employees little, pressured and overworked them, and fired them suddenly, exemplified in his own case and that of Charles H. Wesley.

Greene attempted to explain the origins of his teacher's peculiar personality. "Despite the obvious greatness of the man and the adulation heaped upon him, deep down within, I believe Dr. Woodson was obsessed by a feeling of insecurity. It may have stemmed from the deprivation of his childhood. At any rate, his seeming compulsion to disparage, humiliate, even hurt those who worked closely with him led some of us to wonder

³⁷Lorenzo Johnston Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson: The Man As I Knew Him," unpublished papers, no date, 7, 15, 27, 28.

whether he feared lest some younger man might push him from his intellectual stool and usurp his position."³⁸

While Woodson's "Boys" often wrote to each other sharing their intimate views of their elder, Greene appears to have written the most detailed assessment of Woodson. In mid-March of 1984, Greene told Patricia Romero that he expected to publish the paper. Greene's paper never appeared in published form. Brewer may have objected to Greene's portrayal of Woodson, but a cousin of Woodson's, after hearing Greene deliver this paper at Washington University in February of 1983, approached the Emeritus professor and said, "That was Carter G. Woodson." Had Greene published his paper, or had he written a biography of Woodson, the historiography and scholarship on Woodson and Black historians would have certainly been enhanced.³⁹

A year following the Golden Anniversary Number of the Negro History Bulletin while Greene was President of the Association, the Journal featured a wagon load of tributes of the Association founder. Prominent White scholars and leading Black historians commented on the Journal's achievements. Wesley alone assessed Woodson as a person. He reiterated what he had written in earlier articles. He noted that Woodson's "rugged individualism" set him apart from most of his co-workers and that it was also his greatest weakness and strength. He still saw his elder as a pioneer, "as the first of the organizers of modern research, writing, and publication in the history of the people with darker color in all parts of the world." Dr.

³⁸Ibid., 34.

³⁹Greene to Romero, March 15, 1984, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 70, Folder 8.

Woodson, Wesley surmised, "pioneered in the cause of uniting these processes and succeeded."⁴⁰

In the late 1960s, a handful of young Black scholars turned to history as an outlet for social activism. Along with Vincent Harding, John Blassingame, and John Bracey, Sterling Stuckey (b. 1932) was one who called for yet a new interpretation of Black history. He was very active throughout the 1960s. In 1962, he founded the Chicago based Amistad Society, an organization which encouraged the study of Black history at various levels. As a graduate student he published a group of articles on Black nationalism and African American culture. Around the same time that his path-breaking "Through the Prism of Folklore" article appeared, Stuckey published a piece which illuminated the meaning of Africa to Woodson and Du Bois, how they affirmed their African heritage and adopted a "rhetoric of African recognition." For Stuckey, Woodson, and especially Du Bois, did the most work to "recover the African past and instill pride in Negroes."⁴¹ Stuckey highlighted that Woodson devoted five chapters to Africa in his 1922 classic; challenged the widely accepted views of missionaries, travelers, and public functionaries; maintained that Egypt was a Black civilization and thoroughly researched other early African empires; and, most importantly, that he popularized Africa within the African-American community. Stuckey's

⁴⁰"Fiftieth Anniversary of the Journal of Negro History," JNH 51 (April, 1966): 79.

⁴¹Sterling Stuckey, "Black Americans and African Consciousness: Du Bois, Woodson, and the Spell of Africa," in Stuckey, Going Through the Storm: The Influence of African American Art in History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 124. This article was first published in the Negro Digest in February of 1967. It laid the foundation for his 1971 dissertation at Northwestern University.

article, featured in a fairly popular scholarly Black journal of the time, did not surpass Ulysees Lee's piece published nearly a decade earlier. Still, this cultural nationalist's work indicates that at least one of the most prolific historians coming of age in the 1960s was influenced by the Association founder.

At the end of the sixties, Noreen Hale, a graduate student at the University of San Francisco, wrote the first major intellectual biography on the Association founder. Though she did not have access to the personal papers of Woodson guarded closely by the Association, Hale still developed some original analyses about Woodson's place in African American thought and in the development of the American historical profession. Woodson's thought was "the fusion and vacillation between various tenets of both conservative and radical 'schools' of black thought, and the two major revolts among Black intellectuals from the 1890s to 1930 (i.e., the militant reaction led by Du Bois . . . and the second revolt, the racial discovery of the 1920s."⁴² Hale also detailed how Woodson's approach simultaneously fell into seven categories of early twentieth-century Black thought. Another feature distinguishing this unnoticed M.A. thesis was its critique of Woodson. "Woodson's writing tended to be colorless, humorless, ponderous, and vague in exposition," Hale asserted in a tone which Meier and Rudwick would echo nearly two decades later. Hale's comments differ from the latter's in that she paints a more balanced portrait.

During the second half of the Black Power era (1970-1975), the writings on the ASNLH founder acquired a more scholarly and scientific flavor. 1971 appears to have been a landmark year. In this year, a M.A. thesis, a

⁴²Noreen Hale, "Carter G. Woodson: Historian of the Negro American," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of San Francisco, 1969, 31.

dissertation, and a large part of a monograph was devoted to Woodson.⁴³ These studies seem to have been generated independently and do not suggest a new, uniform wave of interest in Woodson.

Patricia Romero's 1971 dissertation represents the first detailed, Ph.D. level manuscript-length biography of Woodson. Romero, born in Columbus, Ohio in late July of 1935, began working with the ASNLH a year after she received her B.A. from Central State University, Ohio. From 1965 until 1968, she served as a research associate and an assistant editor for the Negro History Bulletin. Having some access to unpublished Association papers and to people who worked closely with Woodson, enabled her to "plough a new furrow" in Black historiography. She conducted painstaking research. Charles Wesley loaned her his papers several years before Janette Harris completed her dissertation on him and she obtained important unpublished papers from Lorenzo Johnston Greene. Romero also interviewed Woodson's family members, including Mrs. Callie Barnett, Nelson Bickley, Belva Clark, and Nelson and Carl Barnett, and other of his co-workers like the Association's co-founders, Victor R. Daly, Charles Wesley, Langston Hughes, Louis R. Mehlinger, and Herbert Aptheker. Like John Hope Franklin did to George Washington Williams, Romero "stalked" Woodson. She even traveled to the Sorbonne where she learned that all of the records concerning Woodson's brief stay there in the early 1900s had been destroyed during World War II.

⁴³See, Richard A. Thomas, "Carter G. Woodson: A Critical Study of His Contribution to Black Historiography," Unpublished M.S. Thesis, Michigan State University, 1971; Patricia Watkins Romero, "Cater G. Woodson: A Biography," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1971; and Earl E Thorpe, Black Historians: A Critique (A Revision of *Negro Historians in the United States*), 1971.

Because of the pioneering nature of her study, Romero spent a great deal of time unpacking the factual biographical specifics of Woodson's life; his relationships with philanthropists, Du Bois, Victor Daly, other co-workers, and his "boys;" and with the founding and accomplishments of the Association, the Journal, Associated Publishers, Negro History Week, and the Negro History Bulletin. She only briefly touched upon Woodson's intellectual persona. Like Noreen Hale, she suggested that Woodson was the "product of the thinking of both Washington and Du Bois." She posited that Woodson patterned the Association after the NAACP and the Urban League. She also stressed how much Woodson's work meant to him. "The birth of the Journal was to Woodson literally something more than a mere publishing event; throughout his life he devoted himself to the Journal as most men would to a family," Romero contended, "When he had conflicts with other men, or organization, he would turn to the 'Notes' section of the Journal to unburden himself. A lonely man except for his work, he used the Journal as some men might a wife as an emotional outlet." Romero clearly admired Woodson, but her biography is by no means uncritical or celebratory. She highlighted the criticisms of men like Victor Daly, who asserted that Woodson "was a hard man to get along with. He was not a lover of his fellow man." She herself critiqued Woodson for not opening the Association to potential allies and for not being strategic enough in his dealings with others. Woodson, she noted, "wrote and said what he thought, even though it often hurt his cause."

Romero's 275 page study still stands as one of the best works on the ASNLH founder. It did not seem to carry a lot of influence in the scholarly community because it was never published.⁴⁴ Romero's dissertation was,

however, in later years very helpful to Meier and Rudwick in writing the first chapter of Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980 (1986).

Several years after Romero's dissertation appeared, Woodson's immediate successor as Association Director published a thoughtful paper first delivered before the fifty-seventh Annual Meeting of the ASNLH in Cincinnati, Ohio on 21 October, 1972. "It is hoped," Rayford Logan humbly declared, "that this lecture will suggest the need for further investigation that will result in an authoritative biography. The address is not authoritative; indeed, it is not complete because I have not had time to finish my investigation of the Woodson Papers at the Association Headquarters, those in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, and some materials in the National Archives."⁴⁵ Anticipating the more recent studies, Logan attempted to explain how Woodson's experiences before the founding of the Association impacted his unwavering character established thereafter. Assembling information from primary sources, like Journal articles, Harvard University's archives, and from his own memories, he wrote a concise history of Woodson's ideas. Logan posited several original theses.

⁴⁴Patricia W. Romero, "Carter G. Woodson: A Biography," Ph.D. Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1971, 95, 138, 185. Why she did not get this work published remains a mystery. Perhaps she did not get the support she needed to do so. At this time, there was, as Patricia Morton chronicles, sexism in the academy. Black women as historians had not yet established themselves as a group per se. Perhaps she did not have the time to make all of the required revisions to make this dissertation a publishable work. It is also possible that the conflicts which she had with the Association in the mid-late 1970s had a great deal to do with this. In a letter to L.J. Greene on 24 February 1984, she told the former Association trailblazer that she did "not plan to publish my Woodson work."

⁴⁵Rayford W. Logan, "Carter G. Woodson: Mirror and Molder of His Time, 1875-1950," JNH 58 (January, 1973): 2.

One, he pointed out the continuity of the ASNLH and the American Negro Academy founded nearly two decades earlier. Two, Logan revised the apolitical image of Woodson. That is, in the decades immediately following his death many of his protégés stressed Woodson's commitment to scientific scholarship and to the truth, "whatever the cost to him or the cause." Logan suggested that during the early years of Woodrow Wilson's presidency Woodson joined the Epsilon Boule, Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity, for its political flavor. And three, Logan shed some light on the problems that Woodson had with philanthropists and large foundations. In the decades following Logan's brief study, many scholars, especially the authors of the most extensive work on the Black historical profession as well as Woodson's most recent biographer, have become pre-occupied with these important, yet by now passé, dimensions of his life and work.

For the rest of the decade Woodson received passing attention in the Journal and other scholarly journals. He was also a centerpiece in at least one dissertation which was very creative in that it compared Woodson's program and philosophy of education with Booker T. Washington's and Paulo Friere's.⁴⁶ In the late 1970s, Woodson also received both popular generic and scholarly attention in the Negro History Bulletin.⁴⁷

⁴⁶For example, see Michael R. Winston, "Carter Godwin Woodson: Prophet of a Black Tradition," INH 60 (October, 1975): 459-463; M. Sammy Miller, "Letters from Dr. Carter G. Woodson to Mrs. Mary Church Terrell," INH 61 (January, 1976): 1-6; and Otey M. Scruggs, "Carter G. Woodson, the Negro History Movement, and Africa," Pan-African Journal 7 (Spring, 1974): 39-50. Alfred Young also completed a dissertation dealing with Woodson. See his "The Educational Philosophies of Booker T. Washington and Carter G. Woodson: A Liberating Praxis." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Syracuse University, 1977. For Young, Washington and Woodson fashioned educational philosophies which, like the theories of Paulo Friere, sought to alleviate the oppressive conditions of an oppressed people. Young devotes two chapters to Woodson. His overall analysis is, however, at times

In 1977, for instance, Sister Anthony Scally, by 1981 the Head of the Carter G. Woodson Library at the Association's National Headquarters,⁴⁸ wrote an essay exploring the correspondence between Woodson and Jesse Moorland housed in the Moorland-Spingarn research Center at Howard University. Scally's analysis of these letters revealed a Woodson who was "always sensitive to criticism" and "very touchy" during the Association's early years.⁴⁹ In the same year, Marcus Garvey's chief biographer published a

confusing and oversimplified at times. His discussion of Woodson reads like a biographical sketch with large quotations from The Mis-Education of the Negro. In comparing the "liberating praxis" of Freire and Woodson, he fails to place them in their proper historical contexts. That is, what types of comparisons can really be made between the two men in light of their different circumstances? How did their biographical circumstances influence their ideas? Young did not deal with such questions. His research also relied heavily on secondary materials and a narrow reading of Woodson. Part of the historical shallowness of this study perhaps comes from his background in social science and not history.

⁴⁷For a sampling of the more popular writings on Woodson during this decade, see "Black Studies and History Week," NHB 35 (February, 1972): 28-29 and W. Montague Cobb, "Carter Godwin Woodson," NHB 36 (November, 1973): 151-155. Though Cobb's study is not historical, he does briefly share some of his personal experiences with Woodson. He first met a serious Dr. Woodson at Washington's Dunbar high School in 1917. Cobb was a freshman, 12 years old, and Woodson was a history teacher. In the 1940s, Cobb often met with Woodson.

⁴⁸Scally boasts a very interesting background in terms of the Black struggle. She was born in Baltimore, Maryland in 1905. From 1940 until 1953, she was the Director of Library at Mt. St. Agnes College, Baltimore. Her first major publication was Catholic Negro Writers. A Bio-Bibliography (1945). From 1958 until 1969, she was based in Pensacola, Florida and served as the secretary of an inter-racial human relations organization called John XXIII Human Relations Council and she also was a youth counselor for the NAACP. From 1969 to 1970, she worked in the Cook County Jail in Chicago and taught Black history to some of its inmates. In 1973, she moved to Washington, D.C. and began getting interested in Woodson and began working with the Association. In the 1970s, she contributed many articles to a fairly obscure journal called Community.

refreshing article in the Bulletin drawing connections between these "two giants of the 1920s." According to Martin, John Edward Bruce first introduced Woodson to Garveyite circles; the Negro World publicized the Association's work and at times published reviews by scholars who critiqued Woodson's books; and, Woodson had a weekly column for the UNIA's paper in the dawning of the 1930s. In these writings, Woodson was beginning to challenge Black intellectual leadership publicly, something about which Garvey himself was outspoken. Woodson also gained popularity amongst the UNIA ranks by not siding with "Garvey Must Go" advocates during an era of great West Indian African-American conflict.⁵⁰ In Martin's estimation, the two pro-Bookerite organization founders shared other ideological underpinnings, such as self-help, race pride, the fear of physical and/or ideological "extermination" and assimilation, as well as a distrust in W.E.B. Du Bois. According to Martin, after Garvey's death, the ASNLH founder also published "one of the few sensible assessments" by an African American intellectual of the Black Star Liner captain's life and work.⁵¹

Unsurprisingly, the 1980s and 1990s has produced the most sophisticated scholarship on Woodson. During the 1980s, the Journal, Bulletin, and magazines like Crisis continued to remember and applaud Woodson's contributions especially during February of every year. None of these articles, however, added any real substance to what Logan had researched in

⁴⁹Sister Anthony Scally, "Woodson and the Genesis of ASALH," NHB 40 (January-February, 1977): 653-655.

⁵⁰For more information in this, see Irma Watkins-Owens, Blood Relations: Caribbean Immigrants and the Harlem Community, 1900-1930 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996).

⁵¹Tony Martin, "Carter G. Woodson and Marcus Garvey," NHB 40 (November-December, 1977): 774-777.

the previous decade, except for a 1981 piece by Sister Anthony Scally on Woodson's experiences in the Philippines. Scally is also to be credited with publishing the first full-length biography on Woodson. She was inspired to do this because so little work had been done on Woodson. In her brief study written at a level for mass consumption she conducted original research by interviewing Woodson's relatives and plowing through various archives. In the process, she corrected much of the mis-information generated by previous hap-hazard scholarship. Scally's study was further authenticated by her working experience as a librarian for the ASALH and as a regular contributor to the Negro History Bulletin. Walking Proud was praised by Jacqueline Goggin, then with the Library of Congress, Earl E. Thorpe, and by one of Woodson's closest friends, Charles H. Wesley.⁵²

In the early 1980s, under the presidency of Earl E. Thorpe, the Association began to further consolidate its efforts to honor and publicize its founder's life and work. On 1 April 1982, the Executive Director of the Association proposed that "a statue be erected to Dr. Woodson's memory in the mini-park bounded by 9th Street and Rhode Island Avenue, N.W. and Q Street." In late May of the same year, the Association called for a national historical editing project which sought to "(1) seek to identify those repositories throughout the nation which hold documents relating to the life and times of Carter G. Woodson; (2) process and select materials including those housed at the ASALH national headquarters; (3) publish the edited volumes; and (4) lastly,

⁵²See, Joe Johnson, "Carter G. Woodson: Father of The Study of Black History," The Crisis 94 (February, 1987): 35-37, an article which deemed Woodson a self-made man, but unsurprisingly measured him by Du Bois' standards; Sister Anthony Scally, "The Philippine Challenge," NHB 44 (1981): 16-18; and M.A. Scally, Walking Proud: The Story of Dr. Carter G. Woodson (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, 1983).

complete a definitive biography of Carter G. Woodson as well as an administrative history of the ASALH and the Associated Publishers."⁵³ The Editor in Chief was to be Charles H. Wesley and the managing editor was to be J. Rupert Picott. Other editors included Clement Price, Goggin, Robert Hill, Louis Harlan, Herbert Aptheker, and Daniel T. Williams. Though these projects did not materialize beyond the planning stages, they do demonstrate that there was an interest in documenting the life and work of Woodson within the Association. They failed because of a lack of financial support.

In the mid-1980s, the Association had several panel discussions on its founder at various meetings. In December of 1984, for example, the Association had a "Day of Commemoration for Woodson" at the Association headquarters. The program for the event included six accounts of Woodson from those who knew him best, recognition of honorees, and various exhibits featuring Woodson artifacts, memorabilia, and books by and about him. Those who attended were able to get some more inside information about this man who kept largely to himself. About a year after this event, the Association had a seminar on Woodson at their annual meeting which included as panelists L.D. Reddick, J. Hope Franklin, Dorothy Wesley, Arnett Lindsay, and Lorenzo J. Greene.

In 1985, Scally published her magnum opus, a bio-bibliography of Woodson. This study is vital in many ways. One, her brief biography sheds some light on many of the unknown facets of Woodson's life. Scally not only read Woodson's personal papers and various writings, but also interviewed some of his close friends and relatives. No doubt, she also had more access to his unreleased papers in the ASALH's possession at the time. Two, she

⁵³The Papers of LJG, Container 70, Folder 14.

constructed a very in-depth chronology of Woodson's life, highlighting the various endeavors he simultaneously undertook. And, most importantly, she listed nearly all of Woodson's books, pamphlets, and articles (including book reviews and weekly columns in various Black newspapers) as well as those M.A. theses, dissertations, books, book reviews, articles, and manuscript collections dealing with him in varying degrees. In many cases, she even provides brief reviews of these sources. In total, she assembled over 800 items. This is indispensable for all students of Woodson and African American intellectual history. Surely, Scally, born in 1905, was one of the best qualified to write a critical, exhaustive study on one of her mentors. She, however, chose to leave that responsibility to her succeeding generation.⁵⁴

In the same year that Scally's biography was published, Jacqueline Goggin completed her dissertation on Woodson at the University of Rochester under the guidance of American slavery historians Eugene Genovese and Stanley Engerman. In many respects, this study of nearly four hundred pages is one of the most informative pieces of scholarship on Woodson to be published thus far. Meier and Rudwick relied heavily on her dissertation in writing the first chapter of their 1986 study on the Black historical profession. It surpasses her recent biography in many regards.⁵⁵

Goggin sought to assess how and why Woodson used Black history to uplift Black America and how the American historical community responded to him. She advertised her dissertation as going beyond previous studies by

⁵⁴Sister Anthony Scally, Carter G. Woodson: A Bio-Bibliography (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985).

⁵⁵See, Meier and Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980, 1-71; Jacqueline A. Goggin, "Carter G. Woodson and the Movement to Promote Black History," Ph.D. dissertation, the University of Rochester, New York, 1983

incorporating the papers of Franz Boas, John Hope, James Weldon Johnson, Julius Rosenwald, the Terrells, Arthur B. Spingarn, James F. Jameson, Nannie Helen Burroughs, Luther Porter Jackson, James Hugo Johnston, Benjamin Brawley, Alain Locke, Kelly Miller, the Grimke brothers, and W.E.B. Du Bois. Goggin also interviewed and maintained fruitful correspondences with many of those historians who worked closely with Woodson.⁵⁶ She wrote to Lorenzo Greene as early as November of 1980 asking the former Woodson employee about the fate of Woodson's personal papers and the dynamics of twentieth-century academic racism within the American historical profession. Several months later, Greene responded to Goggin's various inquiries stating, foremost, that her theory that Woodson destroyed his own papers was without a doubt inconceivable.⁵⁷

Each chapter of her dissertation is very detailed and densely footnoted. Her introduction briefly surveys Woodson's life. The first chapter places the Association within the context of Black American literary and historical societies. The second chapter outlines how Woodson went about collecting

⁵⁶Goggin (b. 1953) began doing serious research on Woodson as a graduate student at the University of Rochester. After publishing her dissertation, she produced several articles on Woodson, including "Countering White Racist Scholarship: Carter G. Woodson and the Journal of Negro History," JNH (Fall, 1983): 355-375 and "Carter G. Woodson and the Collection of Source Materials for Afro-American History," American Archivist 48 (Summer, 1985): 261-271. The latter article is especially informative. Goggin traces how Woodson built up a collection of primary sources in the Library of Congress with the help of J. Franklin Jameson (1859-1937). From 1968, when Woodson's papers were finally processed and made accessible to scholars, until 1977, the Woodson collection was used extensively. Throughout the decade and into the 1990s, she presented several papers on the ASNLH founder at many professional programs.

⁵⁷Greene to Goggin, March 15, 1984; Goggin to Greene, April 16, 1984, The Papers of LJG, Container 69, Folder 12,

primary sources in fear that his people might disappear from the historical record. The third chapter is one of the dissertation's most intriguing. "Without the Journal," Goggin pointed out, "it is doubtful that black scholars would have been able to publish their work." Goggin added that the Journal also pioneered in writing history "from the bottom up," in writing slavery studies, and in providing a medium for liberal and leftist White scholars. The following chapter is, on the other hand, the weakest section. She contended that Woodson was a pioneer in comparative history long before it became fashionable and that he was an innovator of an interdisciplinary approach. This may be true, but she failed to acknowledge Du Bois's contributions in these spheres. The last three chapters are exemplary, tracing how Woodson popularized Black history; raised funds for the association activities; and how his "cantankerousness" affected his work. She paid special attention to his rocky relationships with white philanthropists and his co-workers, including Du Bois, Jesse E. Moorland, Benjamin Brawley, Kelly Miller, and James Hugo Johnston. Goggin underscored that the ASNLH founder refused to join any project for which he was not the primary director. Woodson had, she surmised, an "intense personal independence."⁵⁸

Since countless dissertations go widely unnoticed by the profession in general, it is hard to gauge their influence. In Goggin's case, this is partly possible. She sought the advice of several of Woodson's protégés. Lorenzo Greene offered her some valuable constructive criticism. He read her dissertation sometime between November of 1983 and March of 1984. In

⁵⁸ Goggin, "Carter G. Woodson and the Movement to Promote Black History." In many respects, this study is better than her 1993 biography. She drastically tailored down her dissertation, excluding some of the more interesting and important information.

March of 1984, he commented that he was impressed by her "diligent" search for materials and the heavy documentation therein. Yet, he challenged Goggin "to paint a more intimate picture of Woodson the man." The New England native preceded some of Goggin's more recent critics. "Intensively as you have researched Woodson, your study is not a biography of the man. You have not drawn a flesh and blood picture of your subject," Greene continued, "We see him depicted as 'highly independent, principled, opinionated . . . moody . . . self assured', with a 'domineering personality'. The reader would like to know what made him so."⁵⁹ In a classical Woodsonian fashion, Greene proceeded to pin-point specific pages where she made some oversights and posed eight detailed questions for Goggin to grapple with. Greene also challenged Goggin to extend Woodson's influence beyond the factors implicit in the title the "Father of systematized Black History." While Greene was gentle and polite to Goggin, in several letters to Patricia Romero Curtin, the eighty-five year old Emeritus history professor was more open with his criticism. "So Jackie Goggins has sent her Woodson manuscript to L.S.U.! It really needs some revising. Seriously, I would prefer to have my Diary published apart from the work, though it might be well if both appeared simultaneously." Greene continued in another letter to Romero Curtin, "Like you, my impression is that she [Goggin] has not written a biography of Woodson, she has not delved into the personal history of the man . . . Although, I believe she has done sufficient to please her major professors, the real biography of Woodson remains to be written and, unfortunately, those who held the key to Woodson's real personality, the

⁵⁹Greene to Goggin, March 15, 1984, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 69, Folder 12.

focus that drove him, and the psychic factors that made him Woodson, have passed, or are rapidly passing, from the scene."⁶⁰

In the same year that Goggin completed her dissertation, a group of concerned historians held a self-proclaimed "first-of-its-kind" conference on the study and teaching of Afro-American history at Purdue University under the auspices of the American Historical Association. Woodson's contributions received little attention in the papers delivered and published three years later. John Hope Franklin's paper is the only sketch of the profession. He located Woodson's chief function and contributions in the second generation of historians of the Black past spanning from 1915 until the mid 1930s. Franklin, who spent "many hours with him [Woodson] each year between 1940 and 1950," asserted that Woodson "would be appalled by the bickering that enveloped the association [ASNLH] in the 1960s over the question of whether white historians should be permitted to participate in the work of the Association."⁶¹ Franklin oversimplified this situation. One of the main concerns of Black activist scholars during the Black Power era was one of control and autonomy, issues with which the Association founder was very familiar. Woodson may have welcomed White participation in the Journal and the ASNLH, but he was passionate in keeping the Association under his and Black control. Other scholars at the "state-of-the-art" conference basically underplayed or ignored Woodson's contributions. Even Vincent Harding, who passionately reminded his colleagues that they had a

⁶⁰Greene to Romero, April 25, 1984, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 27, Folder 3; Greene to Romero, March 15, 1984, Container 70, Folder 8.

⁶¹John Hope Franklin, "On the Evolution of Scholarship in Afro-American History," in Hine, editor, The State of Afro-American History, 17.

debt to their community, failed to explain the relevance of Woodson's work.⁶²

In many respects, the most thorough study of historians of the Black past is Meier and Rudwick's Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980, an exhaustive study of the transformations in the Black historical profession from the founding of the ASNLH into the early 1980s. While their 1986 study is exemplary in many ways, it is problematic in others, specifically in dealing with the ASNLH founder. They devoted one quarter of their book to a detailed account of Woodson's struggles with various philanthropists and individuals. They portrayed Woodson as being unfulfilled by his work, ideologically confused, and contradictory in his convictions. "While Woodson thus laid the foundations, he did not live to see Afro-American history either recognized by the mainstream of white historians or anything more than a marginal specialty or to be embraced by Negroes themselves with the enthusiasm that he had envisioned," Meier and Rudwick contended in the first paragraph of their study, "These things did not come pass until two decades after his death."⁶³

Such comments stem from a careless reading of Woodson's annual reports in the Journal or his various polemic pieces in which he constantly celebrated the rank-and-file's enthusiasm and the general evolution of the study of Black history. The Meier and Rudwick duo accurately highlighted that part of Woodson's goal was to publish the records of Black America so that "the

⁶²See, Vincent Harding, "Responsibilities of the Black Scholar to the Community," in Hine, editor, The State of Afro-American History, 277-284. Harding briefly mentions The Mis-Education of the Negro, but does not address its deeper implications.

⁶³Meier and Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 1.

race," as he repeatedly proclaimed, "may not become a negligible part of the world." However, they had trouble in pin-pointing Woodson's thought and program because they sketched a picture of Woodson's personality based almost entirely upon personal papers which focus on his conflicts with certain individuals; because the Association founder did not fit nicely into their pre-conceived dichotomy of Black thought; and because they did not see the value in popularizing the study of Black history.

Holding fast to their archaic protest-accommodation dichotomy, Meier and Rudwick used a flawless, saintly image of Du Bois as a yard stick for measuring Woodson. Because Woodson was a Bookerite and like his mentor he successfully procured funds from White philanthropists, they argued, he boasted an "essentially conservative nature."⁶⁴ Unlike their hero Du Bois, they claimed that "Woodson did not function as an influential historian through his monographs; outside the group of historians he gathered about him in the 1920s and 1930s he has not functioned as an inspirational figure in the profession . . . Woodson, unlike Du Bois, did not produce monographs that are read and admired to this day."⁶⁵ Meier and Rudwick oversimplified Woodson's character, claiming that "unlike Du Bois he [Woodson] lacked a broad strategy of reform and, as we have seen, consciously and pointedly avoided ideological controversy." Major reviews of Meier and Rudwick's work ignored their misinterpretations of Woodson.⁶⁶

⁶⁴Ibid., 42.

⁶⁵Ibid., 71.

⁶⁶Ibid., 280-281. For example, see Robert L. Harris "Review Article: The Flowering of Afro-American History," American Historical Review 92 (December, 1987): 1150-1161. Harris overlooks their portrayal of Woodson, and instead critiques their omission of Du Bois and their claim that "the most

The remainder of the 1980s was void of any major studies on Woodson. By the early years of the current decade, Jacqueline Goggin sought to fill in this gap. Goggin's succinct study is sub-divided chronologically and thematically into six chapters. In narrating Woodson's life story she carefully weeded through a great portion of those sources compiled by Scally nearly a decade earlier. She searched deeper than Scally and others. For instance, in explaining his early years, from 1875 until 1915, Goggin looked at the records Woodson left at the M Street High School, the University of Chicago, Armstrong Manual Training School, Harvard University, and Howard University. She supplemented this information with other original primary sources and scholarly studies. Several chapters echo Meier and Rudwick's account by focusing on the Association's financial problems and the conflicts between Woodson, philanthropists, and some of his coworkers.⁶⁷

Two of the final chapters do challenge scholars to rethink Woodson. Goggin briefly tells the story of a Woodson who labored selflessly sixteen to eighteen hours a day for the benefit of the masses. A great part of Woodson's philosophy of Black uplift, she reminds her reader, was couched in a genuine concern for the Black rural and urban working-class; racial solidarity; self help; expressions of classical Black nationalism; and, perhaps most

influential books on Afro-American history were being published by white scholars" in the 1950s and 1960s. Earl E. Thorpe was very critical of their study because they oversimplify and even ignore the motivations of Black historians as well as fail to acknowledge the unique nature of Black historians' work. "To study black historians and exclude the work of practically all non-holders of the Ph.D. is elitist and wrong," Thorpe asserted, "Among other things this applies unfair white-standards to the black experience. . ." See Earl E. Thorpe, "Book Reviews," *INH* 78 (Spring, 1993): 123-127.

⁶⁷Jacqueline Goggin, Carter G. Woodson: A Life in Black History (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993), 1-94.

importantly, complete autonomy. Indirectly overturning Meier and Rudwick's reading of Woodson's political schizophrenia, Goggin outlined his long career as a political activist in the Committee of 200, the NAACP, the National Urban League, the Friends of Negro Freedom, the New Negro Alliance, and Garvey's UNIA. She also looked at his political ideology of the 1930s and 1940s as articulated in a handful of leading Black weeklies in which he had regular columns.⁶⁸

Unlike Scally's 1985 study, Goggin's biography has received great attention in nearly all of the widely read historical journals. From May of 1993 until October of 1996, Goggin's study was reviewed in more than a dozen magazines and journals. All of the reviewers welcomed her biography as a significant contribution and some scholars offered some insightful critiques. John David Smith challenged Goggin to explore Woodson's failure to cooperate with major Black colleges and scholars and his "contradictions regarding class and race." Goggin did not ponder how Woodson coped with the problems of being a Black intellectual, he suggested. David Levering Lewis wanted her to "probe deeply behind the stern mask her bachelor subject presented to the world." He also found her narrative illogically organized. The most critical reflections belong to Francille Wilson and Alfred A. Moss, Jr. The former noted that sections of Goggin's biography "are overly descriptive and shrink from expressing a firm analytical viewpoint." Wilson critiqued Goggin for not incorporating oral histories. Moss concluded that Goggin's biography was not "an intellectual biography" and he also challenged her to look more carefully at Woodson's relationship with other Black intellectuals.⁶⁹

⁶⁸Ibid., 140-207.

The most recent development in the scholarship and historiography on Woodson is the publication of the *Papers of Carter G. Woodson and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1915-1950*. The processing of these papers on thirty-four 35mm microfilm reels was completed in late August of 1998 and consists of "a large body of material that has never been available to scholars" including correspondence files, organizational and business records of the ASNLH, the Association's business ledgers and account books, many manuscripts which were submitted to Woodson, and the manuscript for The Encyclopedia Africana. David Levering Lewis has predicted that these papers are "bound to result in major revisions in much of what we think we have known about . . . how one of the most remarkable one-man operation in American scholarship survived and thrive against enormous odds." While Lewis's assessments are probably partly-true, it should be stressed that even without this new "documentary trove," many revisions can be made about how we characterize the Father of Black History.⁷⁰

What does this review of the scholarship and writings on Woodson mean in terms of his image in the academy? The historiography and scholarship on Woodson can be characterized as exhibiting the following tendencies.

⁶⁹John David Smith, "Black Intellectuals As Activists in the Age of Jim Crow," Reviews in American History 22 (1994): 328-334; David Levering Lewis, "Book Reviews," The Journal of American History 81 (1994): 760-761; Francille Rusan Wilson, "Book Reviews," The Journal of Southern History 60 (1994): 832-834; and Alfred Moss, Jr., "Reviews of Books," American Historical Review 81 (1995): 246-247.

⁷⁰The information about the *Papers of Carter G. Woodson and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1915-1950* was derived from a brochure distributed by University Publications of America, Bethesda, Maryland. John H. Bracey, Jr., University of Massachusetts, Amherst and August Meier, Kent State university are the General Editors and Jacqueline Goggin is the Editorial Advisor.

Chronicling Woodson's life and work has remained the focus of a small group of historians. To date, no more than a dozen scholars, including graduate students, have completed serious studies on Woodson. Historians have tended to oversimplify his thought and program. They have not taken into consideration the bulk of written information which he left behind. True, many have made use of his various personal papers, but none have really investigated his mind and thoughts based upon his books, articles, book reviews, annual reports in the Journal, his weekly columns, and his other personal records simultaneously. Scally and Goggin have come the closest in this regard. Many too quickly deem him a glorifier of the Black past without closely reading his indictments of African-American historical figures. Some were quick in labeling him authoritarian, cantankerous, domineering, and as Du Bois proclaimed, "too self-centered and self-assertive." What these critics failed to highlight was that Woodson gave his entire self to the Association and its work. Scholarship on Woodson and the Black historical profession in general is also too narrowly conceptualized in its scope. Studies on Woodson sometimes fail to place him within the context of the African- and White-American historical vocation and the American intellectual tradition as a whole. Woodson, like Du Bois, Anna Julia Cooper, and others is significant because he came of age and matured around the turn-of-the-century and the first half of the twentieth century, a dynamic era when new ideologies were clashing and synthesizing with older ones.

It is impossible to measure exactly how the writings on the "Father of Black History" have affected his public image. Several broad conclusions can be drawn. It is safe to say that the Negro History Bulletin subscribers were at minimum exposed to very favorable and intimate portraits of Woodson, especially during the two decades following his death. Yet, unlike Booker T.

Washington and much later Martin Luther King, Jr., Woodson did not have scores of books written on him. The White public was not presented with much information on him. He did not grace the cover of major white newspapers or magazines. In July of 1926, Time briefly noted Woodson's receiving of the Spingarn Medal, supposedly "the symbol of Negro distinction." On the last page of the "National Affairs" section where a nice photo of Woodson appears, the writers also reprinted selected passages from "the maze of unfamiliar facts" in The Negro in Our History. Had Woodson received this award in later years when he severed ties with influential philanthropists, it is highly improbable that one of the nation's leading news magazines would have acknowledged his accomplishments. In the years to follow, the ASNLH founder was among those few Blacks mentioned in White authored reference books. In the 4 April, 1950 edition of The Washington Post, there was a small picture of the ASNLH founder with the a caption above it reading "Dr. Woodson Dies; Negro History Expert." The brief column appeared on page 2B along with the death notices of a handful of others. In the back of The New York Times of the same day, there was an even more brief obituary, without a photograph, entitled "Dr. C.G. Woodson, Retired Educator: Former Dean at W. Virginia State Dies--Authority on Negro History." Did these newspapers' White readers pay attention to these notices? Probably not. Unsurprisingly, other major papers, such as The Chicago Tribune, The Detroit Free Press, and The Boston Globe totally ignored Woodson's death and contributions.

The Black community's coverage of Woodson's passing was inconsistent. Crisis totally ignored Woodson's death. From April, 1950 until December, 1950, the NAACP's organ did not mention Woodson's name. In March of 1950 they paid brief tribute to Edwin R. Embree and Charles Hamilton

Houston respectively. One searches for Woodson's name in vain in the "Editorials" for May, June, July, or August, the months immediately following his death. How do we explain such an oversight? There are several possibilities. Perhaps the NAACP executive board did not have a cordial relationship with Woodson. He did, after all, criticize "highly miseducated Negroes," many of whom were associated with the NAACP.

Other more scholarly journals ignored Woodson's death as well. The Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes did not even mention Woodson's death in its "News Items" or "Editorials," even though Charles S. Wesley, then President of Wilberforce, was on the editorial board. Certainly, being on the editorial board did not yield Wesley absolute power. But, it would only seem fitting that he would have called upon his colleagues to remember Woodson. What makes this even more intriguing is that throughout the 1950s, The Quarterly paid tribute to several martyrs of the Black struggle, such as Mary McLeod Bethune (1875-1955) and Charles S. Johnson (1889-1956).⁷¹

Ebony, one of Black America's most popular, middle-class magazine founded in the mid-1940s, paid homage to the Father of Black History towards the end of the 1950s. Woodson was "the third distinguished American named by readers to "The Ebony Hall of Fame," Madame C.J.

⁷¹The volumes appearing in 1950 did not mention Woodson's death at all. In fact, only one or two articles mentioned Woodson, but did not take note of his death. See Theophilus E. McKinney, Jr., "A Need for More Knowledge of the Part Played by Negroes in the Development of Civilization," The Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes 18 (July, 1950): 113-115. For the memoirs to fallen Black leaders see "Editorial Comment, Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune," QRHEAN 23 (July, 1955): 131; "Editorial Comment--In Memoriam," QRHEAN 24 (October, 1956): 170-174.

Walker being this award's first recipient. The editorial, however, in part presented him in a negative light. The Ebony editors ascertained:

His achievements won him many admirers, but few of them became close friends. To Woodson, a stubborn, single-minded individualist, this was not of the slightest importance. He never consciously sought to be liked, never cultivated those habits and personality traits which could endear him to the public. He was, quite possibly, too busy. For decades it was his custom to devote virtually every waking hour in research, writing and editing. Nothing else mattered. He had no ties to anyone, depended on no one, came as close as any man can to being an island "intire of it self."⁷²

"In his death, he [Woodson] does not leave many warm friends," Du Bois proclaimed in June of 1950, "there were few tears shed at his grave."⁷³ Du Bois's comments do not seem to carry much weight since roughly five hundred people attended Woodson's funeral and his close friends openly mourned losing him. One also questions the Black intellectual titan when one explores how the Black popular press unanimously mourned their historian's death. Black newspapers gave Woodson's passing wide coverage. In the 1930s, Woodson wrote regular and spontaneous columns for a range of leading African American newspapers, including The Chicago Defender, The Pittsburgh Courier, The New York Age, The Afro-American (Baltimore), The Boston Chronicle, The Washington Bee, and Garvey's Negro World. Woodson's death was mentioned in these papers, but in some instances it

⁷²"Newest Member of Hall of Fame: Honor Goes to Historian Carter G. Woodson," Ebony 13 (February, 1958): 27. The article also features a nice full page picture of Woodson in his library characteristically holding a book in his hand.

⁷³Du Bois, "A Portrait of Carter G. Woodson," 24.

was overshadowed by the death of one of Black America's greatest physicians and scientists, Dr. Charles Drew, who died after an auto accident in North Carolina while on his way to a professional meeting. Drew's sudden death shocked Black America, especially since after the accident he was rushed to a segregated hospital which did not have any blood plasma which may have saved his life. In the Saturday, April 8, 1950 edition of The Pittsburgh Courier the front page headline read: "Dr. Charles Drew Killed: Crash Fatal to Blood Bank Expert." The tribute to Drew appeared throughout several pages of the paper. No mention was made of Woodson, who died on April 3, 1950. In this weekly's next national edition, the editors recognized Woodson with a brief account of his life and they also included rare photographs of the late historian's sister, Mrs. Bessie Yancey, his brother, Robert H. Woodson, and of the pallbearers carrying Dr. Woodson's casket out of the funeral home.⁷⁴

Other Black newspaper weeklies' coverage of the Father of Black History was more detailed. Both the Chicago Defender and the Norfolk Journal and Guide discussed Woodson's life and death in their April 8 and April 15, 1950 editions. Both featured photos of Woodson on the front page and celebrated his contributions along side those of Charles Drew. The Afro-American furnished the most detailed account of Woodson's life, contributions, and death. On the first two pages of the April 8, 1950 edition of this Baltimore weekly, the editors sketched out in fairly good detail the circumstances of his death as well as his contributions as a scholar. Unlike the other papers, The Afro-American also quoted directly from the Association founder. On April 15, Baltimore's leading Black newspaper talked about Woodson's funeral rites. The thorough editors quoted directly from and paraphrased Charles H.

⁷⁴See, The Pittsburgh Courier 41 (April 8, 1950); "Carter Woodson, Dr. Drew Rites Held in Capitol," The Pittsburgh 41 (April 15, 1950): 3.

Wesley's eulogy. They also reprinted what other friends of the deceased historian said, including John W. Davis, Ellis O. Knox, Emmett J. Scott, A.L. Jackson, L.J. Greene, Herbert Aptheker, R.B. Atwood, and L.P. Jackson. The tribute ended with Logan's words, "Dr. Woodson was essentially a creative mind . . . His own works and the Association which he founded will be an invaluable reward for his unselfish efforts." It was not the time or place for Woodson's successor as Journal Editor and Association Director to critically assess his elder.⁷⁵

In the following decades, other Black magazines and papers, including Ebony, recognized Woodson infrequently during what is today known as Black or African American History Month. Nevertheless, Woodson's contributions are still side-stepped. Outside of academic circles, the general public has a very limited access to Woodson's legacy. Only a handful of his books have been reprinted at affordable prices and no PBS special has been done on him. Those interested can, however, visit his house at 1538 Ninth Street Northwest which was renovated in 1981 with funding from the U.S. Department of Interior and the D.C. Division of Preservation of Historic Sites. The Executive Director of the Association announced, "we think you will find joy in this restoration of what is to become one of Washington, D.C.'s most popular visitors sites." How many Americans have visited this historical site and what they have gotten out of such an experience is difficult

⁷⁵"Dr. Carter G. Woodson, Historian, Found Dead," Chicago Defender, April 8, 1950, 1; "Impressive Rites for Dr. Woodson in Washington," Chicago Defender, April 15, 1950, 4; "Dr. Carter G. Woodson, Noted Historian, Dies in Washington," Norfolk Journal and Guide, April 8, 1950, 1; "Father of History Week, Dr. Woodson Found Dead," The Afro-American, April 8, 1950, 1-2; "Historian Held High Example," The Afro-American, April 15, 1950, 7.

to ascertain. Like most radical Black intellectuals, Woodson has been pushed to the margins of American thought and culture.⁷⁶

⁷⁶J. Rupert Picott, "National Shrine Carter G. Woodson House Restored to Original Beauty and Utility," NHB 44 (April, May, June, 1981): 27. In this volume there are photographs of the restoration project. How popular this historical site really is has not been measured by the author. This could be verified by the visitors' records.

CHAPTER II

THE SCHOLARSHIP, HISTORIOGRAPHY, AND POPULAR WRITINGS ON BLACK HISTORIANS

Before Earle E. Thorpe's 1958 study, Black historians as a group received only passing attention by historians. They have been ignored by White American historiographers altogether. In the late nineteenth-century, J. Franklin Jameson published the first analytical study of American historians. He broke down the study of this discipline into four periods spanning from the early colonial era through the post-Civil War era. Black historians were totally ignored by this pioneer of social history.¹ Likewise, the studies to follow culminating with The Writing of American History: Revised Edition (1985) paid only token attention to Du Bois, Woodson, and John Hope Franklin.²

¹J. Franklin Jameson, The History of Historical Writing in America 1891 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969). It should be noted, however, that Jameson's interest in Blacks as historical subjects began to blossom as early as the mid 1890s. In a series of lectures at Princeton and Harvard, which were later published as his famous The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement (1925), he mentions slavery during the revolutionary era. During the 1920s and 1930s, he also supported Carter G. Woodson. According to Meier and Rudwick, he played a key role in the development of Black history. The two met in 1916 and seemed to get along well. Jameson sympathized with Woodson's struggle. In 1920 when James Rowland Angell, a friend of Jameson, became the head of the Carnegie Corporation in New York, Jameson spoke highly of the ASNLH leader to his colleague. And by 1921 Jameson "stood sponsor for the proper expenditures of funds to support Woodson." In turn, Carnegie awarded Woodson \$25,000.00 for three years. This reputation also opened doors for Woodson to later get the same amount from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund and some other white philanthropists. Yet, in remembering Jameson, Woodson did not praise him as some might have expected. He concluded that Jameson was not an outspoken friend of African-Americans.

In the late nineteenth-century, the contributions of pioneering Black historian George Washington Williams were praised in Black scholar William J. Simmons' Men of Mark (1887) which, according to one scholar, was nothing more than a "biographical dictionary" of famous African Americans. By the turn-of-the-century and early 1900s, many changes had occurred which seemed to make the possibility of serious scholarship on this profession more realistic. Du Bois received a Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1895 and several years later began co-ordinating annual Atlanta University Studies conferences and began editing annual publications; the American Negro Academy was founded by Alexander Crummell in 1897; in 1908 Monore N. Work began conducting serious research about Blacks at Tuskegee; and the ASNLH was founded in 1915 and the Journal was first issued a year later. Despite such an intellectual flowering, neither Du Bois, his ANA colleagues, nor other turn-of-the-century scholars conducted rigorous scholarship on Black historians. Further, neither Woodson nor any of his co-workers published any detailed analyses on the Black historical profession or on any particular Black historian in the Journal until the World War II era.

Why didn't Du Bois, the first professionally trained Black historian, and Woodson, the "Father of Black History," publish significantly on the Black historical profession? Most likely Du Bois, Woodson, and even Charles H. Wesley, the first three Blacks to receive Ph.D.s from Harvard in history in 1895, 1912, and 1925 respectively, saw the necessity in first publishing studies on more general aspects of Black history, aspects which could help them in their quest to challenge academic racism, instill Blacks with self-esteem, and

²See Michael Kraus and Davis D. Joyce, The Writing of American History: Revised Edition (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985).

enlighten White America. The intellectual history of Black America was far from being considered an accepted field of study. Such inquiries did not gain a recognizable following until decades following the second World War. As Woodson lamented before founding the Associated Press in 1922, it was also difficult for Black scholars to get their works published by mainstream academic presses.³

It is therefore unsurprising that one of the first studies dealing in part with Black historians was published by a White scholar. In the dawning of the 1930s, Vernon Loggins, an instructor of English at Columbia University at the time, conducted one of the first comprehensive studies on Black writers from the Revolutionary period until the end of the nineteenth-century. Loggins included in his study those Black historians who Thorpe later deemed "Justifiers of Emancipation." He also preceded Thorpe in critiquing early Black historians. He argued that most of these writers produced "biographical dictionaries" which were often riddled with grammatical, stylistic, and factual errors. Some he criticized more than others. "The work of Joseph T. Wilson," he noted, "well illustrates the persistence of a history that is more gossip and vituperation and puffed defense than a record and thoughtful organization of facts." Loggins was more fond of George Washington Williams. His main critique of Williams was that his History of the Negro Race in America was that it was too long. He especially did not care for the verbose "emotional" side of Williams' style. Loggins said that readers had to weed through the "maze of words" in order to get valuable information. Loggins also applauded the contributions of Du Bois. His Ph.D. dissertation was noted as being the "strictest scholarship" seeking

³See, Goggin, Carter G. Woodson, 55.

"accuracy and truth" and, Loggins ascertained, "was by far the greatest intellectual achievement which had by 1900 come from any American Negro."⁴

Thorpe applauded Loggins for his critiques of early Black historians for their supposedly faulty justification of Black history. Yet, Thorpe, and even Woodson, did not challenge the Columbia University professor for his racist beliefs.⁵ Loggins was fascinated by the so-called primitiveness of Black people. He advocated a "racial essentialism" in attempting to defend Blacks from academic brands of racism. "The folk literature of the Negro proves that he is emotional, imaginative, musical. It proves that he is expressive by nature." Loggins was very patronizing towards even the most accomplished African American intellectuals, of which there were many by 1931. "Will the Negro artist working deliberately to prove himself worthy of being called a descendant of those who created folk literature," the former Columbia University instructor asked. He answered his own question revealing his true dis-respect for the Black intelligentsia: "He [the Negro artist] has not yet written an enduring masterpiece, but that could scarcely be expected of him.

⁴Vernon Loggins, The Negro Author: His Development in America (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), 272, 278, 282.

⁵Woodson critically welcomed Loggins' study. The Association founder applauded him for making a serious effort in noting and charting the contributions of Black Americans to the nation's literary traditions. Furthermore, Woodson challenged his colleague to be critical of the Black author not simply in terms of the mechanics of their writings, but in terms of the content of their messages. Woodson also believed that Loggins should have been more sensitive to "the circumstances under which these authors wrote." Like Thorpe did several decades later, Woodson did not challenge the Columbia University English instructor for his racist views of Black culture. This is quite surprising considering how the Journal editor was usually extremely critical in his reviews. See, Carter G. Woodson, "Book Reviews," JNH 17 (1932): 112-114.

If his consciously produced literature shows nothing else, it shows tenacity of purpose." Loggins' other scholarship ignored Blacks.⁶ One is therefore led to believe that Loggins perhaps published The Negro Author in hopes of becoming an instant authority on a ignored field of inquiry in the ivory towers of White academe.⁷

The first significant piece of scholarship explicitly on Black historians was an unpublished M.A. thesis of 1935. In less than eighty pages, Joseph A. Grimes reviewed the lives and contributions of eleven Black historians belonging to three different eras. The "primitive period of Negro History," 1844-1876, included Robert Benjamin Lewis, William Cooper Nell, and William Wells Brown. From 1876 until 1900, Grimes pointed out that George Washington Williams, Joseph T. Wilson, and Daniel Alexander Payne were the first group to conduct scientific research with a scholarly imagination. And the contemporary historians for Grimes included Du Bois, Benjamin Griffith Brawley, Booker T. Washington, and Woodson. While Grimes'

⁶Ibid., 365. For a further discussion of "racial essentialism," see W.D. Wright, Black Intellectuals, Black Cognition, and A Black Aesthetic (Westport: Praeger, 1997), 1-25. Loggins, I Hear America . . . : Literature in the United States Since 1900 (New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1967). It was first published in 1937 and included nearly fifty American authors. No African Americans were discussed. Loggins probably felt that his 1931 study was enough and, after all, he believed that Blacks had not yet produced an "enduring masterpiece." Loggins based much of his ideas on Black folk culture on Newman I. White's American Negro Folk Songs (1928).

⁷Loggins did receive help from Arthur Schomburg, Benjamin Brawley, James Weldon Johnson, Charles S. Johnson, and Monroe N. Work in writing The Negro Author. It is very doubtful that he gave them manuscripts to read. If he did, surely he ignored their comments on his final chapters, which they would have most likely penned in. Instead, he preferred the non-critical eyes of his White colleagues, like Ralph L. Rusk, Robert H. Fife, Dixon Ryan Fox, and Frederic W.J. Hauser. .

unpublished study lacks a critical foundation, many historians have acknowledged its pioneering status.

During the rest of the 1930s, scholars in Woodson's circle theorized the meaning of Black history, but they did not extensively focus on the lives and works of Black historians.⁸ In fact, no one published any in-depth studies on Black historians during the second half of this decade. A few did, however, offer some valuable critiques and overviews of the profession.

In 1937, for instance, L.D. Reddick (b. 1910), a professor at Dillard University at the time, published a brief assessment of Black historians in the Journal. He sub-divided them in two categories, "before Woodson and after Woodson." While each group adopted certain distinct styles, he lumped them together and noted that most were amateurs and whole-heartedly adopted a tradition of American "liberalism." Reddick was disturbed by how historians from George Washington Williams to Benjamin Brawley had been pre-occupied with the "superficial." He challenged his colleagues to instead provide deeper, multi-dimensional explanations for the complex set of phenomena affecting Black America's status. "The social philosophy of Negro historians, sadly lacking in grasp of the dynamic forces," a young Reddick proclaimed, "turned out to be the rather naive Emersonian gospel of self reliance, simple optimism and patient regard for destiny."⁹

⁸For instance, see Charles H. Wesley, "The Reconstruction of History," INH 20 (1935): 411-428. For some of the discussions that concerned Blacks were engaged in about the meaning and necessity of Black history, see the various reports of the early Association meetings. One explanation for the void in publications on Blacks historians at this juncture is that during the 1930s Woodson's protégés were just getting themselves established.

⁹L.D. Reddick, "A New Interpretation for Negro History," INH 22 (January, 1937): 17-28.

He called upon the "after Woodson" historians to shift their attention away from the "articulate professional classes" and more towards "the welfare, feelings and thoughts of the common folk." Reddick anticipated the concerns of Black historians who in the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and the 1990s adopted the writing of history "from below."¹⁰ He also called for Black historians to broaden their focus by paying attention to the multi-dimensional nature of all historical phenomena and to "re-examine the social philosophy implicit throughout the work." One might have expected Reddick to have expanded his commentary on Black historians in either an extended article or a monograph. Instead, he devoted his energies elsewhere.¹¹

In the 1940s, several significant articles on select Black historians were published. In the summer of 1942, Woodson wrote to Luther P. Jackson and

¹⁰For an informative discussion of this type of history, see Jim Sharpe, "History from Below," in Peter Burke, ed., New Perspectives on Historical Writing (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), 24-41. Sharpe, however, does not add Black historians to his discussion. "History from below" was embraced by Black historians differently than it was by their Euro-American counterparts. At one level, most Black historians engaged in "history from below" in one way or another if their subject matter included the general history of Black America. Slavery historians also embraced such an outlook beginning in the 1960s. Robin D.G. Kelley has recently articulated a new view of "Writing Black Working-Class History from Way, Way Below." See his Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class (New York: The Free Press, 1996), 1-13.

¹¹In the late 1930s, L.D. Reddick completed his dissertation at the University of Chicago, "The Negro in the New Orleans Press, 1850-1860: A Study in Attitudes and Propaganda." By the late 1930s and the dawning of the 1940s, his chief focus was on being a curator and collecting and organizing historical information on African descendants. He contributed many valuable articles on the research aspect of Black American history and the obstacles in the way of Black scholars in an era of segregation.

Lorenzo Greene telling them of his plans to "run the sketches of 'Two Negro Historians of Great Promise.'" Woodson told them that they were not to write the sketch themselves, but to "select as a writer some person who knows how to express things in the language of children and supply that person with the facts." Woodson added that the "details" of their lives "should be omitted."¹² He only wanted to highlight their respective contributions to African-American history in Virginia and New England.

Several months later, in October of 1942, the lives and scholarly achievements of Jackson and Greene were featured in the Negro History Bulletin. After briefly talking about their personal lives, something which Woodson did not want them to do, the authors, Wilhelmina E. Hamlin and Tomasina Talley respectively, broke down the major scholarly contributions of Jackson and Greene in laypersons' terms. Hamlin re-wrote Jackson's long Journal article "Virginia Soldiers and Seamen in the American Revolution" for mass consumption. Talley did the same for Greene's magnum opus, The Negro in Colonial New England.¹³ It seems as if Woodson was attempting to cast these young Black historians into leadership positions or at least making them role models for the younger readers.

The April, 1945 number of the Negro History Bulletin featured several articles on Black historians. The first article by Helen Boardman surveyed the major works of Black historians since the Antebellum era. The Bulletin readers were shown more than a dozen photos of Black historians from

¹²Woodson to Greene, August 14, 1942, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 74, Folder 8.

¹³Wilhelmina E. Hamlin, "Luther Porter Jackson--Historian," NHB 6 (November, 1942): 34, 35, 46, and 47 and Tomasina Talley, "Another Negro Historian--Lorenzo Johnston Greene," Ibid., 38-40, 46.

J.W.C. Pennington to John R. Lynch to Daniel Alexander Payne to Du Bois to Arthur Schomburg to George Washington Williams to Woodson. In the second article, Woodson for one of the first times briefly chronicled the work of Black historians, focusing on those "modern historians" who "differ from the early historians mainly in being better trained and in pursuing the writing and teaching of history as a profession." Woodson did not dismiss his predecessors totally. While he critiqued their "classical," romantic narrative style, he humbly noted that "Williams' *History of the Negro Race* has not yet been superseded by a better work, and his *History of Negro Troops in the War of the Rebellion* far surpasses any other work on this subject." Still, according to the "Father of Negro History," the most influential group of Black historians surfaced under his leadership in the ASNLH and also included non-professionally trained historians. On the one hand, he praised the scientific scholarship of A.A. Taylor, Charles Wesley, Luther Porter Jackson, John Hope Franklin, Lorenzo Johnston Greene, Rayford Logan, W. Sherman Savage, Horace M. Bond, Eric Williams, and Benjamin Quarles. On the other hand, he saluted the efforts of "writers belonging to the literary field" such as Alain Locke, Sterling Brown, and Ulysees Lee. Woodson also acknowledged female writers who produced historical literature for children, including Jane Dabney Shakelford, Helen A. Whiting, Elsie P. Derricotte, Jessie H. Roy, Geneva Turner, Madeline Morgan, and Sadie Daniel St. Clair. In comparing the "early" historians with the "later" ones, Woodson noted that the "later historians" had tended to substitute direct social and political activism with the just as effective tactic of "publishing the truth in scientific form." Woodson's protégés, as well as himself, did not, however, abandon

methods of "agitation and propaganda." Woodson most likely made this distinction because of his enduring commitment to "scientific objectivity."¹⁴

A year after this noteworthy volume of the Bulletin appeared, John Hope Franklin published a path-breaking, thirty page article on George Washington Williams, "the first serious historian of the Negro race." In the mid-1940s, he stumbled across Williams' History while continuing research for his classic 1947 work. When he asked Woodson about Williams, the Association founder supplied him with some useful information, including the address of Williams' widow. Woodson then enticed Franklin into doing an article on Williams for the Journal. Franklin presented his initial findings at the ASNLH annual meeting in the autumn of 1945. In a published article, Franklin then chronicled in great detail Williams' life from his birth in Pennsylvania in 1849 until his death in England in 1891, focusing on the evolution of Williams' interest in Black history. Williams' most monumental accomplishment was writing one of the first histories of Black America, History of the Negro Race in America, 1619-1880 (1882), despite the fact that he had no formal or technical training. Franklin speculated that the self-motivated historian "had doubtless caught some of the new scientific spirit in the recent works that had come out and in the conversations he had with the many students of history and the archivists whom he consulted." Franklin also applauded Williams for his "devotion to objectivity." Echoing Woodson, Franklin noted that Williams' 1882 magnum opus had not been

¹⁴Helen Boardman, "The Rise of the Negro Historian," The Negro History Bulletin 8 (April, 1945) 155 and Woodson, "Negro Historians of Our Times," The Negro History Bulletin 8 (April, 1945), 155-159, 166.

superseded more than sixty years after its publication.¹⁵ Franklin's article represents one of the first extensive explorations of any single Black historian.

In the same volume that Franklin's article appeared, Edward M. Coleman--who received a Ph.D. in history from the University of Southern California in 1940 and who was, in the mid-1940s, the head of the Department of History at Morgan State University, Baltimore--explored William Wells Brown's historical writings from 1847 until 1882 in light of "the more exacting requirements of present-day scholarship." He praised Brown for being a pioneer, but critiqued his early ante-bellum work for "his tendency to indulge in moralizing, sentimental, or philosophical digressions," his imitations of "more famous writers," his "gossipy" descriptions, and for his shallow treatment of important subjects. Coleman characterized Wells' first historical study as "an elaborate and very able *defense* of the Negro . . . and a strong and worthy plea for liberty, justice, and opportunity." Coleman critiqued Brown's last two historical studies of 1882 for lacking documentation and for failing to organize information. In comparison to American historians of his time, Brown "must be highly respected for his universal achievements," for "being an outstanding pioneer" in writing Black history, Coleman surmised. Yet, in comparison to his successors, the former slave, in Coleman's estimation, produced historical scholarship which was "quite superficial, inadequate, and unscientific."¹⁶

Several years after Franklin's and Coleman's articles appeared, Jessie P. Guzman, an archivist at Tuskegee Institute during the 1940s and 1950s,

¹⁵John Hope Franklin, "George Washington Williams, Historian," INH 31 (1946): 61, 67-68, 69-90.

¹⁶Edward M. Coleman, "William Wells Brown as an Historian," INH 31 (January, 1946): 47, 51, 55, 58.

published a lengthy article on Monroe Nathan Work (1866-1945), a non professionally-trained historian who dedicated his life "to the gathering of information and the compiling of exact knowledge concerning the Negro." Guzman obtained most of her information from personal interviews with Work, his wife, and friends and from Work's personal papers. Guzman's article was written in the traditional biographical style of the times. She was not critical of her mentor, but instead highlighted his various accomplishments to Black intellectual development. Journal readers were informed about Work's early life, his life as a young scholar publishing in the early 1900s, his life at Tuskegee as the Director of the Department of Records and Research under three different presidents, and even his more intimate, private self.¹⁷

"April 1950 will long be remembered for the death of four eminent men," the June, 1950 volume of the Negro History Bulletin opened, "Probably no other month, at least in modern times, so relentlessly depleted the front rank of our leadership." Between April 1 and April 22, Charles H. Drew, Woodson, Luther Porter Jackson, and Charles Hamilton Houston died. The Bulletin paid special homage to Woodson, as indicated earlier in this study, and to Jackson (1892-1950), featuring his photo on the cover and many articles on him. Included in this volume were various photos of Jackson, a biographical sketch of his life and work written at a level for children, a bibliography of his writings, as well as personal reminiscences from his friends. According to those who remembered Jackson, he was a scholar-

¹⁷Jessie P. Guzman, "Monroe Nathan Work and His Contributions," INH, 36 (October, 1949). Nearly half of a century later, Linda O. McMurry published the second major work on Work. See McMurry, Recorder of the Black Experience: A Biography of Monroe Nathan Work (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984).

activist whose contributions to society needed to be measured "beyond the field of historical writing." J.H. Johnston asserted, "Luther Jackson enjoyed his life, but for the scholar it was the hard way of life--the killing way. He chose to live his way but we wish that he remained with us longer. He never knew the meaning of vacation; he could not go at a slower pace and died before his allotted time." One of his close friends of thirty years added, "Dr. Jackson was not content to sit at his desk and send out the published results of his researches. He took Negro history to the masses." Though the various reminiscences and biographical sketches of Jackson were not extensive and analytical, until Meier's and Rudwick's 1986 study, they were some of the few major writings on this pioneer in the history of Black Virginians.¹⁸

The first major study on Black historians was published by E.E. Thorpe nearly a decade after Woodson and Jackson died. Thorpe, a professor of Social Science at Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana in the 1950s, first researched Black historians in a dissertation completed in 1953 at Ohio State University, "Negro Historiography in the United States." In the years between the appearance of his dissertation and its revised publication in 1958, Thorpe published a handful of articles addressing the philosophy of history, all of which appeared in The Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes. Only one of them focused on Black historiography. In a 1956 article, "The Mid-Twentieth Century Case for Negro History," Thorpe debated "whether Negro History should continue to be taught and fostered, as a separate and distinct entity." Re-iterating his dissertation, he critiqued Black

¹⁸"Four Who Gave Their Lives," NHB, 8 (June, 1950), 194; J.H. Johnston, "Luther Porter Jackson, 1892-1950," *Ibid.*, 195-197; L.F. Palmer, "He Left a Lonesome Place," *Ibid.*, 198, 214; "Children's Page," *Ibid.*, 199-201, and "Luther Porter Jackson Bibliographical Notes," *Ibid.*, 213-215; Meier and Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980, 85-88.

historians, with the exception of Du Bois, for not attacking the social, political, and economic mechanisms of American society responsible for the oppression of Blacks. Thorpe challenged the manner in which practically all Black historians, including Woodson's disciples, had employed history to combat racism, educate Whites, and to give Blacks pride, self-esteem, and the confidence to contribute to civilization. He maintained that Black history at the mid point of the twentieth-century had the great opportunity to become "emancipated from propaganda" and develop into a "pure history." Thorpe advocated studying Black history as a separate entity. "While Negro history probably should not be a required course at any grade level, as an elective it should continue to have a place in curricula wherever and as long as there are interested and competent persons to teach it." Thorpe rejected much of Woodson's teaching, considering them ill-fitted for his times.¹⁹

In 1958, Thorpe published a monograph revising and in many ways re-iterating his dissertation. In Negro Historians in the United States, he sub-

¹⁹Earle E. Thorpe, "The Mid-Twentieth Century Case for Negro History," The Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes 24 (April, 1956): 68-75. Thorpe published a host of other articles pertaining to the philosophy of history in this journal, which will be abbreviated at ORHEAN in the text to follow. See, for instance, "Communism and the Teaching of History and Government," ORHEAN 21 (October, 1953): 37-39; "Some Tendencies in the Philosophy of History," ORHEAN 24 (July, 1956): 92-106; "Toward a Philosophy of History," ORHEAN 24 (October, 1956): 133-146; "Philosophy of History: Sources, Truths and Limitations," ORHEAN 25 (July, 1957): 172-185; "Arnold Joseph Toynbee and His Philosophy of History," ORHEAN 25 (January, 1957): 148-155. These articles, as well as some of his latter publications, demonstrate his breadth of knowledge. He was not alone in such an approach. Though Thorpe is quick to lump all of those Black historians who succeeded Woodson in a large group, with few exceptions, he fails to discuss the work of scholars like Rayford Logan, Benjamin Quarles, and John Hope Franklin, to mention a few. They were very much different than Woodson. Logan and Franklin studied well beyond the confines of Black history.

divided writers of Black history into four general schools based upon the breadth of their scholarship, their literary skills, their historical craftsmanship, their ideology of history, their conceptualizations of the past, their objectivity, and the contemporary and future implications of their works. These schools included "The Beginning School" (1800-1896), "The Middle Group" (1896-1930), "The Modern Laymen" (1896 until the present), and "The New School" (1930 until the present). With the exception of Du Bois, he wrote less on his contemporaries.

Beyond specifically assessing the works of particular historians, Thorpe systematically critiqued all Black historians in his opening chapter, "The Why and What of Negro Historiography." He noted that practically all of these writers "have been influenced by the conception of Negro history as *a weapon in the fight for racial equality*." He then added that "an analysis of the reason why they have generally believed history to be a good weapon in the fight for racial equality will show that some of these reasons do not appear to be valid." Thorpe dismissed Woodson's widely accepted belief that a knowledge of a glorious past by the Black masses would encourage great achievements. He argued just the opposite, saying that many oppressed people were perhaps more motivated to make contributions to civilization if their historical record was lacking. He challenged Woodson's and his predecessors' naive belief that the "doctrine of biological supremacy" was the basis of the exploitation of Black people. Because of their conviction to a moralistic historical interpretation, this Helen Edmonds disciple argued, they failed to recognize that racism "stems primarily from and feeds on the actual economic, political, social, and cultural inferiority of the masses in their race." Thorpe fundamentally disagreed with his predecessors' for justifying Black history in terms of Black uplift. His own "proper" justification of Black history was that

it "constitutes a contribution to the knowledge and understanding of mankind." Thorpe warned Black historians not to employ history as a "cause-serving" body of information.²⁰

For him, it was the historian's obligation to view Black America through critical lenses. He argued that Black history should be used to revise the ideal "freedom-and-democracy" centered view of American history. He challenged Black historians to revise the historiography of slavery, the Civil War, abolitionism, and Reconstruction. He was upset that no scholar had by the late 1950s produced a monumental multi-volume study of Black Americana. Thorpe also indicted his predecessors and contemporaries for having "accepted and upheld liberalism, democracy, tolerance, majority rule, republicanism, and other traditional ideals of American society, despite the fact that it is frequently the majority-rule principle which deprives them of first-class citizenship." In the tradition of Du Bois and Reddick, he called upon Black historians to challenge America's economic and political systems with concrete alternatives.

From the early 1950s until the dawning of the 1970s, Thorpe was the only scholar to publish a monograph-length investigation on Black historians. In the early 1980s, historian William H. Harris contended that August Meier's paper at the 1974 American Historical Association's Annual meeting "marked the formal acceptance by the general historical profession of Afro-American history as a legitimate and respected field."²¹ In retrospect, Harris

²⁰Earl E. Thorpe, Negro Historians in the United States (Baton Rouge: Fraternal Press, 1958) 4, 6, 7, 9.

²¹Joseph H. Harris, "Trends and Needs in Afro-American Historiography," in Darlene Clark Hine, editor, The State of Afro-American History: Past, Present, and Future (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), 139.

overstated the case. Certainly, by the 1970s there were Black history courses being taught at many universities and there was an upsurge of books chronicling the Black experience. At the same time, in the decade immediately following Thorpe's 1971 Black Historians: A Critique (a revision of Negro Historians in the United States) no one published a major study on the Black historical profession.²²

²²In the early 1970s, the Department of History at Howard University published two studies on a select group of Black historians. On the sixtieth anniversary of the Howard University History Department, they published The Howard University Department of History, 1913-1973, authored by Michael R. Winston. In this study, Winston placed the sixty year development of Howard's History Department within "the professionalization of historical study as an academic subject, the history of Howard University, and the growth of racial self-consciousness in response to American patterns of race relations" (vii). This study reads like a series of brief biographical sketches of historians at Howard from the late 1800s until the early 1970s, including Charles C. Cook, William Victor Tunrell, Walter M. Dyson, Woodson, Charles H. Wesley, Harold O. Lewis, John Hope Franklin, Williston Henry Lofton, Rayford W. Logan, Merze Tate, Elsie M. Lewis, Chancellor Williams, and Lorraine Anderson Williams. Winston's detailed appendices included a list of eighty-one Howard historians from 1882 until 1973; Howard historians' publications from 1889 until 1973; all of the M.A. theses from 1920 until 1973; all of the Ph.D. dissertations from 1966 until 1973; and all of the publications of the Department. The chief value of this study is that it not only highlights the evolution of the Howard University Department of History, a hot-bed of historical activity, but it also excavates the contributions of lesser known, yet important, Black historians.

In 1974, Janette Harris published A Directory of Black Historians which included 230 Black historians who were teaching at and/or researching; where they received their degrees; their area (s) of specialization; their current research; and their honors and awards. In her appendices, she included the names of "selected curators, librarians and custodians of special collections;" the names of the universities from where these historians received degrees; and an intriguing, first of its kind, listing of Black female historians, roughly a third of whom held Ph.Ds. The Black historian of her study included various personalities, the vast majority of whom have not been the subjects of any scholarly investigations. Her listing of Black female historians is especially intriguing considering that Thorpe and Meier and Rudwick mention no more than a handful between them. For further information,

The 1980s was a watershed decade in Black historiography and is a more accurate marker for the so-called legitimization of Black history. For one, in 1985 John Hope Franklin published a landmark biography on George Washington Williams which constitutes the first full-length scholarly monograph on a Black historian. For Franklin, Williams was a remarkable historian for many reasons. One, he his research involved interviewing Black troops from Texas, New Mexico, the Indian Territory, and Kansas. As such, he was very resourceful and a "pioneer in the field of oral history." Two, he included newspapers among the primary documents in his study at a time when university seminars in history did not teach such tactics. Three, he openly sought criticism and insights from his contemporaries. Upon several occasions in the 1880s, he wrote to George Bancroft asking him for advice. Four, he was very careful with is source usage. Franklin noted that he tested sources against each other. Five, he attempted to simultaneously mesh being a revisionist and an objective thinker. And, he conducted meticulous, thorough research.

Very much unlike Thorpe, Franklin understood and explained why Williams was sometimes defensive in his writings. "Even though Williams knew what the highest cannons of historical research and writing required, it was not easy to abide by them when the very atmosphere in which he wrote was charged with racial antipathies and filled with assumptions of Negro inferiority," Franklin ascertained, "The zeal to 'revise' could lead, at times, to excesses, and could be as guilty of excesses as others."²³

see Michael R. Winston, The Howard Department of History: 1913-1973 (Washington, D.C.: The Department of History, Howard University, 1973) and Janette H. Harris, A Directory of Black Historians (Washington, D.C.: The Department of History, Howard University, 1974).

A year after Franklin's biography of Williams appeared, Darlene Clark Hine edited an anthology consisting of papers presented at the American Historical Association's "state-of-the-art conference on the study and teaching of Afro-American history" at Purdue University in early October of 1983. The contributors focused on the various trends, breakthroughs, and needs in the writing and researching of African-American history as well as upon the manners in which such information was disseminated to the public. The brief prologue by John Hope Franklin is this volume's only broad analysis of the development of the historical profession.

Franklin located "four generation of scholarship--of equal length--in Afro-American history." From George Washington Williams' 1882 magnum opus until Booker T. Washington's The Story of the Negro nearly three decades later, he noted that Black historians wrote of Black America's contributions to America in hopes of demonstrating that their people were human beings and deserved to be accepted as equal citizens. With the exception of Du Bois, who Franklin placed in various generations, these Black historians were not professionally trained, yet they "wrought well." The second generation in Franklin's estimation extended from the years immediately following 1915 until Du Bois' Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880 (1935) and was dominated by Woodson's efforts. Franklin's third generation, spanning from the mid-1930s until the end of the 1960s, departed significantly from their predecessors by shifting their focus from histories of Black achievements to narratives placing Blacks in the greater context of American history. The experiences of World War II radicalized this generation. Franklin also paid attention to the entrance of Whites into the field during the third generation.

²³John Hope Franklin, George Washington Williams: A Biography (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985),108.

The last, and "best- trained," generation which Franklin discussed was composed of scholars coming of age beginning in the dawning of the 1970s. "No area of inquiry escaped their attention," the elder statesman noted. Impacted by the changing social landscape of the Black Power movement, many historians of this generation, Black and White Franklin stressed, challenged all of the existing scholarship on Black America. At the same time, he pointed out that there were also those "so-called authorities" who capitalized on the newly-sanctioned, in some respects, discipline. By the mid-1980s, and certainly earlier, of all Black historians, Franklin was probably the best equipped to write a revised monograph on the Black historical profession and specifically on Black historians.²⁴

In the same year that Hine's anthology was published, August Meier and Elliott Rudwick published the magnum opus of their joint efforts, Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980. Before they began their careers as historians in the 1950s and 1960s, only a handful of White historians--such as Merle Curti, Harvey Wish, Herbert Aptheker, and Philip Foner--took Black history seriously. Besides Aptheker, Meier and Rudwick, especially the former, are the first White historians to really specialize in African-American history. Together they have published and edited some of the most widely read studies in academic circles during the second half of the twentieth-century. To date they have written the most detailed study of the Black historical profession, an exhaustive, sophisticated study of the transformations in the Black historical profession from the founding of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History into the early 1980s.²⁵

²⁴Franklin, "On the Evolution Scholarship in Afro-American History," 13, 18.

Based upon a rich assortment of personal interviews and written correspondences with roughly two-hundred professional historians; personal papers from various archival and manuscript collections; unpublished papers, conference minutes, theses, and dissertations; and monographs, Meier and Rudwick attempted to explain how Black and White "professionally trained" Ph.D. holders with "a record of significant publications" since Carter G. Woodson became interested in Black history; how their personal backgrounds, values, and intellectual convictions influenced their scholarship; how their ideas changed over time; how the field was perceived by academic and social institutions, including philanthropists, for more than six decades; how historians wedded social and political activism with scholarship; and how twentieth-century race relations, Black consciousness movements, and general contours of American history transformed these various historians' identities, ideologies, expressions of activism, and scholarly output. From the outset of their study, unlike Thorpe, Quarles, and Franklin, they have limited their study to a certain brand of historians,

²⁵Meier has contributed a lot to Afro-American history as well. He traces his interest in Black America back to his parents, who were "radicals," and to his progressive education as a youth. In the early 1940s, he attended Oberlin College where he began his career as a civil rights activist. His first teaching job was at Tougaloo College, Mississippi. In 1949, he completed an M.A. thesis on Black nationalism before Garvey. Eight years later, he finished a Ph.D. dissertation, published in 1963 as Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915. From the 1960s through the 1980s, he published and edited many other studies in the field. Meier's scholarship went hand-in-hand with his connection of civil rights and social change. For instance, in the 1950s he joined Newark's NAACP and openly demanded Black equality while at Morgan State University. In the 1960s, he worked to desegregate the Southern Historical Association, joined the Civic Interest Group, participated in Baltimore sit-ins, attended SNCC conferences, and even successfully debated Malcolm X, he claimed. For additional information on Meier, see August Meier, A White Scholar and the Black Community, 1945-1965 (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992).

making it, in Thorpe's view, "elitist and wrong." After they became more involved with their research, the two realized and acknowledged that their chief concern was explaining how Black history "became legitimized into one of the liveliest and most active field of study in American history."²⁶ They were very much pre-occupied with determining how, when, and why the White academic establishment sanctioned Black history; what motivated White historians in the post-World War II era to delve into African American history; and with the contributions of, and problems faced by, these historians especially during the 1960s, 1970s, and early 1980s. Since they basically ignored the activities of Black historians outside of the "whitestream" academic world and the meaning of history to the Black community, their study often reads like a tribute to White historians who, after Woodson's reign, reformed the historical profession only to supposedly be victimized by Black Powerites and affirmative action policies.²⁷

While this focus on White historians of the Black experience does complement Thorpe's study, Meier and Rudwick viewed the motivations of White scholars as being much more complex than those of their Black counterparts. They seemed fascinated with the myriad of reasons why Whites decided to research Black American history in the 1950s and 1960s. They carefully outlined their personal histories and their political ideologies and those of their parents and even grandparents in some cases. At the same time, they reduced the motivating factors behind Black historians' struggles to the fact that by the 1920s Woodson had popularized Black history

²⁶Meier and Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980, xii.

²⁷Ibid., 161-238.

and made it "a viable enterprise." "As in previous decades, the blacks entering the ranks of publishing historians during the 1970s were more likely than the whites to have come from essentially non ideological backgrounds. For them," Meier and Rudwick continued, "racial concerns were rooted in intense and direct personal experience with prejudice and discrimination rather than deriving from a broad philosophy of social justice."²⁸ They implied that Black historical scholarship is homogenous and that Black historians were ideology-less. For them, Black historians' class, age, place of birth and residence, and other such factors were not important.

Nevertheless, their study is important in some respects. It is sub-divided into five essays which could each stand on their own. The opening chapter is on Woodson's work, the origins of the ASNLH, and Woodson's relationship with other Black scholars and historians, and philanthropists. The next two chapters, the bedrock of their study, focus upon the changes and "distinct patterns of socialization" that molded these historians' outlooks in five major eras including: "(1) from the ASNLH's founding into the 1930s; (2) the Roosevelt era of the New Deal and World War II; (3) the decade and a half between the war's end and the opening of the 'Civil Rights revolution' of the 1960s; (4) the brief phase of the black protest movement; and (5) the climax of the scholarship that followed, 1967-1980."²⁹ Meier and Rudwick pointed out the differences and similarities between Woodson and his "orbit seven black scholars;" explained how and why Black historians were systematically excluded from mainstream White historical societies and their organs well throughout the first half of the twentieth-century; highlighted those Euro-

²⁸Ibid., 186.

²⁹Ibid., 73.

American scholars, especially those of Jewish descent, who were drawn to Black history from the 1930s on; pin-pointed the dynamic, yet gradual, legitimizing process of Black history during the post World War II era, climaxing in the 1960s and 1970s; and discussed how and why the era of the Civil Rights movement and the Black Power movement ushered in so much productive scholarship.

Meier's and Rudwick's observations and speculations should raise the brow of Black historians. They claimed, for example, that during the 1950s and 1960s, Black history was legitimized and that "nearly all of the most influential books on black history or race relations . . . would be by white scholars."³⁰ This pre-occupation with the acceptance of Black history by the white academic culture is misleading and optimistic. Unlike Franklin, they did not consider that some White historians, as well as some Black historians, "rushed into the field to make a quick reputation as well as a quick buck."³¹

Furthermore, Meier and Rudwick's elitist approach does not consider the intriguing process by which Black history became legitimated within the Black community. Either they did not find this relevant to their study or they assumed that all "Negroes"—as they refer to Black people throughout the text—automatically accepted Black history, regardless of their class, generational affiliation, place of residence, or gender. Their belief that Black History was accepted by academe by the 1960s and 1970s, especially in light of more recent developments, seems naive. The motivations behind why colleges and universities throughout the nation began infusing, or segregating, Black

³⁰Ibid., 123.

³¹John Hope Franklin, "On the Evolution of Afro-American History," 20.

history and Black Studies within their curriculums deserves further elaboration and scrutiny. At the same time, their multi-tiered explanation for why and how Black History may have become fashionable by the time Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated is sophisticated and provocative.

The last two chapters address the debates and intellectual exchanges amongst scholars interested in slavery studies from the 1930s through the 1970s, the "tension between advocacy and scholarship" especially with Black scholars, and the "insider-outsider" controversy. Their research suggested that slavery studies involved constant ideological battles. According to Meier and Rudwick, in responding to Elkins' 1959 study, nearly all of the slave culture-and-community scholars supposedly developed and "crystallized" their own progressive ideas in a vacuum and somehow simultaneously came to the same conclusions. "The burden of our argument is that the emergence of an interpretive consensus on slave life and behavior arose not from the influence of one or two seminal volumes," Meier and Rudwick argued, "but from the way in which various scholars, each interacting in his own manner with a larger social and intellectual milieu, simultaneously but autonomously arrived at conclusions that at a descriptive level had a great deal in common." They argued that this unity in thought constituted one of the first, major, "genuine" paradigms in African-American historical scholarship.³²

The final and most problematic chapter concerns the supposed major dilemmas encountered by all those who study and write about Black history. Meier and Rudwick explored the various approaches of scholars since Du Bois and in their trademark way applauded the "scholarly detachment"

³²Meier and Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980, 247, 274.

exhibited by Benjamin Quarles, John Hope Franklin, Thomas Holt, and others. At the same time, they belittled Sterling Stuckey's and Vincent Harding's nationalist interpretations of history. Their coverage of the controversies about who should teach Black history in the Black Power era did not seek to better understand Blacks' quest for power, but instead sympathized with the liberal Whites whom radical Blacks indicted. They applauded the decline in the "separatist-nationalist" school and welcomed the less threatening "new generation of black historians." They implied that the "separatist-nationalists" did not make any important contributions and then proceeded to ignore Afrocentrism. They claimed that by the 1980s, nationalist tones disappeared and that "virtually all publishing historians in the field now agree that both whites and blacks have contributions to make to Afro-American scholarship." They failed to recognize that there was another issue at hand. Since the reign of Woodson, Black historians have acknowledged the work of White scholars who were producing this type of scholarship. Herbert Aptheker, for instance, did not receive a lot of opposition from his Black counterparts, except from Harold Cruse.³³ By the Black Power era, young Black intellectuals were more concerned with who was controlling the dissemination of knowledge on Blacks at leading universities and at leading presses. By the late 1960s, they had a better opportunity to challenge those who for so long had dominated the field in the "whitestream" academy. This is the real heart of the transformation of the period from 1965 until 1975.³⁴

³³Harold Cruse, The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual (New York: Quill, 1984), 147.

³⁴Meier and Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980, 283, 293, 294.

The final chapter is their most ideologically charged. Their main goal was straightforward: to downplay the role of the nationalist leanings of Black history. While they acknowledged that the Black Power era was responsible for the "institutionalization of black history as an academic specialty," they insisted that Whites made the most important scholarly contributions to the field. They failed to question why Whites published "all the prize-winning monographs." While they spent a great deal of time unveiling the racism of American historical societies through the World War II era, they assumed that racism within the academy and publishing world simply disappeared by the mid-1970s.³⁵

All in all, Meier and Rudwick's study is the most comprehensive examination of the Black historical profession. While they ignored many important Black historians who Thorpe, Quarles, and Franklin would have added to their list, Meier and Rudwick raised an assortment of important issues. Any historiographer who attempts to supersede this effort will need to consider many of their theories and arguments very carefully and critically. I do not predict a more comprehensive, challenging study of this sort being published within the next several decades or more.

Why did Meier and Rudwick publish such a provocative and exhaustive study? They credit David Levering Lewis with sparking their interest. Lewis probably saw them as being best qualified for such an undertaking for several reasons. Both historians had been researching Black history for more than half a century combined when the book was published. As indicated by the receptiveness of the interviewees, they were respected by many in the field. Only four individuals they contacted refused to be interviewed. Dozens of

³⁵Ibid., 277-308.

scholars also supplied them with indispensable sources, materials, and leads, and a handful of librarians and archivists greatly assisted them in locating and obtaining important documents. Lorenzo Greene, for instance, let them have access to his, at the time, unpublished diary. Others may not have been as successful in getting such candid responses and resources. As middle men, historians accepted by the white academic establishment and respected by various Black historians, they were in a key strategic position to conduct such a study. And, of course, they received adequate funding and support from the Kent State University Office of Research and Sponsored Programs and the Rockefeller Research Center.

No major assessment of Black historians has been published since Meier's and Rudwick's study. Many have, however, contributed to this field. For one, a handful of monographs have been published on particular Black historians. In 1988, Meier published a study on Benjamin Quarles which included a brief introduction of the long time Morgan State University professor followed by a collection of his major articles. Meier described Quarles' vision of history as being reformist due to his coming of age during the 1930s; as being different from Woodson's scholarship by stressing Black people in a collective sense; and as being void of overt race pride and detached. Quarles, Meier noted, was also not "at the center of any significant historical debates" mainly because his scholarship was so sound and because he worked very hard not to offend his colleagues.³⁶

A year after Black Mosaic appeared, Elinor Des Verney Sinnette published "an unabashed tribute" to Arthur Alfonso Schomburg (1874-1938). According to Sinnette, Schomburg had been ignored by historians.

³⁶August Meier, Black Mosaic: Essays in Afro-American History and Historiography (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988).

Information about Schomburg's life, she lamented, was lacking especially since "a considerable number of his personal papers were destroyed after his death when his Brooklyn home was rented." Drawing from papers lent to her by Schomburg's daughter, the Schomburg Papers at the Schomburg Center, the papers of his colleagues and close friends, and from interviews with his friends and family, Sinnette chronicled Schomburg's life and work. She noted that Schomburg was very unique in that after migrating to New York from Puerto Rico in April of 1891 and briefly dabbling in revolutionary Puerto Rican politics, he assimilated into the Black intellectual community. According to Sinnette, Schomburg was different from other members of the Black intelligentsia because he was a self-taught historian, bibliophile, and collector who had a nose for locating all types of documents relating to Africa's descendants. Sinnette explored his various publications in Crisis, Opportunity, and the Negro World; his relationships with leading historians and Harlem Renaissance movers and shakers; the details of the sale of his collection to the New York Public Library between May of 1926 and January, 1927; his experiences at Fisk University in the late 1920s; and his role as a community activist and as an adult educator at the New York Public Library. Sinnette's biography is, at bottom, a tribute void of major critiques of the self-taught bibliophile. Her major criticism of her mentor was that he did not obtain a basic, formal education and, therefore, had "a fundamental incapacity to undertake a vigorous analysis of societal phenomena and to synthesize seemingly disparate events into historical writing."³⁷

³⁷Elinor Des Verney Sinnette, Arthur Alfonso Schomburg: Black Bibliophile and Collector. A Biography (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1989), 32, 196. There are other studies which deal with Schomburg and the lives and work of Black bibliophiles and collectors. See, James Egert Allen,

In the same year that Sinnette's study appeared, Arvah E. Strickland published Lorenzo Greene's diary highlighting his experiences "working with Carter G. Woodson" from 1928 until 1930. Strickland's brief "Editor's Introduction" baits us to further investigate this Connecticut born historian. Beyond recognizing his function as a popularizer of Black history and his scholarly work with the Association, Strickland noted in passing that Greene was a political and social activist. Such information should spark historians to delve into these aspects of his life. It in part ignited my interest in exploring his life and work.³⁸

Rayford W. Logan is the other historian of Woodson's circle to have received attention in a monograph-length study. Drawing upon information primarily from Logan's diaries and his papers housed at Howard University's Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Kenneth Robert Janken has chronicled Logan's life from his birth in January of 1897 until his death in November of 1982. He probed into the dynamics of his life as an intellectual and scholar, a Pan-Africanist, a civil rights activist, a politicker, and as a socializer of the Black bourgeois. For Janken, Logan's life serves as an "excellent perch from which to observe and analyze the intellectual and social history of the African-American elite--what Du Bois called the Talented Tenth--during

The Legend of Arthur A. Schomburg (Cambridge: Danterr Publishing Company, 1975); Elinor Des Verney Sinnette, W. Paul Coates, and Thomas C. Battle, editors, Black Bibliophiles and Collectors: Preservers of Black History (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1990); and Ricardo E. Alegria, Arturo Schomburg: Un Puertorriqueno Descubre El Legado Historico Del Negro (San Juan: Centro de Estudios Avanzados, 1989).

³⁸Arvah E. Strickland, Working with Carter G. Woodson, the Father of Black History: A Diary, 1928-1930, Lorenzo J. Greene (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), xxxi. Seven years later Strickland the second volume of Greene's diary. See Strickland, editor, Selling Black History for Carter G. Woodson: A Diary, 1930-1933, By Lorenzo J. Greene (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996).

more than half of the twentieth-century." Janken's study explores how one Black historian was molded by, and molded, the various times in which he existed. Logan's life as an intellectual was, Janken stressed, intimately linked with his life as a social-political activist.³⁹

Janken's study of Logan provides insightful historical commentaries of those many organizations and institutions with which he was associated including Washington D.C.'s famous M Street high School, Williams College, the National Guards during World War I, Virginia Union University, Harvard University, the Pan-African Congresses/Conferences from the 1920s through the 1940s, the ASNLH, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity, Howard University, the New Deal Administration, the Committee for the Participation of Negroes in the National Defense Program, the 1941 March on Washington, the Office of the Coordinator of International American Affairs, the Committee on Africa, the War, and Peace, UNESCO, the NAACP, and the Cosmos Club. Janken also chronicled Logan's relationships with leading members of the African-American intelligentsia. Logan joined so many organizations and had run-ins with so many Black intellectuals and White philanthropists because he was perhaps more like Woodson than he, or Janken, would have liked to admit. The author of The Nadir was a lonely "maverick," one who spoke his mind at all times, and one who refused to compromise his convictions. Much of his life was spent in alienation. Janken's study is strong in paying close attention to Logan's life as an intellectual, a scholar, and as a political activist. Janken's focus on Logan as an almost flawless political activist, however, takes away from the human side of Logan.

³⁹Janken, Rayford W. Logan and the Dilemma of the African-American Intellectual, vii.

More micro-studies like Franklin's, Goggin's, and Janken's need to be published and more historians need to follow Meier's and Strickland's leads in compiling the classic scholarship and personal reflections of important Black historians. An anthology of excerpts from the key works of Black historians from the Antebellum era until the present, along with detailed introductions, is long overdue.

In the 1980s and the current decade another genre of scholarship on Black historians has emerged. Renown Black historians, such as John Hope Franklin, Darlene Clark Hine, and David Levering Lewis, have published their own reminiscences explaining where they fit in the genealogy of Black historians; how they interpret the trends, tendencies, and changes of their profession and those in American and African American history; and what they perceive as being the greatest needs for their profession and discipline.⁴⁰

How have Black historians been portrayed in American popular culture? Until the Civil Rights era and the Black Power movement, Black historians were the victims of "academic apartheid." Even in the past three decades, Black historians, especially Black female historians, have faced great problems in gaining recognition. In 1926, Woodson was mentioned in Time and twenty-four years later a few national papers may have noted his death. But, overall he was ignored by the White public. Most national newspaper's coverage of Black historians since Woodson's death have been very sparse.

⁴⁰For some of these discussions, see John Hope Franklin, Race and History: Selected Essays, 1938-1988 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), Paul Cimbala and Robert F. Himmelberg, editors, Historians and Race: Autobiography and the Written of History (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), and "Darlene Clark Hine" in Roger Adelson, editor, Speaking of History: Conversation with Historians (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1997), 105-123.

John Hope Franklin has received great attention from the White popular media, more attention than all Black historians have combined. Franklin, born in rural Oklahoma in 1915, completed his dissertation at Harvard in Southern history under the guidance of Arthur Schlesinger, Sr. in 1941. Six years later he published From Slavery to Freedom, a text book-like history of Black history which was well-received by the academic community. Because of his objective, non-emotional style, Franklin was among the first Black historians to be accepted by the White historical profession. In 1948, he became one of the first Blacks to serve as a commentator at an American Historical Association session. Then, in 1949, he became the first Black to participate at the Southern Historical Association's meeting. Several years later he was the first Black to participate in the Mississippi Valley Historical Association's annual program. "By the early 1950s he would also be accepting invitations for visiting professorships at Harvard, Wisconsin, Cornell, and Berkeley."⁴¹ In 1956, he was elected chairman of the history department at Brooklyn College. A decade later, he was the first African-American to serve on the editorial board of a major American historical journal.

Franklin's accomplishments occurred in an era of pervasive White racism. "I could not have avoided being a social activist even if I had wanted to," an aged Franklin remembered.⁴² He participated in the desegregation of the University of Kentucky graduate school, worked with Thurgood Marshall, and joined MLK, Jr.'s Selma March. Despite Franklin's devotion to Black equality, he did not, and still does not I reckon, deem himself primarily a

⁴¹Meier and Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980, 121.

⁴²John Hope Franklin, Race and History: Selected Essays, 1938-1988 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 286.

recorder of the Black past. Throughout his long career, he has taught at many universities; he has published more than a dozen monographs and countless articles; and he has edited nearly a dozen anthologies and/or reprinted books dealing with the Black experience.

Since the 1980s, Franklin has been a topic of concern in the Black and White American scholarly and popular media. From 1984 until the present, articles about him have appeared in Black Issues of Higher Education, Iet, Southern Living, The Times of Higher Education Supplement, Congressional Quarterly, University of Chicago Magazine, the New York Times Biographical Service, and other journals and newspapers. In 1990 during Black History Month, Ebony spotlighted Franklin's scholarly productivity, his longevity, and his integrationist philosophy of Black history. Many different photos of Franklin were set in between the text and the author also mentioned the more human side of Franklin, like his "dreadful sense of direction," his love of traveling, his love for fishing, and his expertise in caring for orchids.⁴³

In September of the same year, he was featured in various White American mainstream media forums. According to Alvin P. Sanoff of U.S. News and World Report, "it was Franklin, more than any other scholar, who legitimized Afro-American history in the academic world." Sanoff added that From Slavery to Freedom was the "first systematic modern survey to present Blacks as full participants in the nation's development." The remainder of the article reviewed Franklin's other scholarship. There was no mention of Woodson or other pioneering Black historians and the author applauded Franklin for not injecting "polemics and diatribes" into his scholarship, for being a "steadfast integrationist" who, in the words of C.

⁴³Charles Whitaker, "50 Years of Exploring the Past: The Unfinished history of John Hope Franklin," Ebony 45 (February, 1990): 17-20.

Vann Woodward, "has never bowed to the pressure and fashion and propaganda of black nationalism."⁴⁴

Franklin's presence in the American mainstream media has increased during the last several years. In June of 1997, he was named head of Clinton's seven member national advisory board on race. In a fairly long three page article in The Washington Post, Franklin is praised. Journalist Paul Hendrickson declared that Franklin is "the man who defined the genre of Black history" and "the pre-eminent historian of race in our century." Henry Louis Gates Jr. is quoted as saying that Franklin created a Black historical tradition, that he defined a genre, and that From Slavery to Freedom is the "Moby Dick of African American history." Hendrickson gives Franklin more credit than Woodson and Du Bois in a very misleading manner. "W.E.B. Du Bois and Carter Woodson, to name only two, were there, in African-American scholarship, ahead of Franklin. But Franklin's legacy is that he was able to turn the whole panoramic canvas of African-American study into something highly professional and sophisticated. A discipline."⁴⁵

⁴⁴Alvin P. Sanoff, U.S. News and World Report 109 (September 17, 1990): 52-53.

⁴⁵Paul Hendrickson, "John Hope Franklin: In the Hothouse of History," The Washington Post, August 6, 1997.

PART TWO
CARTER G. WOODSON RECONSIDERED

CHAPTER III

CARTER G. WOODSON: THE MAKINGS OF A SCHOLAR AND HISTORIAN, 1875-1922

Carter G. Woodson was born in New Canton, Virginia on 19 December 1875. He was a child of the "nadir" of Black life. Both of Woodson's parents were former slaves and shared with him first hand stories of life during slavery. James Henry, for example, told his son how he had physically overpowered his master to take his freedom. He instilled within his son a sense of rebelliousness. Later in his life, Woodson commented that such accounts sparked his later interest in documenting the stories of ex-slaves. He came from a large family, nine children in total. Woodson's literate mother, Anne Eliza (Riddle), and his father instilled "high morality," "a strong character," and a "thirst for education" in their children. In 1932, Woodson recounted that his father raised him never to accept insult, compromise his principles, mislead his fellowman, or to betray his people. Woodson's father taught his children to "be polite to everyone," but insisted that they demand the "recognition as a human being." He also instilled his children with race pride and racial solidarity. "Do not do for the traducer of the race anything he will not do for you," he told his children.¹

A year before Woodson's birth, his parents settled in New Canton, buying a farm of twenty-one acres. As a child, Woodson grew up on his father's farm and like nearly every Black school-goer attended school for four months out of the year. His family had to work hard in order to make ends meet. He worked on the family farm until he was about fifteen, then he secured a job

¹Sister Anthony Scally, Carter G. Woodson: A Bio-Bibliography, 3-5; Goggin, Carter G. Woodson, 3.

as a farm laborer and a jack-of-all-trades in Buckingham County, Virginia. Two years later, Woodson moved to Fayette County, West Virginia to work in the coal mines.²

Looking back on his life in his late sixties, Woodson described this period as very significant to his intellectual development. In the coal mines, he met a Civil War veteran named Oliver Jones. "He was well educated," Woodson recalled, "but could neither read nor write." Jones allowed many of the coal miners to use his home as a center for social interaction and political discourse. Being the sole literate worker of the group, Woodson read newspapers to his co-workers as he had done and would later continue to do for his father. Jones also possessed a valuable library containing classic works by pioneering vindicationist scholars. George Washington Williams', J.T. Wilson's, and W.J. Simmons' works on Blacks during the Civil War were among the most inspiring. Woodson credited Jones with igniting his interest in research. "I learned so much because of the more extensive reading required by him [Jones] than I probably would have undertaken for my own benefit," Woodson recounted, "my interest in penetrating the past of my people was deepened and intensified." The years in the coal mines also inevitably reinforced the value of hard work in Woodson's mind. In his late teens, Woodson was a budding thinker who was not opposed to working with his hands.³

At the age of twenty, around the time when W.E.B. Du Bois finished his Ph.D. dissertation at Harvard, Woodson returned to West Virginia and

²Goggin, Carter G. Woodson, 10-11.

³Woodson, "My Recollections of Veterans of the Civil War," Negro History Bulletin 7 (February 1944): 116.

decided to attend Frederick Douglass High School, for which he would later serve as principal from 1900-1903. It only took him two years to finish the requirements for graduation. In the fall of 1897, he then ventured to Berea College in Kentucky. It took him more than five years to receive a B.A. from Berea because he was searching for his purpose in life and devoting his energies to the uplifting of the race. For financial reasons, he left Berea in the 1897-98 academic year. From 1898 until 1900, he became a teacher for Winona, West Virginia where he educated the children of Black miners. Based upon an amendment in the West Virginia constitution, by 1899 the opportunities for ordinary Blacks to attend basic schools increased. In 1922, Woodson remarked that Black West Virginians became excited in education during his teaching days in Winona, that "often Negro children in groups of only four or five were thus trained in the backward districts, where they received sufficient inspiration to come to larger schools for more systematic training."⁴ Woodson was one of those teachers who helped inspire this thirst for learning. This work was an extension of the services he provided for his co-workers in the Fayette County coal mines. From 1900 until 1903, he returned to his high school alma mater and became a history teacher and the principal. Woodson was in his mid-late twenties and already the principal of a high school. No doubt, he drew upon these administrative experiences later in launching and running the ASNLH. Woodson also remained close to his parents during these years. He helped his folks around the house and eagerly received the family's oral traditions.

Woodson managed to receive a Bachelors degree in Literature from Berea in 1903. From mid December of 1903 until early February of 1907, Woodson

⁴Carter G. Woodson, "Early Education in West Virginia," INH, 7 (1922): 27.

traveled abroad extensively. For roughly five years under the auspices of the United States War Department, he went to the Philippines "to train the Filipinos to govern themselves," teaching English, health, and agricultural classes. He first arrived in Manila sometime in late December of 1903. He was first assigned to work in a country town in Nueva Ecija Province "among simple people tilling the soil and growing crops." In June, he was reassigned to another province, Pangasinan, where he trained Filipino teachers. He enjoyed this work very much and remained there until he resigned due to sickness early in 1907.⁵

Woodson did not talk about his experiences in the Philippines extensively. His most detailed account is in The Mis-Education of the Negro. Woodson believed that the best way to educate the Filipinos was based upon their own history and culture. It seems that Woodson applied his early philosophy of using Black history as a source of pride to the conditions of natives of the Philippines. After leaving the Philippines in early 1907, Woodson briefly traveled around the world and spent roughly half of a year in Europe. He briefly attended the Sorbonne. There he studied European history which helped widen his scope of knowledge preparing him for the University of Chicago, Harvard, and later for the writing of Journal reviews dealing with European subject matter. Woodson returned to the U.S. in 1907. "When Woodson stopped to visit his family in Huntington before returning to the University of Chicago, the black citizens of the town greeted him as a celebrity because he had been 'around the world.'"⁶ He enrolled in the University of

⁵Sister Anthony Scally, "The Philippines Challenge," NHB 44 (1981): 16-18.

⁶Scally, Carter G. Woodson, 7.

Chicago and it only took Woodson one year to receive the M.A. degree in History, Romance languages, and Literature in the summer of 1908. His thesis, "The German Policy of France in the War of the Austrian Succession," was fifty pages long with a very detailed table of contents. He used more than a dozen secondary sources and three original sources, two of which were in French. This study seems to have followed the general format of the times. Woodson spent the 1908-1909 academic year at Harvard University pursuing a Ph.D. in history. He had planned to return to the Philippines in the fall of 1908 and later in the summer of 1909. His stomach trouble, which remained with him throughout his later years, prevented him from returning.⁷

By 1909, he left Cambridge and he settled down in the Washington, D.C. area and still pursued the Ph.D. degree. For Woodson to have received a Ph.D. from Harvard in four years is remarkable. During his Ph.D. studies he taught French, Spanish, English, and History at M Street High School. Woodson not only needed the extra financial support, but he was equally devoted to the teaching profession. M Street, founded in 1870 as the Preparatory High School for Colored Youth, was recognized as being one of the most prestigious public schools for Blacks and, according to one historian, "one of the best high schools in the country, period." M Street High School, later known as Dunbar, was a training center for the Black elite. While Woodson himself hailed from a humble, Southern, working-class family, most of Dunbar's students came from the ranks of Washington's Black middle-class and bourgeoisie elite. The students were taught by some of the leading Black intellectuals of the time. From the turn of the century until the first several decades of the 1900s, Dunbar's faculty included intellectual

⁷Ibid.

powerhouses like the Terrells, Jesse Fauset, Angelina Grimke, Anna Julia Cooper, and Kelly Miller. Many important Black leaders also graduated from Dunbar. Its courses were rigorous and implicit in their philosophy was working hard, finding "a way," and uplifting the Black community.⁸

His former students remembered him as being a serious, devoted teacher. W. Montague Cobb, former Distinguished Professor of Anatomy at Howard University who was a freshman at M Street in 1917, remembered the respect Woodson received. When Dr. Woodson stood in the hallway while students changed classes, "the quiet, unsmiling dignity of his figure commanded good order," Cobb continued, "His erect carriage, broad shoulders and sturdy chest, . . . indicated the strength that carried him through his long career." Rayford W. Logan, who attended M Street from 1909 until 1913 and took French Literature taught in English from Woodson during his senior year, he remembered him as being a "serious, stern, almost dour disciplinarian." Logan did not, however, recall Woodson discussing Black history in this class or while he was at M Street.⁹ During his first several years in D.C., Woodson did find some outlets for his beliefs in Black equality in social, political, and scholarly terms. He joined the NAACP, the Committee of 200, and the prestigious Epsilon Boule, Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity.¹⁰

⁸For a brief historical account of M Street, see Kenneth Robert Janken, Rayford W. Logan and the Dilemma of the African-American Intellectual, 18-24; Mary Gibson Hundley, The Dunbar Story (New York: Vantage Press, 1965).

⁹W. Montague Cobb, "Carter G. Woodson," NHB 36 (November 1973): 153; Rayford W. Logan, "Carter G. Woodson: Mirror and Molder of His Time, 1875-1950," INH 58 (January 1973): 8-9.

¹⁰For a discussion of Woodson's role in these organizations, see Goggin, Carter G. Woodson, 140-179.

One key reason why Woodson left Cambridge after one year of study was because at Harvard, as at nearly all White colleges and universities of the time, Black history was not taken seriously. In fact, professors in the history department probably shared Albert Bushnell Hart's belief that Blacks were inferior to Whites. Woodson's first advisor at Harvard was Edward Channing. After having some conflicts with him, Hart, Du Bois' former advisor, became his advisor. Woodson finished his course work in less than two years and submitted the first draft of his dissertation in the spring of 1910. His committee, consisting of Hart, Channing, and Charles Haskins, made many suggestions for revision. By January of 1911, he finished the revised draft. In the meantime, however, he faced many problems. In the spring of 1911, Woodson failed his comprehensive in American History. He did not pass it until nearly a year later in April of 1912. In the same year, Woodson completed his Ph.D. dissertation, entitled "The Disruption of Virginia." Unlike many of his protégés, Woodson never published his dissertation and it did not center around Black America. Woodson's study was worthy of publication, but he did not receive the necessary support.¹¹

Scholars have offered many different explanations as to why Woodson decided to devote his life to the study and promotion of Black history. According to one of Woodson's protégés, his experiences at Harvard fueled his desire to highlight Black America's contributions to civilization. It was at Harvard, Woodson told Lorenzo Johnston Greene, where he received, "in a negative way, the inspiration for life's work." While attending one of Channing's classes, "he listened in amazement at the eminent Professor who told the class that the Negro had no history." Woodson told Greene that he

¹¹For the most thorough discussion of Woodson's years at Harvard University, see Goggin, Carter G. Woodson, 20-27.

challenged Channing and declared that "no people lacked a history." According to Greene's account, Channing then told Woodson to prove him wrong. Woodson then "accepted the challenge" and "resolved to ascertain whether he or Channing was correct."¹²

After four years of study at one of America's most prestigious universities, Woodson had received a Ph.D. in 1912 and became the second Black to receive a Ph.D. in history from Harvard University. Woodson thus became the second professionally-trained historian.

For almost two decades after the publication of his Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870, Du Bois was the only formally trained Black historian. Before the founding of the ASNLH in 1915, his major contributions to Black history included his dissertation on the slave trade, The Philadelphia Negro, brief commentaries in The Souls of Black Folk, a historical biography of John Brown, and his work for the Atlanta University publications. In 1915, Du Bois also published a popular history of Blacks, The Negro. What distinguished Du Bois from his predecessors was his refined scientific approach. Along with members of the American Negro Academy, Du Bois's vision of history went far beyond heroic biographical sketches. He meshed scientific methods of sociology with history. He did not interpret the so-called "Negro Problem" strictly as a moral and ethical problem. Instead, he perceived it as a structural problem deeply rooted in America's social, political, and economic foundations. Nearly all of Du Bois' social scientific and creative prose were rooted in history. "It was along history's pathway that he made his literary route to the present and future," Charles H. Wesley declared in paying homage to Du

¹²Lorenzo Johnston Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson: The Man As I Knew Him," unpublished papers, no date, circa 1965-1980s.

Bois.¹³ Another scholar has recently noted that as an historian Du Bois was a radical revisionist, a pluralist, and a pioneer in forging "an African-American counter-memory."¹⁴

Du Bois' and Woodson's accomplishments were exceptional, qualifying the former as the "father of African-American intelligentsia" and the latter as "the Father of Negro History." Neither Du Bois nor Woodson were the first Black historians, however. Black America's earliest historians emerged in the dawning of the nineteenth-century.¹⁵

In the Antebellum era, a cadre of Black leaders, abolitionists, journalists, self-taught scholars and historians, and members of the elite vanguard debunked the widely-held notion that Blacks had no history. These spokespersons, such as William Cooper Nell, Maria Stewart, the editors of the Freedom's Journal, James Forten, Paul Cuffee, Prince Saunders, Robert Benjamin Lewis, James W.C. Pennington, James Theodore Holly, William Wells Brown, and Martin R. Delany challenged ideological white supremacy; demonstrated the "unity of humankind;" and had the more important task of providing their Black readership and audiences with racial pride and self-esteem. Black historians of the Antebellum era often embraced the ideas of

¹³Charles H. Wesley, "W.E.B. Du Bois: The Historian," in Black Titan: W.E.B. Du Bois, An Anthology by the Editors of Freedomways (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970), 82.

¹⁴David W. Blight, "W.E.B. Du Bois and the Struggle for American Historical Memory," in Genevieve Fabre and Robert O'Meally, editors, History and Memory in African-American Culture (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 45-71.

¹⁵Earl E. Thorpe, Black Historians: A Critique (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1971), 27-43; Benjamin Quarles, "Black History's Antebellum Origins," American Antiquarian Society 89 (1979): 89-122.

the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. Their writings were non-analytical narratives and simple portraits of Black achievement. They drew their heroic stories and inspiration from the Bible, Ancient Egypt, Toussaint L'Ouverture and the independence of Haiti in 1804, rebels in the tradition of Nat Turner, and from the accomplishments of early Black intellectuals like Benjamin Banneker and Phillis Wheatley. Though they did not create exceptional histories, a great historian, or even concrete scientific researching methodologies as we refer to them today, the Antebellum authors of Black history set the stage for the succeeding generations of scholars. Their determination to vindicate the race while boosting their people's self-esteem is their most enduring legacy.¹⁶

Following the Civil War until the publication of Du Bois' Harvard Ph.D. dissertation, Black historians were concerned with justifying emancipation. In celebrating their race's achievements, writers like William Still, Joseph T. Wilson continued to draw upon Christian teachings and employed more scientific approaches. The most celebrated nineteenth-century Black historian before Du Bois was George Washington Williams (1849-1891).¹⁷ By his early

¹⁶For a more critical view of Antebellum Black historians, see Clarence E. Walker, Deromanticizing Black History: Critical Essays and Appraisals (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 87-107.

¹⁷Williams was born of free parentage in Pennsylvania on October 16, 1849. As a youth he acquired a scant education. In 1864, he entered the Civil War. He then enlisted in the regular army in late August of 1867, but was discharged in September of 1868 after a fatal gun shot wound to his lung. After unsuccessfully applying to Howard in 1869, he attended Newton Theological Institution near Boston from 1869 until 1874. Here he began researching the historical role of the Black soldier. Following his graduation, he became an ordained minister at Boston's Twelfth Baptist Church. Among his first tasks was writing a history of the church. From 1876-1877, he was a minister at Union Baptist Church in Cincinnati. In the late 1870s, politics became his new focus.

thirties, the history of his race became his most serious passion. In 1882, Williams published the first major history of Black America, History of the Negro Race from 1619 to 1880. He distinguished himself from his predecessors by embracing a more scientific, objective approach. "Williams, at age thirty-three years of age and without formal training in the field of history, had achieved what no other Afro-American had achieved and indeed what no other person had ever achieved." John Hope Franklin continued, "He provided a sustained, coherent account of the experience of the Negro people. And, anxious to be judged by the most exalting critics, he was quite ready to see what others would say about his work."¹⁸

Clearly, by the time Woodson had received a Ph.D. in 1912, there was an identifiable body of Black scholars chronicling his people's past and referring to themselves as their people's historians. Woodson, however, distinguished himself from his predecessors by founding a tradition of Black history in the academy and in the homes and institutions of ordinary Black folks.

The mid to late 1910s were vital years in Woodson's life. After receiving the Ph.D., Woodson continued to live in Washington, teaching at M Street. In 1914, he was elected to become a member of the elite American Negro Academy. Though Woodson was most active in attempting the reform the organization in the early 1920s, he did participate in the organization in earlier years. In December of 1914, for instance, he presented a paper at the Eighteenth Annual Meeting entitled "Educating the Negro Before 1860" and several years later he spoke on "Anti-Slavery Agitation Prior to the Advent of

¹⁸See, John Hope Franklin, George Washington Williams: A Biography (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985), 125.

Douglass." None of Woodson's papers were ever published by the Academy.¹⁹

In the spring of 1915, at the age of forty Woodson published his first monograph, The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861, a densely footnoted monograph which he had worked on during and following his Ph.D. work. When Woodson started this study, he had intended to research the education of Blacks until 1915. After beginning his research, he realized that there was an adequate amount of materials covering the years through 1861. According to one historian, The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861 was one of Woodson's "most scholarly from the standpoint of documentation and general objectivity." Woodson analyzed the education of Blacks in the Antebellum era in two major periods: the introduction of slavery to 1835 and 1836 through about 1861. One of the author's major observations was that the disappearance of the education of Blacks, free and enslaved, during the second period was due to the Industrial Revolution and "an insurrectionary spirit among slaves." Woodson observed that the Industrial Revolution in Europe demanded that the U.S. produce more cotton. In turn, he noted that plantation owners feared that their slaves would become "dangerous" to this new system if educated. Woodson posited that with the rise of this system, "the helpful contact of the slaves with the masters" ended. "Slavery was thereby changed from a patriarchal to an economic institution." Following many Black insurrections, Woodson added that "Southerners of all types" attacked educated Blacks. The history of Blacks and education during a great

¹⁹Scally, Carter G. Woodson, 8. Had Woodson not founded the ASNLH in 1915, it is very likely that he may have taken a more leading role in the ANA from 1914 until its demise. For Woodson's role in the ANA, see Alfred Moss, The American Negro Academy, 230-236.

portion of the nineteenth-century is largely a story of the "reactionary" tendencies of Whites to Blacks' struggles for education, Woodson observed. Woodson's first book was reviewed in more than a dozen journals. Many of the most positive reviews came from the pens of White scholars. They were mainly impressed by the amount of meticulous research Woodson had done.²⁰

In the fall of this same year, along with George Cleveland Hall, James E. Stamps, and Alexander L. Jackson, Woodson founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. In the tradition of the American Negro Academy, they made their goal to be the collection and dissemination of the truth regarding African-American history. They resolved that they would promote Black history. Roughly a year later, Woodson single-handedly launched the first issue of the Journal of Negro History. The next year, in 1917, the ASNLH held its first annual meeting.

While still a teacher at Armstrong Manual Training School, he published his second major monograph, A Century of Negro Migration (1918). This study was more radical in tone than was his first monograph perhaps since it was published by the Association several years after he had founded it and after he had successfully launched the Journal. The purpose of this study was simple: to explore, in laymen's terms, the chief reasons why Black Americans "have struggled under adverse circumstances to flee from bondage and oppression in quest of a land offering asylum to the oppressed and opportunity to the unfortunate." Foreshadowing migration studies of the

²⁰Carter G. Woodson, The Education of the Prior to 1861 (New York: A & B Books Publishers, no date), "Preface," 152-153; Thorpe, Black Historians, 118.

1980s and 1990s, Woodson argued that from the Civil War through 1918, migration was a "form of resistance to racial and class oppression." This study was much more political in tone than Woodson's previous work. For instance, at a time when Blacks were being lynched in great numbers, he brought charges against White Southerners for the "barbarism" of their culture. For Woodson, one of the greatest dilemmas of migration was the exodus of the educated Black from the South. "The Southern Negroes," he declared, "have been robbed of their due part of the talented tenth." He understood why Black intellectuals left the South, but at the same time he wanted them to stay connected to the masses.²¹

A substantial part of Woodson's study was aimed at dispelling the myths surrounding the migration of Blacks during World War I. Woodson did not offer a monocausal explanation, but instead offered a range of possibilities. In his view, Blacks of various classes, from the "Talented Tenth" to "intelligent laboring classes," left and were leaving the South because they were violently terrorized, oppressed in political, social, and economic arenas, and because of various environmentally linked problems. Towards the conclusion of this study, Woodson also predicted that race riots would take place in America as the migration of Black people from the South continued.²²

In 1918 Woodson became the principal of Armstrong Manual Training School, Washington, D.C. where he advocated vocational and classical education. Like Booker T. Washington, he also inaugurated an adult

²¹Carter G. Woodson, A Century of Negro Migration (Washington, D.C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1918), v, 165; Goggin, Carter G. Woodson.

²²Carter G. Woodson, A Century of Negro Migration.

education program. From 1919 until 1920, he served as the Dean of Howard University's School of Liberal Arts. He also introduced and taught Black history at Howard. He was known amongst students for his seriousness and high expectations. Woodson did not see eye to eye with the White dominated administration and left after one year of work. Many of his indictments of Black colleges in The Mis-Education originated from his experiences at Howard. From 1920 until 1922, he served as a Dean at West Virginia Collegiate Institute, the place where Woodson's protégé, Luther Porter Jackson, would later work tirelessly to place the Association on the national map and popularize Black history. In the year he was appointed Dean, Woodson joined the Friends of Negro Freedom, an organization which stressed alleviating the economic problems facing Black America founded by Chandler Owens and A. Philip Randolph. While he was Dean, he also published his third major monograph, The History of the Negro Church (1921).²³

Woodson advertised this study as the first serious historical study on the Black church. He explored what he deemed "the greatest asset of the race" from the times when missionaries first converted Blacks until the Black church of the early twentieth-century. The Association founder stressed that the Black church and religion was a central cornerstone of Black American culture. He argued that the largest factor in the uplift of his people was to come from the ministry. The History of the Negro Church represents a significant shift in Woodson's scholarship. It is the first of his published monographs which is devoid of documentation and even a bibliography.

²³For a more detailed discussion of these aspects of Woodson's life, see Goggin, Carter G. Woodson, 44-65.

Woodson also makes more generalizations in this study than in previous works.²⁴

During the early 1920s, Woodson was busy with other tasks. He was directing the ASNLH, editing the Journal, and managing the Associated Publishers, which he founded in 1921. In 1922, he published The Negro in Our History. Woodson advertised this study as a text-book written for students of Black history at various levels, from secondary school students to college students. Woodson hoped that the book would find its way into the classrooms in Black and White schools throughout the country. This text, which underwent nineteen editions during Woodson's lifetime, can be interpreted as one of Woodson's first major efforts to broaden his readership to non-scholars, since the Journal was not widely circulated amongst lay persons or the Black youth.²⁵

By 1922, Woodson also decided to devote his life to the Association. He resigned from his position at West Virginia Collegiate Institute and moved to Washington, D.C. where he would firmly establish the ASNLH. For the next twenty-eight years, he devoted his life to maintaining the Association; to the scholarly study of Black America; to training a cadre of Black historians; to democratizing and popularizing the study of Black history; and to an overall quest for equal rights and justice for his people.²⁶

²⁴Carter G. Woodson, The History of the Negro Church (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1921).

²⁵See, Carter G. Woodson, The Negro in Our History (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1922).

²⁶Goggin, Carter G. Woodson, 65.

In many respects the 1920s, as Darlene Clark Hine has posited, were "golden years" for the Association. During this decade he received thousands of dollars from the Carnegie Foundation, the Julius Rosenwald Foundation, and from three Rockefeller trusts. These funds allowed him to hire young Black scholars, including A.A. Taylor, Langston Hughes, Lorenzo J. Greene, Myra Colson Callis, Laura G. Glenn, and Charles Wesley, to conduct and publish cutting edge historical and sociological research. During this age, Woodson also completed many key studies, including Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States (1924), Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830 (1925), The Mind of the Negro As Reflected in Letters Written During the Crisis, 1800-1860 (1926), Negro Orators and Their Orations (1926), African Myths, Together With Proverbs (1928), and The Negro As Businessman (1929).

Even though the Association was rooted in Black community infrastructures after its founding, by the mid-1920s Woodson more actively strove to open the Association's doors to the Black masses. By the early 1930s, after White philanthropists withdrew their support from the Association, Woodson relied upon Black communities throughout the country, especially those in Washington D.C., to maintain the Association's activities.

CHAPTER IV

MAKING BLACK HISTORY PRACTICAL AND POPULAR WOODSON STYLE

Woodson revolutionized the American historical profession and democratized the study of Black history by extending the field of inquiry to non professionally trained scholars. In adopting this approach, he did not seek to de-emphasize the role of rigorous scholarship in the "life-and-death struggle" for Black liberation. On the other hand, he held that in addition to rigorous research, the study and dissemination of Black history needed to extend beyond exclusive organizations like the American Negro Academy and audiences like the Journal readership to the working-class sector of the Black community. The knowledge of African-American history was, after all, one way in which Black people could become liberated and empowered, Woodson reasoned. Between 1915 and 1950, increasingly more by the 1920s, he therefore strove to enlighten the Black masses and popularize Black history in various manners. He extended himself as a resource to Black communities throughout the country. He opened the doors of the Association meetings and activities to lay historians, ministers, secondary and elementary school teachers, businessmen, and the Black community as a whole. He initiated Negro History Week and other extension services. And, he published the Negro History Bulletin.

In searching for the origins of Woodson's concern with gaining a following within a broader cross section of the Black community, especially amongst teachers and the youth, a logical starting point would be Woodson's upbringing and early years. The Association founder came from very humble origins and never seemed to have forgotten this. After all, he devoted his

early years to educating those in need. No doubt, he sometimes felt as if he was looking into a mirror when he instructed the children of Black coal miners in Winona, West Virginia. After receiving the Ph.D. degree from one of the most prestigious universities in the country, Woodson began publishing scholarship which could be easily digested by a wide range of readers. In fact, Woodson wrote in such a simple language that some of his modern critics have considered him unsophisticated. Historians August Meier and Elliott Rudwick have claimed that "Woodson, unlike Du Bois, did not produce monographs that are read and admired to this day," that his books "so often today read like archaic pedantry."¹

Woodson published several brands of scholarship. In the vindicationist tradition, he published rigorous, scientific scholarship to combat racist scholarship; he published polemical commentaries in order to address Black America's contemporary status in American society; and he also published books aimed at attracting a wide readership from elementary school students to university students. This last collection of books included The Negro in Our History (1922), Negro Makers of History (1928), African Myths Together with Proverbs (1928), The African Background Outlined (1936), and African Heroes and Heroines (1939). The unfinished Encyclopedia Africana was also written in a very simple language. Woodson was very clear as to the purpose behind this last brand of scholarship. For instance, several years before it was actually published, Woodson advertised The Negro in Our History as being a study which could be used in Black history clubs, elementary and high schools, and colleges and universities. A high priority for him was reaching out to those reading and thinking at basic levels. "Just as soon as this book

¹Meier and Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980, 42, 93.

has come from the press," Woodson told Journal readership, "the Association will send to all Negro schools of secondary and college grade a field agent to interest them in the effort to inculcate in the mind of the youth of African blood an appreciation of what their race has thought and felt and done."²

It is difficult to discern how these various publications affected their readers. The recently compiled Papers of Carter G. Woodson and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1915-1950 contain elaborate records of books sold by the Association from the 1920s on. While there are countless receipts and orders, the Associated Publishers struggled throughout its existence. According to Lorenzo Johnston Greene, by mid-1930 boxes of the Association's books were literally collecting mildew in the Association headquarters' basement. During Woodson's lifetime, there was not a high demand for Black history books on the part of the Black populace in general. Poet Sterling Brown stressed this in the early 1940s when he declared that the hardest task facing Black authors was "developing a critical but *interested* reading public."³ Working-class Blacks, especially during the lean years of the Great Depression, did not place a high priority on purchasing hard cover scholarly literature. As Lorenzo Greene testified during his book selling campaigns, it was the middle- and upper-classes who usually purchased the Association's literature. The Negro in Our History was Woodson's most popular book. By March of 1941, he told Negro History Bulletin readers that 40,000 copies of his text had been sold.

Early on, the Association was linked to Black communities throughout the nation in more practical and direct manners as well. Every year during

²"Notes," INH 5 (1920): 424.

³Sterling A. Brown, "The Negro Author and His Publisher," The Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes 9 (1941): 145-146.

Woodson's lifetime, the Association meetings were held in Black churches, community centers, colleges and universities, and high school auditoriums throughout the country. Churches were most often used because they could accommodate many people and, as Woodson discovered in his own research, they constituted the centers of the Black community. According to Patricia Romero, the first time that an Association meeting was held in a major hotel was in 1964 in Detroit.⁴ While the breakfasts, luncheons, and dinners attracted a certain high-brow crowd and the Executive Council held its own private business meetings, the keynote speakers, panel discussions, and presentations and pageants were attended by a much broader spectrum of the Black community. Unlike any other academic organization of its generation, the ASNLH welcomed non Ph.D. holders into its ranks and even into its leadership positions. As a perusal of the *Journal* from 1916 through Woodson's death indicates, at every annual meeting, school teachers of various levels and community activists, especially club women, presented papers and in many cases even had their essays published in the pages of the *Journal* alongside the research of leading Black and White scholars. In doing so, Woodson sought to democratize the Black scholarly community.

Woodson's most famous and perhaps most effective effort at attracting a mass following and popularizing the study of Black history was through Negro History Week celebrations. But, before he actually inaugurated this celebration in 1926, which is now associated with the entire month of February, Woodson took Black history to the people in other ways. Woodson and all of his co-workers were well sought after lecturers. Between the founding of the ASNLH and his death, it is safe to say that Woodson and his

⁴Patricia Romero, "Carter G. Woodson: A Biography," Ph.D. Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1971, 121.

entourage were among the most demanded lecturers in the Black community nation wide. Woodson himself spoke at various venues throughout his lifetime. Many times when specific honorariums were not available, he would accept the collections which were taken in. He usually required that at least his lodging, food, and travel expenses be paid. Woodson made such sacrifices because he was determined to spread his message to those willing to listen. The record indicates that he left a great impression on his audiences. L.D. Reddick, for instance, recounted that when he was a small boy living in Jacksonville, Florida, Woodson was easily "the most impressive speaker" that he had heard up to that point of his life. The manner in which he handled himself before his audience, his electricity, and his dedication to "the cause," influenced the young Reddick to join the Negro History Movement.⁵

Woodson also corresponded with countless men and women from all around the world interested in Black history. He answered their questions, commented on their papers, and mailed them all types of information. Since its inception, Woodson commented in Ten Years of Collecting and Publishing the Records of the Negro, the Association functioned as a "free reference bureau" regarding the study of Black life and history.

Early on in the Association's history, Woodson sought to gain a mass following. By 1919, he employed J.E. Ormes, formerly in the business department of Wilberforce University, as a Field Agent. His role was to increase membership of the Association; to appoint agents to sell books and subscriptions to the Journal; and to organize Black history clubs. In the early years, Woodson called upon anybody interested to join his cause. According to a statement in the Journal's "Notes" in 1919, "any five persons desiring to

⁵L.D. Reddick, "As I Remember Woodson," NHB, 17 (November, 1953): 36.

prosecute studies" in Black history could have organized a club. Each club was required to pay \$2.00. This small fee entitled the club to a year subscription to the Journal and access to Woodson, by mail, for advice and the necessary instruction. He often sent clubs bibliographies and outlines for study. Woodson only required that the clubs elect a president, a secretary, a treasurer, and an instructor, the group's "most intelligent and the best informed member."⁶

Such early efforts on Woodson's part seemed to have been fairly effective. Several years before the first Negro History Week celebration, Woodson commented that he had succeeded in inducing schools and colleges to "devote more time to the study of Negro life and history" and that "a larger number of persons" were becoming interested in the Association's work. By the mid 1920s, Woodson also noted that Black history clubs officially linked to the Association were found in practically all of the cities with considerable Negro populations."⁷ Before Negro History Week, Woodson also attempted to stir interest in Black history amongst the youth with financial incentives. In 1924, for instance, in collaboration with the American Folklore Society, the Association offered a \$200.00 prize "for the best collection of tales, riddles, proverbs, sayings, and songs, which have been heard at home by Negro students of accredited schools."⁸

Several historians seem to have agreed that the most immediate origins of Negro History Week can be located in 1920. In this year, Woodson delivered

⁶"Notes," INH 4 (April, 1919): 237; "Notes," INH (July, 1919): 347.

⁷"Notes," INH 4 (April, 1919): 237; "Annual Report of the Director," INH 9 (October, 1924): 580.

⁸"Notes," INH 9 (April, 1924): 239.

a speech entitled "Democracy and the Man Far Down" to members of the Omega Psi Phi fraternity in Nashville, Tennessee. During the presentation Woodson commented that they needed to become more active in promoting the study of Black life and history. This Omega chapter responded by devoting one week out of every year to the study of Black history. They called their celebration "Negro History and Literature Week." These efforts were carried on from 1920 until 1925. Woodson did not, however, ever publicly claim that the Association's Negro History Week was an extension of the Omega's efforts. Woodson defined the reason behind Negro History Week in a pamphlet "widely distributed" months before the celebration was first to take place during the second week in February of 1926, in commemoration of Frederick Douglass's and Abraham Lincoln's birthdays. Woodson told his readers that Blacks knew "practically nothing" about their history and that without this knowledge "the race" could become "a negligible factor in the thought of the world" and stood "in danger of being exterminated."⁹

Woodson added that race prejudice, from segregation to violence, resulted from the widely accepted notion that Black people had not contributed anything of worth to world civilization. Woodson argued that if the historical record was set straight and that if the history of Black people was studied in schools along with the achievements of White Americans, the Greek, the Roman, and the Teuton, not only would Black youth develop a sense of pride and self-worth, but it would also abolish racism. Woodson ended his plea:

⁹For discussion of the origins of Negro History Week, see Patricia Watkins Romero, "Carter G. Woodson: A Biography"; Jacqueline Goggin, "Carter G. Woodson and the Movement to Promote Black History"; "Carter G. Woodson, "Negro History Week," INH 11 (April, 1926): 238-242.

Let truth destroy the dividing prejudice of nationality and teach universal love without distinction of race, merit or rank. With sublime enthusiasm and heavenly vision of the Great Teacher let us help men rise above the race hate of their age unto the altruism of a rejuvenated universe.¹⁰

Today, part Woodson's plan seems naive and optimistic, especially in thinking that exposing Whites to Black history would eliminate prejudice. Yet, for his time it made a lot of sense. Like his predecessors, he attempted to explain why Blacks had been dehumanized for centuries.

Negro History Week was the first major movement to popularize Black history and one of the only movements in Black history to focus on the youth. Woodson realized that the mis-education of Black people began in their homes, communities, and elementary schools. He therefore targeted these sites aggressively, focusing on the schools. Woodson's strategy of gradually introducing Black history as a supplement to standard (White) American history has been deemed "conservative" by some. It was, on the other hand, pragmatic and very radical when analyzed in within the broader context of his agenda. Woodson knew that if he had demanded that Black history be integrated into the American educational system all at once, his plan would have been too easily dismissed and, furthermore, he would have been deemed a radical and a propagandist by the White public. Philanthropists would have most likely been intimidated and ended their support of the Association. Borrowing from the Tuskegeean, Woodson concluded that a less threatening mask of a week long celebration during the winter season would have been much less threatening to the White power structure and to those "highly mis-educated Negroes" whom he sought to

¹⁰Woodson, "Negro History Week," 238-241.

convert into devout Black nationalists. Woodson's plan was very radical when one views it within the context of the history of Black cultural movements and within the evolution of the American educational system. Nearly two decades after founding Negro History Week, Woodson told Bulletin readers that their annual celebration had the potential of creating "another social revolution."¹¹

The meaning of Negro History Week had deeper implications for Woodson. This week in February was to serve as a stepping stone for the gradual introduction of Black history into the curriculums of educational institutions, from the elementary school years through college, throughout American communities, Black and White. He wanted Negro History Week to evolve into Negro History Year. Routinely, Woodson instructed those observing the week that they needed to prepare for the celebration months in advance and that after mid-February they should not ignore the role of African descendants in world history. "Negro History Week should be a demonstration of what has been done in the study of the Negro during the year and at the same time as a demonstration of greater things to be accomplished," Woodson instructed school teachers, "A subject which receives attention one week out of the thirty-six will not mean much to anyone."¹²

According to Woodson, soon after he mailed out his first "Negro History Week Circulars" to various educational institutions, presses, fraternal and social welfare organizations, literary societies, and to radio stations, "there

¹¹"How Shall We Celebrate Negro History Week," NHB 8 (January, 1945): 91.

¹²"Starting Right," NHB 1 (February, 1938): 12; "Renew Your Subscription," NHB 9 (1946): 188.

was a stir in the direction of active participation." He boasted that "there were few places in the country where this celebration did not make some impression."¹³ Woodson offered a concrete program and research and promotional materials to those interested which highlighted Black achievements in Africa, in discovering America, in American labor, and as professional workers. Those who decided to take part in the celebration had autonomy over the week's activities, Woodson reassured. Woodson did, however, offer a host of suggestions.

In pamphlets and Bulletin articles, he routinely instructed participants to organize committees for the celebration months before Negro History Week; to get the board of education in their area to introduce Black history books into school curriculums; to advertise the events extensively; to record oral testimonies from elders within the community; to get libraries to order Black history books; to set aside one day of every week as a "Book and Picture Fund Day" to raise money to purchase Black history books for the community; to send in any relevant historical documents into the Association so that they could be properly maintained; to organize Black history clubs; and to create a pageant highlighting the struggles of Black Americans. He extended special suggestions to school teachers about maximizing the involvement of the youth in practical ways.¹⁴

During the celebrations there were banquets, breakfasts, speeches, parades, exhibits, and lectures which were usually held in churches, Black colleges and universities, and community centers. Woodson insisted that all the meetings

¹³"The Annual Report of the Director," INH 11 (October, 1926): 551.

¹⁴In the February volumes of the Bulletin, Woodson always offered his strategies as how to best celebrate Negro History Week.

and events be free to the public and that for this week speakers and organizers donate their time to the cause. School teachers, mainly Black women, were vital Negro History Week organizers. They raised funds in their communities; they had their students compose essays on famous Blacks and events in Black history; and some had their students act in plays and pageants, taken largely from a book called Plays and Pageants for the Life of the Negro, an anthology which visualized the history of Black people at an elementary level.¹⁵

After its inception in 1926, Negro History Week continued to expand. In his Annual Reports of the Director, Woodson noted that every year Negro History Week drew a greater following. In many volumes of the Journal after 1926, Woodson devoted brief articles to describing the success of the various programs. Woodson was very pleased with how Negro History Week eventually had made its way into the Black churches, self-help organizations, public schools, and how it migrated to rural areas. By 1932, he also noted that Negro History Week was finding its way into White schools and that it was facilitating better "inter-racial relations." This pleased Woodson who commented two decades after Negro History Week began that "when only Negroes are reached only half the battle has been won." With each passing year, the Black and occasionally the White press would advertise local and national events. The most active presses in helping publicize Woodson's movement early on included The Philadelphia Tribune, the Baltimore Commonwealth, the Chicago Defender, The Palmetto Leader, The Tampa Bulletin, The Washington Eagle, and the Norfolk Guide and Journal. Other more widely distributed presses helped the cause later and various radio

¹⁵For a brief discussion of Negro History Week events, see Goggin, Carter G. Woodson, 84-85, 119-120.

stations were instrumental in publicizing and broadcasting Negro History Week events.¹⁶

By the 1940s Negro History Week celebrations assumed a more sophisticated flavor. They were increasingly popular, extended abroad, and Woodson developed elaborate Negro History Week Kits and programming schedules. In order to help rural schools with little or no resources, in November of 1948 Woodson introduced Negro History Week Kits which, at first, included writings and speeches by famous Blacks as well as a play depicting Black history. The cost was \$2.00. Two years later, Woodson introduced the New Negro History Week Kit which included the same things as the earlier one and included many photos of famous Blacks as well as a list of books for further research. The cost for this edition was \$2.50.

The Negro History Weeks of Woodson's times were much more different than most Black History Month celebrations of the current era. For Woodson, it was of the utmost importance for the people themselves, especially the children, to create their own unique, personalized celebrations. While Woodson offered many suggestions, at bottom he challenged those interested in discovering the value of their past to do it for themselves. In October of 1941, he offered the following advice to school teachers:

Do not call in some silver-tongued orator to talk to your school about the history of the Negro. The orator does not generally have much in his head. His chief qualification is strong lungs--a good bellows. He knows very little about things in general and practically nothing about the Negro in

¹⁶Every year after the founding of Negro History Week in 1926, Woodson reviewed the status of the celebration. See, for instance, "Negro History the Fourth Year," INH 14 (April, 1929), 109-115; "Negro History Week the Eight Year," INH 18 (April, 1933): 107-113; "Negro History Week the Eleventh Year," INH (April, 1936): 105-110.

particular except how to exploit the race. Let the children study the history of the race, and they will be the speakers who will put the spellbinder to shame.¹⁷

As Negro History Week become more popular, Woodson believed that there was a class of people who were exploiting the celebration for their own benefit. In the pages of the Journal and the Bulletin, he routinely warned his readers about "the disastrous methods of pseudo-historians among Negroes exaggerating in spectacular fashion facts of minor importance" in order to capitalize on a movement and transform it into a commercial venture.¹⁸ He was especially enraged with those "impostors" and "mis-informants," mainly entertainers, who, under the name of the ASNLH, made large profits during mid February. At one point, he even demanded that they turn over their earnings to the Association and called upon Negro History Week organizers to boycott those "mischievous orators" and instead call upon one of the many historians whom Woodson trained.

Nonetheless, Woodson was still disturbed by the fact that as late as 1945 most students and teachers celebrated Negro History Week by calling up some Black historian to secure some tidbits of information which they could in turn regurgitate to others. He was vexed that most schools' books on the Black past "find their way to some shelf where they serve mainly to catch a portion of dust raised in that room." In one sense, he admitted the shortcomings of Negro History Week to penetrate into the psyche of American society. "It is evident then," he noted five years before he died,

¹⁷Carter G. Woodson, "Start Now Negro History Year in Order to Have a Negro History Week," NHB, 5 (October, 1941): 24.

¹⁸INH, 21 (April, 1936): 106-107.

"that our supplementary books on the Negro supplement nothing in most of our schools."¹⁹

Despite Woodson's frequent pessimism, which was counter-balanced by his unrelenting faith that his people could humanize American culture, Negro History Week was a monumental movement. Assessing the impact of Negro History Week celebrations on Black working-class and youth consciousness from 1926 until 1950 is a difficult task for a historian. We can assume that many of those Blacks who took part in these events felt great pride in their heritage and that some open-minded Whites who witnessed and helped sponsor such events may have changed their views of Black history.

School children were probably the most highly transformed by these events. They learned by doing. They were the ones who researched the lives of famous Blacks and acted in plays depicting the African-American past. Woodson went out of his way to detail specific things children should do during Negro History Week. In the February 1938 issue of the Bulletin, for instance, he instructed children to "make a study" of their school's history; to collect newspaper articles on "prominent Blacks" in their county, city, or state; to explore the history of Blacks in the professions; and to create a play or pageant which represented "every phase of life and every phase of struggle through which the race has come."²⁰

Throughout the late 1930s and 1940s, Bulletin readers, especially female school teachers, wrote to Woodson sharing with him, often in great detail,

¹⁹Woodson, "Supplementing Nothing," NHB 8 (March, 1945): 144.

²⁰Carter G. Woodson, "What Children Should Do in Observing Negro History Week," NHB, 1 (February, 1938): 12.

how they conducted their Negro History Week celebrations and how the process had influenced them and the other participants. Woodson often published these commentaries in the Bulletin. Many testified that Negro History Week had helped transform their cultural and political consciousness. Carrie E. Johnson, a school teacher from Troy, Alabama, told Woodson that his work "has been my greatest inspiration in making me want to devote all my time to the study of my race."²¹

Many of Woodson's colleagues also believed that Negro History Week was his "most characteristic creation." One of Woodson's most devoted Negro History Week promoters, Luther Porter Jackson, called Negro History Week "the feeder for every other activity of the Association." In paying tribute to the Association founder, L.D. Reddick noted that "his greatest influence upon the public mind came through Negro History Week." He believed that the effect of Negro History Week on African-Americans' self-confidence, poise, desire to achieve, and morale "defies measurement." This "mass education program" and "God-send for the Association," Reddick added, pleased Woodson to "no end" and upon several occasions he deemed it the Association's most valuable contribution to re-conceptualizing Black life and history. Woodson extended himself during this month. In 1933, during the peak of the Great Depression, Woodson spent not only the week of Negro History Week lecturing at various venues, but the next month he spent "in the field," lecturing and helping people organize throughout the country.²² "By far," Woodson noted during the peak of the Great Depression, "the

²¹"Negro History Week Nation-Wide," NHB 12 (March, 1949): 135.

²²"Negro History Week the Eighth Year," INH, 18 (April, 1930).

greatest stimulus given to the educational work of the Association in recent years has been the observance of Negro History Week."²³

The effect of Negro History Week went beyond the African-American community during Woodson's lifetime. In 1949, Morris U. Schappes, a member of the American Jewish Historical Society, wrote to Woodson and told him that at their annual meeting in February they decided to observe Jewish History Week from April 24 until April 30. He told Woodson that their decision was influenced by the success of Negro History Week. Woodson took pride in this wide-reaching impact of the Association's work, supported these people's struggle, and, in fact, told Blacks that they could learn a lot from the cultural nationalism of their Jewish counterparts.²⁴

A year after the founding of Negro History Week, in 1927 Woodson established an Extension Division within the Association. Its purpose was to expose more people to the study of Black history through public lectures and correspondence study. The Home Study Department was necessary in Woodson's view because not enough teachers were qualified to teach the Black youth about their history and because "various classes of citizens" needed to know their history. In a tone reminiscent of Booker T. Washington when he advertised the Movable School on Wheels, or the Jesup Wagon, Woodson asserted that the Home Study Program took the school to the student. Woodson's program offered courses at introductory and advanced levels. Only those with a high school education and the desire to "profit by the work" were encouraged to apply for admission. While

²³L.D. Reddick, "Twenty-Five Negro History Weeks," NHB, 13 (May, 1950): 178-188; "Annual Report of the Director," INH, 18 (October, 1933): 362.

²⁴"Negro History Week NationWide," NHB 12 (March, 1945): 136; "Jewish History Week," NHB 12 (June, 1949): 194.

Woodson sought to make the study of Black history and life more accessible, he refused to de-legitimize the scholarly endeavor by abandoning standards. One had to apply for admission and pay a \$5.00 matriculation fee. Tuition for one course was \$20.00. Two classes could be taken for \$35.00 and three classes could be taken for \$52.00. Students had a maximum of one year to finish the requirements for each course, including the passing of a final examination. Woodson encouraged students to complete the assigned work in two to three months.²⁵

Each introductory course was accompanied by a series of lessons with specific readings and suggestions. After completing these lessons, the student would answer some questions and mail the "recitation paper" back to the instructor who would then review it and mail it back to the student with the appropriate comments. Advanced courses were offered to college graduates and were more flexible in nature than their introductory counterparts. These classes were arranged with input from both the students and the professors. Woodson assured the public that the standards of the Home Study Department were equal to those of "accredited colleges and universities," that nothing is hastily done," and that "every student is guaranteed personal attention." In a brochure for the Home Study Department, courses were offered in Anthropology, Art, English, History, Literature, and Sociology. The teaching staff boasted leading scholars in the African-American community, including Woodson himself, Charles H. Wesley, Alain Locke, E. Franklin Frazier, Luther Porter Jackson, James Hugo Johnston, and Charles Johnson. At the end of the course, each student received a certificate which noted the

²⁵Carter G. Woodson, Home Study Department of the Extension Division of the ASNLH, Inc.: Bulletin of General Information (ASNLH: Washington, D.C., no date).

amount of work which was accomplished. Full credit was granted to only those who passed the final examination.²⁶

According to several of Woodson's biographers, the Home Study Department was not successful in terms of enrollment. It did not spread its roots into the Black community like Negro History Week. While Woodson noted that the second year of the Home Study Department went "remarkably well," going into its fourth year, he admitted to the Journal readership that the enrollment was very low mainly because of the fees and the standards of admission. As usual, Woodson still had a positive outlook, noting that those who did manage to finish were prepared to instruct others.²⁷ Such efforts demonstrate that central to Woodson's philosophy was the democratization of American academic culture. For Woodson, the field of Black history belonged not only to scholars, but to all Black Americans and to the world.

The latest extension work undertaken by the Association Director was the founding of the Negro History Bulletin. By the mid 1930s, Woodson had concluded that the contents of the Journal attracted only a certain class of Black American readers and he wanted to increase his regular readership amongst Black youth, the Black working-class, Black elementary and secondary school teachers, and amongst non academics in general. The Journal was also inaccessible to many because of its price. While White scholars like Edward Channing told Woodson that the price of the Journal was too little, some Black scholars told Woodson otherwise. W.H. Crogman, once president of Clark University in Atlanta, lamented to Woodson in a letter written in April of 1927 that "for some reason I did not come into touch

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.; "Annual Report of the Director," INH, 15 (October, 1930): 396.

with your "Journal of Negro History" until about three years ago. I subscribed to it one year, and discontinued my subscription because of the terribly hard times and high prices."²⁸

The Bulletin had many functions. It was, foremost, written in a simple language to help Black teachers who had little or no knowledge about Black history supplement the history of White Americans, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Teutons with the story of Black people's past. It was the vehicle by which school teachers, and other concerned citizens, could help Woodson take Black history into the homes of the Black masses. The Bulletin served as an advertising mechanism for the Association's activities, especially for Negro History Week. It also served as another vehicle in which Blacks, from elementary school children to community activists to school teachers to professional scholars, could openly discuss and publish their thoughts pertaining to Black history and the study of it. Woodson stressed to potential contributors that only serious articles dealing with Black history would be considered. The Bulletin was advertised as not being an entertainment magazine. Woodson also used the Bulletin to break down his ideas about American, African, African-American, and world history into simpler terms and to comment on issues which were important to him in helping change Blacks' status.

The first issue of the Bulletin was introduced in October of 1937 and, like the rest of the volumes during Woodson's life time, appeared nine times throughout the year, coinciding with the months of the school year. Until the late 1940s, a year's subscription was \$1.00 (or 12 to 15 cents a copy) and for some time, until Woodson discovered that people were taking advantage of

²⁸W.H. Crogman to Carter G. Woodson, April 4, 1927, The Papers of Carter G. Woodson, Reel 3, Containers 5-6.

his generosity, clubs of five people or more could secure the magazine for only 45 cents a year. Woodson also offered bulk rate discounts. By Woodson's death in 1950, the subscription price had only risen to \$2.00 a year or 25 cents a copy. Woodson kept the price low and in fact sold the Bulletin at a loss in order to maintain a high readership. Though Woodson was the Managing Editor, the Editorial and Managing boards were dominated by Black women. They wrote many of the articles; performed most of the detailed editorial work; and encouraged children to begin their studies early. Individual issues of the Bulletin focused on certain topics and themes in Black American history. Woodson adopted this approach so that regular subscribers would have "a brief illustrated history of the Negro" at the end of the year. He also sold back issues bound in one volume.²⁹

Between 1937 and 1950, issues contained biographical sketches of famous and not so famous Blacks and Whites who were sentimental to the cause; simple book reviews; challenging lists of questions for the readers; plenty of photographs like those found in Du Bois's Crisis; discussions of periods and important events in Black history; updates about current events mainly pertaining to Black schools, Negro History Week, branches, and clubs; art work by leading Black artists; a "Book of the Month" section; poetry; information about Africa and the Diaspora; suggestions for Negro History Week; simple plays written by school teachers and lay scholars; and primary sources. Of particular interest were the "Children's Page"; the discussions initiated by teachers; and Woodson's polemical columns.

The Bulletin was aimed at instilling "the youth of African blood" with pride in their history and culture. Each issue had a section devoted to

²⁹See, Negro History Bulletin, 1 (October, 1937); Negro History Bulletin 13 (May, 1950), 170.

children. Young readers were challenged to answer questions pertaining to the particular issue and quizzed and schooled about how they could best facilitate a Negro History Week celebration. In October of 1941, a formal "Children's Page" was introduced. The female editorial staff as well as other female readers suggested to Woodson that a section of the magazine be officially designated for children. In November of 1940, for instance, Lillian M. Rhoades, the Associate Editor of Apex News, told Woodson that she would like for the Bulletin "to solicit verse and articles by children." She reasoned that "this column devoted to their contributions will get them interested in their particular page, and familiar with the Journal as a whole. Then as they grow up," she continued, "they will grow up with the Journal, and would not be without it."³⁰ Increasingly after its debut, the thoughts, prose, and ideas of children were sometimes featured in the Bulletin as a method of influencing other youngsters to seriously study Black history. Under the guidance of Howard University based artist Lois Mailou Jones, the young readers during the early 1940s were also provided a picture to color or paint, a mask to cut out and wear, or a sculpture to cut out of a bar of soap. While Jones gave her readers very clear instructions, the children were challenged to think in creative manners.

The Bulletin also served as a discussion forum for teachers. They discussed how to best incorporate Black history into their individual classrooms and their schools' curriculums; they exchanged teaching methods; they joined the contemporary political debates; and they gave each other advice about how to best celebrate Negro History Week. The February 1939

³⁰Lillian M. Rhoades to Carter G. Woodson, November 14, 1940, Papers of Carter G. Woodson and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Reel 1.

issue, for example, featured articles by school teachers discussing how Negro History Week could be best celebrated in elementary and secondary schools and in colleges and universities. In one sense, the pages of the Bulletin belonged to Black school teachers. It served as one of their autonomous discursive spaces. Woodson encouraged this by assuring them that the magazine belonged to them and by publishing their ideas as he published the scholarship of intellectuals in the Journal. Woodson also solicited their suggestions and published them from time to time. The Bulletin was unique in that it was one of the only journals open to Black female teachers. Woodson validated them by publishing their ideas and by including photographs of them in the midst of other movers and shakers in the struggle.

Woodson's image and voice, however, still resonated above his school teacher counterparts. In every issue of the Bulletin, Woodson wrote at least one column addressing problems faced by Black Americans; defining his philosophy of history; and/or providing his reading with potential solutions.

Throughout the pages of the Bulletin, Woodson articulated his vision of how history could serve mankind. Woodson never really altered his fundamental belief that history entailed the objective laying down of "the facts." While he certainly did emphasize Black achievements and at times employed history as some form of "propaganda," a tactic despised by Woodson, he insisted to Bulletin readers that "real history requires the elimination of self . . . Facts properly set forth will tell their own story."³¹ Woodson also wanted history to be a major part of Black people's everyday life. He used columns to call upon Blacks to act and change the course of

³¹Carter G. Woodson, "Timely Suggestions for Negro History Week," NHB 1 (February, 1938): 11.

history. For the Association founder, the status of Black people was a "life-and-death struggle." He shared with Marcus Garvey a fear that Black people faced the possibility of extermination if they did not drastically change their ways. In an essay appearing in the February 1940 issue of the Bulletin, Woodson challenged his readers to do great things based upon the deeds of their ancestors. History was for Woodson a tool of inspiration. "To you, then, comes the challenge as to what you will do in building upon the foundation which they have laid. These people whose civilization was marked by the kerosene lamp, the wash tub, the hoe, and the ox-cart disappointed the prophets who said they would be exterminated; and on the contrary they enrolled themselves among the great," Woodson pleaded, *"What will you do in the day of the moving picture, the radio, and the aeroplane? If we do not take hold where they left off and advance further in the service of truth and justice, we are unworthy to claim descent from such a noble people."*³²

Woodson wanted Blacks to study history seriously and to incorporate it into their worldviews. He constantly reminded his readers that the purpose of Negro History Week was not to simply hap-hazardly celebrate Blacks' accomplishments for one week. On the other hand, Woodson argued that Black history should be taught everyday in the classrooms; that knowledge that Blacks do have a history could significantly decrease race prejudice; and, of course, that if Blacks knew their history they would be inspired to act. Woodson's straight-forward philosophy of history as explained in the Bulletin was very non-elitist as well. He believed that anyone could act as a historian. In 1943, the Association founder told teachers that a historian was

³²Carter G. Woodson, "The Heritage of the Negro," NHB, 3 (February, 1940): 79 [italics mine].

a rigorous collector and organizer of facts, that children could be historians by recording their families' pasts, and that even those not formally educated could be historians of some sort by writing down, in whatever language, the histories of their communities. Woodson firmly held that the history of Black Americans, despite their oral traditions, needed to be recorded by Black people. This does not mean that he deemed anyone who recorded historical facts a historian. On the contrary, it simply underscores Woodson's commitment to demystifying one function of the Black scholar, to stimulating interest in Black history and the historical profession, and to highlighting the simplicity of history.

While he often indicted White America for its mistreatment of Blacks and celebrated Blacks' abilities to persevere, he also spent a great deal of time critiquing his fellow Black Americans in the Bulletin. In a 1939 essay in a volume devoted to the Black church, Woodson asserted that Black churches were too emotional, lacked concrete philosophies of social uplift, and were plagued by disunity. He was especially critical of the exploitative preacher. "He will come to the church at times during the week to fire the hearts of the 'seeker,'" Woodson charged, "but after he receives his collection he is ready to retire to some other part of the city because he does not care to dwell in their district."³³ Woodson concluded that such behavior existed because "most trained ministers were miseducated." The only reason why Woodson exposed the faults of the Black church is because he realized the potential it had in regenerating Black America.

Woodson continued his attack on Black intellectuals and the Black middle-class in the pages of the Bulletin as well. More than five years after The Mis-

³³Carter G. Woodson, "Suggestion for Improving the Negro Church," NHB, 3 (1939): 9.

Education of the Negro was first published, Woodson described the typical Black graduate from Yale, Harvard, Columbia, and Princeton as being useless. The Black college graduate in Woodson's estimation was one "equipped to begin the life of an Americanized or Europeanized white man," as one without the proper training to help the masses of his people. These "intellectuals," Woodson added, despised Africa and its descendants. Woodson claimed that their aping of White people would not help themselves or American culture. Like Booker T. Washington, he instructed Blacks to "learn to do what whites cannot do" and then make the world "much better off" with these gifts. Woodson advocated a "revolution" in the American educational system, calling for institutions which were molded to the conditions of Black Americans.³⁴

In a later issue of the Bulletin, perhaps in reference to Black participation in Gunnar Myrdal's An American Dilemma (1944) or Du Bois's and Rayford W. Logan's participation in the Phelps Stokes Fund's encyclopedia on Africa, Woodson attacked Black scholars for working hand-in-hand with White scholars in what he called mis-representing Black people. Woodson argued that too many Black scholars were blindly selling their research to White research investigators who altered their works to support theories of Black inferiority.³⁵ Woodson charged that these Black intellectuals lacked character and would sell out their people for any amount of money and recognition within White scholarly circles.

³⁴Carter G. Woodson, "Suggestions for Improvements in the Education of the Negro," NHB, 3 (November, 1939): 29-31.

³⁵Carter G. Woodson, "Mis-Representing the Negro," NHB 7 (March, 1944): 144.

Woodson extended his criticisms to Black leaders political leaders. Several times in the 1930s, he championed that there was no Black political leadership since Reconstruction. He proclaimed that there were too many "inconsistent and compromising" self-ordained leaders who were "working against the interests of the race." Black leaders, in his view, all too often accepted segregation. At times he seems to have given up on Black leadership entirely. In the early 1940s, Woodson argued that Blacks would only gain democracy in America with the leadership of "the laboring classes" since they were "not obligated to the oppressors of their people" like their spokesmen or "hand-picked agents."³⁶ Woodson never really developed this idea further.

Woodson also indicted the Black middle-class in the Bulletin for their lack of business sense and failure to operationalize economic nationalism and self-sufficiency. Foreshadowing Malcolm X, Woodson deplored the fact that Blacks allowed foreigners to open businesses in their communities. He argued that Black people lacked an economic program in the most basic of forms. The Great Depression was "a blessing in disguise," the Association founder commented in a manner similar to the manner in which Booker T. Washington spoke of slavery, because it forced Blacks to turn within, to rely on themselves, and to be creative. Woodson concluded that "the Negro's point of view . . . must be changed" and offered Bulletin readers several potential solutions.

One, he called upon Blacks to open small business ventures; two, he demanded that his people, especially professionals, stop wasting their money

³⁶Carter G. Woodson, "Negroes Not United for Democracy," NHB 6 (May, 1943): 170, 177; Carter G. Woodson, "In Spite of No Leaders the Negroes Hope for Democracy Lingers," NHB 6 (June, 1943): 194, 213.

on toys and leisure activities; and, three, he called upon "the man who has few thousand dollars" to make sacrifices for the benefit of those in need. Woodson was especially critical of the Black middle and professional classes because he was convinced that they had the power to help the masses in monumental ways. Not only did he arrive at this conclusion by studying the ideologies and actions of countless of his predecessors, but he himself realized the ways in which one person and one organization of committed individuals could serve a "needy cause."³⁷

Clearly then, the Bulletin did not simply contain glorious accounts of Black achievement, but also served as a vehicle for critically exploring the Black community's actions and decisions.

During the era of World War II, Woodson's commentaries took on a much more political flavor. He attacked the United States government for mistreating devoted Black soldiers during and after the war. He declared in one column that U.S. policies "resembled more the policies of Hitler" than those of a so-called democratic nation. To Woodson this behavior was nothing out of line with the historical abuse endured by Black American soldiers since the colonial era.

Woodson interpreted the role of Blacks in World War II, and previous wars, as being "peculiar." Like many other Black leaders throughout history and his time, Woodson publicized and supported Blacks' historical and contemporary activities in the armed forces in hopes that Blacks would receive citizenship in exchange for their services. Embracing the "Double V Campaign," the Association founder believed that the Black soldier's loyalty during World War II would "strengthen his case" for equality and first class

³⁷Carter G. Woodson, "How Foreign Merchants Exploit the Negro," NHB 3 (January, 1940): 56-58; "How to Get Out of the Bread Line," Ibid.

citizenship. He urged Blacks to engrave their unwavering patriotism deeply into the historical record so that Whites could not deny their basic human rights without denying "the truth." In one sense, Woodson had faith that enough liberal Whites would eventually acknowledge "the truth" and undergo significant ideological transformations.³⁸

Throughout the remainder of the 1940s, Woodson continued to publish social commentaries in the Bulletin. He attacked segregation in American social and institutional life; he condemned America's imperialist and expansionist ethos in the immediate aftermath of World War II; he critically discussed problems plaguing the Black community from within; he reiterated and clarified the function of Negro History Week; and he commented on the changes affecting Black people throughout the world.

During Woodson's lifetime, the Bulletin underwent various changes and developments. The first major change with the Bulletin was that by October of 1939, the magazine increased from eight pages to sixteen pages. Woodson resolved that Black school teachers were in need of more information to adequately incorporate Black history into their curriculums. In order to maintain his audience, Woodson still kept the price the same. At the same time, by the magazine's third volume, the articles were becoming more in-depth, thematically organized, and more scholarly in tone. For instance, in the February 1940 issue, Lorenzo Johnston Greene featured his statistical research on Black labor. Other of Woodson's protégés contributed to the Bulletin increasingly during the 1940s. By October, 1940, the style of the magazine changed. While the first three volumes resembled a small

³⁸Carter G. Woodson, "The Negro Looks for Democracy," NHB 7 (December, 1943): 72; Carter G. Woodson, "Why Negroes Fight in This War," NHB 7 (May, 1944): 170.

newspaper, the volumes after 1940 looked more like a journal or magazine. They were smaller than the previous volumes and had a color cover with a large photo, picture, or painting on the cover resembling issues of Crisis. Woodson's columns in the Bulletin became increasingly more political from October of 1937 until April of 1950. The gradual radicalization and increased scholarly flavor of the magazine is best explained by Woodson's strong conviction that the magazine was not a vehicle of popular matters or propaganda. He stressed that it was a space where multi-leveled students of history could enlighten and engage each other. Woodson, therefore, tended to couch his polemical diatribes in historical articles, or guard them with some sense of anonymity.

According to Woodson, the Bulletin was a successful venture. In 1943, he declared that "nothing attempted" by the ASNLH since Negro History Week "has met with more public approval" than the Bulletin. He felt justified in publishing it at a loss because he believed that it was finding its ways into the minds of Black people; making Black school teachers more well rounded; inspiring Black youth; and even helping to deconstruct race prejudice and foster better relations between Blacks and Whites. Like the "Notes" section of the Journal, Woodson used the Bulletin as a comfortable place to articulate his dynamic, iconoclastic world view in a simple language. At the same time, the Bulletin was one of Woodson's gifts to Black people. John Hope Franklin certainly thought so. "The BULLETIN," Franklin noted, "represented perhaps the most vigorous extension of the work of Dr. Woodson into the lives of persons who were soon to share the responsibility of making their communities better places in which to live."³⁹

³⁹John Hope Franklin, "The Place of Carter G. Woodson in American Historiography," NHB, 13 (May, 1950): 176.

CHAPTER V
WOODSON AND THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN
"ICONOCLASTIC TRADITION"

According to Bazel E. Allen and Ernest J. Wilson, III, there exists "a long and honorable succession of intellectual landmarks in Afro-American thought" which shared with Harold Cruse's The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual "its spirit of independent spirit of analysis, its iconoclastic disregard for the popular pieties of the time, and its debunking of the self-legitimations of the dominant personalities, institutions, and practices of a period." Within this loosely defined tradition, these scholars included Du Bois, the contributors to The New Negro anthology, Woodson, Richard Wright, Ralph Ellison, James Baldwin, Leroi Jones (Amiri Baraka), Harold Cruse, E. Franklin Frazier, William Julius Wilson, and Thomas Sowell.¹

Though intriguing, Allen's and Wilson's definition of an "iconoclastic tradition" is problematic. Foremost, while all these intellectuals may have been iconoclasts, "image breakers" and those who radically sought to overturn traditional ideologies and institutions in the broadest sense of the term, they attacked a host of different established ideas and images. For example, Du Bois is in most circles deemed an outspoken "radical," whereas Thomas Sowell has the reputation of being a "Black conservative." Moreover, the bonds supposedly linking these thinkers together are not elaborated on and are too simplistic. But, the most noticeable omission from this group is a group of female intellectuals. Black women have

¹For a discussion of these "iconoclastic" writings, see Bazel E. Allen and Ernest J. Wilson III, "Foreword," in Harold Cruse, The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual (New York: Quill, 1984), i-vi.

unequivocally fallen within Allen's and Wilson's guidelines. In their various challenges to America's patriarchal systems, African-American feminist thinkers fit ideally within their definition. Anna Julia Cooper, Zora Neale Hurston, the contributors to The Black Woman: An Anthology and But Some of Us Are Brave, Alice Walker, Michelle Wallace, and many others have published original studies which debunk the "self-legitimations of the dominant personalities, institutions, and practices of a period."

This study uses the term iconoclast in more specific terms than do Allen and Wilson. Using Woodson as a centerpiece, I am concerned with those scholars writing in the twentieth-century who attacked their Black bourgeoisie colleagues in outspoken, widely-read, controversial books or articles which have had an everlasting appeal, standing up to the test of time.² This first criteria has limited this group down to a rather small and exclusive one. In addition to the ASNLH founder, it includes E. Franklin Frazier, Nathan Hare, Harold Cruse, and Adolph Reed. While these thinkers employed different terminology and analyzed different case studies determined by the contexts in which they existed, they all critically deconstructed the same type of person whose personality traits seem to have a timelessness to them. That is, those African-Americans who they claimed separated themselves from Blackness and from the struggles of the masses and their culture; sought recognition, honor, and financial gain only for themselves; and ultimately strove towards the ideal of integration into the White American mainstream through imitation.

² Novels and poetry are not considered here because often times their messages are not as clear and straight-forward as direct social commentaries or historical and sociological writings.

In addition to noting a common problem, these thinkers also wrote their polemics for similar reasons. Each published their commentaries as public confessions and affirmations of their own psychological transformations, metamorphoses of consciousness, and dedication to social and political activism. Part of their ultimate goals was to persuade other Blacks of their class to abandon the behavioral characteristics of the pathological personalities they described. They therefore often exaggerated or repeated their arguments. Each also believed that the "crisis of the Negro intellectual" had reached such a peak during their times that it was necessary to incite debates and concern within their respective communities. And, all of their writings were received negatively by many leading intellectuals of their times. The iconoclasts of this study thus share a common vision which they have articulated in their own authentic ways.

Certainly, many more could be added to my short list of iconoclasts, especially since scholars disagree widely on how we define the influence or significance of any intellectual's ideas. Most notably, women have not been featured prominently in this study's "iconoclastic tradition" mainly because they have tended not to publish books or articles in which they *focus* on the failures of Black intellectuals and *exclusively* highlight the social responsibility of Black intellectuals to the masses.

Since the Antebellum era, Black women have cultivated a distinct intellectual tradition and an ongoing discourse which indicts both the sexual oppression within the Black community and the racial oppression bolstered by the general White American public. Because Black women have faced these multiple forms of oppression, they have not limited or devoted their energies to critiquing the social responsibility of their class. On top of this, Black women have been systematically excluded from such scholarly

discourses in several manners. Black women have been excluded from the male-dominated intellectual circles since the this group's formative years. For instance, in the same year that Anna Julia Cooper published her Black feminist manifesto, Monroe A. Majors, author of Noted Negro Women, asked Frederick Douglass for the names of some notable Black women thinkers. The aged universal reformer praised by many for his support for women's rights responded, "I have thus far seen no book of importance written by a Negro woman and I know of no one among us who can appropriately be called famous."³ The American Negro Academy, the "first major learned Black American society" founded in 1897 by Alexander Crummell, never attempted to recruit "women who were 'Authors, Scholars, Artists . . . [or] distinguished in other walks of life.'"⁴ Furthermore, gender conventions and socialization patterns in Black communities during the Jim Crow era and beyond dictated that women were only supposed to receive certain educational opportunities and work in certain occupations.

In 1891, Anna J. Cooper reported in The Southland that only twenty-nine women had received B.A. degrees. She explained that this low number was caused by Black men armed with "sixteenth century logic" who discouraged the women of their race from pursuing higher education, or from helping them ponder "the great questions of the world."⁵ Cooper's solution was the

³Dorothy Sterling, editor, We Are Your Sisters: Black Women in the Nineteenth Century (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1997), 436.

⁴Alfred A. Moss, Jr., The American Negro Academy: Voice of the Talented Tenth (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 78.

⁵Anna Julia Cooper, "The Higher Education of Women," in Elizabeth L. Ihle, editor, Black Women in Higher Education: An Anthology of Essays, Studies, and Documents (New York: Garland, 1992), 58.

cultivation of a Black female intelligentsia. Most men did not agree with her radical pleas. Because of this hostile environment, one historian has suggested that Black female intellectuals have historically possessed a certain desire to persevere unattainable by men. "Since education is the key to the more attractive occupations, Black women intellectuals have possessed a certain history of striving for education beyond what their gender or their color seemed to prescribe," Paula Giddings declared, "Black men have not had the same motivation, historically, because they had a greater range of options."⁶ While Giddings's generalization deserves further elaboration, it is clear that Black women were not encouraged by Black men and society as a whole to become professionally trained scholars and intellectuals. Instead, they were guided into certain feminized professional occupations including nursing, social work, library science, and teaching.

Of course, women did still join the ranks of leading Black intellectuals. Behind the scenes, many Black women certainly debated similar issues as their male counterparts, but most did not have access to the male-dominated platforms or publishing vehicles. During the Black intellectual's formative years, they created their own forums and managed to publish a handful of significant commentaries touching upon the social responsibilities of privileged, educated Black population. Since the last two decades of the nineteenth-century, many leading Black women intellectuals and social reformers have mapped out how they could best uplift the race, rebuild Black womanhood, and help save humanity. These efforts were first organized nationally with the 1895 founding of the National Federation of Afro-American Women, later renamed the National Association of Colored

⁶Paula Giddings, When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America (New York: Bantam Books, 1984), 7.

Women. Through their rhetoric and actions, Black club women, mainly middle-class, educated women, defined the role of educated, elite Black men and especially women. According to their collective ideology, it was their social responsibility to "uplift the race." It does not appear, however, that club women spent much of their time critiquing and challenging each other or members of their class. Instead, they substituted rhetoric with action.

Black female novelists have historically used their fiction to discuss historical and contemporary issues, including the role of the Black intellectual and professional to the community. In 1892 at the mature age of sixty-seven, Frances E.W. Harper, a former professional Antebellum reformer, poet, lecturer, teacher, and novelists, published her most famous book, Iola Leroy, or Shadows Uplifted. Harper's book was popular, according to her chief biographer it was most likely the best selling novel by a Black writer before the twentieth-century. It also generated controversy and debates amongst its wide readership. While Harper addressed many issues surrounding slavery, the wartime era in the South, emancipation, and reconstruction, at one level Harper's novel was a discussion of the role and responsibility of educated, privileged Blacks to the masses. Though she wrote about the 1860s and 1870s, her message was applicable to the times in which she wrote. Many literary critics have located Harper at the forefront of the fictional writing on passing, but many have failed to analyze the deeper significance of her so-called "tragic mulatto" characters.

When he was told by a Captain Sybil that he did not "look like" or "talk like" a Black and that he could join the ranks of white military men, Robert Johnson retorted that he was needed as a lieutenant in a "colored company." Right after the sudden shock of discovering that he had some Black blood in his veins, Harry, educated at "a boy's academy in Maine," identified himself

as "a colored man" and joined the Union forces as such. He also married a Miss Lucille Delany whose "hair and complexion show the least hint of blood mixture." Harry's sister, the leading protagonist, served as the ultimate personification of the self-sacrificing privileged Black for Harper. Iola, who had been living as a White person until her early adult years, immediately accepted her African racial heritage upon discovering that her mother was "a quadroon." During the war and following emancipation, this "Southern lady, whose education and manners stamp her as a woman of fine culture and good breeding" devoted her life to the Black masses of the South as a nurse, a teacher, a church worker, and an organizer of mother's meetings. For Iola, being the servant and leader of the race "is a far greater privilege that it is to open the gates of material prosperity and fill every house to sensuous enjoyment." In response to Dr. Gresham's plea that she no longer serve her race and marry him, Iola passionately asserted, "It was through their (the Black masses') unrequited toil that I was educated, while they were compelled to live in ignorance. I am indebted to them for the power I have to serve them. I wish other Southern women felt as I do . . . I must serve the race which needs me most." In this case, Harper stressed that privileged Blacks owe the masses a lot, a theme re-invoked throughout the twentieth-century.⁷

Iola Leroy is at one level a handbook for "earnest men and women deeply interested in the welfare of the race" comparable to Du Bois' "Talented Tenth" essay appearing roughly a decade later. However, her novel is not considered along side with Woodson's and other iconoclasts' writings in

⁷Frances E.W. Harper, Iola Leroy, or Shadows Uplifted (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 199, 57, 219, 235, 246. The closest that Harper comes to a critique of the Black professional class is a brief discussion between Robert and Aunt Linda about preachers (161, 162).

this study because, very much like Du Bois before the World War II era, she did not boldly critique educated Blacks for their misdoings. In hopes of inspiring others to act, she praised her educated counterparts for acting like Moses and Nehemiah. Further, unlike iconoclasts of this study, her analysis of the African-American community addressed many different issues simultaneously, thus downplaying her views of Black intellectuals. Though she may have believed that the Black elite deserved to be challenged to act, she did not make this the sole purpose of any of her writings. When she did opt to discuss it she couched it in a less confrontational language.

Anna Julia Cooper was another leading Black female intellectual who poses a challenge to the theory of an all male Black iconoclastic tradition. Throughout her exceptionally long scholarly career, Anna Julia Cooper (1858-1964), author of the first Black feminist polemic, was one of the most sophisticated Black scholars of her time. Her work was and has been ignored, as Mary Helen Washington has suggested, "because it was by and about women and therefore thought not to be as significantly about the race as writings by and about men." Since Washington's comments, a noticeable body of scholarship on Cooper has been generated, with literary critics at the forefront.

Cooper's first and most famous publication was A Voice From the South, a collection of eight essays published in the dawning of the 1890s. Her thoughts herein reflect a distinct "self-certainty," "a very solitary voice." She was an original thinker who posited many, often seemingly contradictory, ideas simultaneously. And, like the iconoclasts of this study Cooper did not hesitate to criticize those with whom she did not see eye to eye, especially Black men and the White American public. Her major publication is not, however, a collective indictment of intellectual men or women in terms of their

responsibility to the masses or function in society. Instead, one finds a select scattering of indictments of Black intellectuals in several of her writings.

In a speech first read before a convocation of Black clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church at Washington, D.C. in 1886, Cooper preceded Du Bois in calling upon "elevated and trained womanhood" to lead and uplift the race. She challenged intellectuals to act as social reformers concerned about the welfare of the masses. "We need men who can let their interests and gallantry extend outside the circle of their aesthetic appreciation," she continued, "We need men and women who do not exhaust their genius splitting hairs on aristocratic distinctions thanking God they are not as others; but unselfish souls."⁸ In a philosophical piece in A Voice From the South, "What Are We Worth," Cooper reasoned on the debates concerning higher and industrial education in a seemingly pro-Bookerite manner. She disagreed with Black intellectuals who sought to vindicate the race following emancipation. She proposed that instead of jumping into intellectual pursuits, African-American intellectuals in the making should have first acquired wealth and then began studying. "Wealth must pave the way for learning . . . Work must first create wealth, and wealth leisure, before the untrammelled intellect of the Negro, or any other race, can truly vindicate its capabilities."⁹

Cooper continued to write after her most famous work appeared. Again, none of these writings were exclusively devoted to indicting Black intellectuals lack of concern for the masses of their race. One of her later

⁸Anna Julia Cooper, A Voice From the South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 32-33.

⁹Ibid., 261.

articles for the Crisis, however, stands out for its attack on some Black teachers. In 1930, three years before the publication of Woodson's The Mis-Education of the Negro, Cooper indicted Black college-bred teachers for being "largely book-fed" and uncritical. "They race to summer schools and institutes," Cooper surmised, "to lecture courses and evening classes to 'keep up' with their work and perhaps earn a much needed promotion . . . They read, mark, learn, but there is not time to 'inwardly digest.'" She went beyond Woodson in linking the decline of critical thought amongst teachers to industrial modernization and a blind faith in science. "We have been so ridden with tests and measurements, so leashed and spurred for percentages and retardation 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 bring original thought to the specific problems and needs of their pupils."¹⁰

While Cooper did not devote an entire book to challenging and critiquing the Black intellectual, she did touch upon it in some of her speeches and writings and like countless other female reformers and intellectuals of her

¹⁰Anna Julia Cooper, "The Humor of Teaching," Crisis (1930): According to one scholar, Du Bois never really acknowledged the contributions of Cooper to the formation of a Black intellectual identity. Charles Lemert remarked that the Great Barrington sage is "known to have rejected other of her writings and to have quoted her ideas without crediting her by name." Such comments challenge a group of scholars to re-think their notion of Du Bois as a male feminist of some sort. See Charles Lemert and Esme Bhan, editors, The Voice of Anna Julia Cooper: Including A Voice from the South and Other Important Essays, Papers, and Letters (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1998).

time, and beyond, she acted in a manner which dictated that she believed that the intellectual owed the masses a lot.¹¹

Why, then, does it appear that Black women were not extensively part of the "iconoclastic tradition" as defined by this study? According to Cooper's analysis, many women were and could have been associated with the "iconoclastic tradition," but they simply kept their profound ideas to themselves. In response to a "white friend" who asked her why Black men seemed to have outstripped their female counterparts in terms of "mental attainment," Cooper responded "so far as it is true, the men, I suppose, from the life they lead, gain more by contact, and so far as it is only apparent, I think the women are more quiet. They don't feel called to mount a barrel and harangue by the hour every-time they imagine they have produced an idea."¹² Cooper highlighted both women's humility and men's arrogance.

While there is some truth to her observation, it is necessary to point out the nature of Black women's intellectuals' work of the late 1800s and early-mid twentieth-century. Black professional women from the 1880s through the 1950s were reared to place their communities at the center of their work. Many professional women of the Jim Crow era were hard working, unselfish, socially responsible reformers bound tightly to the community. They

¹¹Cooper devoted great energies to uplifting the poor by the late nineteenth-century, but perhaps her most blanket statement as to the role of Black intellectuals came when she was into her seventh decade of life. From 1930 until 1941, she served as the principal of Frelinghuysen, a school founded in 1906 by Jessie Lawson for working-class adults regardless of race, catering to their work schedules. See Lillian G. Dabney, The History of Schools for Negroes In the District of Columbia, 1807-1947 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of American Press, 1949), 183-185.

¹²Anna Julia Cooper, "The Higher Education of Women," in Ihle, editor, Black Women in Higher Education, 58.

possessed, Stephanie Shaw has argued, a high "community commitment" and a "collective consciousness." In this sense, these women were not the subjects of male iconoclasts' criticism since a noticeable number of female intellectuals were doing exactly what their male iconoclast counterparts wanted their subjects of criticism to do. Black women could have served as ideal role models for their male counterparts. Woodson once recognized this. "Sometimes I am inclined to believe that if the women had more voice in our affairs we would be much better off," the Association founder confessed in a 1932 editorial, "Our women are so much better than our men." Most Black male intellectuals or iconoclasts failed to publicly highlight or even acknowledge the close relationship which female professionals and intellectuals shared with the Black masses.¹³

Woodson is an important component and the centerpiece of the "iconoclastic tradition" in this study for several reasons. He was one of the first to publicly indict Black colleges and the educated leadership caste who Du Bois so adamantly praised in the early 1900s.¹⁴ During the first half of the twentieth-century, most Black intellectual leaders did not challenge Du Bois' theory that "exceptional men," "distinguished Negroes," and "college-bred Negroes" were the best equipped group to save the race, to "guide the Mass away from contamination and death of the Worst" thus bringing them "in

¹³Stephanie J. Shaw, What A Woman Ought to Be and Do: Black Professional Women Workers During the Jim Crow Era (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Carter G. Woodson, "Women Should Have More Voice in Our Affairs," The Pittsburgh Courier, Saturday, December 17, 1932.

¹⁴Alain Locke and other New Negro advocates also challenged parts of Du Bois's Talented Tenth notion. See Alain Locke, "The New Negro," in Alain Locke, editor, The New Negro (New York: Atheneum, 1992), 3-18.

contact with modern civilization" and "broad culture."¹⁵ In outlining the need for a Talented Tenth in 1903, Du Bois was not critical of the Black intelligentsia of his day or earlier. He only indicted the "half-trained demagogues," "vociferous busy bodies," "money makers," and of course Booker T. Washington. He praised his Antebellum predecessors for challenging the institution of slavery and complemented his educated post-Reconstruction counterparts for their unselfish work as teachers, preachers, and professionals supposedly instructing the masses as to "what life means."

Nearly three decades later, Du Bois continued to praise the "Negro Bourgeoisie" at a time when Woodson condemned certain of its members. "For two generations the social leaders of the American Negro, with very few exceptions, . . . have worked unselfishly for the uplift of the masses of Negro folk," Du Bois wrote in the Crisis in 1931, "There is no group of leaders on earth who have so largely made common cause with their race as educated American Negroes, and it is their foresight and sacrifice and theirs alone that have saved the American freedman from annihilation and degradation."¹⁶ In this way, Du Bois was not unlike today's Black "public intellectuals" who, as Adolph Reed commented several years ago, "exhibit little sense of debate or controversy among themselves as a cohort."¹⁷

¹⁵W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Talented Tenth," in The Negro Problem: A Series of Articles by Representative American Negroes of To-Day (New York: James Pott and Company, 1903), 33.

¹⁶W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Negro Bourgeoisie," in Meyer Weinberg, editor, W.E.B. Du Bois: A Reader (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 56.

¹⁷Adolph Reed, "What Are the Drums Saying, Booker?," The Village Voice (April 11, 1995), 33. Du Bois' praise for his fellow "college-bred" coworkers in the early 1900s was, however, largely a reaction to Euro-America's refusal to some educated Blacks at times. These criticisms,

In fact, Du Bois did not level an overt indictment against the "Talented Tenth" until about a half a century after he initially articulated this strategy. In mid August of 1948, Du Bois re-examined and reformulated his turn of the century ideology before Wilberforce State University's prestigious Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity. He explained to them his frame of mind in the early 1900s, how it was derived from his training at Fisk University and especially his reading of Karl Marx. Du Bois reiterated that he conceived of the Black educated leadership as a group willing to sacrifice and work hard to uplift the masses and to preserve Black culture at a time when the oppression of Black people was on the rise and Black leaders were seeking integration and cultural assimilation. He then stressed that his archaic program needed to be revised to suit the problems of the post World War II world. His broad goal at this point in his life was to improve the general welfare of society. In this quest, Du Bois called upon Black Americans to broaden their base of operation to include Europe, Africa, and Asia. He still, however, maintained that it was "educated and specially trained experts in the main branches of science and the main categories of human work" who would make the real impact on society.¹⁸

Du Bois then launched his attack on members of the Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity. He challenged them to transcend their "certain exclusiveness and snobbery" and to join the "organized scientific leadership of the American Negro." According to the sage of Great Barrington, however, members of the

however, did not stand out because throughout his life as a leader he was intensely involved in various struggles linked chiefly by a focus on African descendants and more broadly humanity.

¹⁸W.E.B. Du Bois, "Talented Tenth: Memorial Address," in Herbert Aptheker, editor, Writings by Du Bois in Periodicals Edited by Others (New York: Kraus Thompson Organization Limited, 1982), 78-88.

fraternity suffered from many character flaws adversely affecting their ability to become members of new leadership needed in the "time of crisis." Du Bois told his audience that they did not question the past or the values of American society; that, like Whites, they were prejudiced against Africans and Asians; that they too easily accepted the status quo; that they did not struggle for a better world because they were selfish; and that they doubted whether not Black people could survive in America.¹⁹

Once again romanticizing nineteenth-century Black reformers, Du Bois called upon his bourgeoisie counterparts to return to the nineteenth-century credo of uplifting the masses "through self-sacrificing leadership, . . . honesty of character and purity of motive." Du Bois added, "we must have honest men or we die. We must have unselfish, far-seeing leadership, or we will fail." Du Bois called upon his aged brothers to recruit young, unselfish, honest, and highly trained men into their ranks. It was their responsibility to then train this group to be true workers for the masses. Du Bois suggested that they create propaganda causing "the emerging generation of Negroes in America" to lean and recognize that "the object of the world is not profit but service and happiness."²⁰

Long before Du Bois publicly re-examined his own theory, it was Booker T. Washington--considered by his chief biographer and most scholars not as an intellectual, "but a man of action"--who first challenged Du Bois and "The Intellectuals" along the same line that more modern members of the "iconoclastic tradition" did their respective foes. Beginning in the late nineteenth-century Washington defended himself against his opposition by

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

painting one-dimensional, critical portraits of them. In one of his last autobiographical sketches, he portrayed "The Intellectuals" as being "unfortunate and misguided young men" trained only in "mere book knowledge." "My experience," Washington declared in My Larger Education, "is that people who call themselves 'The Intellectuals' understand theories, but they do not understand things." Such "abstract principles of protest," the Tuskegeean pointed out, "did not solve the country's race problem." Washington also preceded Adolph Reed in challenging Black intellectuals and their economic relationship to the race problem. One class of intellectuals, the Tuskegee principal ascertained, "make a business of keeping the troubles, the wrongs, and the hardships of the Negro race before the public. Having learned that they are able to make a living out of their troubles, they have grown into the settled habit of advertising their wrongs . . . Some of these people do not want the Negro to lose his grievance, because they do not want to lose their jobs."²¹

Woodson advocated and re-invoked certain aspects of the Tuskegeean's program, namely a frank and almost cynical dismissal of certain Black intellectuals, a quest for autonomy, a strategic way to deal with Whites in positions of power, and a devotion to the Black masses through practical outreach work. In this sense, Woodson was very unique since nearly all Black intellectuals since Washington's death have sided with Du Bois. Besides Cruse in a very small way, Woodson is the only member of this study who openly defended Washington.

²¹Booker T. Washington, My Larger Education: Being Chapters from My Experience (New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1911), 114, 118, 120.

After Washington died, Woodson lamented that "the field of history lost one its greatest figures." Woodson recognized the Tuskegeean as a reformer, a visionary, and as a pioneering historian. Woodson and Washington never had a close relationship since Washington died several months after Woodson founded the ASNLH. Woodson met Washington only one time, in Chicago in the late summer of 1915 at the home of George Cleveland Hall. Washington was very impressed with Woodson's Education of the Negro Prior to 1861 and told Woodson that he would like to have him come to Tuskegee to present a lecture. "I am especially interested in what you said about Douglass's advocacy of practical education," Washington told Woodson.²²

Woodson reviewed all of the books on the Tuskegeean, praising Washington's life and work. For instance, in the early 1920s, he reviewed W.C. Jackson's A Boy's Life of Booker T. Washington and noted that while the author may have made some scholarly oversights, the reader "must commend this effort to popularize the record of the distinguished citizen who by his achievement demonstrated that the race has within it the possibilities of other groups." Woodson agreed with Jackson that Black youth should be taught to embrace and imitate the "bravery, courage, backbone, energy, fair-mindedness, honesty, wisdom, intelligence, judgment, modesty, patriotism, will power, self-control, and love of Booker T. Washington."²³

In The Negro in Our History, first published in 1922, Woodson sympathized with Washington rather than with Du Bois's camp. According to Woodson, in the late nineteenth-century, Washington stepped forth with

²²Carter G. Woodson, "Singular Honor," NHB 10 (March 1947): 128.

²³Carter G. Woodson, "Book Review," INH 8 (October 1923): 463-464.

"a new idea . . . as to move millions." Woodson noted that Washington's famous 1895 oration won him fame amongst White America, but he did not chastise him for that. Instead, Woodson defended Washington's theory of securing an education suitable to one's "peculiar situation." Woodson interpreted Washington's educational philosophy as being practical in laying "a foundation for the future." He understood Du Bois', Trotter's, and other radicals' opposition to Washington and agreed that he should be criticized for falling prey to "certain entanglements in which he of necessity had to make some blunders." But, Woodson concurred with his role model that "mere agitation for political rights" could not solve Black America's economic plight, the main problem in Woodson's eyes. In Woodson's estimation, Washington was "the greatest of all Americans, the only man in the Western Hemisphere who has succeeded in effecting a revolution in education." He especially applauded his ability to make education practical. Woodson supported Washington's program of industrial education because he realized that Washington did not seek to destroy higher education, but instead embraced a form of industrial education "for the masses of the people who had to toil."²⁴

Throughout the rest of his career, Woodson continued to defend Washington and expand his analysis of his program and philosophy. For instance, in March of 1947, the Negro History Bulletin recognized Washington for having a half dollar minted in his honor. The Bulletin reprinted his Cotton States Exposition oration, featured several photographs of the Wizard of Tuskegee, including a full size cover portrait, and assessed the aftermath of his famous speech. Woodson described how White

²⁴Carter G. Woodson, The Negro in Our History (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, 1922), 274-279.

Southerners embraced Washington's program, while most Blacks challenged him. "It is doubtful that he ever convinced the majority of his race that he was on the right track," Woodson said. Again, Woodson understood why the radicals challenged him, but he did not agree with anti-Bookerites writing after Washington's death. "No man had been so generally misunderstood by his own people," Woodson said. Woodson rejected the popular dichotomy of Black leadership.²⁵

Woodson defended Washington because they held many fundamental ideas in common. Several examples demonstrate this. He shared with Washington a belief that an important component of the Black struggle lay in a brand of economic independence and nationalism. During the Tuskegee Negro Conferences, inaugurated in 1892, Washington urged the Black masses to become self-sufficient farmers unbound to the exploitative sharecropping system. He told them, along with his students, not to waste their hard earned money on cheap jewelry, liquor, or other useless things. Washington instructed the Black middle-class and body of professionals, through mediums such as the National Negro Business League, to create and maintain Black businesses. He proposed to them that one solution to the uplift of the race was through a brand of Black capitalism. He reasoned that "the race" could achieved some success through the efforts of its "exceptional men."

Similarly, throughout his career, Woodson encouraged Blacks to establish and patronize their own businesses. Throughout his various columns, he also instructed Black people to turn within for salvation and to save their money. Like Washington, he was opposed to the accumulation of useless

²⁵Carter G. Woodson, "Honor to Booker T. Washington," NHB 10 (March 1947): 126-128.

material items. The main difference between the two, however, was that Woodson did not operationalize his ideas as successfully as Washington. During the 1930s, for instance, Woodson, despite his claims, was not able to fully support a Black business. The ASNLH was in great debt throughout the 1930s, very much unlike the Tuskegee Machine.

Washington and Woodson both insisted that they alone ruled their respective institutions with iron fists. Yet, both also recognized that the Black community, while a vital source of organizational support, could not alone provide their movements with the necessary financial backing. Washington and Woodson shared a very similar view about the role of philanthropy.

From 1881 until Washington's death, Tuskegee relied upon the financial contributions of wealthy White philanthropists. It is said that Washington spent at least six months out of every year away from Tuskegee raising funds. Washington was a very effective fund-raiser. By wearing "the mask," he was able to make Whites felt comfortable in donating money to his institution. According to Houston Baker, Jr., Washington used his major publications to manipulate Whites into supporting his program. In his famous 1901 autobiography, for instance, the Tuskegeean consciously worked "minstrel's nonsensical stereotypes" in order to soothe and con his White readers into financially supporting his program.²⁶ Washington then used the money donated by a range of White philanthropists, from wealthy Northerners to Southern industrialists, to build and maintain Tuskegee and its various outreach services. From the late 1800s through 1915, he secured millions of dollars from J. D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, E. Julius Emery, Henry H. Rogers, William Baldwin, Jr., and Julius Rosenwald.

²⁶Houston Baker, Jr., Modernism and the Harlem Renaissance (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 27.

While he refused to wear "the mask" in a Washingtonian fashion, Woodson still fostered a similar relationship with White philanthropists. In order to launch the Black history movement, Woodson needed money. During the 1920s, therefore, he sought funding from the Carnegie Foundation, the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fund, and from the Julius Rosenwald Fund to run the Association. According to Darlene Clark Hine, Woodson's relationships with these major White philanthropists were "never harmonious and were attenuated by intermittent ideological battles."²⁷ In order to secure the funds, Woodson also had to be less vocal than he would have liked to have been. He also promised that his scholarship was not "propaganda," but "objective" history. In the end, however, Washington was much more of a strategist than Woodson. The Tuskegeean surmised that hiding his true colors for the material progress of Black people was more important than speaking his mind. Woodson could not play such games for too long.

Woodson still spent a great deal of energy in soliciting support from many small and large philanthropists to pay for the Journal, research, and publications from the 1920s through the early 1930s. Woodson used his relationship with leading White historian J. Franklin Jameson to open the doors to major White funding sources. By the early 1920s, however, Woodson's behavior evoked criticism from leading members of White philanthropic institutions. In sum, he refused to bow down to, or even take advice from, those who were in charge of giving the Association money. For instance, when the officers of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial

²⁷Darlene Clark Hine, HINESIGHT: Black Women and the Reconstruction of American History (New York: Carlson Publishing, Inc., 1994), 204.

proposed that Woodson affiliate the Association with Black universities in the 1920s, he refused to relinquish his autonomy. According to Hine, Woodson did have a clear strategy in dealing with White philanthropists. He seems to have been awarded monies from Rockefeller trusts in the late twenties and early thirties because he led his donors to believe that he would follow their suggestions. By the early-mid 1930s, Woodson's autonomy had a price. Because he was, in Edwin Embree's assessment, "a free lance worker," the major White philanthropic centers stopped aiding Woodson. For the last decade and a half of his life, the Association depended largely upon the Black community.²⁸

When comparing Washington's and Woodson's relationships with White philanthropists, it is important to note the significant differences in their situations. Washington was given money in order to construct buildings and fundamentally to pay for the physical maintenance of Tuskegee as a learning institution for Blacks in the South. Washington came of age during the "philanthropic revolution" in American history. The various donors to the Tuskegee Machine never really questioned Washington as to the use of the money. Washington also received support from philanthropists who talked to and encouraged each other to help sustain Washington's cause. Rosenwald and Carnegie both served as the Tuskegeean's chief supporters amongst the wealthy White community. Unlike Woodson, Washington also "flattered and cajoled" the wealthy and did not openly challenge them.²⁹

²⁸Goggin highlights the transition between Woodson being supported by White philanthropists and being supported by the Black community. See, Goggin, Carter G. Woodson, 77-94.

²⁹For a discussion of Washington's relationships with White philanthropists, see Louis R. Harlan, Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 128-142.

Woodson, on the other hand, was more outspoken than Washington. He did not swallow his tongue. The best he could do as a strategist was to briefly mislead his donors into thinking that he took their suggestions to heart. The times in which Woodson operated helped dictate that he not flatter Whites in the same way that Washington did. One of the only major Black leaders who was re-invoking Washington's tactics of being a "Janus-faced figure" in the 1920s and 1930s was Mary McLeod Bethune.³⁰ Another key difference between their situations is that Woodson needed money to fund a radical, revisionist brand of scholarship, whereas Washington sought funding to expand and maintain his Tuskegee Empire.

Washington and Woodson also shared a similar approach in challenging Black intellectuals to be practical and to recognize the role that they should assume in helping the less fortunate. In The Mis-Education of the Negro, Woodson sounds very much like Washington did in My Larger Education. While Washington's attack on Black intellectuals was triggered by a radical opposition to his program beginning at the turn of the century, the radical message of Woodson's polemic first published in 1933 does not represent a sudden change in Woodson's philosophy. Prior to the 1930s, Woodson defined the Association as an organization laboring to empower Black people, young and old, with a sense of self-knowledge and self respect. In publishing his by now famous 1933 polemic, Woodson was not turning over a new stone. It was part of his evolution as a scholar-activist. By the early 1930s, he found it necessary to adopt a new approach. In The Mis-Education of the

³⁰For a discussion of Bethune, see B. Joyce Ross, "Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Youth Administration: A Case Study of Power Relationships in the Black Cabinet of Franklin D. Roosevelt," in John Hope Franklin and August Meier, editors, Black Leaders of the Twentieth Century (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 191-220.

Negro, Woodson "doffs the garb of historian and assumes the role of commentator on education and educators, social uplift, religion, the professions and business in general as affecting the colored people of the United States," a writer for the Memphis Commercial Appeal accurately observed.³¹ One can trace the evolution of this line of thought, however, by reflecting on Woodson's life before the 1930s.

Woodson inherited a sense of rebellion from his father and grandfather. Woodson almost always spoke his mind. In this sense, he was more like Du Bois than he would have cared to admit. Woodson was also a very critical thinker. Several decades after he died, one of his closest co-workers said that his employer was so critical that he often "cruelly" hurt his employers seemingly on purpose. The best indicator of Woodson's critical, iconoclastic character before publishing The Mis-Education of the Negro is revealed by a perusal of his book reviews and "Annual Reports" in the Journal of Negro History. Between 1916 and 1950, Woodson signed his name to more than two hundred and fifty book reviews in the Journal. Unsigned book reviews were almost certainly done by Woodson as well. Though Woodson challenged White and Black authors for different reasons, he attacked all of those with whom he did not agree in a bold tone. Several examples stand out.³²

Woodson used the "Book Reviews" section of the Journal to vent some of his anger against leading White American scholars such as the 1917 review of a volume in Edward Channing's A History of the United States. He

³¹"Notes," JNH 18 (July 1933): 341.

³²In his monographs published before 1933, one can see traces of his iconoclastic character breaking through. For instance, in the final chapter of A Century of Negro Migration Woodson makes many observations about how Blacks have been victimized in America. In the last pages of The History of the Negro Church, he also offers a solution to Blacks' dilemma.

applauded his former Harvard professor for presenting a "new point of view," but indicted him for not capitalizing the word "Negro" and for not dealing with the contributions of Black people. Nearly a decade later, Woodson reviewed another volume in the series, calling it "a high mark in scientific research." At the same time, he was angered by the manner in which Channing claimed that Black people were non-intelligent based upon "matters of heredity." "That such an estimate of Negro intelligence and innate ability should come from Edward Channing is as surprising as it is disgusting," Woodson continued, "That a man of Professor Channing's ability should champion a theory whose advocates have become a laughing-stock in the scientific world is a matter of deep regret." Woodson attacked other historians who did not incorporate the Black experience into American history. He told Davis S. Muzzey that his text-book "conforms with the biased minds of pseudo-American historians who do not desire to publish to posterity the achievements of all people of this century." Woodson was equally as critical of sociologists. In critiquing Edward Byron Reuter's The Mulatto in the United States, he concluded that the distinguished sociologist was "fundamentally wrong" and deemed him an "ante-bellum proslavery philosopher disguised as a scientific investigator."³³

Woodson did not reserve his biting criticisms for White scholars. He challenged many Black scholars, often attacking their personal character and credentials as historians. Woodson was especially critical of Benjamin Brawley and W.E.B. Du Bois. Brawley (1882-1939), educator and writer, published many books in the field of Black history from the 1920s through the

³³"Book Reviews," INH 2 (July 1917): 325-326; "Book Reviews," INH 7 (January 1926): 215-218; "Book Reviews," INH 6 (July 1921): 377; "Book Reviews," INH 4 (January 1919): 105-106.

1930s. In reviewing one of his books, Woodson asserted that Brawley did not possess the proper credentials for writing history and that his work lacked "proportion, style, and accuracy" and "will hardly result in any definite good." Woodson posited that Brawley was one of those scholars who took advantage of the underdeveloped state of Black history:

As Negro history has been so long neglected, it will require some time to develop in this field the necessary standard to secure distinction between the significant and insignificant and between truth and fiction. On account of the emphasis which has been recently given to this study, many novices lacking especially the historical point of view have entered this field because it is so productive that it is an easy task to write a work therein. Benjamin Brawley whose chief preparation and efforts have been restricted to English is one of these novices. . . Mr. Brawley does not know history.³⁴

Woodson was even more critical of Du Bois. In 1920, he reviewed Du Bois's Darkwater. He acknowledged that his elder of seven years was a gifted creative writer, but he chastised him for not treating "the race question from an economic point of view." Woodson told the Journal readership that Du Bois was "at best a popular essayist with a bit of poetic genius." He then claimed that "in all of his discussions of the race problem his mind has not yet been adequate to the task of scientific treatment of the question." Woodson dismissed Du Bois' previous scholarship, including The Suppression and The Philadelphia Negro, and called upon Du Bois to create a new path as a scientific scholar. "It is hoped," Woodson concluded, "that Dr. Du Bois will take his task more seriously that he may finally write a scholarly economic treatise in this long neglected field." Several years later, Woodson

³⁴"Book Reviews," INH 7 (January 1922): 114-115.

reviewed Du Bois' The Gift of Black Folk. He seemed upset that Du Bois had written a "somewhat scientific . . . polemic treatise" composed in a "simple language" for a broader readership.³⁵

A perusal of a smaller collection of Woodson's book reviews indicates that Woodson's comments in The Mis-Education of the Negro were brewing in his thought more than a decade before its publication. Woodson first began publishing his ideas of this interesting polemic in the Journal in 1931. In a review of the fifth year of Negro History Week, Woodson challenged "successful Negroes" educated at the "best colleges" to help uplift the masses. "Statistics show that the large majority of the Negroes who have put on the finishing touches of our best colleges are all but worthless in the uplift of their people," Woodson continued, "If after leaving school they have the opportunity to give out to Negroes what traducers of the race would like to have it learn, such persons may earn a living, but they never become a contribute force in the elevation of those far down." Woodson denounced the educational system which misled "advanced Negro students" to despise "their own people" and to study things which "have no bearing on the tasks which they confront in life." As a solution, Woodson called for a revolutionary change in the educational training of Black intellectuals. He asked Black scholars to study the African background and to apply all of their studies to the uplifting to peoples of African blood. He called upon teachers of "ripe scholarship" to teach the children. In the "Annual Report of the Director" in 1931, Woodson assured his readership that his thought on the

³⁵"Book Reviews," INH 5 (April 1920):257-258; "Book Reviews," INH 9 (October 1924): 572.

subjects of the plight of the Black intellectual and professional would be elaborated on in a book.³⁶

In 1933, in the midst of the Great Depression, Woodson published The Mis-Education of the Negro. At the outset, he told his readers, as Booker T. Washington told his readership in the prefaces of many of his books, that he decided to present this volume to the public because many people "were deeply interested" in his ideas. He advertised his ideas as being, in some cases, "entirely new." Despite the confrontational tone of Woodson's essays, he claimed that he did not intend for his book to be a "broadside" against specific people, but instead he sought to provide a new set of solutions to how to best create an educated body of Black reformers in an age which supported narcissism. His main focus was explaining how "highly educated Negroes" had mislead, exploited, and had hampered the livelihood of the Black masses and explaining how this could be changed.³⁷

Woodson's book is broken down in close to thirty chapters which overlap, yet which are, for the most part, chronological. Though the book does not possess any footnotes, Woodson meshed history with polemics. While he had done this in earlier books, in this case the polemical comments outweigh the scientific scholarship. Woodson wrote in a very cut and dry language, but the reader must decipher for him/herself Woodson's many different diagnoses and solutions. The outstanding argument running throughout Woodson's text is that Blacks who have been educated at leading White and Black colleges and universities have failed miserably in helping improve the

³⁶"Annual Report of the Director," INH 16 (October, 1931).

³⁷Carter G. Woodson, The Mis-Education of the Negro (New Jersey: Africa World Press, 1990).

status of Black America. Woodson posits many explanations as to why and how this had come to be the case in the early 1930s. His various remedies address many different aspects of Black American life, including political, social, cultural, economic, and religious factors.

According to Woodson, the "educated Negro" acted irresponsibly because he was not trained to serve Black people. In Woodson's estimation, Blacks had been taught to hate Africans and the masses of their race. The "American educational system" made Black people "Americanized" and "Europeanized white-men." They were not taught how to apply what they had learned in practical manners. Woodson argued that Blacks did not get enough adequate training in fields like art, drama, and other more creative fields of thought. He claimed that educated Blacks sought not to change their educational philosophy, but instead sought to gain acceptance by imitating White America and by downplaying their own cultural individuality. Woodson rooted this mentality in the post-Emancipation education of Black people. He believed that during the Antebellum era, there were many sincere Northerners and Southerners who believed in helping Blacks to help themselves. After Emancipation, he argued that these "unselfish" workers were replaced by exploiters of "the race."

In Woodson's view, the educational system established by White philanthropists during Reconstruction did little to help Blacks deal with their unique disposition. It did not have the "spirit of their predecessors." Woodson found fault in both industrial education and classical education. The former system all too often turned out unprepared workers for the industrial market; whereas, the classical system did not teach Blacks anything practical or allow them to secure jobs. "We do not have in the life of the Negro today a large number of persons who have benefited by either of the

systems about which we have quarreled so long," Woodson concluded. Such systems continued to blossom, in Woodson's estimation, because Black teachers had not stepped forth and demanded or instigated change. On the other hand, they had been trained "to do what they are told" and were too afraid to challenge the system. Woodson declared that only "few mis-educated Negroes" challenged the system of White educational domination. In his view, most educated Blacks bought into the ideal of higher education, the "diploma-mill produce" system. Blacks went to college, he argued, to get a "darkter's 'gree" in order to get a job, make money, and buy happiness.³⁸

Woodson argued that getting a doctorate contributed to Blacks laziness and lack of scholarly activism. He argued that Black doctorates "not only lose touch with the common people, but they do not do as much creative work as those of less formal education." He accused Black scholars of resting "their oars" once they received their passes into the ivory towers of academia. Black Ph.D. degree holders had all too often, in Woodson's view, been made into "Doctors of Philosophy made to order." Woodson accused the Columbia, Yale, Harvard, and Chicago graduates of dismissing Black businesses and embracing brands of socialism and communism which did not originate from within the Black experience. He indicted them for failing to do the groundwork for Blacks in business. And, he also attacked the educated business owners themselves for being too individualistic and materialistic.³⁹

According to Woodson, one of the most detrimental consequences of being mis-educated at Black and White colleges and universities was turning one's back on the Black masses. Woodson believed strongly that the gap between

³⁸Ibid., 26, 15, 23, 34.

³⁹Ibid., 35.

the masses and the "talented tenth" was widening greatly. He noticed that this was especially the case in dealing with the church. He compared Black leaders of the late nineteenth-century with those of the 1930s and concluded that while nineteenth-century Black reformers "went off to school to prepare themselves for the uplift of a downtrodden people," his contemporaries went to school "to memorize certain facts to pass examinations." He accused Black educated folks of learning trades simply to exploit the masses for their own personal benefit. He also indicted Black leaders for adopting the religion of "the enslaver and segregationist." A lot of Black professionals, in Woodson's estimation, viewed their jobs solely as a way to make money. "Too many Negroes go into medicine and dentistry merely for selfish purposes, hoping thereby to increase their income and spend it on joyous living." Woodson's most blatant attack was upon those Blacks who considered themselves leaders of their people. He asserted that all too often leadership had been appointed to the Black masses without popular consent.⁴⁰

Woodson offered a host of solutions to the problems he saw facing the educated, middle-class, Black American professional and the Black masses. In simplest terms, he wanted all Black people to abandon "slavish imitation" and learn how to think on their own. Woodson called upon his people to be independent pioneers. He told them to make themselves indispensable in enterprises which others could not do. In order to achieve this, Woodson called for the development of "common sense schools" with dedicated teachers, not those "roll-top desk theorists who have never touched the life of the Negro." Woodson believed that the educated Black could solve his people's problems if he "would forget most the untried theories taught him

⁴⁰Ibid., 56, 65, 176.

in school, if he could see through the propaganda which has been instilled into his mind under the pretext of education," and "if he would fall in love with his own people and begin to sacrifice for their uplift." Woodson preferred grassroots leaders and reformers as teachers over professors from Columbia, Harvard, or Chicago. As if he were reading from the Bible, Woodson called upon highly educated leaders and teachers to be servants of the people guided by unselfishness:

The servant of the people, unlike the leader, is not on a high horse elevated above the people and trying to carry them to some designated point to which he would like to go for his own advantage. The servant of the people is down among them, living as they live, doing what they do and enjoying what they enjoy. He may be a little better informed than some other members of the group; it may be that he has had some experience that they have not had, but in spite of this advantage he should have more humility than those whom he serves, for we are told that "Whosoever is greatest among you, let him be your servant."⁴¹

Woodson also called upon the leaders of the masses to transform the educational system in which they were trained and operate to incorporate the African and Black experience.

While he did not overtly encourage political agitation for fear of turning the ASNLH into a tool of propaganda and he did not believe that politics was the key to solving real problems, Woodson did call upon Blacks to become more radical in their politics. He wanted Blacks only to use politics to better secure their goals when practical and to create a brand of politics "from within." Woodson observed that the political tradition in America oppressed his people for so long and that it was not designed to help empower Black

⁴¹Ibid., 44, 131.

people. In The Mis-Education of the Negro, Woodson advocated a straightforward, bourgeoisie economic nationalist platform. He believed that Blacks should patronize Black businesses. Yet, he warned his readers that such an alternative would work only if the Black businesses had the community's well being at heart. Ideally, he would have liked to have seen Black businesses flourish. On the more practical side, he advised Blacks not to become enslaved by the vices of materialism. He counseled Blacks not to waste money on unnecessary items. While he valued hard, manual labor, he discouraged Blacks from leading a life in industrial/vocational education. By the 1930s, such an approach was becoming impractical.

In The Mis-Education of the Negro, Woodson sounded very much like Booker T. Washington in both his candid diagnoses and practical solutions. Both critiqued the "Talented Tenth" for abandoning the masses in similar ways and both used very similar short stories from their own experiences to underscore this. Woodson echoed the Tuskegeean's belief that, in Woodson's words, "the exploiters of the race are not so much at fault as the race itself." Both shifted the blame from an oppressive White America onto Blacks themselves in order to stress that Black people could themselves determine their own destiny to a large degree. Both believed that dwelling upon the ways in which Whites oppressed their people was counter-productive. As writers and speakers they both wanted to help Blacks do for themselves without being pre-occupied with how their oppressors perceived or treated them. Woodson agreed with Washington that Blacks should strive to do what "others are not capable" of doing with equal success. Woodson and Washington shared a belief in sacrifice, service, morality, and thrift, all of which seem to be deeply rooted in biblical teachings. Many of Woodson's beliefs in The Mis-Education of the Negro sound like they were taken directly

from Washington's classic "Sunday Evening Talks" delivered in the Tuskegee Chapel.

Washington and Woodson, however, waged different battles in terms of educating Blacks. Washington was a chief character in the monumental debates between industrial education and classical education from the 1890s through the early twentieth-century. Woodson, on the other hand, was engaged in a great debate over who would control the education of Black America. Nevertheless, the bases of their educational philosophies were similar. Foremost, both saw education as a form of liberation and self-empowerment.

While Woodson focused more on injecting Black history into the curricula of Black and White colleges and universities, both believed that the key to education was genuine, first-hand experience. In Working with the Hands, Up From Slavery, and The Story of My Life and Work, Washington recounted many stories depicting the failure of highly educated Blacks to truly educate the masses. Woodson essentially made the same points in The Mis-Education of the Negro. Washington argued that knowledge of one's self came through labor, hard work, and diligently working the land. Like his eccentric colleague, George W. Carver, he believed that by working the soil and becoming one with nature, one could come closer to God. Woodson believed that the best ways to educate Black people was "from within." Like Washington, he believed that self-education was the best alternative.

Woodson also borrowed directly from Washington's outreach work. At Tuskegee, Washington trained students to be self-sufficient, unselfish leaders of men. The Tuskegee principal, despite historian James D. Anderson's argument that industrial schools failed to adequately prepare Blacks to survive in the industrial world, trained his graduates to be independent

thinkers and people who could make a living on their own. He also demanded that they be leaders of the Black community and contribute to its strength. Similarly, Woodson strove to teach Black Americans to love their history, culture, and, essentially, themselves. Black history was the gateway to self-knowledge for Woodson. Woodson also taught his students in similar manners that Washington did. He required them to make sacrifices for their people. At Tuskegee, students were taught the value of working beyond the boundaries of Tuskegee. Washington inaugurated a range of programs for the surrounding community. Similarly, by the mid-1920s Woodson began to create a host of programs and educational tools for the Black masses.

The Mis-Education of the Negro has been praised by both the Black Power era generation and the succeeding Afrocentric generation. Both generations, however, did not adequately criticize Woodson. Woodson's vision is not without its shortcomings.

Woodson elaborated upon the failure of the "highly educated Negro" to deal with the masses on a one-on-one level. He critiqued their "Talented Tenth" ideology. However, Woodson exhibited some of this classism himself. He believed that the masses still needed to be rescued from their state of "backwardness." "Sometimes you find as many as two or three storefront churches in a single block where Negroes indulge in heathen-like practices which could hardly be equaled in the jungle," Woodson continued his description of Blacks in Washington, D.C., "The Negroes in Africa have not descended to such depths." Like his "Talented Tenth" predecessors, Woodson believed at one level at least that the Black masses were "underdeveloped" and needed civilization as offered by a reformed, educated Black constituency. Ironically, what Woodson defined as being "heathen-like

practices" probably entailed characteristics which made Black American religion and culture distinct.⁴²

At times, Woodson also drew various shallow conclusions from history. For instance, in one case Woodson argued that Blacks refused to work under each other and to take orders from each other because "slaveholders taught their bondsmen that they were as good or better than any others and, therefore, should not be subjected to any member of their race."⁴³ Woodson assumed, for argument's sake, that enslaved Blacks internalized what their owners placed before them. Throughout the book Woodson oversimplified the historical record in order to hammer home his conviction that the Black upper/middle-class was failing in maintaining "the race" during the Great Depression. Woodson also did not consider that there were many Black scholars who did not resemble his convenient prototype. As it is the case with most radical polemics, oftentimes thier authors make broad generalizations which are not grounded in rigorous, documented study, but instead are the products of thier day-to-day observations and experiences.

How did others respond to Woodson's polemic during the 1930s? The Mis-Education of the Negro was reviewed in more than a dozen papers in the winter and spring of 1933. Most reviewers welcomed Woodson's book as a criticism of the American educational system. Very few recognized that Woodson's book represented a break away from his previous scholarship as well as an attack on the Black elite. Black scholars of the 1930s certainly could not simply ignore the relevancy of his assessment. But, most did not take him on in a public forum. Even those whom Woodson indicted

⁴²Ibid., 56.

⁴³Ibid., 122.

seemed to have welcomed his polemic. In The Survey, for instance, Alain Leroy Locke applauded Woodson's "articulate and reasoned" statement to a "very great dilemma."⁴⁴ While leading intellectuals like Locke may have agreed with Woodson's belief in re-orienting "the advance-guard" with the needs of the masses, few attempted this enthusiastically in educational terms.

The Mis-Education of the Negro represents one of the first major publicized assaults leveled against the Black bourgeoisie and the Black intellectual by a professionally-trained Black scholar. After Woodson's polemic, a handful of other Black intellectuals re-invoked his message in monograph-length polemics or lengthy articles. From the 1950s through the 1990s, E. Franklin Frazier, Nathan Hare, Harold Cruse, and Adolph Reed are among those who published thoughts echoing Woodson's study.

It was not until during the Black Power era that young Black activists and intellectuals responded significantly to Woodson's 1933 polemic. In this period of intense cultural rejuvenation, The Mis-Education of the Negro served as some sort of manifesto for the mental liberation of some young Black intellectuals. A handful of Black scholars of the 1960s and 1970s highlighted the relevancy of Woodson's observations. During the more recent Afrocentric movement of the 1980s and 1990s, many Blacks continued to celebrate Woodson's classic think-piece. Architect of Afrocentrism Molefi Kete Asante has deemed Woodson one of the pioneers of the modern Afrocentric struggle while presses like African World Press have recently republished The Mis-Education.

Why did it take so long for the Black literate community to respond to Woodson's polemic? There are several possible explanations. Perhaps his

⁴⁴Alain Locke, "Black Zionism," The Survey 69 (October, 1933): 363-364.

contemporaries did not see his book as being worthy of a formal response. Since these ideas were nothing particularly new to Woodson's thought, his colleagues were probably used to hearing him challenge the educated Black man to assume a vital role in the regeneration of his people. Others may have not responded to Woodson because the timing was not right. In 1933, during the peak of the Great Depression, Black intellectuals had more serious concerns than reassessing their commitment. Most were simply concerned with making a living. Others who may have been vehemently opposed to Woodson may have held back their concerns for fear of being labeled one of his "highly mis-educated Negroes." Still others may not have had access to publishing their ideas. The lack of response to Woodson may also reveal that "the Father of Negro History" did not have the respect of the Black intellectual community. Whatever the case may be, it is clear that polemics like Woodson's hold a special place in African-American intellectual history. In fact, there are only a handful of other well-known, Ph.D. trained Black scholars who launched similar attacks since The Mis-Education of the Negro was first published.

The second major attack on the Black middle-class, which includes Black intellectuals and others, was published by E. Franklin Frazier (1894-1962) more than two decades after Woodson's think piece was first published. Though Black Bourgeoisie is much more complex and scholarly in tone than The Mis-Education and Frazier disagreed with Woodson on many specific issues, Frazier was in many ways similar to Woodson.

Like Woodson, Frazier inherited his sense of rebelliousness from his family. He also came from a working-class family and had to work very hard for his education. Like Woodson, Frazier developed into a maverick scholar decades before publishing his iconoclastic study. Several years after

graduating from Howard in 1916, he was one of the first Black Americans to publicly speak out against World War I. From then on, his chief biographer Anthony M. Platt has noted, he seemed to take great satisfaction in challenging authority and the status quo. Throughout the 1920s, Frazier published several controversial scholarly articles, one of which was so radical that it took three years to publish and almost cost him his life.⁴⁵

Frazier was like Woodson in that he sought to dichotomize his writings into sociological studies written in a scientific, academic language and writings in a polemical language. While this may have been the goal for both men, neither was able to maintain a real dichotomy between the two. It was the meshing of these two styles which made their writings so unique and powerful for their times. Both also existed in times when it was extremely difficult for Black intellectuals to make a living. They both frequently commented on this and worked especially hard to gain recognition for the scholarly quality of their research and to gain respect for the Black intellectual community as a whole. At the same time, they did not hesitate to "call out" those members of their own community by name. While Woodson publicized his problems with Du Bois, Benjamin Brawley, Rayford Logan, and others, Frazier publicly challenged Robert R. Moton of Tuskegee, Charles S. Johnson, and other Black college presidents. Both were very critical book reviewers as well. These similarities help explain the commonalities in their studies separated by more than twenty years.

Frazier first published Black Bourgeoisie in France in 1955 as La Bourgeoisie Noire. He published it in the United States in 1957. In this study, the renowned sociologist was concerned about the role of the modern African

⁴⁵See, Anthony M. Platt, E. Franklin Frazier Reconsidered (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991).

American middle-class. Employing a historical perspective, he critically drew a portrait of how he interpreted the culture of the Black-middle class or Black bourgeoisie; he addressed how it changed over time; its complex character and interests; how it affected politics; its views of Black folk culture; and its relationship with the Black masses and White society. In simplest terms, Frazier defined his study as an analysis of "the behavior, the attitudes and values of the 'black bourgeoisie.'" He divided his study into two major parts: (1) an historical analysis of the economic and social conditions of the Black middle-class, their "real status," and (2) an analysis of their past and contemporary behavior and values.⁴⁶

Unlike Woodson's study, Frazier's work is multidisciplinary. It is a combination of sociology, history, psychology, and polemics. Frazier's ideas were also more complex than Woodson's were. His analysis of Black middle-class behavior was more intricate and profound than his elder's. While Woodson's 1933 book possessed no footnotes and reads like a series of lectures and conversations, like Booker T. Washington's Character Building, Frazier's study is well organized, adequately footnoted, and written in a scholarly tone heavily influenced by economic and social theory.

Frazier's thesis is straight forward. He argued that the modern Black middle-class, or the Black bourgeoisie--including businessmen, intellectuals, lawyers, dentists, preachers, teachers, nurses, clerical and social workers, and others--sought to divorce themselves totally from the culture and traditions of the Black masses and instead strove to integrate and assimilate totally into White society based primarily upon the accumulation of wealth and status-giving property and the whole-hearted adoption of White values. According

⁴⁶E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie (New York: The Free Press, 1957), 23-26.

to Frazier, the Black bourgeoisie had created and maintained an elaborate, yet illogical, "world of make-believe" which buffered them and their children from reality. Central to the maintenance of this escapist orientation are the myths that salvation could be achieved through economic enterprising and the accumulation of material items, the Black press, a devotion to conspicuous consumption, a total rejection of Black folk culture and the nineteenth-century philosophy of uplift, and the creation of "Negro society." For Frazier, this behavior results from the Black middle-class's "deep-seated inferiority complex."⁴⁷

The tragedy for Frazier's Black bourgeoisie is that since White society does not accept them as equals and they refuse to join arms with their oppressed brothers and sisters, they "seem to be in the process of becoming NOBODY."⁴⁸ They in turn become frustrated because they "cannot escape identification with the Negro" and are "subject to the contempt of whites." Frazier therefore concluded that the Black middle-class repressed hostilities and hated themselves. Unlike the masses, Frazier insisted, the Black bourgeoisie suffered spiritually because they had adopted Whites' values and patterns of behavior and could not "retreat within their own world."

What really makes Frazier's study "iconoclastic" and reminiscent of Woodson's classic think piece is that his indictments of members of the Black bourgeoisie are bold, uncompromising, and penetrating. His analyses share with Woodson's a sense of accuracy and truth stemming from a self-confession of some sort. Like Woodson's, Frazier's descriptions made those who might fall within the parameters of the Black bourgeoisie really re-think

⁴⁷Ibid., 24.

⁴⁸Ibid., 26.

the meaning of their daily actions and the overall function they had in the struggle for Black equality. Frazier's study also received much more scholarly attention than Woodson's because it was less polemical. Black scholars who were offended by Frazier's study may have felt more comfortable in responding to him because the thoroughness of his research and the complexity of his theory warranted some feedback. In addition, when Frazier wrote Black Bourgeoisie, he was a more controversial figure than Woodson was when he wrote The Mis-Education. By the late 1950s, Frazier was most widely known for his debates with Melville Herskovits and his work on the Black family.

The intricate manner in which Frazier organized his study and launched his biting attack on the Black middle-class reveals how he wanted others to buy his argument. It is therefore unsurprising that he relied heavily upon history to frame his case. In fact, the sociologist's study transcends Woodson's in terms of its historical framework. Frazier traced the roots of the Black bourgeoisie to the evolution of Black banks in the post-Emancipation era. Banks were, he argued, "the main symbols of the bourgeoisie spirit among Negroes."⁴⁹ According to Frazier, since the development of modern industry, Black "white-collar workers" have striven to attain money and status while turning their backs on the suffering masses. Frazier celebrated the "old" Black elite vanguard, the Black "genteel tradition" existing during and before the late nineteenth-century because in his estimation, despite their characteristic missionary zeal, they sincerely sought to help the masses of their people. Frazier believed that the new, modern Black bourgeoisie broke its ties to the "old" guard by substituting a spirit of

⁴⁹Ibid., 42.

unselfish reform with a dedication to conspicuous consumption. As such, a substantial part of Frazier's theory is economic. Woodson also stressed that the "highly educated Negro" made a living off of the masses and measured their success based upon their salaries.

Frazier's economic analysis is, however, more deeper than and different than Woodson's views and their views. Frazier argued that in the late 1800s, Black leaders created the myth that Black people's salvation could come through the development of Black businesses. He chastised members of the 1898 Atlanta Conference, Booker T. Washington and the National Negro Business league, the Colored Merchants Association, and others for convincing the Black middle-class that Black businesses constituted the best solution. Frazier believed that Black businesses had failed historically; that Blacks were not able to construct their own economic safe havens; and that many Blacks in business acted as middle men selling products to the Black masses as representative of White capitalists.⁵⁰ Woodson would have probably disagreed with Frazier's views of business in the Black struggle for freedom.

Woodson, born two decades before Frazier, advocated what his younger cohort deemed the "faith in the myth of Negro Business." Woodson did not believe that this was the main solution, but he did often comment that Black people needed to imitate other ethnic groups who migrated to America and support their own business ventures. Yet, like Frazier, he critiqued Black business entrepreneurs for turning their backs on the Black masses.

Frazier held the Black press, essentially members of the Black intelligentsia, responsible for dictating the behavior and thought patterns of

⁵⁰Ibid., 153-163.

the Black bourgeoisie. In Frazier's estimation, Black newspapers and news magazines, especially Ebony, created myths about successful Blacks. In his view, these organs did not present a realistic portrait of Black America, but instead highlighted and exaggerated the successes of Black in isolated endeavors. The press also, Frazier argued, supported conspicuous consumption amongst its readership.⁵¹ Though Woodson did not attack the Black press like Frazier, he certainly did not believe that the purpose of the press was to construct a "world of make believe." On the other hand, he urged Black intellectuals to publicize the history of their people and to publish scholarship which could help solve Black America's dilemmas.

Frazier's study is more sophisticated than Woodson's in terms of identifying the intricate characteristics of the Black bourgeoisie and in explaining their behavior. Essentially, Frazier stressed that a self-hating Black middle-class sought integration into White America through the accumulation of wealth and the denial of their blackness. Woodson and Frazier agreed on this point. But, Frazier added that the Black middle-class created a "world of make-believe" and a distinct elite "Negro society" in order to mask their rejection by Whites and their alienation from the architects of Black folk culture. This separate Black middle-class society, which exists in a social and cultural vacuum, is a world in which prestige rules and status is accorded to those who possess more material wealth and property and whose who can afford to attend debutante balls, pass out from drinking to much, ditch religion, shelter their children from reality, and play poker all day.⁵²

Frazier's detail and focus on conspicuous consumption is reminiscent of

⁵¹Ibid., 174-194.

⁵²Ibid., 195-212.

Thornstein Veblen's The Theory of the Leisure Class, first published in 1899. Though Frazier did not acknowledge Veblen as one of his intellectual foreparents, the similarities between their analyses are striking.

In The Theory of the Leisure Class, Veblen meticulously explores the evolution of leisure class values and spirituality from its inception through the modern, industrial era. Like Frazier's Black bourgeoisie class who sought integration based upon accumulation of material goods, people excluded from Veblen's small "legitimate" or "subsidiary" leisure class segment who created the "conventional standards" actively attempted to assimilate their attitudes. Due to their economic inadequacies, they often adopted the spirituality of the leisure class in more symbolic, non-economically determined manners. Like Frazier's case studies, they spent the small income they have on leisure class "paraphernalia" of all sorts.⁵³

In his diagnosis of modern industrial society, Veblen focused upon how economic forces transformed and molded the individual's human nature. The forces of technology, capitalism, materialism, and the "pecuniary standards" are too strong for the vast majority of humans to withstand. Veblen was very pessimistic in terms of solving this problem. He offered no real solutions. Had Woodson ever read Veblen, chances are that he would have probably agreed with the fundamentals of his theory, but he would have, no doubt, challenged the social theorist to develop more concrete solutions. Had Woodson lived another seven years, he probably would have leveled a similar critique against Frazier's study. No where in Black Bourgeoisie does Frazier present any solutions to the problems he described. His readership can assume that he would have called upon the Black

⁵³Thornstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class (New York: Dover Publications, 1994), 98, 136, 152, 86, 70, 163-164.

bourgeoisie to break free from their "world of make-believe"; re-establish their relationship with the Black masses; seek integration as social equals instead of assimilation; celebrate Black culture; and abandon their collection of social myths and their devotion to conspicuous consumption.

Frazier did not publish his solutions to the plight of the Black middle class until a few years before he died in an article featured in Negro Digest. In this instance, Frazier argued that Black intellectuals had failed to help the Black middle-class adequately deal with the problems of seeking assimilation into the American mainstream. He accused the Black intelligentsia of being restricted in thought, of being trapped by "the safe and conventional ideas current in American society." He even championed that there were no philosophers or thinkers whom commanded "the respect of the intellectual community at large." Frazier called upon his colleagues to recognize what slavery and second class citizenship had done to them; to "dig down into he experience of the Negro and bring out a transvaluation of that experience so that the Negro could have a new self image or new conception of himself; and "to provide a positive identification through history, literature, art, music and the drama." Frazier echoed much of what Woodson called for several decades earlier. In essence, both believed that Black Americans, especially the Black middle-class, needed to abandon their inferiority complex by rediscovering the culture of the Black masses and by learning about themselves.⁵⁴

Five years after Frazier died, sociologist Nathan Hare attempted to continue the debate raised by Woodson and Frazier in his controversial study

⁵⁴E. Franklin Frazier, "The Failure of the Negro Intellectual," in Joyce A. Ladner, editor, The Death of White Sociology (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), 58, 60, 65.

The Black Anglo-Saxons. Though he said that he did not discover Woodson's 1933 polemic until he was halfway through writing his manuscript, he did nonetheless feel indebted to the "Father of Black History." Hare was especially influenced by Frazier. Hare recalled how conversations with the aged scholar gave him the inspiration to continue the debate inaugurated by him and others.

Like Woodson's and Frazier's, Hare's thesis and agenda is straight forward. According to him, there exists in American society a distinguishable group of Black Americans known as "Black Anglo Saxons." These individuals, coming from a cross-section of the Black population and falling into many inter-changeable categories, are, in Hare's estimation, "chiefly distinguishable in that in their struggle to throw off the smothering blanket of social inferiority, they disown their own history and mores in order to assume those of the biological descendants of the white Anglo-Saxons," Hare continued, "they relate to, and long to be a part of, the elusive and hostile white world, whose norms are taken as models of behavior. White society is to most of them a looking-glass for taking stock of their personal conduct." From the outset, Hare's study shares several characteristics with the studies of his ideological forefathers.⁵⁵

All identified a group of Black Americans who in their minds sought to wholeheartedly assimilate into White American culture. All adopted a confrontational, almost disrespectful language and tone. They all also based their conclusions upon observing the culture of the Black middle class closely for many years. All seemed to write with such a closeness that one senses that their books were self-emancipating confessions of some sort or deep

⁵⁵Nathan Hare, The Black Anglo-Saxons (New York: Marzani and Munsell, Publishers Inc., 1965), 15.

personal reflections. "Probably all Negroes, the author included," Hare admitted, "at one time or another have been guilty of Black Anglo-Saxon behavior in some sphere." And, of course, they all voiced opinions which were hotly debated by literate Blacks.

There are also, however, some key differences. Hare's concept is ahistorical, in Oliver C. Cox's estimation "timeless." It represents only a contemporary critique of a class of Black Americans. It is, in essence, a critique of Blacks' behavior and thought in the Civil Rights era. While Frazier's study is rooted in some historical framework, however shallow and ideal, and Woodson sparingly and strategically drew upon the historical record, Hare simply claimed that the origins of "the Black Anglo-Saxon mentality reach all the way back to slavery when the children or descendants of white slave masters were given preferential treatment."⁵⁶ Hare also organized his study in a much different manner than his elders. Woodson's study is partly thematic and reads like a series of inter-connected newspaper columns. Frazier's work is sub-divided into two major parts, combining theoretical, polemical, and scholarly languages and approaches. Hare's book is simple. It is divided into a dozen chapters each of which describes a certain grouping of the Black Anglo-Saxon population.

Hare opened his attack on Black Anglo-Saxons with a biting critique of Black leaders whom he deemed "dignitaries." These "dignitary leaders" include spokespersons who have no power within the Black community at large, but instead have been appointed and hand-picked by the White power structure. These token leaders, including Martin Luther King, Jr., Carl T. Rowan, NAACP leaders, athletes and entertainers, preachers, and others,

⁵⁶Ibid., 16.

were not, in Hare's estimation, concerned with the welfare of the Black masses. Instead, they sought to increase their own personal prestige and worth by celebrating their accomplishments, however trivial, and by increasing the membership rolls in their organizations and, especially in the case of Black preachers, in accumulating material possessions and in attaining "conspicuous renown." While Hare chastised Black Civil Rights "dignitaries" for being unorganized and for not acting on behalf of the Black community at large, he focused on Black spokespersons' general failure to collectively help uplift, and set healthy examples for, the Black masses. Hare instructed ministers to highlight dimensions of Christianity which best suit Black Americans' dilemmas, "such as a policy of good deeds and sustained endeavors for self-uplift, based on admonition that everybody is responsible for his own salvation and that God helps those who help themselves." Black ministers must also, in Hare's view, stop imitating the White clergy.⁵⁷

Hare echoed many of Woodson's sentiments. In The Mis-Education of the Negro, the Association founder argued that Black leaders were selfish and needed to place the welfare of the community at the center of their philosophies. He held fast to the late nineteenth-century credo that sincere efforts of social uplift on behalf of the Black elite was a fundamental prerequisite to helping alleviate African Americans' problems. Though Woodson was critical of those Black ministers who drove cadillacs and advocated emotional and "other worldly" brands of religion, unlike Hare Woodson believed that there were enough Black churchmen who were at the forefront of the Black struggle for liberation.

⁵⁷Ibid., 35.

The next major category of Hare's study are the "image makers" and "mimics." While slightly different, both sought to integrate into White society. Like Frazier's Black Bourgeoisie and Woodson's highly educated Negro, "image makers" reject Black culture and dis-associate themselves from all patterns of Black behavior. These individuals go to great extents to demonstrate to White society that Blacks have the ability to act just like Whites. According to Hare, these conformists think that if they can eliminate Whites' stereotypes about Black life through their own examples, then they will be able to gain entrance, as equals, into America's political and economic workings. "Mimics" similarly imitate white mannerisms in hopes of being accepted into White society. "Individuality is traded for conformity and robotism, and Negro virtues--and vices--are exchanged for their white counterparts." Amongst themselves, honorific status and prestige is bestowed upon those copycats who can best assimilate into White culture. Woodson identified individuals like this in not as much detail as Hare or Frazier. For him, the problem was explained simply by Blacks' lack of knowledge about their history and culture and the tendency to seek individual success at any cost. Very similar to the "mimics" and the "image makers" were Hare's "Exiles." Simply put, these individuals sought to escape from the "Negro world." They accomplished this, according to Hare, by dis-associating themselves from "their true identity." They embraced integration and assimilation and they also believed that if they convinced themselves as well as Whites that they were not Black, White society would accept them.⁵⁸

Hare indicted the Black middle-class's quest for an education in a manner reminiscent of Woodson. According to Hare, many Black Anglo-Saxons

⁵⁸Ibid., 37-51.

strove to receive degrees of all sorts from wherever they could. This "degree class," he claimed, used their degrees as entrances into exclusive "cultured groups" and as tangible symbols of honorific status. Woodson was vehemently opposed to Blacks who treated the acquisition of degrees lightly. In The Mis-Education of the Negro, he admonished those who interpreted the Ph.D. degree as some sort of ticket to fame and status. He was easily vexed by those who claimed to be genuine Ph.D. holders. Hare agreed with Woodson and later with Frazier that "we do not find in the race a large supply of thinkers and philosophers." Like his predecessors, Hare argued that Black gravitated to scholarly fields because the lack of opportunities for educated Blacks elsewhere, it was easy way to imitate White thought, and because they have a "special need for answers to society."⁵⁹

In the last half of his book, Hare echoed much of Frazier's ideas and directly applied aspects of Thorstein Veblen's theory of the leisure class to the Black American condition. Hare argued that many Black Anglo-Saxons centered their lives around a quest for recognition, acceptance, honor, and status and worth by attending and hosting all sorts of social events; by joining countless organizations; by engaging in recreational activities--from sightseeing to just relaxing--which publicly reveal and symbolize one's available leisure time; and by dedicating themselves to a life of conspicuous consumption. Woodson probably would have agreed with Hare that many "highly educated Negroes" were much too materialistic and insecure; however, he did not analyze such behavior in such great depth as Hare and Frazier.

⁵⁹Ibid., 53.

Hare ended his commentary by re-iterating Frazier's conclusion that the main dilemma encountered by the Black Anglo-Saxon is that while he/she disowns his/her Blackness, he/she is not accepted by White society. Hare offered no real solutions to cure Black Anglo-Saxonism. He simply said that he believed that the Civil Rights movement was going to assume a more militant character and, ironically, that many Black Anglo-Saxons would be leading the way. As far as his own role, he hoped that his criticisms would contribute to this struggle.

Hare's polemic is considered within the "iconoclastic tradition" of this study because it possessed the major attributes of this body of thought. However, his work must be distinguished from Woodson's, Frazier's, Cruse's, and Reed's think pieces in terms of profundity and complexity. When analyzed in the context of Woodson's and Frazier's work, Hare's study appears to be fairly un-original. He borrowed greatly from Frazier, especially when describing Black Anglo-Saxons' patterns of behavior. At times he seems to have simply substituted his mentors' terminology with his own. Hare also borrowed immensely from Veblen's ideas concerning conspicuous consumption, prestige, and honor. Hare's readership could at one level add him to those intellectuals he deemed uncreative imitators. Hare's study is more like Woodson's than Frazier's in that it is polemical before it is scholarly or rigorous in its formulation. Hare's discussion is limited to the Civil Rights era and this movement is analyzed in a vacuum. The bulk of Hare's evidence comes from his own observations and a perusal of African American weeklies. Hare also distinguished himself from others who may have held similar beliefs in that he publicized his ideas in a bold, sarcastic, and biting tone--like Woodson, Frazier, and later Reed--and he, unlike his ideological mentors, named and dismissed a host of those he deemed Black

Anglo-Saxons. The extent to which his thoughts stirred debates within the Black intellectual community is evidenced in the reviews of his study.⁶⁰

In many ways, the most influential book in the iconoclastic group of this study was written by Harold Wright Cruse in 1967. Born in Petersburg, Virginia in 1916, Cruse belonged to a generation of scholars who were greatly impacted by World War II. As a youth, he attended public schools in Petersburg and Norfolk, Virginia and in New York City. His post high school education was gained in the Armed Forces Institute of the United States Military in the field of journalism in the early 1940s. Like many Black men of his time, he entered the U.S. Army in March of 1941 and served in Europe and North Africa until May of 1945. From 1945 to 1946, he worked in the Civil Service's Veteran's Administration. A year later, he entered the journalism field as a research specialist for the New York City Labor Press. His focus was Black Labor history and political affairs, and he also reviewed films and drama. From the early 1950s through the 1960s, Cruse developed into a free-lance journalist, a television film editor, a theatrical stage manager, as well as a drama producer.⁶¹

Before The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual was first published, Cruse had not officially entered the ivory towers of academia. In 1968, the University of Michigan invited him to teach as the Visiting Honors Professor. Cruse was instrumental in establishing the university's Afro-American Studies Program and became its first director in 1969-1970. Throughout the 1960s, he

⁶⁰According to Oliver C. Cox, Hare's study was one of the most controversial studies within the Black intellectual community.

⁶¹The biographical information about Cruse was provided to the by one of his former students, Janice Rowley Cooper in the form of various unpublished biographical sketches and curriculum vitae.

contributed to leading Black American run magazines and journals. He was also active in community and public affairs. He was, for instance, a political worker and social organizer for the Adam Clayton Powell Harlem Teams, Inc.; a Black History teacher at the Harlem Community Free Schools for Adult Education; and a guest lecturer at the New School for Social Research on Black labor, politics, and cultural issues. The ideas presented in The Crisis, Cruse's first major publication, represent an important part of his work and thought from the mid 1940s through the dawning of the Black Power era.⁶²

In the most broadest sense, Cruse's monumental study is similar to the works of Woodson, Frazier, and Hare in that he highlighted the drastic shortcomings of the Black creative intellectual, a group synonymous with Woodson's highly educated Negro, Frazier's Black bourgeoisie, and Hare's Black Anglo-Saxon. Like his colleagues, he called Black intellectuals all types of names, from "snobbish" to "weak-kneed" to "anti-theoretical" to sell outs to "superficial" to "phony." Towards the end of his study, he echoed Frazier's belief that the Black middle-class was essentially "NOBODY." Black creative intellectuals, in Cruse's mind, were "a rootless class of displaced persons who are refugees from the social poverty of the black world."⁶³

Ultimately, Cruse argued that Black intellectuals had not advanced in their thought since the 1920s. Since the era of the Harlem Renaissance, and especially during the Civil Rights struggle, Cruse maintained that Black intellectuals--mainly, but not exclusively, writers, playwrights, and social critics--had (1) consciously separated themselves from the culture, struggle,

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Harold Cruse, The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual (New York: Quill, 1984), 454.

and identity of the Black masses; (2) had adopted the American "materialist ethos"; (3) had embraced integration while abandoning nationalist tendencies; (4) had been co-opted by White liberals, Marxists, Communists, and so-called radicals; (5) had failed to establish a clear-cut cultural ideology and philosophy manifested in political, economic, social, and especially cultural institutions and concrete programs; (6) had not created a sophisticated, yet pragmatic, body of thought in which critiques emerging ideas within their own circles while simultaneously attacking monumental problems inherent in (White) American culture; and (7) that Black creative intellectuals had failed to challenge their foreparents since the days of the Harlem Renaissance.

In essence, Cruse adamantly believed that ever since the Harlem Renaissance, Black intellectuals had ceased thinking on their own and instead, like Woodson's, Frazier's, and Hare's prototypes, sought to gain acceptance in White American society even if this meant escaping from one's African-American cultural roots. Black intellectuals, he argued, needed to establish an autonomous cultural identity "from the Negro point of view."

While these are Cruse's most fundamental arguments, his study is much more intriguing and encompassing than the above points suggest. Cruse surpassed Frazier in terms of including a historical framework in his study. In fact, Cruse believed that the study of history had the potential of saving Black America and its intellectual representatives. In a very Woodsonian fashion, Cruse asserted:

The farther the Negro gets from his historical antecedents in time, the more tenuous become his conceptual ties, the emptier his social conceptions, the more superficial his visions. His one great and present hope is to know and understand his Afro-American history in the United States more

profoundly. Failing that, and failing to create a new synthesis and a social theory of action, he will suffer the historical fate described by the philosopher who warned that "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."⁶⁴

While the Virginia native sounded very much like Woodson in this instance Cruse's interpretation of history's function was different.

Indeed, Woodson believed that if Black people knew their history they would not make the same mistakes as their foreparents. But, he stressed that the study of Black history would instill within Black people a sense of pride and self-esteem. Roughly three decades later, Cruse argued that Black intellectuals in particular needed to study the thoughts, actions, programs, successes, and failures of their early twentieth-century foreparents in order to construct new lines of thinking, meshing the new with the old. He wanted his contemporaries and the younger, radical, Black thinkers of the Civil Rights movement and the early Black Power era to re-fashion certain aspects of Washington's, Garvey's, and Du Bois's thought to the more modern conditions in which they existed. Cruse wanted modern Black intellectuals to learn from the mistakes committed by Harlem Renaissance creative artists while expanding upon a handful of its movers' and shakers' critical outlooks. Cruse's study of more than five hundred pages is, therefore, very historical in orientation. Like one of his few ideological mentors, E. Franklin Frazier, he explained the failure of Black intellectuals, as he saw them, in a carefully thought out historical context.

Cruse's book is Harlem-centric. That is, he argued that Harlem was the national nexus for the Black community, the "pivot of the black man's quest for identity and salvation," the "Mecca for the intelligentsia." Cruse re-

⁶⁴Ibid., 565.

examined the romantic implications of James Weldon Johnson's Black Manhattan and envisioned the history of Black Harlem as one of the realization of economic nationalism and the emergence of an important cultural movement in Black American history. Yet, Cruse celebrated White American intellectuals more than their Black counterparts. According to Cruse, while the Mabel Dodge group critiqued the American materialistic ethos, capitalism, and racism during the so-called gay twenties, Black intellectuals did not. Because the Black bourgeoisie failed to support them, Black creative intellectuals relied upon "white cultural paternalism." According to Cruse, leading Harlem Renaissance writers, including Johnson, Hughes, and McKay, did not make any significant analyses of the period in which they rose to fame and these same intellectual power houses did not, he added, make any institutional changes in terms of cultural production and creativity. Cruse suggested that Black intellectuals of the Harlem Renaissance were too easily co-opted by White patronage, that they were "overwhelmed at being discovered." He also chastised them for letting others, especially Jewish leaders, become "experts on the Negro Problem."⁶⁵ Du Bois was the only Black intellectual to escape Cruse's harshest judgments during this era. He applauded the author of "The Criteria of Negro Art" for linking Black art and culture to politics and economics.

The intellectuals of the Harlem Renaissance did not, in Cruse's estimation, lay the foundations for independent, Black philosophical ways of thinking. "The Negro is, today," Cruse asserted in 1967, "the victim of the incompetence of radical social thought and the forty-year default of the Negro intelligentsia."⁶⁶ While most chroniclers of the Black past since the Black

⁶⁵Ibid., 52, 57.

Power era would argue that the history of Black intellectual leadership is one of radicalism or at least an even struggle between philosophies of integration and nationalism, Cruse posited that Black thinkers of the 1960s inherited the uncritical thought patterns of their predecessors coming of age during the 1920s. There is, therefore, in his estimation a concrete tradition of uncritical Black American thought from the 1920s through the 1960s.

After laying out the historical groundwork for his thesis, Cruse launched his attack on various Black and White intellectuals and organizations of the Harlem Renaissance period, the Civil Rights Movement, and the early Black Power era. His most biting critiques were waged against the "Harlem Communist Left," Marcus Garvey, Herbert Aptheker, Richard Wright, the Arts for Freedom, the Freedomways writing staff, Lorraine Hansberry, Paul Robeson, Richard B. Moore, John Henrik Clarke, the Negro Writers' Conferences, and the architects of the "Black Power" slogan. In this sense, Cruse distinguished himself from all his iconoclastic colleagues except for Adolph Reed. Cruse and Reed did not leave their readers guessing as to the identity of those they indicted. Only a few Black intellectuals escaped Cruse's scathing criticisms. Those who did receive his applause are members of the "iconoclastic tradition" defined in this study. Cruse recounted:

Taken as a whole, the black bourgeoisie in the United States is the most politically backward of all the colored bourgeois classes in the non-Western world. It is a class that accepts the philosophy of whites whether racial, liberal, progressive or conservative, without alteration or dissent and calls it leadership. It is a class that absorbs very little from the few thinkers it has produced--Martin R. Delany, W.E.B. DuBois, Booker T. Washington, E.

Franklin Frazier and Carter G. Woodson--men who left something behind them.⁶⁷

This characteristic of Cruse, his reluctance to spare many Black intellectuals from his critical sting, is one attribute which casts him beyond his times. He is at the forefront of a small revisionist body of Black historians who believe that we need to avoid romanticizing Black history. For Cruse to assume such a stance during the Black Power era was very radical. While some historians like Benjamin Quarles and John Hope Franklin took pride in writing hyper-objective, non-emotional history, very few Black historians provided in depth critiques of Black leadership, beyond the surface-level chastising of Booker T. Washington--something which Cruse himself challenged Black scholars to out grow.

Cruse transcended his fellow iconoclasts in terms of solutions. While Woodson, Frazier, Hare, and Reed spent a great deal of time and energy in describing and critiquing their case studies and little time, sometimes none at all, in offering detailed, practical solutions, Cruse provided his readership with a list of changes which he believed would help re-organize and define the Black intellectual's role and function in the Black community as well as in White American culture. The main reason why Cruse spent such a great deal of time critiquing Black intellectuals is because he believed that they could become the main agents of the cultural democratization of America. Like C. Wright Mills, he believed that the intelligentsia held the key to significantly transforming American culture and instigating historical change. The fact that Cruse relied upon the same class whom he criticized for the salvation of Black people earned Cruse some scorn from some Black

⁶⁶Ibid., 65.

⁶⁷Ibid., 327-328.

Power era scholars. Cruse provided many potential solutions hinging upon Black intellectuals.⁶⁸

He called upon Black intellectuals to abandon integration and to embrace Black nationalism. By nationalism, he did not mean a surface level affirmation of one's African heritage or the patronage of Black capitalists. He meant the adoption of "the Negro point of view" and the embracing of Black folk culture. He called upon Black intellectuals to create original ideas and to stop borrowing from White Americans and their European counterparts. Cruse would have liked for the "Lost Black Generation" to establish itself firmly along the cultural front and then link this new ideology to economics and politics. Cruse offered his readership a ten point plan for some basic "organizational objectives" which he felt needed to be employed in Harlem and could be applied elsewhere. These plans were practical and reminiscent of previous solutions offered by Black nationalists.

Central to Cruse's solutions was that Black intellectuals critically examine their historical evolution as a class. He maintained that the new generation of Black intellectuals needed to distinguish themselves from the "old guard" of the 1920s. Like Washington and Woodson to some extent, he urged Black intellectuals to deal with the masses more closely. Black thinkers, he argued, needed to teach Blacks what they can not do themselves and "become committed to basic political, economic, and cultural issues in the ghettos."⁶⁹

Cruse's study received a lot of attention from Black scholars. Contemporaneous reviews of Cruse's study are too numerous to explore in

⁶⁸Robert L. Allen, Black Awakening in Capitalist America: An Analytic History (New York: Anchor Books, 1970), 168-171.

⁶⁹Cruse, The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual, 541.

this study. It is clear that many Black intellectuals were offended and disturbed by his biting broadside. According to Robert L. Allen, Cruse's study had a great impact on an entire generation of Black thinkers, doing "much to shape nationalist thinking."⁷⁰ Despite the fact that the silver anniversary of Cruse's The Crisis "passed without remark," one scholar of the 1990s has made it his responsibility to take Cruse's and his predecessors' arguments to another level. The representative for the African-American "iconoclastic tradition" 1990s style is Adolph Reed, a professor at Northwestern, a journalist, and a radical grassroots political activist.⁷¹

On April 11, 1995, Reed at one level updated Cruse's critique in The Village Voice, a fairly popular newspaper among a segment of the American intellectual community. Like Cruse, Reed's assessment is bold in tone in that he challenged a group of Black intellectuals by name whom he thought were capitalizing on the conditions endured by the oppressed Black majority. His writing style and mechanics shares with Cruse's a fluidity and high level of sophistication. He intentionally mocked his subjects employing catchy, colorful, and carefully constructed sentences. In his brief, yet loaded, article, Reed attempted to provide a historical analysis of "Black public intellectuals" who rose to fame in the dawning of the 1990s. While such an approach is intriguing, his reading of Black intellectual history is over simplistic. His explanations do not parallel Frazier's or Cruse's level of depth or

⁷⁰Allen, Black Awakening in Capitalist America, 171.

⁷¹For a recent discussion of the significance of Cruse's study, see Hortense J. Spillers, "The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual: A Post-Date," Boundary 2: An International Journal of Literature and Culture 21 (Fall, 1994): 64-116.

sophistication. Instead, he posited many often romantic and shallow historical generalizations.

The "Black public intellectuals" of the 1990s who receive Reed's most biting criticisms include Cornel West, Henry Louis Gates, Jr., bell hooks, Michael Dyson, and Robin Kelley, "youngish black professors" in Reed's estimation "with ties to and visibility within the Cultural studies/cultural precincts of the Academic Left."⁷² Eventually Manning Marable is added to this group. Unlike the other iconoclasts of this study who had been thinking about their studies for a relatively long time, Reed was inspired to attempt to clarify the "Black public intellectual" phenomenon because of the various articles celebrating their presence in leading White American intellectual journals.

Reed maintained that despite their claims, "Black public intellectuals" constitute no new social and political identity in African-American history. He traced the origins of these 1990s thinkers to authors of nineteenth-century slave narratives, whom he claimed simply sought to take the center stage for all Black people. But, for him Booker T. Washington is the 1990s "Black public intellectual's" most "direct progenitor." Like most scholars, Reed misread Washington and claimed that his position as a Black spokesperson and leader was solely the product of White elites supporting of him. For Reed, the Tuskegeean was simply "the Racial Voice," "the free-floating spokesman" for Blacks during an era of segregation. Somewhat ironically, Reed failed to note that Washington shared many of his own views. The Tuskegee principal attacked Du Bois and "The Intellectuals" in a very similar manner as Reed did the "Black public intellectuals." They both, for instance,

⁷²Adolph Reed, "What Are the Drums Saying, Booker?: The Current Crisis of the Black Intellectual," The Village Voice, April 11, 1995: 35.

agreed that too many intellectuals were making money by studying the "Negro Problem." Had Reed acknowledged such a side to Washington, a major part of his argument, as well as the catchy title of his article, would have had to have been revised.

Reed proceeded to romanticize Black intellectuals in the post 1915 years. He claimed that from the 1920s until the 1940s the entire Black intellectual community was devoted to social activism and constituted a critical group of thinkers concerned with "the character and obligations of the Afro-Americanist intellectual activity itself."⁷³ Cruse would have challenged his younger counterpart to reassess the activities of the Harlem Renaissance movers and shakers. For him, the modern problems of Black intellectual identity were rooted in the very period in which Reed, like most conventional scholars, celebrates as unprecedented Black intellectual achievement.

From the 1950s through the 1970s, Reed noted that there was a noticeable decline in Black intellectual productivity. The White American anti-intellectualism of the Cold War era extended to the Black community; the Civil Rights Movement created "its own eddies of debate"; and during the Black Power era, Reed noted, Black intellectuals seemed to have become less sophisticated in their ideological orientations and pre-occupied with cultural politics. Reed argued that until the 1990s, these "discursive movements" were linked by their Black intellectual spokespersons' ability to participate in "public life" and to "express the will of racial collectivity." Reed indicted Black intellectuals deeming themselves "public intellectuals" in the early 1990s for abandoning the quest of their forefathers.

⁷³Ibid., 33.

According to Reed, the "black public intellectuals" have diverged far from the issues and concerns of the pre-Black Power era thinkers and have therefore become ineffective because they do not challenge each other at all and instead act as "a kind of Tuskegee Machine"; they are not passionate in their political approach; they are not deep in their thought and instead attempt to make the simplest ideas abstract; they do not know who their audiences are; and they have not cultivated their own autonomous forums for intellectual debate. For Reed, the modern "black public intellectuals" have inherited from Washington the sanctioning of "white opinion makers." For this critic, one can join the ranks of West, Gates, Dyson, hooks, and Kelley simply by getting noticed by the "white public sphere." Any articulate Black, in his view, can "wear the public intellectual tag."⁷⁴

Reed attacked all of his subjects for not being political activists or even rigorous intellectuals. For Reed, Gates "is the most complicated, most intellectually probing, and most consistent of the group." He also respects Gates for admitting that his is an elitist of some sorts. Reed does not think that West is a rigorous scholar and concludes that he has no real concrete program. While he admitted that Kelley's 1990 study was a solid piece of scholarship, he criticized his younger colleague for being too creative with history. Dyson and hooks received the greatest broadside from Reed. "Dyson and Watkins/hooks are little more than hustlers, blending bombast, clichés, psychobabble, and lame guilt tripping in service to the 'pay me' principle," Reed lashed out.⁷⁵

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Ibid., 35.

Collectively, Reed argued that these thinkers were nowhere close to their predecessors in terms of ideological sophistication. He was most angered with the "black public intellectuals" when they engaged in "code switching." He believes that when they apply European-rooted terminology to Black folk culture or mix and match intellectual dialogues with Black vernacular they are performing for White audiences in "minstrel quality." For instance, Reed argued that Kelley's reading of Black folk culture is contrived, that by explaining Black life in an intellectual terminology familiar to the White American intellectual community Kelley is performing for Whites and, at bottom, "climbing the tenure ladder and feeling good about our collective black selves through the pride of vicarious identification with the embedded sophistication of the folk."⁷⁶

In the end of his brief article, Reed called upon "black public intellectuals" to adopt a new approach by getting involved in intense political activity dealing with people's basic human rights.

Reed's brief article generated as much publicized controversy as Frazier's study and perhaps as much as Cruse's think-piece. Shortly after Reed's article appeared, Kelley wrote a letter to the Voice deeming Reed's article an outrageous statement stemming from jealousy. In Z magazine, hooks was upset that he ignored the feminist aspect of her approach. In 1995 and 1996, New Politics opened its pages to the debate and published a series of articles under the heading "Black Intellectuals in Conflict" and it was Manning Marable who took the lead in challenging Reed.⁷⁷

⁷⁶Ibid., 36.

⁷⁷See, Scott Sherman, "Fighting Words: Adolph Reed's Crusade Against the New Black Intellectuals," Lingua Franca (March, 1997): 38-48.

Marable defined Reed's article as a "polemical broadside, . . . a series of mean-spirited criticisms, . . . a polemical sledgehammer." He argued that Reed attacked the wrong group of Black intellectuals. The Director of Columbia University's African-American Studies Program would have preferred Reed to have challenged Black conservatives like Thomas Sowell, Walter Williams, Glen Loury, and Clarence Thomas. Marable defended all of Reed's targets, noting the relevance of their ideas and, in some cases, the political implications of their work. Marable also took issue with Reed's analysis of Booker T. Washington. For him, Washington had no real power, and the "black public intellectuals" do not wield any real, tangible power outside of their own ideological entourages. For Marable, Reed's position and approach "is not only irresponsible, but directly feeds into the retreat from anti-racist politics among white liberals and so-called radicals who are among the *Village Voice* readers." By embracing such an uncompromising, "mean-spirited" approach, reminiscent of Monroe Trotter, Marable believed that the former Yale professor was so far from the left that his ideas were not really taken seriously and that, in fact, like those whom he criticized, he himself was "outside the real experiences" of Black Americans. In the end, Marable invited Reed to "engage in a thoughtful; civil dialogue among ourselves--not a public mugging of black intellectuals who share democratic, progressive values."⁷⁸

In the next issue of New Politics, Marable's response to Reed was followed by a series of commentaries supporting both Reed and Marable. Included in this issue is the first of Reed's several responses to Marable. Reed responded to each of Marable's major criticisms and, in essence, amplified and clarified

⁷⁸Manning Marable, "Black Intellectuals in Conflict," New Politics 5 (Summer, 1995): 35-40.

his previous claims. In a patronizing tone, Reed extended his criticisms asserting that Marable, like the "black public intellectuals," was an entrepreneur and that he had no idea what genuine political organizing entailed. He also deeply resented that Marable implied that he should not publicly attack members of his own racial intellectual community. In the same issue, Marable responded to Reed in a very polite manner considering the charges leveled against him. Marable noted that Reed had a good mind, but that he had a "surprisingly poor grasp of African-American history" and engaged in "intellectual overkill." For Marable, Reed's "confrontational tone and harshness of tone" not only prevented him from creating a constructive dialogue with his colleagues but also took away from the validity of his observations. Marable ended his brief response by noting that contrary to Reed's claims, he was involved in progressive politics during the 1970s.⁷⁹

Marable's response to Reed's initial response initiated another response from Reed. In the summer of 1996, Reed reiterated to New Politics readers that "black public intellectuals" were nothing more than a "mutual promotion society." He challenged Marable to read his other publications more critically before critiquing him and in a most disrespectful manner, he claimed that Marable imagined his political activism during the Black Power era. Reed did what he called some investigating into Marable's role in the National Black Political Assembly and announced that Marable was not an active leader of the NBPA as he had told New Politics readers. Reed claimed that Marable inflated his role in the NBPA and that his role therein was peripheral at best. Reed ended his rejoinder by reiterating his previous views of the "black public intellectuals" and Black leadership and by adding Marable

⁷⁹Adolph Reed, "Protect the Legacy of Debate" and "Manning Marable Responds," New Politics 5 (Winter, 1996): 61-66).

to his group of "black public intellectuals." Marable immediately responded to Reed's rejoinder, which he deemed "an absolutely scurrilous attack," by clarifying his specific role in the NBPA from 1976 through 1980. Marable also questioned New Politics for "promoting and encouraging this sort of dishonest and unprincipled polemic by Reed." The editors of the journal unsurprisingly denied such allegations.⁸⁰

The debates initiated by Reed's 1994 Village Voice article did not solve any of the problems concerning the function of the Black intellectual. If anything, it appears to have further polarized a group of gifted Black thinkers operating in the same historical conjuncture. Reed's comments echoed much of what Woodson, Frazier, Hare, and Cruse articulated decades earlier. Reed's focus, however, was on taking certain Black intellectuals to task for not critiquing each other; for transforming Black Studies into a business; and for not getting involved in radical, progressive politics. Reed did not, unlike Cruse, focus on the cultural aspect of this identity crisis because the 1990s requires a more practical solution. Reed also went beyond his colleagues, Hare and Cruse included, in critiquing and insulting his subjects by name. Marable was correct in noting that Reed's tone was extremely harsh and that this tactic alienated him. Reed also surpassed his elders in terms of the eloquence and sophistication of his prose.

At certain junctures in history, each of the iconoclasts in this study believed that it was necessary for them to challenge publicly some of their colleagues and to call for a re-evaluation of the Black intellectual's function in American culture and society. All of their ideas were unique for their times and received attention from the African-American intellectual

⁸⁰Adolph Reed, Jr., "Rejoinder to Marable On Black Intellectuals" and "Manning Marable Replies," New Politics 5 (Summer, 1996): 22-28.

community and in some cases from the leftist White academic establishment. In terms of their perceptions and willingness to articulate their thoughts despite contemporary trends, these thinkers are among some of the most insightful and independent minded. Hare was, hands down, the most unoriginal of the group. Frazier was the most sophisticated of the group. Cruse was the most meticulous in his scrutiny of Black thinkers of old. Reed was the most controversial because of his relentless attack on specific people. And Woodson was the most practical of the group. The Association founder was the only member of this iconoclastic cadre to attempt to solve the problems he described with concrete, practical programs. Those scholars who joined forces with him in democratizing and popularizing the study of Black History were re-defining the conventional role of the Black intellectual not only through their rhetoric but, more importantly, through their works.

CHAPTER VI

THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN WOODSON'S MIND, SCHOLARSHIP, AND PROGRAM

"Woodson himself lacked background for broad historical writing; he was almost contemptuous of emotion; he had limited human contacts and sympathies," and, Du Bois concluded in his candidly critical portrait of the ASNLH founder several months after his death, "*he had no conception of the place of woman in creation.*"¹ What the Great Barrington native may have meant exactly in the last point is unclear. Perhaps he was referring to the fact that Woodson never married; that the Association did not extensively employ women in many powerful positions during his reign; or that Woodson did not campaign for women's rights. Du Bois was probably, at minimum, critiquing Woodson for not dealing with women's role in history.

A perusal of Woodson's scholarly work supports Du Bois's assertion. Between 1915 until 1950, Woodson produced twenty-two books. None of the history books focused on or even highlighted Black women's contributions to American civilization. Take, for instance, Woodson's most famous text, The Negro In our History, first published in 1922. The first reference to Black women mentions how two women in South Carolina in 1754 "were burned alive" for resisting slavery. Then, in exploring dimensions of miscegenation, Woodson portrayed Black women more as victims of sexual exploitation than as active agents determining their own destinies. All of the other references to Black women are brief biographical sketches. Those

¹W.E.B. Du Bois, "A Portrait of Carter G. Woodson," Masses and Mainstream 3 (June, 1950): 25.

historical figures he sees worthy of mentioning include Phyllis Wheatley, Harriett Tubman, Marie Louise Bitard, "a free woman of color in New Orleans in 1832" who owned slaves for benevolent reasons, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, Marie Metoyer of Natchitoches Parish, Louisiana, Ellen Craft, Sojourner Truth, Madame C.J. Walker, Meta Vaux Warrick Fuller, Mary Howard Jackson, Jessie R. Fauset, Angelina W. Grimke, Georgia Douglas Johnson, Leslie P. Hill, and S. Dunbar. Wheatley, Tubman, Craft, and Truth are pictured. The discussions of these individuals are so brief, however, that they could be condensed into no more than one page of the text, the space accorded to Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington.²

At the same time, in his first major text book and other popular books to follow, Woodson did in passing challenge the widely-accepted belief that slavery corrupted the Black family and Black womanhood. Challenging stereotypes of the time, Woodson proclaimed that Black women were not "loose women," that to the contrary "the moral sense of the imported African rebelled against such promiscuity." Woodson's brief defense of Black womanhood in The Negro in Our History, Negro Makers of History, or The Story of the Negro Retold was, however, moreso a defense of the race and did not restore the Black woman "to history as a full human being."³

Woodson explored the contributions of Black women more extensively in his analyses of contemporary African-American life. But, this greater

²Carter G. Woodson, The Negro in Our History (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1922).

³Carter G. Woodson, The Story of the Negro Retold (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publisers, 1935); Carter G. Woodson, Negro Makers of History (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1928); Patricia Morton, Disfigured Images: The Historical Assault on Afro-American Women (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1991).

coverage did not necessarily mean that Woodson incorporated gender into his analytical framework or that he even acknowledged Black women's capacity to significantly impact society on their own terms. In his 1934 study on Black professionals, Woodson made it clear that professional women were not an important factor in his analysis. "This is a survey not of the Negro professional classes," Woodson introduced his study, "but of the Negro professional *men* as they function in the community."⁴ Woodson's "professional man" was, however, a generic term for all Black professionals because women were not totally excluded from his analysis.

In exploring the history of African-American professional service, Woodson mentioned only a few women in passing. Women were included in his data noting the distribution of Black professionals by state for 1930. According to the 50th Census of the United States for 1930, Black women professionals were concentrated in acting, music, the teaching profession, religious, social, and welfare work, library service, and especially in nursing. Woodson's study focused on physicians and lawyers and by 1930 there were supposedly only seven Black female lawyers, judges, and/or justices, and less than fifty Black female physicians. In elevating the status of these professions, Woodson was suggesting that men's work was the most important. Woodson made no effort to explain why women were concentrated in certain professions. He did not even spotlight women in his chapters on any of the professions in which they were the majority, besides nursing. His discussion of nurses, moreover, indicates Woodson's willingness to acknowledge the contributions of a group of Black women professionals as well as his reluctance to place their work on the same level as

⁴Carter G. Woodson, The Negro Professional Man and the Community (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), xviii.

that of their male counterparts or to empower Black women in terms of agency.

In 1930, there were only four trained male nurses out of a total of more than four thousand. Woodson did not take special note of this, instead he focused on where Black nurses worked, their background and training, how their employers viewed them, their role in social uplift; and the problems they faced. He did, however, demonstrate his potential for making important gender analyses. Public health nurses, in Woodson's mind, were more often committed to social uplift than male physicians and he noted that single women made up the nursing profession because married life was not conducive to such a demanding life style.

The Association founder was, however, perhaps too sexist in his thinking to acknowledge that Black nurses were leaders in the same way that Black males in the medical profession were. Woodson believed that nurses were "natural" leaders in social uplift and implied that they did not have to work hard towards these ends. He drew upon his predecessors' beliefs that women were born sympathetic nurturers. Woodson also claimed that nurses and other Black female professionals did not get involved in major reform efforts like their male counterparts. For him, they were followers of male authority:

An examination of the records of nurses shows that they are leaders in their particular field, but do not enter upon many other efforts which invite the attention of physicians, dentists, and pharmacists. This may not indicate any defect in the training or practice of the nurses *but rather the inclination of women in this sphere as in most others to stand aside and permit men to assume the leadership in such matters.*⁵

⁵Ibid., 140. [italics mine]

As he failed to explore the presence of independent minded Black female public activists in history, Woodson would not acknowledge that Black female professionals of the 1930s could become leading reformers on their own. "Much credit is due also to the Negro nurse," Woodson noted in his conclusion, "who, encouraged by the Negro physician, has risen on the mind of intelligent people."⁶

From 1915 until his death, beyond a small pool of biographical sketches in the Journal and in his unpublished Encyclopedia Africana started in the early 1920s, Woodson authored one scholarly article which focused on Black women in a broad manner. "The Negro Washerwoman, A Vanishing Figure," published eight years after the first edition of The Negro in Our History directly challenges Du Bois's comment. It appears as if Woodson credited the race's survival from slavery to freedom to Black women who washed clothes as a profession and on the side. "In the history of no people has her example been paralleled," Woodson proclaimed, "in no other figure in the Negro group can be found a type measuring up to the level of this philanthropic spirit in unselfish service." During the Antebellum era, free washerwomen in the South worked in and out of the home to supplement and often overtake their companions' meager earning power. As such, Woodson maintained, they became the heads of their families. In the North, where Black men were often systematically excluded from skilled trades, Woodson viewed the washerwoman as being especially important. "Without the Negro washerwoman many Antebellum Negroes would have either starved in that section or they would have been forced by indigent circumstances to return to slavery in the South," he noted.⁷ As the

⁶Ibid., 325.

"breadwinner" and "important factor in the house," these successful washerwomen paid for their family's homes, the taxes, and for the upkeep of their residences. These women, Woodson found, were also active within the community and in social uplift.

After the Civil War and emancipation, Woodson argued that the Black washerwoman still assumed a vital role in the family and community. She was "a godsend" to impoverished male sharecroppers. In researching Black professionals, Woodson discovered that many "teachers, ministers, business men, and professional workers" were financially supported by the wash tub. Without the hard work and sacrifice of "noble women of this type," many men would have not had the means to enter such pursuits, Woodson concluded. Woodson also applauded Black washerwomen for distinguishing themselves from their highly uneducated counterparts suffering from an "inferiority complex." Woodson's article was in many ways ahead of its time for reconstructing the image of the "Mammy" as imagined by racist, White-authored scholarship.

This scholarly document raises many questions. If Woodson was capable of understanding the vital role of Black working-class women in the basic struggle for Black community survival, why did he fail to acknowledge the contributions of Black women public activists? Why didn't he, for instance, even mention Ida B. Wells while exploring the anti-lynching crusade in Negro Makers of History (1928)? Why did Woodson ignore the influential washerwoman in his more widely circulated books after 1930? He didn't even note her contributions in the many post-1930 revisions of The Negro in Our History. Furthermore, certain conclusions in "The Negro

⁷Carter G. Woodson, "The Negro Washerwoman, A Vanishing Figure," JNH 15 (July, 1930): 270, 272.

Washerwoman" were drawn from "data in questionnaires filled out for the ASNLH." Why didn't Woodson initiate an extensive study of Black women laborers in the 1920s or 1930s? He had plenty of data to do so. Was Woodson more like his predecessors than he would have liked to admit? Or, did he pick and choose when he wanted to offer more progressive views of Black women. His views of Black women became more ambiguous several years after "The Negro Washerwoman."

By the early 1930s, Woodson began writing articles and editorials for a range of newspapers including the Baltimore Afro-American, the Boston Chronicle, the Washington Bee, the New York Amsterdam News, the Louisiana Weekly, the Negro World, the Chicago Defender, the New York Age, and the Pittsburgh Courier. In these organs Woodson laid scientific orthodoxies to the side and honed his polemical style. He addressed a host of issues like education, segregation, the problems of African-American leadership, basic features of African and African-American history and culture, the Black church, World War II, the popularization of Black history, the role of Black businesses, and the Association's work. Woodson focused on African-American women in only one of these polemical articles. In the Pittsburgh Courier in December of 1932, he uncharacteristically called for Black females to replace Black male spokespersons. His call for Black female leadership is, however, partially articulated within a patriarchal discourse, demonstrating at one level how deeply entrenched sexism was within Black intellectual circles.

In mid-December of 1932, Woodson was invited to a mass meeting in Philadelphia through which a group of Black women protested the use of the term "Negress" by the White public. Woodson agreed that the term was "offensive," but he did not think that getting the word barred from the

dictionary was enough. "These women seem to be desirous of treating the symptoms of the disease rather than the disease itself . . . The important thing to do in this case," Woodson pointed out to Courier readers, "is to get at the causes of such an undesirable usage of words which once may have had different meaning." In his characteristically critical tone, he argued that Black men who opposed the term are hypocritical "since many of us treat our women as if they were not better than dogs." Almost archaically paternalistic, Woodson then called upon the men of the race to "protect," dignify," and elevate "our women" with moral suasion and employment opportunities at "a higher level." At the same time, he also indicted his male counterpart employees for sexual harassment. "You would be surprised to know the large numbers of our distinguished men for whom respectable women cannot work. Often before a women has been in one's office a week he wants to fondle and caress her," Woodson continued, "The next step is to take her out to dinner, and finally it becomes a fait accompli. His business establishment then changes into a trysting place, and soon employees and employers have the opportunity to live on unpleasant memories."⁸ In casting powerful men as the race's traitors Woodson, however, contributed to the myth of the defenseless, sexually victimized Black woman.

In terms of solutions, Woodson called upon Philadelphia women to organize cross-class, community "consumer's leagues" to make "the Negro just as much a producer as a consumer." He indicted the Black middle class, male leadership for their self-centeredness, for ignoring the masses, for "selling out." Women acted differently, Woodson reasoned. "Sometimes I am inclined to believe that if the women had more voice in our affairs we

⁸Carter G. Woodson, "Women Should Have More Voice in Our Affairs."

would be much better off. Our women are so much better than our men. It may be that they are not inherently so," Woodson ascertained, "but men have doubtless been touched by so many foul things of life that they have lost their sincerity and honesty. Certainly the women are more faithful to our people and they do more for the elevation of the unfortunate element than our men."⁹ At the same time, Woodson's explanation for why Black women were more grounded with the masses is extremely shallow and archaic. He implied that women were sheltered from the "many foul things of life." What Woodson did not note here, which he did allude to in The Negro Professional Man and the Community, is that women worked in professions which kept them close to the community.

As significant shapers of the past, Black women were rarely elaborated upon in Woodson's scholarly or popular texts. His discussion of Black females in his contemporary studies were minimal and sexist in orientation. And, he only authored one article which spotlighted Black women. Woodson did not encourage male or female scholars to conduct research Black women. One example stands out as an exception. In the early 1930s, he hired Myra Colson Callis to help Lorenzo Johnston Greene with The Employment of Negroes in the District of Columbia (1932). In the final chapter of this study, "The Household Employment of Negroes," she explored the range of factors influencing the selection and hiring of domestics, including experience, age, education, complexion, health, size, competence, appearance, and willingness to work.¹⁰

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Lorenzo Johnston Greene and Myra Colson Callis, The Employment of Negroes in the District of Columbia (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1932), 71-89.

The Journal of Negro History could have served as an influential platform for discussing Black women's historical experiences. Four volumes were published per year and each volume usually contained at least four major articles. Black women were not, however, featured extensively in Woodson journal as subjects or authors. Between 1916 and 1950, no more than ten articles in the Journal explored dimensions of Black women in history and most of these were authored by Black men. This is not surprising since there were so few professionally-trained female historians in the first half of the twentieth-century. Further, the vast majority of Black women who wrote Journal articles selected more gender neutral topics or simply imitated their male counterparts' standard socio-political foci. For instance, in the first several volumes of the Journal, two leading African-American female intellectuals contributed pieces. Neither Mary Church Terrell, one of the mothers of the National Association for Colored Women, nor feminist poet Alice Dunbar-Nelson focused on Black women's lives or history. At most, their early presence suggests that Woodson was less sexist in his selection of intellectual talent than his American Negro Academy counterparts.¹¹

In the opening volume of the Journal, W.B. Hartgrove invited other concerned scholars to delve into the lives of "noted colored women of Virginia." He chronicled the lives of Marie Louise Moore and the well known Fannie M. Richards. The former was noted for her ability to raise fourteen children and for single-handedly migrating to Detroit from Fredericksburg, Virginia in 1851 following her husband's death. Richards,

¹¹See Alice Dunbar-Nelson, "People of Color in Louisiana, Part I," JNH 1 (October, 1916): 359-374; Dunbar-Nelson, "People of Color in Louisiana, Part II," JNH 2 (January, 1917): 51-78; Mary Church Terrell, "The History of the High School for Negroes in Washington," JNH 2 (July, 1917): 252-266.

whose family followed Moore's lead, was one of the first Blacks to teach in Detroit's private schools. Hartgrove interviewed her roughly five years before her death. "With eighty-eight terms of teaching to her credit," Hartgrove concluded, "the number of pupils who owe part of their education to 'this gentle and cultured woman' accounts well up into tens of thousands, enough to populate a fair-sized city."¹² The Journal's second volume contained one article which only briefly touched upon a handful of famous Black women. Benjamin Brawley grouped Frances E.W. Harper with George Moses Horton and Alberry A. Whitman as being one of Black America's leading poets "in the long period between Phillis Wheatley and Paul Dunbar." In less than one page, Brawley critiqued her for not being original, for "lacking in technique." "Mrs. Harper was best when simple," he claimed. Sexism may have been at the root of his oversights, but he also indicted his male subjects for not producing, creative, "intense" work.¹³

During the 1920s only one article was published in the Journal on Black women, Elizabeth Ross Haynes' "Negroes in Domestic Service in the U.S." Haynes (1883-1953) was one of the most pioneering Black female intellectual reformers of her time. After attending State Normal School of Alabama, Fisk University, and the University of Chicago, she attended Columbia University where in 1923 she received the A.M. degree in sociology. As a graduate student, she researched Black laborers, focusing on Black women. Her interest in women in the workforce dated back to the late 1910s when she, Mary Church Terrell, Nannie Helen Burroughs, Elizabeth C. Carter, and some

¹²W.B. Hartgrove, "The Story of Marie Louise Moore and Fannie M. Richards," INH 1 (January, 1916), 32.

¹³Benjamin Brawley, "Three Negro Poets: Horton, Mrs. Harper, and Whitman," INH 2 (October, 1917): 384, 386, and 391.

others petitioned the first International Congress of Working Women in Washington, D.C. From 1920 until 1922, she worked with the U.S. Employment Service as a domestic service secretary and began researching the lives of Black working women more seriously.¹⁴

Haynes' M.A. thesis concerned all "those persons performing household duties for money." It was published in the Journal in 1923. This was very common. Woodson often published younger scholars' masters theses and dissertations in his journal. Haynes' highly statistical and technical study of slightly more than fifty pages and 1,771 case studies did not highlight gender variations. She only noted that from 1910 until 1920 there were more women domestics than men. She investigated the personal profiles of many of these domestics, highlighting their turnover rates, their ages and marital status, and their literacy rates. Given her background as a social activist, her methodology and conclusions are interesting. For instance, she ignored racism as being a fundamental cause for high turnover rates for Black women domestics and she did not consider sexual exploitation. She also did not really scrutinize the female employers whom she surveyed. At the same time, she did sympathize with the domestics' plights, such as loneliness, lack of breaks, and sub-standard equipment, while indicting the employment agencies for exploiting their workers. According to Haynes, Black domestics survived by unionizing and, more commonly, by joining churches and secret orders.¹⁵

¹⁴Ruth Bogin, "Elizabeth Ross Haynes," in Notable American Women: The Modern Period (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 324-325.

¹⁵Elizabeth Ross Haynes, "Negroes in Domestic Services in the U.S.," INH 8 (1923): 384-442. A year before her thesis appeared, she published an article focusing on Black working women. See Elizabeth Ross Haynes, "Two Million Negro Women at Work," Southern Workman 51 (February, 1922):

Before Woodson's death, Black women received the most attention in the Journal during the 1930s. Not all of this coverage was beneficial. In the dawning of the decade, E. Franklin Frazier began articulating his soon to be famous Black matriarchy myth in Woodson's journal. For Frazier, the slave mother was, as various biographies, autobiographies, and plantation records suggested, "the dominant person in the family," she was "the more secure symbol of parental authority and affection." Sexual relations between masters and slave women tended to give the mother in the slave family even a more dominant role that was the case ordinarily where the "paternity of the father and his place in the family received recognition," Frazier added. Articles such as "The Negro Slave Family" laid the foundation for the anti-female posture of his 1939 classic, The Negro Family in the United States.¹⁶

64-72. She probably did not turn this into a thesis because, one, there may have been a lack of sources and, two, it may have been too much of a politically charged topic for the field at the time.

¹⁶E. Franklin Frazier, "The Negro Slave Family," INH 15 (1930): 258 and 259. According to Patricia Morton, Frazier led the assault upon Black womanhood. His three major works from 1939 until 1957, Morton contends, "endorsed and furthered the hellish repute of black women's history" despite his attempts to discredit other white racist scholarship. Frazier's Black matriarchy theory claimed that during slavery the Black woman replaced the Black man as the dominant head of the household. "As a rule, the Negro woman as a wife or mother was the mistress of her cabin, and, save for the interference of master or overseer, her wishes in regard to mating and family matters were paramount," Frazier continued, "Neither economic necessity nor tradition had instilled in her the spirit of subordination to masculine authority." The University of Chicago sociology graduate also claimed that since slave women had to work in the fields so much that "it was not unnatural that she often showed little attachment to her offspring." E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Family in the United States Revised and Abridged Edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 102, 38. For an opposing view to Morton, see Anthony M. Platt, E. Franklin Frazier Reconsidered (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991). In the post World War II era, sociologists and historians alike drew upon Frazier's ideas with a fever. The most detrimental case of using Frazier's work to further

The lives of Black women were touched upon in Woodson's "Notes" section of the Journal usually after they had died and made some great contributions to the "life-and-death struggle." In some cases, he and his associates only mentioned Black women's contributions in passing. At other times, as it was the case with Emma Frances Grayson Merritt (1860-1933), Woodson praised women's contributions in depth. He praised this long-time educator for her leadership, dedication to "the cause," and her unselfishness. Woodson credited her with greatly impacting the education of Blacks nationwide.¹⁷

Still, there were not many biographical articles written exclusively on Black women history makers in the Journal during Woodson's lifetime. Sarah Remond and Phillis Wheatley were the subjects of brief biographical sketches in the mid-late 1930s. In 1935, Dorothy B. Porter, published a brief account of Remond's life and work. Porter noted that this abolitionist and physician fought to overcome racism and discrimination; joined the abolitionist speaking circuit; published in papers like the Anti-Slavery Advocate; ventured to England in 1859-1860; and that she even obtained a degree of medicine from a leading medical school in Florence, Italy in 1871. "The name Sarah Remond, then, should have a prominent place in the history of the Negro," Porter championed in a Woodson-like tone.¹⁸ Several

misrepresent Black women was Patrick Moynihan's infamous Report. For a thorough discussion of the background and controversy of the Moynihan Report, see Lee Rainwater and William L. Yancey, The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1967); Office of Policy Planning and Research, United States Department of Labor, The Negro Family: The Case for National Action (Washington, D.C., March, 1965).

¹⁷"Notes," INH 18 (1933): 351-354.

¹⁸Dorothy B. Porter, "Sarah Parker Remond, Abolitionist and Physician," INH 20 (July, 1935): 293.

years later, an Edward D. Seeber asked the Journal readership to acknowledge Wheatley's impressive contributions to American poetry like Voltaire, Jupiter Hammon, and Thomas Clarkson did.¹⁹ Neither Porter nor Seeber, especially the latter, go into great depth in analyzing their subjects' work or thought. Though during Woodson's lifetime the Journal did not feature biographical accounts or articles, men were the subject of far more of these types of articles than women.

Central to Woodson's cause was the dismantling of stereotypes about Black America perpetuated by racist, White scholarship. Vindicationist Black male scholars, however, often failed to radically reconstruct their Black women's historical identities. According to Patricia Morton, the "myths of Black womanhood" were supported by the vast majority of pioneering Black male scholars who sought to dignify Black women by transforming them into virtuous Victorian-like prototypes.²⁰ From time to time, Black female scholars even contributed to these myths. One example in the Journal stands out.

In a 1938 article, Jessie W. Pankhurst of Tuskegee Institute had the opportunity to help dispel the myths about the Black "Mammy" of the Antebellum South. But, instead she reinforced many stereotypes of Black women. According to Pankhurst, the "Mammy" was a real figure in Southern Antebellum history and played a very key role in the culture of many White slave holders. Unlike Woodson, she was not concerned with

¹⁹Edward D. Seeber, "Phillis Wheatley," INH 24 (July, 1939): 259-262. Seeber's article provides not real analysis of Wheatley, he simply notes how she has been treated by people such as Thomas Jefferson and scholarship.

²⁰Patricia Morton, Disfigured Images: The Historical Assault on Afro-American Women (New York: Praeger, 1991), 1-53.

dispelling the stereotypes surrounding the "Mammy" figure. She sought to highlight the "actual role" that she played "in the plantation households of the Old South." In doing so, Pankhurst probably had similar goals as Woodson when he celebrated the role of the Black washer women. He dignified the labor of countless so-called "Mammies." Yet, in an attempt to highlight the humanity and dignity of the "Mammy" in a scientific manner, Pankhurst may have done more in promoting a stereotype than in eradicating it.²¹

Drawing from the testimonies of mistresses, masters, their children, and racist scholars, Pankhurst painted the picture of a loyal, responsible, dependent, patient, devoted house servant. The Tuskegee Institute archivist argued that "Mammy" was a household servant who performed "drudgery work" and reared the masters' children like she reared her own. "She rested neither day nor night in her care and attention" to her mistress' children. Adding to Frazier's "Black Matriarchy" myth, Pankhurst claimed that the "Mammy" was "next to the mistress in authority and 'bossed' everyone and everything in the household." Pankhurst argued that the "Mammy" was respected like a member of her owner's family and that she was in total control over White aristocratic children, that there existed between her and her mistress some type of "freedom of intercourse." Pankhurst may have raised many important issues about relationships between Black female house servants and their mistresses which would later be explored by scholars like Elizabeth Fox Genovese decades later. But, in the end, based upon a host of unreliable sources, Journal readers were led to believe that there existed a

²¹Jessie W. Pankhurst, "The Role of the Black Mammy in the Plantation Household," JNH 23 (1938): 349-369.

group of elder female domestic servants who were completely devoted to their White employers, identifying with them completely.

Pankhurst's article of the late 1930s was the last major article on Black women which appeared in the Journal during Woodson's life time. This suggests that the role of Black women in history was not very important to the editor of the nation's leading Black historical journal. Woodson himself did not pay special attention to the place of women in the African-American struggle. In fact, in one sense he was very similar to his predecessors in casting mainly male heroes in his narratives of the Black past, while mentioning a few Black women here and there. His 1930 article in the Journal and his 1932 commentary in the Pittsburgh Courier therefore stand out as unique, almost out of line with his larger historical framework of analysis. If nothing else, such investigations indicate that Woodson had the potential to empower Black women as agents of historical and contemporary change. At the same time, the fact that such statements were so peripheral to his theoretical approach demonstrates that "the Father of Black History" was very much like his male predecessors and contemporaries who did very little or nothing to help change the negative images of Black women in American historiography, scholarship, and popular culture.

Woodson's views of women are not, however, as cut and dry as a survey of his scholarly writings or major newspaper articles may suggest. During Woodson's life time, women assumed important roles in Association activities. Though Black women were not elected to major Association offices and to the Executive Council until the mid-1930s, Black women made themselves visible in the Association's infrastructure during Woodson's life time. From the outset, women were hired as secretaries, book-keepers, and stenographers for the Association headquarters in Washington, D.C.

Knowing how hard Woodson himself labored and what he demanded of his assistants, these jobs must have been very demanding. Lorenzo Johnston Greene commented that he felt sorry for the young women who worked in the office because of their heavy loads and the fact that they had to endure Woodson's character. On occasion, Woodson acknowledged women's work in these capacities. After she retired from serving as the Association's Office Manager and Assistant to the Secretary-Treasurer, Woodson praised Miss A.H. Smith for her "faithful service" from 1915 until 1923. He publicly thanked her for remaining with the Association even after she was offered a higher salary elsewhere.²²

After the founding of Negro History Week in 1926, Black female teachers, club women, librarians, and social activists played important roles in popularizing the study of Black history. They set up activities in schools, such as book displays and pageants; they worked hard to advertise Negro History Week celebrations; and they established branches, clubs, and study groups throughout the country. Some women, perhaps responding to their male counterparts' reluctance to elect them in large numbers to powerful positions within the Association's national power base, turned to the branches as an autonomous outlet. During the 1930s, for instance, the Detroit Branch, under the guidance of Sylvia Tucker, was maintained by Black women.

Black women were key organizers and participants in the Association's annual meetings throughout the country. Women's clubs often helped sponsor events, hosted dinners, and organized the entertainment for the visiting members. While Black women were encouraged to take their domestic work skills into the public sphere, they were not welcomed into the

²²"Notes," INH 8 (July, 1923): 351.

intellectual ranks of panelists and presenters. The first reference to a Black woman contributing to the intellectual atmosphere of an Association conference was nearly a decade after the ASNLH was founded. At the Spring Conference in Baltimore, Maryland in April of 1923, N.F. Mossell of Philadelphia discussed the significant of teaching Black history to children. Six months later, Mary McLeod Bethune became the first Black female to present a major paper at an Association Annual Meeting. At the Spring Conference of 1924, Black women were even more visible. Mossell and Sadie Mossell Alexander made their presence known and Nannie Helen Burroughs presented a paper celebrating Black America's African ancestry. In the tone of a militant cultural nationalist, she argued that Black people survived in the New World because they hailed from a "superior" civilization.²³

This increase in female participation in 1923 and 1924 was followed by a period of close to five years during which women disappeared from the ranks of presenters. Not one Black woman presented a major paper at the Tenth Anniversary Annual Meeting held in Washington, D.C. from September 9-10, 1925. In the late twenties, however, Black women made some significant intellectual inroads. They were vital participants at the very successful annual meeting held in St. Louis, Missouri in late October of 1928. The opening session was the "Women's Negro History Mass Meeting" held in a Baptist church. It was very well attended by the people of the city, club women making up a substantial part of the crowd. Arsania Williams, head of

²³"Proceedings of the Spring Conference," INH 8 (July, 1923): 355. Bethune's paper, entitled "A Better Understanding Essential to Genuine Co-operation," was delivered at the Annual Meeting in Atlanta, Georgia in late October of 1923. See "Proceedings of the Annual Meeting," INH 9 (January, 1924): 105. For a discussion of Burrough's paper, see "Proceedings of the Spring Conference," INH 9 (July, 1924): 275-380.

the Women's Clubs of St. Louis, presided over the meeting. Sallie W. Stewart, President of the National Federation of Colored Women, discussed African cultural survivals in America and Myrtle Foster Cook, Chairman of the History Department of the National Association of Colored Women, discussed women's roles in popularizing Black history. At a later session, Zora Neale Hurston presented a paper on the role of the American Folklore Society, the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University, and the ASNLH in studying Black culture.²⁴

At the next year's annual meeting in 1929, Black women were also active presenters. Jane Edna Hunter, Mrs. H.R. Butler, and Charlotte Hawkins Brown all participated in the first public session. During the early 1930s, however, Black women were not invited to serve as major presenters at annual meetings. The first major scholarly papers which were focused on Black women were not presented at an annual meeting until the late 1940s by Cernoria Johnson and Jessie P. Guzman.

By the mid-1930s, several significant changes took place in the Association. In 1935, Lucy Harth Smith and Mary McLeod Bethune became the first Black women elected to the Executive Council. Then, at the Annual Meeting in Petersburg, Virginia in 1936, Bethune was elected President of the ASNLH "to fill the vacancy" opened by John Hope's death in February of 1936. Bethune served as the President of the ASNLH from 1936 through Woodson's death. Though Woodson ultimately possessed control over the Association, the fact that he selected Bethune over many eligible men is noteworthy. Bethune (1875-1955) was a good choice.

²⁴"Proceedings of the Annual Meeting," INH 14 (January, 1929): 1-11.

In early October of 1904, she opened Daytona Educational and Industrial Institute. She began her school humbly, from scratch. Like Booker T. Washington, she was a master fund raiser and by the late 1910s and early 1920s her school became increasingly successful. By 1923, the Institute was debt free with more than three hundred students and about \$250,000.00 worth of land. After merging with Cookman Institute of Jacksonville, as president Bethune kept Bethune-Cookman College running strong during the Depression.

When Bethune was selected to succeed John Hope as president of the ASNLH, she was one of the most all around, well-known, respected Black public figures. One scholar has argued that from 1936 until 1945 she was "the pre-eminent race leader at large."²⁵

In 1924, she was elected President of the National Association of Colored Women. In 1935, she was elected President of the National Council of Colored Women, an overarching organization which encompassed all Black women's organizations. And, from 1935 until 1943, Bethune was Director of the National Youth Administration's Division of Negro Affairs. Bethune was linked to many organizations in the Black community, such as the NAACP and the National Urban League and Black academia respected her as well. She also had a particularly close relationship with Eleanor Roosevelt who influenced her husband's decisions. It has been said that Bethune had a "carte blanche" to the First Lady's office. While these various responsibilities certainly limited the amount of time that Bethune could devote to the Association, she did manage to contribute to the intellectual climates of the

²⁵Darlene Clark Hine, editor, Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia, Volume I, A-L (new York: Carlson Publishing, 1993), 121.

annual meetings as well as serve as a well-known representative and publicist for the Association.

When he founded the Association, Woodson created offices to mirror the protocol of other major organizations of the time and perhaps to help distribute some of the Association's day-to-day work. In the end, however, Woodson was in control of the Association and, as revealed in their testimonies after he died, his co-workers realized this. As President of the Association, Bethune took care of the "presidential duties" as defined by Woodson. Though she was very busy working in FDR's "Black Cabinet," she attended most of the annual meetings during her presidency. She presided over many annual meeting discussions and Executive Council meetings. She delivered many non-scholarly addresses, five of which were published in the Journal from 1935 until 1951. In these papers, Bethune articulated her vision of the function of history and the role of the Black intellectual.

She was very much like Woodson in that she believed that the Association's work should be a search for "truth" and that Black scholars need to concentrate their efforts on popularizing Black history. The "social usefulness of scholarship and its findings depends on its translation into the common tongue," Bethune asserted in the mid-1930s. Like Woodson, she believed that Black historians needed to arm Black children with the knowledge of their "glorious" past of "marvelous achievement." She believed that Black children could be encouraged to overcome great obstacles, to "make new history," if they were exposed to what their foreparents accomplished. Like the Association founder, she also optimistically maintained that "world peace and brotherhood" would result from the introduction of Black history into White American culture.²⁶

At the same time, Bethune was less critical of Black people and American society than Woodson. In a speech delivered at the annual meeting in New York City in 1949, Bethune chastised Garvey for his "panicky back-to-Africa movement," but praised Black advertisers and capitalists whose interests did not lie in uplifting the masses. Further, while Woodson repeatedly announced the failure of American democracy to include Blacks, Bethune the optimist told Association meeting goers that democracy in America was "being born" and available to Blacks.²⁷

Despite these differences, Woodson believed that Bethune was a suitable president for the Association because of her dedication to helping those Blacks in great need and her ability to deal with a wide range of different personalities. According to one of her co-workers, "she knew how to wield influence." Though she claimed that she was intellectually humbled by the Association's scholarly composition, Bethune certainly humbled and challenged some of her colleagues who maybe did not totally embrace her pragmatic interpretation of scholarship or her so-called "Janus-faced" personality.²⁸

²⁶Mary McLeod Bethune, "The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History: Its Contributions to Our Modern Life," INH 20 (October, 1935): 409; Bethune, "Clarifying Our Vision with Facts," INH 23 (January, 1938): 10-15; Bethune, "The Adaptation of the history of the Negro to the Capacity of the Child," INH 24 (January, 1939): 9-13.

²⁷Mary McLeod Bethune, "The Negro in Retrospect and Prospect," INH 35 (January, 1950): 9-19.

²⁸B. Joyce Ross, "Mary McLeod Bethune and the National Youth Administration: A Case Study of Power Relations in the Black Cabinet of Franklin D. Roosevelt," in John Hope Franklin and August Meier, editors, Black Leaders in the Twentieth Century (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 191-219.

Many other less high profile Black women supported Bethune's quest to popularize and democratize Black history. Throughout his annual reports of the Director, Woodson noted the hard, "unselfish" work of women in raising money for the Association; promoting Negro History Week; maintaining clubs and branches; and in sacrificing for others. Among those to receive Woodson's highest praises were Susie R. Quander who headed the dollar donation drive with Charles S. Wesley in the mid-1930s; Jane Dabney Shackelford, a teacher based in Terre Haute, Indiana; Dorothy Porter, curator for the Moorland Foundation Library of Negro Life and History; Sylvia M. Tucker, the state representative for the Association in Michigan who in 1938 pleased Woodson by raising \$591.04 for "the cause"; and Hilda V. Grayson who, during the 1940s, worked closely with school teachers in rural areas as a "field representative."

Black women activists, writers, artists, and school teachers were especially active in making the Negro History Bulletin successful. From its inception in October of 1937 until Woodson's death, Black women were a dominant force on the magazine's editorial staff. In a 1943 article introducing the magazine's most active supporters, Woodson highlighted the contributions of many of his female co-workers. Beatrice J. Fleming and Marion Pride were among those regular female writers who contributed short stories for children. "They have," Woodson commented, "contributed so many stories that it has been suggested to compile them for republication as [a] volume." Woodson often encouraged non-Ph.D. holding women writers to write and publish literature for children. Other women who were instrumental in publicizing and running the Bulletin included Annie E. Duncan, Mavis B. Mixon, Eva B. Dykes, Esther Popel Shaw, Dorothy B. Porter, Wilhelmina M. Crosson, Mrytle Brodie Crawford, and Lucy Harth Smith.

Nearly all of Woodson's protégés and field workers were Black men. He did, however, send women into the field on occasion. Wilhelmina M. Crosson of the Bulletin's editorial board was one of these female field researchers. Beginning in the summer of 1945, she received a leave of absence from teaching in the Boston Public Schools to study "the intercultural approach in the Mexican Public Schools" under the auspices of the ASNLH. Woodson expected her to bring back with her significant insights into how to improve the teaching of Black Americans. Crosson also researched the African presence in Mexico. When she returned, she published a lengthy article in the Bulletin on her experiences and presented a paper at the Annual Meeting in Philadelphia in October of 1946. A year later, Crosson was elected to the Executive Council.²⁹

Crosson's article was not unique for the Bulletin. That is, women contributed writings frequently to the magazine. Black women teachers often offered suggestions for how to best popularize the Black past and how to make Negro History Week a success. Woodson often spotlighted these commentaries. Black women were also in charge of the "Children's Page" formally introduced in October of 1940. While the vast majority of this section's materials were gender neutral, Black women did, from time to time, highlight the contributions of women. For instance, in December of 1948, writers for the "Children's Page" offered teachers a lesson plan for third through sixth graders which sought to highlight the contributions of Mary McLeod Bethune, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, and Nannie Helen Burroughs

²⁹"Wilhelmina M. Crosson in Mexico," NHB 9 (June, 1946): 206, 213; "Wilhelmina M. Crosson Reports on Intercultural Education in Mexico," NHB 10 (December, 1946): 55-71.

in a manner that "the children may wish to emulate them in some way."³⁰

Black women also authored more scholarly articles about women. In 1944, Mary L. Williams explored the twenty-six poems in Margaret Walker's first published book of poetry, For My People. According to Williams, Walker's poetry addresses the Black struggle for freedom, Black southern culture, religion, and folklore. Overall, Williams noted that Walker's prose helps inspire within people the desire to make democracy a universal reality in America.³¹ Several months after Williams' article, Dorothy B. Porter published an article highlighting the role of Black women in American wars from the mid-eighteenth-century through World War II. Porter combed through primary and secondary sources to reveal the "courage in Negro women" as war historians, soldiers, nurses, spies, caretakers, Red Cross members, Y.M.C.A. volunteers, industrial laborers, and by World War II as service women working side by side with White women.³²

Lois Mailou Jones' function role in the Bulletin extended beyond that of those who contributed articles from time to time. For many years, Woodson employed Jones as a the magazine's artist and "Children's Page" co-ordinator. Jones' water color paintings, prints, and sketches added a sophisticated artistic dimension to the magazine. Her pictures usually complemented the text and revealed the various styles in which she was well-trained. By the time that Jones began regularly working with Woodson in 1937, she was an

³⁰"Lesson Plan Grade III-VI," NHB 12 (December, 1948): 61.

³¹Mary L. Williams, "'For My People,' A Re-Examination," NHB 7 (March, 1944): 129-130.

³²Dorothy B. Porter, "Negro Women in Our Wars," NHB 7 (June, 1944): 195-196, 215.

internationally accomplished painter teaching in Howard University's art department. Woodson was pleased with how she was able to put Black history and life into pictures, provided younger readers with creative activities, and how she worked with children. In the early 1940s, the Bulletin promoted her Saturday Morning Art Class in Washington, D.C. which she established in 1933. Like Woodson, she believed that teaching children was a vital part of the Black struggle for a new cultural identity, that the best way to learn was by doing, and that children had to demonstrate "originality of thought."³³

Woodson himself authored several articles which touched upon Black women in the Bulletin. During World War II, for instance, he wrote a short article in which he chastised the Daughters of the American Revolution for not including Black women in their organization. Woodson also praised the sacrifices and work of many Black women in the pages of the Bulletin. He encouraged Black female writers to pursue their craft. Jane Dabney Shackelford, an Indiana school teacher highly involved in Association work, received Woodson's highest praises repeatedly from the late 1930s through the 1940s. He celebrated her pioneering work in writing Black history at the level of children. The Association founder considered her My Happy Days and The Child's Story of the Negro unique since most children's books went largely un-noticed. Her publications made her "immortal" in Woodson's eyes. Woodson promoted her books by including reviews in many issues of the Bulletin and by placing her photo in many different volumes.³⁴

³³"The Saturday Morning Art Class," NHB 5 (April, 1942): 158. For a discussion of Jones' life and work, see Romare Bearden and Harry Henderson, A History of African-American Artists (New York: Pantheon Books, 1993), 381-388.

Woodson also served as a more direct mentor to Black women scholars. Jessie H. Roy, a long time member of the Bulletin's editorial board and a student of Woodson's at M Street High School in the fall of 1910, along with colleague, Geneva C. Turner, formed the nucleus of "a very enthusiastic Negro History Club" in Washington, D.C. in the late 1930s. They considered themselves self-taught children's book writers. One day, they decided to share some of their work with Woodson. After reviewing it, he was impressed and immediately thereafter Roy and Turner began working closely with the Association founder on a book of biographies. Woodson generously shared his time with them, as he did with many of his younger male disciples. "Often when the discussion of an historic figure was too interesting, Mrs. Turner and I would go with Dr. Woodson to lunch or dinner at the Y.M.C.A. (Dutch treat) or continue our study as we ate," Roy recalled, "If necessary we would return to the office and continue our study of a character even if it meant staying until late in the night."³⁵

It cannot be refuted that Woodson, like all other Black male historians of his time, did not pay much attention to the role of women in the nation's past. He made no special efforts to seek out Black women to contribute to the Journal and he did not devote a major publication or a study to Black women. He did not often make Black women keynote speakers at the Association's annual meetings. Mary McLeod Bethune was the only woman to assume a key leadership role in the Association during Woodson's reign and in many

³⁴Shackelford's contributions were routinely highlighted in the Bulletin. See, for example, "Jane D. Shackelford and Her Book," NHB 2 (November, 1938): 16; "Jane Dabney Shackelford Receives Nation-Wide Praise," NHB 8 (February, 1945): 107, 118.

³⁵Jessie H. Roy, "Some Personal Recollections of Dr. Woodson," NHB 28 (Summer, 1965): 186.

senses her power was symbolic than real. At the same time, Woodson welcomed women into the Association as equals in popularizing his people's past. He supported and praised many Black women's "unselfish work." This was something very unique amongst male scholars of his time. According to Gloria T. Hull, there was "blatant antifemale prejudice" during the Harlem Renaissance period. Many Black women writers were systematically excluded from the male-dominated circles of influence. Alain Leroy Locke, one of the most influential caretakers of the Harlem Renaissance, "behaved misogynistically and actively favored men," Hull has suggested.³⁶ Woodson, on the other hand, promoted the scholarship and public activism of many Black women professional and non-professional scholars whom he believed were devoted to "the cause" as he was. He seemed to have thought that Black women were better suited for secretarial and behind-the-scenes type of work for the Association, yet he did not consider women unfit to become scholars and public activists.

Du Bois, who asserted that the Association founder "*had not conception of the place of women in creation,*" transcended Woodson in his view and treatment of Black women, but even he was still not free from the vices of sexism. During the 1970s and 1980s, many female scholars, including Bettina Aptheker, Jean Fagan Yellin, and Nellie Y. McKay, celebrated how Du Bois championed female rights and positively portrayed Black women in historical and creative writings. Recently, one historian has revised this interpretation. Though he was a "pioneer in the transformation of even the most dehumanizing images of black womanhood into empowering symbols of worth," Patricia Morton contends, Du Bois, like his predecessors, casted

³⁶Gloria T. Hull, Color, Sex, and Poetry: Three Women Writers of the Harlem Renaissance (Bloomington: Indiana Univeristy Press, 1987), 7.

Black women as specific "types" and described Black female public activists in non-threatening terms.³⁷ This has been noted not to somehow justify Woodson's notion of gender, his sexism, or his ambiguous view of his female counterparts. Instead, it demonstrates that even the most progressive Black men coming of age in the first half of the twentieth-century had great troubles emancipating themselves from gender conventions of their times. Woodson's views of Black women were certainly not as radical as Du Bois', but they were far removed from those of Locke.

Woodson's views of Black women were at best ambiguous. While he did not highlight the roles of Black women in history, fight actively for women's rights, or extensively address the plights endured by his sisters, he published several important articles partially reconstructing images of Black womanhood; he at times welcomed Black women with open arms into a movement very dear to him; and he supported and celebrated their efforts at legitimizing and popularizing the study of Black life and history. The place of women in Woodson's mind, scholarship, and program could be interpreted as being one of his greatest *potential* contributions to the Black history and the Black historical profession.

³⁷Bettina Aptheker, Woman's Legacy: Essays on Race, Sex, and Class in American History (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1982); Jean Fagan Yellin, "Du Bois' Crisis and Woman's Suffrage," The Massachusetts Review (Spring, 1973): 365-375; Morton, Disfigured Images, 55-66.

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THE FUNCTION AND RESPONSIBILITY OF THE BLACK INTELLECTUAL
AS PERSONIFIED AND DICTATED BY
CARTER G. WOODSON AND LORENZO JOHNSTON GREENE:
A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL
ASSESSMENT

Volume II

By

Pero Gaglo Dagbovie

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of History

1999

PART THREE
LORENZO JOHNSTON GREENE, 1899-1950

CHAPTER VII

LORENZO JOHNSTON GREENE: THE EARLY MAKINGS OF A CREATIVE BLACK INTELLECTUAL AND HISTORIAN, 1899-1928

The formative years of Lorenzo Johnston Greene's life belonged to what historians have collectively labeled the "Progressive Era," a modern historical period, from roughly the 1890s through the 1920s, in which a universal impulse of reform supposedly characterized the American landscape. However, to describe the 1890s-1920s as being uniquely "progressive" is misleading and problematic for many reasons. Several historians have demonstrated the great limitation in Theodore Roosevelt's political rhetoric and reform legislation. Further, perhaps the pre-stock market crash 1920s constituted a "new era" of economic growth. But, in reality these transformations were only enjoyed and celebrated by a few. Industrial growth is said to have given rise to unprecedented growth in terms of the availability of raw materials, labor forces, technology, entrepreneurship, and an expanding domestic market. In the so-called "Progressive Era," railroads paved the way to more westward expansion and helped linked various big businesses, corporations skyrocketed, immigration increased, cities grew, and Horatio-Alger stories were being confirmed by a few. These changes were in many ways not "progressive."¹

¹The scholarship and historiography on "Progressivism" is vast. The development of this scholarship is recounted in many historiographical essays. See, for instance, Peter G. Filene, "An Obituary for the 'Progressive Movement,'" American Quarterly 22 (1970); George E. Mowry, The Progressive Era, 1900-1920: The Reform Persuasion (Richmond: William Byrd Press, 1972); William G. Anderson, "Progressivism: An Historiographical Essay," The History Teacher 6 (1973): 427-452; David M. Kennedy, "Overview: The Progressive Era," The Historian 37 (May 1975):

The industrial urban workforce was exploited. They lived in overpopulated, unsafe, and unhealthy tenements. The hours, living conditions, and the nature of industrial labor in the age of Frederick W. Taylor conflicted with their natural rhythms. Scientific management stifled the development of immigrants' traditional cultures of work, making work a monotonous task fit for machines. They also suffered high mortality rates. From 1907 until 1910, for instance, 3,723 immigrant workers were killed or injured at the Carnegie South Works. Certainly, workers resisted by formulating a class-consciousness, organizing unions, and striking. Strikes were, however, for the most part violently subdued by state militias and pinkertons. America's rural poor suffered in the decades from the 1890s to the 1920s. Following Reconstruction through the 1930s, many Southern whites and especially Blacks became sharecroppers exploited by high interest rates, low wages, and unfair mortgages. The destinies of landless agricultural workers known as "shifters" were often in the hands of landowners. The so-called "Progressive Era" was not to progressive towards women either. The establishment of the modern welfare system and Mother's Aid which came to shape it between 1910 and 1920 did not reach the masses because of nativism, gender and class division, politics, high standards of qualification, and the program's overall narrow scope. Though women suffragists were rewarded towards the decline of the era, gender conventions dictated that women stay in the domestic sphere. Even the female "progressives" themselves were steered into reform "suitable for women," such as settlement home work,

453-468; Daniel T. Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," Reviews in American History (December 1982): 113-132; Blaine A. Brownell, "Interpretations of Twentieth-Century Urban Progressive Reform," in David C. Colburn and George E. Pozzetta, editors, Reform and Reformers in the Progressive Era (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1983).

social work, teaching, and nursing. The "New Woman" was excluded from formal political decision making arenas. The "Progressive Era" was also a nightmare for most non-Anglo peoples in the United States. On 29 December 1890, for instance, American soldiers massacred 300 Sioux at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. As a result of the mounting U.S. unemployment rates coupled by the rising tides of racism in the 1880s, the Chinese Exclusion Act was first introduced in 1882 and later revised and strengthened in 1888, 1892, and 1902. It restricted Chinese immigration and denied those already in the country naturalization rights.²

The so-called "Progressive Era" in which Greene lived the first two decades of his life represented an era of violent oppression of Blacks, Black disenfranchisement, and heightened racism and discrimination. Ida B. Wells noted that in 1892 alone no less than 235 Blacks were lynched. Between 1888 and 1922, the NAACP noted that some 3,846 Blacks had been lynched. Between the late 1890s and 1919, there were large race riots in North Carolina; Atlanta, Georgia; Springfield and Chicago, Illinois; New Orleans; Washington, D.C.; and in St. Louis, Missouri. White rioters, often hand-in-hand with police forces, attacked innocent Blacks and terrorized their communities. During the "Red Summer" of 1919, there were more than twenty race riots and at least eighty three Blacks were lynched. In legal and constitutional terms, Blacks were disempowered when the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was declared unconstitutional in 1883. The Plessy v. Ferguson decision

²Herbert G. Gutman, Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America: Essays in American Working-Class and Social History (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), 30; Jacqueline Jones, The Dispossessed: America's Underclass from the Civil War to the Present (New York: Basic Books, 1992); Linda Gordon, Woman's Body, Woman's Right: A Social History of Birth Control in America (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1976); Ronald Takaki, Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans (New York: Penguin, 1990).

of 1896 began an era of legalized segregation, "Jim Crow" laws, which would remain largely in tact for more than fifty years in the South.

Racist thought laid the foundation for such treatment of African-Americans. Ideological racism, rooted deeply within the psyche of American culture, was rejuvenated in the late nineteenth-century. A wave of literature explaining and defending the new racial policies and advocating Black inferiority flooded academic circles. Scholars at leading White universities in various disciplines initiated and bolstered claims of Black inferiority.

William A. Dunning and John W. Burgess of Columbia University and Harvard's Albert Bushnell Hart led the anti-Black propaganda in history. Hart, who served on Howard University's board of trustees for several decades and worked with Du Bois and Woodson at Harvard, commented in his The Southern South (1912) that "the theory that the Negro mind ceases to develop after adolescence perhaps has something to it." In psychology, G. Stanley Hall, the first Ph.D. in psychology in the U.S. and the founder of the American Journal of Psychology, claimed that there were great psychological differences and "emotional traits" making Black people act in uncontrollable manners. In science, Robert Bennet Bean of the University of Virginia Medical School, claimed that Blacks' brains were underdeveloped. Early on in his career, sociologist Howard Odum asserted that "the Negro has little home conscience or love of him, . . . He has no pride of ancestry, . . . The Negro has few ideals and perhaps no lasting adherence to an aspiration toward real worth," Odum continued in a 1910 volume appearing in the same series in which Greene's dissertation did, "He has little conception of the meaning of virtue, truth, honor, manhood, integrity. He is shiftless,

untidy, and indolent."³ With very few exceptions, such ideas were largely unchallenged by White scholars until the modern Civil Rights Movement.

Black intellectuals from various walks of life and disciplines took the lead in vindicating the race. But, despite the efforts of Ida B. Wells, Anna Julia Cooper, countless club women, Du Bois, the American Negro Academy, and countless others, the most widely recognized leader of Black America during the first decade and a half of Greene's life was Booker T. Washington. Even though Washington was a behind-the-scenes anti-"Jim Crow" and anti-lynching activist, as a public figure Washington the tactician and strategist did not challenge the ill treatment of his people in a manner accepted by many other Black leaders of the time. In fact, while speaking before White audiences, in order to secure funding to sustain practical programs for the Black masses of Macon County and for his students, he reassured his powerful White listeners that his people would not agitate for the vote, civil rights, or for higher education.⁴

During this era, racist thought also became institutionalized in the general public via popular entertainment. By the late nineteenth century, various manufacturers and advertising marketers produced images that focused on Blacks' racial differences, portraying a carefree Black who seemed to enjoy "Jim Crow" life. Few Whites perceived these stereotypes as being inaccurate or dehumanizing to African-Americans. The infamous Sambo character became one of the most important icons in American popular culture

³Michael R. Winston, "Through the Back Door: Academic Racism and the Negro Scholar in Historical Perspective," 684-687.

⁴See various speeches in Davidson E. Washington, editor, Selected Speeches of Booker T. Washington (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1932).

beginning in the late eighteenth century. Soon, this stereotype entered nearly every sector of American life, including schools, churches, theaters, homes, and department stores. The vehicles bolstering this image were marketed towards high and low culture alike. There were children's books, popular fiction, popular magazines, stamps, penny post cards, advertising cards, films, and, perhaps most importantly, minstrel shows. "By the turn of the century practically every city, town, and rural community had amateur minstrel groups aided by the publishing of hundreds of low cost minstrel books containing full productions." Such exposure had a great affect on White America's perceptions of Blacks. One historian has argued that by the time of Greene's birth, the Sambo character had achieved an "iconical status" in American culture. In simplest terms, "Sambo was as America as pie, apple or cherry, and just as delectable."⁵

This mode of thinking was not limited to European descendants in America. It had international sanctioning. Greene was reared in during a very critical period in African history. The years from 1880 until 1910 represent the colonial conquest of Africa. The Berlin Conference from 15 November 1884 until 31 January 1885 and the Berlin Act of February 1885 justified the exploitation and oppression of Africans for commercial reasons. Colonialism was fundamentally an economic system of exploitation which was justified by White supremacist thought. In the late nineteenth-century, European imperial powers of the world began publishing unprecedented

⁵I.A. Newby, ed., The Development of Segregationist Thought (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1968), 3; Kenneth Goings, Mammy and Uncle Mose: Black Collectibles and American Stereotyping (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 13; Joseph Boskin, Sambo: The Rise and Demise of an American Jester (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 85, 122.

amounts of racist literature proclaiming the inferiority of Africans. Africans' cultures represented something inferior and exotic to those Europeans who began defining it, transporting it, and displaying it. Museums, "freak shows," and World's Fairs allowed all classes of Europeans and Americans to become first-hand witnesses of Africans' so-called savagery. Books from travelers, missionaries, and colonial officials demonstrate the manners in which continental Africans were declared inferior to Caucasians.

Clearly then, Greene was born into and reared in an era in which African and African-American humanity was denied simultaneously along many fronts. He was a product of what Rayford W. Logan would later deem the "nadir" of Black life. At the same time, Greene was born into a time with "a cadre of activists who after World War I would come together from vastly different regions of the country to form the cutting edge of a social, political, and cultural movement."⁶ A very influential generation of Black intellectuals, scholars, and leaders were born in the late nineteenth-century and the first decades of the 1900s. Among others, there were Jesse Fauset, Charles Johnson, Jean Toomer, E. Franklin Frazier, Rudolph Fisher, Oliver Cox, Ralph Bunche, A. Philip Randolph, Charles Hamilton Houston, Elijah Muhammad, Marcus Garvey, Langston Hughes, Zora Neale Hurston, and Woodson's "Boys." Taken together, these leaders and intellectuals generated some of the greatest changes in history, from founding the largest mass movement in African-American history to instigating a cultural movement which stands second only to the cultural revitalization of the Black Power era. Like those before them and those who would later build upon their efforts, the ideas and approaches adopted by these Black thinkers and spokespersons

⁶Anthony M. Platt, E. Franklin Frazier Reconsidered (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991), 11.

were molded by the times in which they existed, their unique life experiences, and their relationships with others. Lorenzo Johnston Greene was no different.

Greene, the sixth of nine children, was born in Ansonia, Connecticut on November 16, 1899.⁷ He recalled much less about his father's ancestry than that of his mother. His father, Greene once said, "divulged little information

⁷ The biographical information on Greene's early life before he began working closely with Woodson is limited. There are several sources on his life through the 1920s. In the late 1980s, Arvah E. Strickland published Working with Carter G. Woodson, the Father of Black History, Greene's diary covering several years of when he worked with Woodson. In the "Editor's Introduction," based upon personal interviews, Strickland briefly outlined Greene's life from 1899 until 1988. In The Papers of Lorenzo Johnston Greene, there are several documents shedding light on Greene's early life. In various correspondences, he shares stories from his childhood with close friends. His extensive curriculum vitae revised in 1988 helps fill in some of the gaps in reconstructing his long life. But, most importantly, there exists in his papers an undated, ten and a half page biographical sketch of Greene which succinctly chronicles his life and thought until sometime in 1948, indicated by the fact that he mentioned that he had recently been appointed the editor of the Lincoln University Journal and that the first issue of this journal re-named The Midwest Journal was "scheduled to appear on June 15." Even though Greene did not sign his name as author on the front page of this document, I am quite sure that he wrote this intimate sketch himself. The only other person whom I believe could have possibly written it was his wife, Thomasina Talley. The possible reasons why he wrote this detailed, yet brief, account abound. It could have been some sort of standard personal statement which he sent out with grant proposals and applications or perhaps a biographical sketch sent out to places where he planned to lecture. At a mid-point of his life, Greene could have also been taking stock of his life. Perhaps he planned to publish this brief personal statement in the Bulletin or in Lincoln University's campus paper. Most likely, however, this piece was written for the Connecticut Chronicle, a Black newspaper. The last several pages of the sketch deals with "the future development of Connecticut" and briefly discusses the "vital role" of the Chronicle in creating "a functioning democracy." Whatever the case may be, the document is very informative and will be cited in the remaining text as Lorenzo Johnston Greene, unpublished biographical sketch, The Papers of LJG, Container 1, Folder 8.

to his children concerning his background." According to oral traditions, Willis Hamilton Greene's family roots sprung out of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. He was born in Williamsport, Pennsylvania in the mid nineteenth-century. Before he married Greene's mother, Willis Greene had been married once and had at least one daughter whom Lorenzo later knew of. Arlington, Virginia, was the birthplace of Greene's mother, Harriet Elizabeth Coleman. She was born sometime in the immediate post-emancipation era, around 1870. Her parents, George and Louisa Coleman, were once enslaved and by 1880 they had five children and lived in Arlington. After emancipation, Greene's maternal grandfather became a farmer.

In 1888, while Willis H. Greene operated a canal boat on Maryland's Potomac River and worked for a Washington, D.C. wholesale grocer, he and Harriet Coleman were married. "Immediately following their marriage," Greene recalled, "the couple, lured by higher wages in the factories of the North, migrated to Ansonia, Connecticut."⁸ Greene's mother's family also migrated to Connecticut, affording him the privilege of a nearby extended family as he grew up. The Blacks and Whites who lived in Ansonia were chiefly working class. Many children in this brass, copper, and steel manufacturing settlement located in the Naugatuck Valley quit school to work in the factories at the age of ten or eleven. Factory work was a way of life.

In Ansonia, Greene's father secured a job as a teamster with a brass manufacturing firm, Wallace and Sons, which later became the Ansonia Brass Company. Willis Greene worked there for longer than his son would

⁸Lorenzo Johnston Greene, unpublished biographical sketch, The Papers of LJG, Container 1, Folder 8.

work full time at Lincoln University. Greene described his father as being "hard-working." But, his "meager wages of twelve dollars weekly" was not enough to support their growing family which had at least eight mouths to feed before the dawning of the twentieth-century.⁹ Greene recorded that his mother "like women of most poor families, did day's work, took washing and ironing into the home, cooked and sewed in order to augment her husband's wages." Greene's mother was a domestic of some sorts whose overall lifestyle may have differed significantly from her southern counterpart, but was also probably very similar in some respects. It appears, however, that she did not suffer the dangers that many live-in domestics encountered in the South. By bringing her work "into the home," she determined her working hours, her pace, and she could watch over her children while working. The children, especially the females, were probably socialized to see the dignity and importance of hard work and the significance of controlling the terms under which one labored. Greene's mother had the autonomy that working-class women relied upon in order to maintain their sanity and dignity.

Because times were hard for poor Black families anywhere during the "nadir," Greene's older brothers and sisters dropped out of school in order to further supplement the family economy. Unlike many Black Ph.D. holding scholars featured in Horace Mann Bond's 1972 study, Greene did not come from a privileged background. Nonetheless, his family and the community as a whole did support young Rennie's quest for an education during the hardest of times.¹⁰

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Strickland, "Editor's Introduction," xviii; Greene, unpublished biographical sketch; and for a provocative discussion of working-class

Greene's "early years were ones of hardship. It was difficult to get enough to eat, to maintain a serviceable pair of shoes," Greene recounted in the third person, "His clothing often consisted of 'hand-me-downs' from elder members of the family or those given to him by families for whom his mother worked." He recounted the embarrassment of sometimes, for lack of choice, having to wear his sisters' or mother's old shoes and a deceased female cousin's winter clothes to school. "When Lorenzo appeared at school in this female finery, his classmates poked fun at him calling his 'sissy.'" The young Greene continued to go to school and endure the ridicule of his classmates, most of whom were also poor. He must have been fairly self-assured and confident to transcend the frequent jokes poking fun at his appearance. Greene said that one of his sisters "who had musical talent" could not cope with not being able to "dress like the white girls" so she dropped out of high school mid way through her first year. Such an action was not uncommon for daughters of poor working-class families. In their classic 1929 study, the Lynds noted that daughters of the working-class frequently left school if they could not keep up with the fashion trends of their upper and middle-class counterparts.¹¹

Though he did not talk about racism in accounts of his early life, and even asserted that "racial antagonisms" were virtually unknown at Ansonia High School, one is led to speculate that he must have endured some prejudice as a child. Ansonia was home to few Blacks. In 1910, for example, of the 15,152

resistance and consciousness, see Robin D.G. Kelley, Race Rebels: Culture Politics, and the Black Working Class (New York: The Free Press, 1996).

¹¹Greene, unpublished Biographical sketch; Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, Middletown: A Study in American Culture (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1956), 163-164.

total population, only 413 were Black.¹² Bordering towns had even less African-Americans. As a result, Greene often found himself as the sole Black in his classes. Perhaps the absence of overt "racial antagonisms" can be accounted to class dimensions. Since the Greene family was of the same socio-economic class of the vast majority of Whites in the town, it is possible that they were absorbed into Ansonia working-class culture.

Even though he did not quit school like his older siblings and many of Ansonia's children, Lorenzo did contribute to the economic maintenance of the homestead. During his elementary school years, he earned some money by performing odd jobs, "such as carrying dinners to factory workers, sawing wood, cleaning yards, and cutting grass." These early experiences influenced Greene's ability to keep up with Woodson's demanding regiment and to make sacrifices on other's behalf later on in his life.

Greene found solace in school work as early as his grammar school days. While he liked spelling, geography, history, and reading, early on mathematics was his "pet aversion." His interest in history was not, however, pushed to the side. Greene very much enjoyed reading fairy tales and history in his spare time and found solace in the "ubiquitous libraries of New England." In his late forties, Greene commented that his early grammar school interest in history, which earned him several prizes as a youngster, "largely influenced his decision to make history his life's work."¹³

Greene declared that his high school years constituted "the happiest period of his life." He was very popular and active in both academic culture and

¹²Arvah E. Strickland, "Editors Introduction" in Working With Carter G. Woodson, the Father of Black History, xix.

¹³Greene, unpublished biographical sketch; Strickland, "Editor's Introduction," xix-xx.

extra-curricular activities. He was the president of the German Club, captain of the male debating society, a highly demanded speaker at pep rallies, and he was deemed the "class poet." All of this was accomplished at a high school where Blacks were nearly invisible. At one point in his high school career, there were only three Blacks out of a total student population of six hundred. He continued to work during these years, shining shoes, running errands, and stocking shelves in a local drug store. With the money earned, he purchased his clothes, bought his school supplies, and contributed to the family's survival, as his elder siblings before him had done. When he graduated from Ansonia High School in 1917 he was the only Black in his class. He was also the first Black graduate in the school's history. Greene graduated within the top three per cent of his class and he received the school's most prestigious award, the Pine History Prize. Greene's family and Ansonia's small Black community was very proud of the confident young man. He was the first of the family to graduate from high school.¹⁴

Looking at Greene's life through his teen aged years, one notices that he shared a lot in common with W.E.B. Du Bois, born three decades before him in bordering Massachusetts. Both came from poor, struggling families. Both were reared in the eastern United States in small towns where Blacks were greatly outnumbered. Both were popular students, active in school, and demonstrated intellectual superiority over their White classmates. Both worked several jobs to maintain their families. And both were the first Blacks to graduate from their respective high schools. At the same time, the two were also different. Greene came from a large family with a strong father figure, whereas Du Bois's father abandoned his mother and child about one

¹⁴Greene, unpublished biographical sketch.

year after Du Bois' birth. And, even though both enjoyed debating, the Great Barrington native became intrigued in a local brand of politics much earlier than his younger, Connecticut born counterpart. Du Bois seemed to have had a clearer sense of what he wanted to do after graduating from high school as well. This may be accounted to the fact that Du Bois, unlike Greene, did not have to worry about helping support a large household.

After graduating with an "exceptional" class, Greene's high school principal encouraged him to study law at Syracuse University. His family and other friends of the family encouraged him to study medicine. At the time, medical work was among the most popular vocations of "college-bred Negroes," along with teaching, preaching, secretarial work, and law. African-American college graduates choose these professions because oftentimes they were the jobs most open to them during an age of "Jim Crow" and because they felt a sense of duty and responsibility to their community and people. By becoming a physician, a preacher, a lawyer, or a teacher, the Black professional could give back to his/her community.

Despite his love of history and debating, Greene did not follow his principal's advice or his earliest calling. He decided to become a physician. Greene's decision was not unique. At the time there were slightly more than 3,000 Black physicians. It was a very practical vocational choice for a race conscious college-bound scholar after the Civil War. Often the victims of poor sanitation and poverty, Blacks were very prone to a range of diseases. Black patients were denied proper treatment from White establishments and Black doctors found it difficult to find a significant body of White patients. Black doctors and patients needed each other. The African-American physician in the era of segregation was "the most affluent member of communities with sizable Negro populations," Rayford Logan surmised.

"The Negro physician comes into immediate contact with the masses of his race," Kelly Miller added in an article written around the time that Greene made his decision, "he is the missionary of good health."¹⁵

Greene could not, however, enroll in college right away. His family was still struggling and so he worked for several years to once again help maintain the large household as well as to save money for his college experience. These several years after graduating must have been very trying ones for Greene. Intellectually, he was prepared to enter a culture of higher education. Instead, he joined the ranks of his former classmates who concluded their studies years before high school. One can only speculate that the recent high school graduate did not give up on his academic dreams. Surely, he still visited the "unibiquitous libraries of New England" and followed current events. But, unlike many of his contemporaries, he did not have the benefit of sharpening his intellectual blade against other promising young scholars of his generation or the opportunity to study under professionally trained scholars. During these years he was a self-trained scholar. In March of 1986, Greene told Arvah Strickland that while he did not save a lot of money, "he renewed his determination to get away from Ansonia before he became a 'slave to the factory whistle.'"¹⁶

Two years after he graduated from high school, he left his New England homestead for Washington D.C. in hopes of studying medicine at Howard University. Howard's Medical School was a very good choice. After May 31,

¹⁵Rayford W. Logan, Howard University: The First One Hundred Years, 1867-1967 (New York: New York University Press, 1969), 160; Kelly Miller, "Historic Background of the Negro Physician," INH 1 (April, 1916): 108.

¹⁶Strickland, "Editor's Introduction," xxi.

1905 when it was placed under the management of the Trustees, the Medical School at Howard blossomed. It changed from a night school into a day school and the University paid more of its significant bills. It boasted a separate library by the 1910s. The Medical School was first rate for the time. In the early 1900s, there were about seven Black medical schools in the country, five were "'in no position to make any contributions of value' to the training of Negro physicians who had the responsibility of caring for Negro patients." The several others did not have adequate financial support. Howard's Medical School, moreover, was the only one which required high school courses or its equivalent for entrance in the early 1900s. By 1923, the School of Medicine was the only department in the University to receive a class A rating by the "rating Association of America." By the time that Greene would graduate, practically every student passed the board exams. It is said that by October 25, 1925, only one of forty failed the exam.¹⁷

Greene did not join the ranks of Howard's prestigious medical corps upon arriving in Washington, D.C. The time off from school took its toll. Unprepared in mathematics, he failed the entrance exam. Kelly Miller, Howard's Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences from 1907 until 1919, directed him to Dunbar High School where Greene took math courses. Dunbar, founded in 1870 as the Preparatory High School for Colored Youth, was recognized as being one of the most prestigious public schools for Blacks. While Greene hailed from a humble, Northeastern, working-class family, most Dunbar's students came from the ranks of Washington's Black middle-class and bourgeoisie elite. This must have been an eye opening experience

¹⁷Logan, Howard University, 162, 223-224.

for Greene, moving away from the drudgery of factory work and into a high-brow Black academic culture.¹⁸

By 1920, Greene entered Howard still planning to study medicine. By the end of his second year, he had fulfilled the pre-medical requirements. He did not abandon his childhood interest in history. He continued to take classes in the social sciences and decided to delay entering the Medical School until the end of his junior year of study. During his last year, he enrolled in history courses, the only classes that fit into his busy work schedule. Walter Dyson, Leo Hansberry, and most importantly by Charles H. Wesley molded his early perceptions of history. In different ways, they re-invoked his love of history and challenged him to re-assess what it meant to be a Black historian. He also took classes from Lorenzo D. Turner and Alain Leroy Locke in linguistics and philosophy and aesthetics respectively.

Greene greatly admired Wesley and spoke highly of Turner. On the other hand, he was highly critical of Hansberry and Locke. According to Greene, Hansberry did not possess the proper "qualifications for serious study, possessing only a B.S. degree, and that a War Diploma," Greene continued his 1928 critical assessment of the Howard African History instructor, "Without biology, which is fundamental, lacking familiarity with French, German, Portuguese, and Arabic, in which languages everything worthwhile on Africa has been written, he is like a man who goes fishing with a bare hook." The "real genius" of Hansberry, in Greene's eyes, was his "extraordinary ability to attract students to his course from the sake of an easy passing grade." Greene added in a late 1929 journal entry that he himself was "better prepared for

¹⁸Mary Gibson Hundley, The Dunbar Story (New York: Vantage Press, 1965); Janken, Rayford Logan and the Dilemma of the African-American Intellectual (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1993).

serious historiography" than his former teacher. Locke was equally as useless in Greene's estimation. He was "disappointing" in Greene's view. "For all his superior education--and I doubt whether any Negro in America has had the benefit of better training--he has produced nothing original." Apparently, Greene did not consider any of this Rhodes Scholar's philosophical studies or essays on the "New Negro" as being authentic. Like more modern critics, he may have been un-impressed with Locke's attempt to legitimize Black art and culture within frameworks rooted in European thought derivatives. Greene also did not care for this man of "superfine culture" because "he lacks the practicality of Woodson."¹⁹

The shift to studying history was for Greene "the turning point in his career." Howard, and Washington, D.C. in general, was a Mecca of the Black intelligentsia. In many respects, Greene and others were fortunate to attend Black colleges in the "Jim Crow" era. Before integration, leading Black scholars were concentrated at Black universities such as Howard, Lincoln University, Missouri, Southern University, Louisiana, Atlanta University, and others. At Howard, for instance, as late as 1940 Charles Drew, Sterling Brown, E. Franklin Frazier, Rayford Logan, and Alain Locke were among the faculty.

In his memoirs, Greene did not talk too much about his experiences in Washington, D.C. in the early 1920s. He briefly commented on his various professors and his social life in his diary from 1928 to 1930. Greene, who went to Howard as "a young idealist," made many friends there, but we was not impressed with the disposition of some of the students. He did not enjoy the social life offered by fraternities. Looking back at Howard in 1928, he was

¹⁹See Strickland, editor, Working with Carter G. Woodson, 296, 336, 398.

not impressed with the fraternities because of their "snobbish" attitudes and low interest in intellectual endeavors. He did not join their ranks because "they were sterile, barren, bereft of any uplift movement." Greene also did not have the leisure time for such activities. While taking a full course load, he ran elevators, cleaned windows, and even sold cold cream. In order to save money, he lived with his mother's sister laundered his own clothes and prepared the bulk of his meals. During the summers, he returned to Ansonia and labored as a truck driver for the brass factories he dreaded so much and he also worked as a "machinist's helper."²⁰

Greene's years at Howard corresponded with the reign of J. Stanley Durkee, the university's last White president from July 1, 1918 until June 30, 1926. Rayford Logan has deemed Durkee one of Howard's most dynamic presidents, despite his ambiguous, compromising disposition. While Greene was at Howard, the newly elected president inaugurated a host of changes, such as offering professors better salaries and sabbaticals; instituting annual elections of department heads; creating a Dean of Women position; dividing the university into a Junior College and a Senior School; adding new courses and fields of study, while dropping others; re-organizing the central administration; establishing a "general faculty board"; and increasing the physical plant. Logan credited Durkee for maintaining a strong body of Black faculty members and for centering Howard around Blacks students and the Black community. Woodson, however, had a very "strained relationship" with Durkee beginning mainly in the winter of 1920. It was ultimately a matter of control and power. Refusing to submit to Durkee's demands, Woodson was dismissed in the summer of 1920. Other Black professors at

²⁰Greene, unpublished biographical sketch; Strickland, editor, Working with Carter G. Woodson, 63.

Howard later got into serious skirmishes with Durkee, including Ernest E. Just, Alain Lock, and Kelly Miller. Durkee's resignation in the spring of 1926 was brought about by the mounting pressures of Black professors and students who wanted to put an end to White leadership.²¹

While Greene was at Howard, his scholarly achievements went beyond the standards of cut-and-dry academics of the classroom and drifted into the creative realm. At Ansonia High School, Greene was known as the "class poet." He further honed his skills in writing poetry and prose at Howard. The earliest available examples of Greene's poetry date to his sophomore, junior, and senior years at Howard. From February of 1921 until the summer of 1924, Greene wrote about a dozen poems which he compiled decades later with roughly ninety others. He continued to write poetry into the late 1930s. He did not, however, consider himself a poet. In the late 1940s while editing the Midwest Journal, for instance, he humbly told Melvin B. Tolson that he was "a layman, unschooled in the niceties of poetic art."²²

He only shared his poetry with a select audience. In several instances while he was in Washington during the late 1920s, he read some of his works to his close friends, among them were Georgia Douglas Johnson, whom he first met in August of 1928, Gertrude McBrown, and artist Lois Jones, who in March of 1931 agreed to illustrate his poem "Out of the Mist." The poems which Greene wrote during his Howard years concerned several themes. He wrote about his intimate feelings towards several females; he commented on the tragic aftermath of war; he stressed the need for forgiveness in

²¹Logan, Howard University; Goggins, Carter G. Woodson, 50-53.

²²Greene to Tolson, July 28, 1948, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 59, Folder 12.

relationships between those in power and subordinates; he put into prose the sorrow he felt after his sister's death; he shared his ideas about life in general; and he summarized what his experiences at Howard meant to him.

It is difficult to classify Greene's early poetry since it touched upon many different themes and since, unpublished, it did not gain the attention of literary critics or other poets of the time. His style ranges from classical rhyming patterns, such as iambic pentameters, to non-rhyming verse. Most of his earliest poetry was very lofty in tone, seemingly borrowing from famous poets such as Shakespeare. No doubt, he read Shakespeare and other classical writers of the Western tradition in high school. At Howard, he further developed a taste for Shakespearean verse. In a notebook dated 1924, he had many detailed notes on many of Shakespeare's plays and on the writing techniques of the famous Englishman.²³

The majority of Greene's early poetry served as a medium of expressing his love for different women. Upon several occasions, Greene took pride in the power of his poetic imagination in courting women. "Read poetry to Miss [Myrtle] Glenn," Greene jotted down in his diary on February 13, 1931, "Got so excited after my rendition of 'A June Night' that she started stroking my hair." In February of 1931, he admitted that women were his "eternal weakness." In his late twenties, he commented that he was by no means ready to take only "one object of affection and swear to cherish and love her" for the rest of his days. He remained a bachelor until his early forties because he believed in finding the right mate through experimentation. In his early thirties, he commented that "'tis better to love often before marriage than

²³Lorenzo J. Greene, English 32, Part II notebook, 1924, The Papers of LJG, Container 40, Folder 2.

afterwards. One can pick and choose then and have some basis of comparison for the choice."²⁴

With the exception of his "Class Poem to Howard," his early poetry did not focus on Black American subject matters. While leading literary critics of the 1920s like Alain Locke or William Stanley Braithwaite may have recognized the "Beauty" and universality of Greene's prose, some would have challenged Greene to also employ his creative artistic skills as "propaganda for gaining the right of black folk to love and enjoy." Du Bois's views on art during the 1920s were very straight forward. "All Art is propaganda and ever must be, despite the wailing of the purists," the Crisis editor argued, "I do not care a damn for any art that is not used for propaganda."²⁵

One of Greene's first poems which, decades later, he saw worthy of including in an unpublished collection was written in February of 1921 during Greene's sophomore year. In "Thoughts (To Carolyn)," Greene professes his love to a Carolyn, probably Carolyn Worrell who attended Howard with him. Judging by the manner in which it was written, it appears that Greene gave this poem to Miss Worrell. In six stanzas, the young New England lover tells Carolyn how she is in his "every thought," day and night, in "each passing day," and "in work and play." All Greene wants in return from his Carolyn is "a tender thought." While the message is simple, the style is refined and the message is clearly conveyed. Greene expresses his love to Carolyn:

At night, I see thee as by day,

²⁴Strickland, editor, Selling Black History for Carter G. Woodson, 290, 300, 383.

²⁵W.E.B. Du Bois, "Criteria for Negro Art," in Meyer Weinberg, editor, W.E.B. Du Bois: A Reader (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 258.

Thy face e'en fairer seems,
It flits before me in the dark
Or taunts me in my dreams.

Oftimes, thy sweet and charming form
In sleep stands over me,
Yet when I, groping for thee, wake,
But naked space I see.

Could'st thou but know how much my heart
In love cries out to thee,
Perchance 'twould kindle in your breast
A tender thought for me.²⁶

Several months later, Greene wrote another piece of love poetry about and/or to a Julia. This poem is five stanzas long and each one begins with the phrase "O Could I. . ." Greene proclaimed to Julia that the key to his happiness is being with her "Till day is done" and having her to return his feelings by whispering in his ear "My heart is thine." A year later, on 29 May 1922, Greene wrote another poem professing his love to yet another woman. "Dreams" possesses a double-entendre. He appears to have fallen head-over-heels in love with a woman named Naomi. As he told Julia, he confessed to his new "sweet love" that she would make his happiness complete. At the same time, he gave thanks to the natural world for spring time, the season of love. Greene was much more open and descriptive in his feelings for Naomi than for the others. His poem to her was also more complex in terms of symbolism. Consider the last three stanzas:

Beside me seated in this fragrant bower,
Your lips on mine, love's soft light in your eyes
And meant for me--for my soul starved for thee--
Ah, this were Eden--earthly Paradise.

There breathing nectar from ethereal flowers,

²⁶Greene, "Thoughts (To Carolyn)," The Papers of L.J.G., Container 100, Folder 7.

With you, my love, if what you say be true,
My life, my hope, yea, my eternal bliss
In one, dear heart, are blended all in you.

Ah Spring, sweet fairy, gentle, tripping Spring,
If you my dreams make me to realize,
Out from my heart love's song shall in your praise
Gush forth and to your vernal altar rise.²⁷

Greene's love poetry could also be very short and to the point. In February of 1924, on a small piece of notebook paper, Greene jotted down the following:

If you were mine
On such a night as this,
Mine to enfold,
Mine to caress
 and love,
then were the gates
 Of Paradise
 flung wide,
And hosts angelic
 beckoned me to share
The joys supernal
 of
 undying bliss,
I'd scorn eternity
 and Eden's charms
To find my heaven in
 your ardent arms.²⁸

Greene continued to write poetry in which he professed his love to various women. In fact, at least ninety per cent of all the poetry he wrote could be classified as love poetry. A good percentage of this poetry was for Thomasina Talley whom he met in the early 1930s and married in 1941. Before meeting Thomasina Talley, during his Howard days Greene enjoyed courting young

²⁷Greene, "Dreams (To Naomi)," Ibid.

²⁸Greene, "To Delight," Ibid.

women and he was not embarrassed to share his thoughts with those who evoked them.

Like other Blacks born in the last decade of the nineteenth-century, Greene was "a war baby." During the 1890s, the U.S. began demonstrating its military might in Latin America and other parts of the so-called "Third World." After the U.S. defeated Spain in 1898, "the Pax Americana was imposed in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Guam, and the Philippines."²⁹ When the U.S. declared war on Germany, Greene was in his final year of high school. When World War I ended, he was still in Ansonia working to support his family. Greene's contemporary stance on White America's growing expansionism, imperialism, and militarism, or on Blacks in World War I remains open to speculation. During World War I's immediate aftermath, Greene did write a poem in which he commented on the tragic aftermath of war. In "To the Unknown Soldier," written on 11 November 1921, he argued against war based upon the innocent lives lost. For Greene, all of the flowers, medals, and fame bestowed upon a soldier who gave "ambition, loved ones, even life" in order to save "his native land" did not mean anything. Death neutralized and nullified such recognition, Greene pondered. He asked his readers what all these man made medals and expressions of recognition meant to dead soldiers. For Greene, war needed to be stopped and peace needed to be restored once and for all. He said:

In him a greatful nation shrines
Her nameless heroes;
Reveres her sons who with their life
Paid war's supremest cost.

²⁹Platt, E. Franklin Frazier Reconsidered (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991), 11.

This tribute breathes a nation's prayer,
That war fore'er may cease;
That o'er this bleeding earth may dawn
A day of lasting peace.³⁰

Through the mid century, Greene changed his views about war several times. During the ear of World War II, he supported America's war efforts, believing that victory could be a means of attaining Black equality. Then, shortly after the war, he called for peace as he did in "To the Unknown Soldier."

One of Greene's longest earliest poems concerned a relationship between a king and his jester. In "The King's Jester," using an old English, Shakespearean tongue, Greene tells a tale about how a jester offended a king one day and "straitway fell from his much-envied place." After some time, this jester bravely returned to the "royal room," apologized "ten thousand redresses," and begged the king for forgiveness. The king took the "courtly knave" back into his "kingly grace," granting him "full forgiveness." This poem is a brief commentary on human nature and relationships between different castes, the empowered and the disempowered. Greene's jester was human in that he made a mistake. At the same time, he was not too proud or too scared to humbly ask the king for forgiveness. The king, on the other hand, was all powerful and was by no means pressed to forgive the jester. Yet, he pardoned the actions of the jester. Greene, in one sense, viewed the king's actions as being even more noble than the jester's. "To err is human," Greene concluded, "but Forgiveness, Love, Is like to nectar, dropped from heaven above."³¹

³⁰Greene, "To the Unknown Soldier," The Papers of L.J.G., Container 100, Folder 7.

Greene also used his poetry as an emotional outlet for commenting on day-to-day life, the state of the world, and significant events in his life. In a poem entitled "To the Clouds," for instance, he talked about surviving in a society and world in which there were monumental problems from "jealousies" to famine to "industrial hatred" to "church feuds" to "greed" to "foul segregation." Greene's solution to coping with this "toilsome life" was to draw inspiration from God and to then proceed to live by making his own choices and by determining his own destiny. Greene's religious beliefs at this time appear to have been very practical and "this worldly." Greene philosophized on how it was like to get by day-to-day:

Yet, struggling, must I on and seek for aid
Within myself, wherein there sits enshrined
The "I That Am" -- My Soul -- a part of Him,
Breathed into me from His Essence Divine.

Not as ye, then, the playthings of the wind,
For Will is mine, in life my course to choose;
And choosing, therefore, I am Guide and Light,
And, or myself, life's path may keep or loose.³²

In another poem composed in the same year, Greene put into prose his state of mind when one of his sisters apparently died in early January of 1924. He mourned her death in a poem entitled "To My Sister." On January 2, Greene called upon "all nature" to pause from their regular activities "since my sweet sister lifeless lies today." He called upon "ye people" to openly wail and cry with him. The death of his sister overwhelmed him with grief. A saddened Greene proclaimed:

Yet rise! Here let me weep for her again!

³¹Greene, "The King's Jester," Ibid.

³²Greene, "To the Clouds," Ibid.

Cease wailing, birds! bells! stay your tollings
dread
Ye winds and waters, your laments restrain!
For grief o'ercome me for my sister is dead.³³

Roughly a month later, Greene published a poem in which he likened the beauty of a woman named Cynthia to the moon, the most powerful light of "heaven's celestial blue!" Whoever Cynthia was, Greene thought very highly and fondly of her and longed to join her in her elevated, "happy state." It is very possible that she could have been someone who had died and, in Greene's estimation, had gone to heaven.³⁴

The last poem that Greene wrote while he was at Howard was entitled "Class Poem to Howard" completed on 10 May 1924. Though brief, it is the most extensive account of Greene's impressions on his Howard years. It also constitutes one of the first articulations of race consciousness and responsibility for the Connecticut native. According to this poem, Greene enjoyed his four years at Howard. He held that Howard "nurtured" its students, "equipped us with intelligence" in order to "serve our country wisely, and our God." For Greene, his alma mater represented the "hope, the pride, the glory of our race" which by the 1920s had made its "mark" in a range of professions. Howard, Greene surmised, deserved its progeny's "gratitude" and "priceless blessings" because it taught them "to observe, . . . to love, to seek the truth," and to achieve their "cherished goals" and "long-for ends." The loyal Howardite interpreted the role of his alma mater in a very similar manner that Woodson viewed the role of the Association in promoting Black history. Years before Greene first met him, Woodson

³³Greene, "To My Sister," Ibid.

³⁴Greene, "To Cynthia (The Moon)," Ibid.

proclaimed that if Whites had knowledge of Black America's glorious past and humanity, racial prejudice would naturally disappear. Echoing Woodson, Greene asserted:

May you so foster racial harmony,
By lifting high your sons in scholarship,
That petty animosities shall fade,
Dispelled like mist before the morning sun;
Then, Howard, majestic on your sacred hills,
A thousand praises ringing in your ears,
May you stand forth, a great world institute,
Striving for God, and all humanity.³⁵

Greene also echoed the philosophy of uplift advocated by his counterparts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century and he seemed to have believed that the masses looked upon Black college graduates such as himself as being their leaders, a credo which would become less popular during the rise of the "New Negro" and the Harlem Renaissance. "O help us, Howard to lift our struggling race that looks with eager eyes to us for aid," Greene asserted, "O may we all such service render that our deeds shall be a hymn of praise to you."³⁶

Greene's early poems written during his Howard years touch upon a host of themes. While his prose was not centered around Black America and it was not of the caliber of his professional poet counterparts, his poetry was undoubtedly an important part of his personality. Poetry might have served as an emotional, spiritual, and creative outlet for Greene as he was steeped in science oriented classes for the majority of his undergraduate years. Though a social science, history did not serve as a medium of creative expression for Greene. During his undergraduate years, history majors were taught to strive

³⁵Greene, "Class Poem to Howard," Ibid.

³⁶Ibid.

to write in a detached, non-emotional, objective manner. Greene did not seem to mind this. For him, Wesley was a "historian of the first rank" in part because he was "a clear, dispassionate thinker." At Howard and during his later years of writing poetry, Greene would not have thought of meshing his imaginative prose with historical scholarship. He was not that far ahead of his time. Instead, he drew a sharp line between his art and historical scholarship. One of the only scholars of this time who had married the two genres in a masterful manner was Du Bois.

Greene received the A.B. degree from Howard, sum laude, in 1924. His qualifications were very strong. Since at one point he planned to study medicine at the University of Heidelberg in Germany, he had taken many courses in German, Latin, French, and Portuguese. As he commented in a diary entry in November of 1929, such knowledge would have made him a prime candidate for studying African History. After graduating, he had "turned his back on medicine and chose history as his profession." Greene recounted that his parents and community in Ansonia were greatly dismayed when he informed them of his decision. They probably did not see the practicality in becoming a historian. A physician had a concrete, clear-cut, historically rooted function in the community and was a well respected bread winner in the community. The historical profession, on the others hand, was basically unknown to the Black masses at that time. When Greene graduated from Howard, Du Bois and Woodson were the only African-Americans holding Ph.D. degrees in history. A year later, in 1925, Charles H. Wesley became the third Black Ph.D. recipient in history. Even though Woodson founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in 1915 and published the first volume of The Negro in Our History in 1922, he

did not begin to seriously popularize Black history amongst the masses until 1926 when he inaugurated Negro History Week.

Greene felt the pressure of his parents and community who could not comprehend why their exemplary Ansonia high school graduate turned to history. In August of 1924, he reluctantly submitted to their pressures and enrolled in the medical school of New York University. However, when he was returning to Ansonia from registration, he paid a visit to Dr. Peyton Anderson, a famous New York City tuberculosis specialist. This Connecticut native and friend of the family convinced Greene to pursue a degree in the social sciences because he saw that "we needed more scholars in that field." So, "upon reaching home, he [Greene] quietly, but firmly, informed his family of his decision. Although obviously disappointed, they resigned themselves to his wishes."³⁷ Greene's decision to become a historian stemmed from his early love of the discipline and from a sense of commitment to Black people in general. He viewed his decision as being one which would eventually affect Blacks as a whole. He perceived himself as being a representative for "the race" in the ivory towers of academe.

In the late 1940s, Greene commented that he had "always" possessed a "desire" to earn a degree from Connecticut's most elite and prestigious institution of higher learning, Yale University in New Haven. He did not, however, have enough credits to satisfy Yale's graduate school. The Dean advised him to enroll in Columbia University's extension area and to take thirty hours of history. After that, Yale would have been "happy" to accept Greene into their program. He decided to enroll in the graduate school of history at Columbia University. Even though Yale was the first American

³⁷Strickland, ed., Working with Carter G. Woodson, 398; Greene, unpublished biographical sketch.

university to award a Ph.D. to an African-American in 1876, by the era of World War II, Columbia had produced many Black M.A. and Ph.D. degree holders. By December of 1943, Harry Washington Greene calculated that "at least 381 persons of Negro descent have been admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy or its corresponding academic equivalent." Columbia, trailing the University of Chicago by only five, produced at least thirty-five of these scholars. Columbia almost doubled the University of Chicago in Master's degrees awarded to Blacks. By 1943, forty-two Blacks had received M.A. degrees from Columbia.³⁸

In 1926, two years after he entered Columbia, Greene was awarded the Master's degree. He remained at Columbia, which was only originally a stepping stone for Yale, because of the "great historical scholars" he encountered there. Greene surmised that he had the "rare privilege" of studying under "world-famous" historians like Evarts B. Greene, David Saville Muzzy, Carlton J. Hayes, Robert Livingston Schuyler, Allan Nevins, Dixon Ryan Fox, Harry A. Carman, and Austin Evans. Apparently, Greene was academically well supported at Columbia as well. He credited professors Greene (1870-1947), historian of colonial America, the Revolutionary era, and of the church in early America, and Fox, editor and author of many books on the colonial era, for influencing him to undertake his life long studies of Black life in Colonial New England. At Columbia, he was introduced to various streams of historical thought, from colonial American history to European history. He was also challenged intellectually. In September of 1928, he told Woodson that the first time that he seriously doubted whether or not he had passed an examination in history was in Dr. Evarts B. Greene's

³⁸Harry Washington Greene, Holders of Doctorates Among American Negroes, 23, 30, 34.

course in United States History.³⁹ During his brief career as a M.A. candidate at Columbia, despite growing his interest in Blacks in New England and the fact that he wanted to become a historian for "the race," he was not necessarily dedicated to studying Black history or, for that matter, even fond of its chief advocate.

One particular example best illustrates this. In 1925, during his first year at Columbia, Greene contacted Charles H. Wesley and asked him whether or not he could help him with his "precarious financial situation." Greene's "favorite teacher" during his Howard days advised him to speak with Woodson about a possible job with the Association. Greene contacted and met with Woodson, but at the time the Association did not have adequate funds with which to employ any additional researchers. Woodson shared his philosophy of Black history with Greene in a "stimulating two-hour conversation." At the time the New England native was not convinced by the Association trailblazer's dictum that Black history needed to be told to rescue "the race" from oblivion and extinction. In fact, Greene pitied Woodson. Perhaps the ivy-league, elite environment of Columbia was going to Greene's head.

Looking back at this meeting decades later, Greene described how he felt and confessed that he was indeed a victim of the miseducation which he later campaigned against. "In my ignorance, I regarded Dr. Woodson as a dreamer, a visionary, albeit, a brilliant scholar, wasting his time, trying to conjure up that which did not exist--Negro History. Instead," the "miseducated black Yankee" thought, "he should be teaching at Harvard,

³⁹Strickland, ed., Working with Carter G. Woodson, 295.

Yale, Columbia, or some other ivy-league school."⁴⁰ Greene's skepticism did not last long. By the time that he met Woodson again in 1928, he came to appreciate what he was doing and in time developed into one of his most enthusiastic, dedicated, and unselfish co-workers.

It took Greene two years to receive an M.A. degree in history from Columbia. During the 1926-1927 academic year, he took courses towards a Ph.D. in history at Columbia. Greene did not elaborate on his years in New York in his few personal memoirs. The most he said was that he was impressed with and challenged by the highly-acclaimed professors in the Columbia University History Department. From 1924 until he was offered a job by Woodson in February of 1928, Greene's day-to-day life was most likely dominated by academic work and manual labor of some sort in order to earn money to pay for his room, books, supplies, and courses. He also made some lifetime friends in New York. One of the best windows into Greene's mind, thought, and imagination during these several years comes again from his poetry.

Between the time that he graduated from Howard and when he began working with the Association, Greene wrote more than two dozen poems. Greene's poetry from 1925 until 1927 maintains the style of his early work at Howard. He employed conventional methods in rhyming and used a lofty language popular to more earlier times. By far, the most prevalent theme of this body of work was love. Greene was fascinated by the power of love. Many women and their kisses appear to have made Greene "trembling weak," vulnerable, and "drunk." Greene, for the first time, put into prose his

⁴⁰Lorenzo Johnston Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson: The Man As I Knew Him," 8-9.

sexual encounters. At the same time, he often wrote about the pain of discovering "false love." Greene articulated the painful side of loving someone who no longer reciprocated the feeling. By March of 1927, love, based upon Greene's experiences, proved to be so powerful that in certain cases it could not be suppressed, ignored, or forgotten no matter how hard he tried. Greene lamented:

If you have vowed --
While tears of anguish rolled --
That love's false sun eternally has set,
But from within
A voice, all knowing, speaks:
"Fool! Still you love and never can forget!"
Then you know tragic love.⁴¹

Essentially, Greene testified that one of man's greatest vulnerabilities was being in love. Unlike most men of this time who viewed themselves as being the "stronger sex," he was not at all reluctant or ashamed to admit it.

Another topic discussed several times by Greene while in New York was the meaning of death, how losing loved ones affected his state of mind. Sometime in January of 1927, it appears that Beatrice, a friend of Greene's, died. He in part coped with her death through poetry. Though tears flowed from his soul, he wrote in a poetic eulogy that he believed that her spirit still "sits with us -- the table's unseen guest." She still, Greene ascertained, had the power to watch over her children, love her husband, encourage her mother, and laugh and cry with her friends. According to this poem, Greene believed in death only in physical terms. He shared with his African ancestors and contemporaries a belief that "human life does not terminate at

⁴¹Greene, "Love," The Papers of L.J.G., Container 100, Folder, 7.

the death of the individual, but," as John S. Mbiti argues, "continues beyond death."⁴² Speaking as Beatrice, Greene wrote:

"Where'er you go, there too
Am I. O darling babes,
Dear mother, husband, friends,
Weep not for me, for Love
Has built a temple in
Your hearts and there I dwell;
I am part of you."⁴³

A handful of poems written during Greene's years in New York stand out as being especially unique and intriguing since they do not philosophize on the illusive meaning of love or death. These poems run the gamut, from celebrating American aviator Charles A. Lindbergh to contemplating man's place in the universe to articulating the role of the "New Negro."

On May 21, 1927, after a thirty-three and a half hour flight, a twenty-five year old Charles Augustus Lindbergh became the first man to make a non-stop transatlantic flight. Lindbergh's flight was one of the most monumental events in American and world history in the 1920s. He had achieved what was perceived as being impossible and he became an "ultra American hero." The "Lindbergh phenomenon" is hard to pin-point. But, there is no doubt that Americans loved the young man with the "boyish grin" after he completed his meticulously planned 3,614 mile flight. In the months after his flight, he received more than two million pieces of fan mail, 5,000 poems, and honorary medals from different states and cities. The poetry on Lindbergh was featured in leading journals of the 1920s, such as Literary Digest. In 1927, a book of one hundred poems in honor of the so-called

⁴²John S. Mbiti, Introduction to African Religion Second Revised Edition (London: Heinemann, 1991), 75.

⁴³Greene, "To Beatrice," The Papers of LJG, Container 100, Folder 7.

"incorruptible young man" was published. According to one scholar, Lindbergh inspired poets who were "attempting to resolve the duality of art and science." Lindbergh helped many of these poets validate their art in an increasingly technological era.⁴⁴

Though his thoughts on Lindbergh were not featured in the Literary Digest or in The Spirit of St. Louis: One Hundred Poems, in November of 1927, Greene wrote a poem commemorating Lindbergh's flight and expressing what this act meant to him. "To Lindbergh" consists of two major methods. In two line stanzas he stages a conversation between a young, fearless Lindbergh and elder "Sirs" who try to convince him not to make his voyage. In a dynamic exchange, "grizzly grey-beards" attempt to convince Lindbergh to "renounce this fatal ride" for fear that, like the "two Frenchmen" before him, he would die. Lindbergh, in Greene's estimation, was a youthful, brave pioneer who knew the dangers which lied ahead, but viewed his actions as being a major step for humankind and as an accomplishment in which all youths could especially take pride. After being warned by the older generation, Greene's Lindbergh replied with confidence:

... I know the perils all,
One thousand I'll fly before night falls.

Youth must be served, and youth must lead the
way,

⁴⁴T. Willard Hunter, The Spirit of Charles Lindbergh: Another Dimension (Maryland: Madison Books, 1993); Susan M. Gray, Charles A. Lindbergh and the American Dilemma: The Conflict of Technology and Human Values (Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1988), 14; Arthur Hooely, editor, The Spirit of St. Louis: One Hundred Poems (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1927); L. Goldstein, "Lindbergh in 1927: the Response of Poets to the Poem of Fact," Prospects 5 (1980): 292-315; and Perry D. Lockett, Charles A. Lindbergh: A Bio-Bibliography (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986).

Bid me Godspeed, for I take off today.⁴⁵

In Greene's estimation, Lindbergh's flight was one of the most monumental events in world history. "Like him who sailed uncharted seas of old, the youth performed one forty times as bold." It was, more importantly, "youth's victory." Like the poets featured in The Spirit of St. Louis: One Hundred Poems, Greene may have also seen the similarities between himself and the young "ultra American hero." In simplest terms, both men seem to have shared the disposition of attempting to mesh values from two seemingly contradictory world views. At one level, a young Lindbergh was a simple, humble technological pioneer who also had spiritual and humane concerns. Similarly, Greene was among those Black intellectuals born in the late 1800s who, consciously or unconsciously, sought to merge the social uplift philosophy of the "Old Negro" with that of the "New Negro."

Greene appears to have stood alone in the Black intellectual community in praising Lindbergh. While the Black popular press may have acknowledged this historical event, intellectual journals such as the Crisis focused on other events and issues. In May of 1977, Greene sent a copy of his poem to the Missouri Historical Society which was celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of Lindbergh's flight. He mentioned that Lindbergh's flight "inspired" him and he suggested that his poem would help them "to ascertain how a young man reacted at the daring of another youth in the 'mad Twenties.'" It would be interesting to see how Greene's views of Lindbergh changed when he began

⁴⁵Greene, "To Lindberg," The Papers of LJG, Container 100, Folder 7. Greene misspelled Linbergh's name, omitting the *h*. This does not appear to have been a typo, because he made the same mistake when sent a copy of this poem to the Missouri Historical Society in 1977.

to speak of the superiority of Whites over non-Caucasian people and attacked Jews during the era of World War II.⁴⁶

During his Columbia years, Greene also wrote several poems in which he articulated his philosophical views of man's position in the universe. In a December 1926 poem entitled "Man," Greene mocked mankind, "a tiny speck" on earth, for thinking that he is the center of the universe, or even important in the broader scheme of things. He stressed the "infinitesimal" presence of man in the onward moving, "incomprehensible" natural world and universe. In simplest terms, he noted that after an individual died, tears may be shed, but soon enough his accomplishments would be surpassed by another and further lost in the forward moving course of life. In one sense, Greene advocated a belief in pre-destiny. He said, for instance, that the course of this world "is set; it may not deviate -- nor pause, but ever onward moves as heedless as before."⁴⁷

As it is clearly demonstrated by his early life growing up in Ansonia and his life at Howard, Greene was no stranger to hard work. In fact, he came from a family of hard workers. He carried this ethic into his graduate studies at Columbia. During his first year of Ph.D. work, he wrote a poem called "Exhortation" in which he stressed the need for people to work hard and persevere even when "you ever feel discouraged." Graduate school can often seem overwhelming and discouraging. During such times, Greene drew inspiration from "the rare old masters" who only "through years of toil" successfully climbed "life's ladder." Greene, who first really gained national

⁴⁶Greene to the Missouri Historical Society, May 19, 1977, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 100, Folder 7. According to evidence in Greene's Papers, he only shared one other poem in this fashion.

⁴⁷Greene, "Man," Ibid.

recognition as a scholar and historian nearly two decades after he first enrolled in Columbia, concluded that:

Fame is not won overnight;
Grit your teeth and keep on plodding
You will win, if you but fight.⁴⁸

The years which Greene spent in New York at Columbia corresponded with the climax of one of the most significant cultural and artistic movement's in Black America's history, the Harlem Renaissance. While scholars have intensely debated the influence of Harlem Renaissance creative artists; their success and failures; their place in the broader context of American literary evolution; the rise and decline of the movement; the leading movers and shakers of the movement; and the foci and inner workings of the movement, practically all scholars agree that during the immediate post World War I years until about the mid-1930s many Black intellectuals, especially creative artists based in Harlem, viewed themselves as turning a new page in Black middle-class intellectual cultural consciousness, identity formation, and overall world view. No one could deny that there was an unprecedented amount of diverse, creative, artistic activity taking place among African-Americans. According to one of the movement's chief advisors, this "New Negro" was distinctly different from the older guard of Black leadership and intellectual caretakers, especially from those Black spokespersons prevalent during the age of Booker T. Washington. Though they claimed otherwise, "New Negroes," whose glory years were in the pre-Great Depression 1920s, were very much like their predecessors in that they advocated race pride, self-help, social justice, racial solidarity, the

⁴⁸Greene, "Exhortation," Ibid.

development of a Black middle-class ethos, and, at times, integration and assimilation.

What made this self-proclaimed "New Negro" different from their intellectual foreparents was that through their various artistic vehicles they took pride in day-to-day Black working-class and Southern folk culture; they attempted to depict and explain Black ghetto life; they celebrated their ancestral African roots; and they employed a more radical, modern, and perhaps eloquent rhetoric and prose than the previous generations. At the same time, their work was highly promoted by a range of White publishers and White patronage was essential to the success of the Harlem Renaissance's leading movers and shakers. In retrospect, it seems quite ironic that these "New Negroes" viewed themselves as being so much more assertive and independent than their predecessors while they were, unlike most of their elders, accepted by the mainstream. The "New Negro" Renaissance was not, however, this cut and dry. There were many heated debates between various individuals and schools of thought.

The major debates concerned whether or not African-American artists were distinct from their White counterparts and, therefore, whether or not they should produce "racial" or "universal" art; whether or not Black artists should cater to the White public and popular sentiments; and whether or not they could continue vindicating the race with romantic and glorious images of Black culture or strive to paint more balanced portraits of Black life. Most Black intellectuals naturally straddled the fences between these various positions. The major debates between Black intellectuals during this era stemmed from generational differences.

The older generation of "race men" like Du Bois, Harlem Renaissance promoter Alain L. Locke, and Marcus Garvey, whose movement thrived

because of the new atmosphere in part ushered in by the creative artists, vehemently opposed the "ghetto realism" of the younger writers, believing that it simply fueled White prejudice and in turn justified racial oppression. Others, like Benjamin Brawley, believed that his younger counterparts lacked proper training and therefore produced an artificial, "free verse" poetry which paid no attention to the scholarly standards of the day.⁴⁹

One of the best examples of the differences in opinions on the role of art in the Black intellectual community is revealed by the debate waged by George Schuyler and Langston Hughes in the pages of The Nation in 1926. Schuyler kicked off the debate when he declared that Black culture was not unique and was instead essentially the same as White American culture. "The Aframerican is merely a lampblack Anglo-Saxon," Schuyler continued to tell his White readership, "Aside from his color, which ranges from very dark brown to pink, your American Negro is just plain American. Negroes and whites from the same localities of this country talk, think, and act about the same." Schuyler reasoned that Blacks were molded by the same economic and social forces that affected Whites. He ignored prejudice, institutional racism, and the distinct lifestyle and culture of Black people. He wanted his readers, primarily "liberal" Whites, to recognize that there were no "racial differences" between Blacks and Whites, differences which had been used for so long to buttress racial discrimination. Schuyler also directly addressed Black artists, telling them that historically their works were essentially "identical" to those White American artists. He could not understand why

⁴⁹Scholarship on the Harlem Renaissance abounds. For some of the more classical arguments, see, for instance, Nathan Irvin Huggins, Harlem Renaissance (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); Cary D. Wintz, Black Culture and the Harlem Renaissance (Houston: Rice University Press, 1988).

Black artists would want to separate themselves from "the national artists norm." In doing so, he claimed that folk and ghetto-centric cultural nationalists were lending "a helping hand" to Negrophobists.⁵⁰

In an immediate, clever rebuttal, Langston Hughes challenged Schuyler's premise that Blacks were culturally American and that they had generated, and should continue to, art which was the same as those of White Americans. Hughes introduced and centered his argument around a promising, young Black poet who once said to him, "I want to be a poet--not a Negro poet." Hughes interpreted this statement to mean that his friend wanted to be White. Hughes identified this African-American middle-class aspiration--"the desire to pour racial individuality into the mold of American standardization, and to be as little Negro and as much American as possible"--as being the major hindrance stunting the growth of a "true Negro art in America." Employing some amusing anecdotes, Hughes argued that members of the "Nordicized Negro intelligentsia" and "colored near-intellectuals" like Schuyler had been reared and taught to be ashamed of their culture. Hughes called upon Black artists to see the beauty in the culture of the "low-down folks." For him, the culture of the Black masses provided the Black artist with "an inexhaustible supply of themes" highlighting his/her people's racial distinctiveness. He advocated that the Black artist produce art which was "racial in them and treatment" and took overt pride in being Black. Even though this task would prove to be a difficult one and even though Hughes argued in favor for total artistic freedom, he sought to rally

⁵⁰George S. Schuyler, "The Negro-Art Hokum," The Nation 122 (Wednesday, June 16, 1926): 662-663.

his contemporaries to simply be themselves regardless of what White America thought.⁵¹

Greene did not directly join in the publicized debates of the Harlem Renaissance. Surely, he was aware of such heated debates which were featured in The Crisis from March until November of 1926. Given the value which he placed on education and rigorous study, Greene probably agreed with Brawley's observations on the lack of the movement's academic credentials. Furthermore, he was too practical of an intellectual to devote a significant part of his life to merely depicting the lives of the Black "proletariat life." As he demonstrated throughout his life after joining forces with Woodson, he believed that scholarship needed to be used to solve problems and that Black intellectuals had the responsibility to lend a helping hand to the masses, as he exemplified through the 1930s when he spoke for free on Black history to countless school children, worked tirelessly for low pay at a Black college, and struggled on behalf of oppressed southeast Missouri sharecroppers.

Looking back at Greene's poetry at Columbia as well as at his collection from 1921 until 1937, it appears that he probably took a stance somewhere in between Hughes and Brawley. Only three of Greene's poems during his Columbia years address themes popular during the Harlem Renaissance, themes which Hughes would have deemed "racial." The rest of the poems would have perhaps satisfied Brawley's stress on concrete scholarly standards, Locke's quest for a pure aesthetic, and/or William Stanley Braithwaite's focus on writing "universal" poetry. Greene is therefore best viewed within the ranks of the "Genteel School" of Harlem Renaissance writers. This body of

⁵¹Langston Hughes, "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain," The Nation 122 (Wednesday, June 23, 1926): 692-694.

writers sought to demonstrate to White America that they were equal to them and deserved to be recognized by their leading literary circles. Oftentimes, they advocated a "raceless literature" or wrote about universal themes. One of the leading advocates of this school, nationally renown literary critic William S. Braithwaite (1878-1962), did not refer to race in his poetry. Though he did contribute a piece to The New Negro, between 1906 and 1950, he wrote and edited several books on non-Black subjects. A handful of female poets, including Anne Spencer, Greene's friend Georgia Douglas Johnson, Angelina Grimke, and Jesse Fauset, also often wrote prose which did not focus on Black subjects. Others, like Claude McKay, James Weldon Johnson, and Countee Cullen, produced both "racial" and "universal" writings at various points in their careers. Most of Greene's poetry addressed "raceless" themes, such as love, death, nature, and the vastness of the universe. His poetry which was "racial in theme and treatment" existed, but was not the norm.⁵²

A year after the monumental anthology The New Negro appeared, Greene wrote three poems which stand out. Two of them depart from the classical, lofty, Shakespearean verse which he had taken a liking to. Instead, he turned to a Black, southern dialect which young writers of the 1920s borrowed from turn-of-the-century African-American poets like Paul L. Dunbar, transforming it into something new and dignified. In a poem entitled "The New Negro," Greene translates the significance of the new African-American world view of the 1920s in religious terms. For him, an

⁵²For a discussion of the "Genteel School" and other schools of thought during the Harlem Renaissance, see Arthur P. Davis and Michael W. Peplow, editors, The New Negro Renaissance: An Anthology (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975).

important aspect of Black America's new identity rests on rejecting an "other worldly" religious orientation as well as a God constructed by Whites in order to psychologically enslave Blacks. Greene wrote:

Ah used to heah de ole folks say:
"Dis worl' ain't gwine to las'
Dat eberthing down heah below
Will fall wif Gabriel's blas'."

I'se often heard dem in de church
A shoutin: "Lawd twill please us,
To let de white folks hab de worl',
But gib us Massa Jesus."

An' den ah laffs an' snickers so,
Cause folks like me an' you,
Knows dat de white folks got de worl',
And Massa Jesus too.

*Ah don know what de futah holds,
But sence I'se heah below,
I'se gwine ter git some ob dis worl',
An' let Mass' Jesuus go.*⁵³

Taking control of "some ob dis worl'" and letting "Mass' Jesus go" echoes some of the philosophy espoused by Marcus Garvey--who stressed the need to see God in one's own image--and Greene's use of dialect in the first person is in one sense an act of giving agency to the Black masses. Like Black writers of the Renaissance era, Greene employed dialect in a manner much different than Dunbar, Washington, or even Mary M. Bethune.

In another 1927 poem, "Of God," Greene elaborates on the necessity of Blacks to re-evaluate their views of God and religion's role in their struggle. "Of God" is also narrated in the first person. The "Ah" (I) in this poem, evidently a Black man who speaks in a non-convoluted, to-the-point, simple

⁵³Greene, "The New Negro," The Papers of L.J.G., Container 100, Folder 7.

language, says that he believes that "God must be white" because he listens to Whites' prayers "but don't care nuttin 'tall 'bout our affairs." The speaker in Greene's poem has come to the conclusion that God could not be Black because of how Blacks suffer from racial violence. When Greene wrote this poem, more than 3,000 Blacks had been lynched since Booker T. Washington opened the doors of Tuskegee Institute. There had also been many race riots. Greene's subject did not believe that his people were God's chosen people who had to suffer before their salvation:

God sho' ain't black, cause den
He never could
Allow de whites to burn
Us up like wood.⁵⁴

Greene's speaker's solution is not to turn to a White or a Black God for guidance and protection. Instead, he gives up on praying to any God "beyond de skies." Greene continued:

An' when we calls dis white
God in our woe,
How can he heed de cries
He does not know?

So if our prayers upon
His deaf ears fall,
Le's break from him an' hab
No God at all.⁵⁵

Greene was not an atheist. He was, on the other hand, attempting to look at American society through the eyes of a people who were at the bottom of the economic, political, and social hierarchy. In doing so, he was very much like

⁵⁴Greene, "Of God," Ibid.

⁵⁵Ibid.

his "New Negro" contemporaries who sought to explain the thoughts of the Black masses.

In addition to these two poems written in dialect, Greene wrote another thought-provoking poem entitled "Jazz." During the era of the Harlem Renaissance, jazz gained national recognition. While it was popular amongst working-class Blacks, many members of the African-American elite "still mostly recoiled in disgust from music as vulgarly explosive as the outlaw speakeasies and cathouses that spawned it." What some members of the Talented-Tenth said about jazz and other indigenous Black American musical expressions "sometimes verged on the unprintable." In his 1921 The Negro in Art and Literature, the prolific writer Benjamin Brawley (1882-1939) commented that jazz, "a strident form of music origination in Negro slums," emerged hand in hand with "a mood that was of the very essence of hedonism and paganism." Many young Harlem Renaissance artists, on the other hand, sought to celebrate this creation of Black folk. The rhythm and content of Langston Hughes' poem "Jazzonia" celebrates the mood that jazz evoked within people who listened and danced to it. For Hughes, jazz was the essence of Black America's soul and culture of resistance. Still, "New Negro" advocates themselves were also ambivalent towards jazz. In The New Negro, J.A. Rogers on the one hand celebrated jazz as being a distinctly Black , working-class creation, "a revolt of the emotions against repression," which had a lot to offer American democratic culture. On the other hand, he described it as being a primitive tendency with "vices and vulgarizations, . . . sex informalities," and a "morally anarchic spirit." Further, he believed that with "more wholesome growth in the future" jazz could work to help

democratize America. He called upon the Black intelligentsia whom Hughes satirized to "lift and divert it [jazz] into nobler channels."⁵⁶

Viewed within this broader context, Greene's poem seems to portray jazz somewhere in between how Hughes, Rogers, and how his Talented-Tenth foreparents did. In his poem "Jazz," Greene refers to this musical expression as being "mad music." The connotations of this are both positive and negative. "While the mad music played," Greene was seduced by a woman. He became "enraptured" by her "charms, . . . forget ful of the world," and "lost in the dizzy whirl." Jazz, in Greene's view, "woos the soul's desire." The Columbia graduate student could have meant many things here. He could have interpreted jazz as being a positive force in that it stirred up sexual feelings and desires which remained repressed under normal circumstances. On the other hand, Greene could have interpreted jazz, "the mad music," as corrupting man's senses, turning man into an intoxicated, defenseless pawn. It is also possible that he could have simply been using jazz as a stepping stone to discuss his feelings about a female, as a metaphor for getting involved with a woman. Greene's ambiguous portrait of jazz might reflect his own personal internal struggle with a music with which he was previously unfamiliar.⁵⁷

While in New York City, Greene did go to "speakeasies." He seems to have preferred scenes like the Metropolitan Opera House. Several years after writing "Jazz" while Greene was in Washington, D.C., one day the New

⁵⁶David Levering Lewis, When Harlem Was In Vogue (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 173; Davis and Peplow, editors, The New Negro Renaissance, 477; J.A. Rogers, "Jazz At Home," in Alain Locke, editor, The New Negro: An Interpretation (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1925), 216-224.

⁵⁷Greene, "Jazz," The Papers of L.J.G., Container 100, Folder 7.

England native rushed home from work to his apartment building in hopes of listening to the opera "Aida" over the radio. When he arrived at his home, he was relieved to discover that it would be broadcasted at 11:00 p.m. "And when that hour arrived," Greene wrote in his diary on November 11, 1929, "everyone who had a radio, much to my dismay, was tuning in on jazz. My love of *good* music will yet prompt me to purchase a radio." Greene preferred "classical" music to jazz. By his late twenties, he seemed to have had a fairly well trained ear for such music. By the late 1940s he called himself "an ardent lover of music" whose favorite composers were not Ellington, Henderson, Armstrong, or Parker, but instead included Beethoven, Tchaikowsky, Chopin, and Shostakavitch. Whatever the case may have been, the fact that he entitled this poem "Jazz" reveals that Greene was affected by the cultural transformations of his times.⁵⁸

According to my investigation of The Papers of Lorenzo Johnston Greene, these three poems were among the last ones that he wrote before he began working with Woodson. Greene appears to have put his poetry to the side during the first several years of working with the Association. He focused his energies on maintaining a detailed diary and began writing poetry regularly again by 1932.

⁵⁸Strickland, editor, Working with Carter G. Woodson, 392.

CHAPTER VIII
TRANSLATING THEORY INTO PRACTICE: AN UNSELFISH WORKER
FOR THE ASNLH, 1928-1933

In the academic year after he completed the thirty credit hours required for the M.A. degree in history at Columbia, Greene remained in New York and worked towards completing a Ph.D. degree. His doctoral studies were briefly "interrupted" from 1928 until 1933 when he began working with Carter G. Woodson as an Association researcher.

In February of 1928, Greene "unexpectedly" received a telegram from the Association founder requesting that he meet him at the Hotel Dunn, "the outstanding Negro Hostelry in New York City on West 135th Street, just off 7th Avenue." Greene and the "great man" talked for a while in the hotel lobby and then at about six o'clock they went to eat dinner at the Y.W.C.A. around the corner. "Over a delightful meal Dr. Woodson finally got down to the business which had brought him to confer with me in New York," Greene remembered. Woodson informed the Columbia graduate student that the ASNLH, in coalition with the Institute of Social and Religious research of New York City, was preparing to make a scientific survey of the Black church. The goal of the project was to examine the effects that the Black church, rural and urban, had on the intellectual, moral, recreational, economic, and social aspects of the Black community. Mid-way into the study, the goal became clearer. "It is hoped that this study of the Church will bring out the defects in that institution," Greene ascertained in late April of 1928, "thereby impelling it to show greater concern for the community." Greene was told that his mentor Charles H. Wesley was going to supervise the research. Catching Greene off guard, Woodson told him that he had been

keeping up with his work at Columbia since they had first met three years earlier. He then really surprised Greene by offering him a position as an Association "field agent" working under Wesley. Several decades after Woodson died, Greene recalled this event. "He offered me the seemingly fabulous salary of \$1800, a year, plus travel expenses. Penniless as I was, such an offer sounded like a gold mine," an elder Greene recounted, " Noting my temporary silence, Dr. Woodson asked me whether I would accept his offer. I did so with alacrity fearful that he might withdraw it."¹

Greene's decision was not one made in total desperation. In the late 1920s, John W. Davis, President of West Virginia Institute, offered Greene a position teaching English and German and in late March of 1928, after Greene had already accepted Woodson's offer, Thomas Elsa Jones of Fisk University offered him a job teaching history as a substitute for Harvard bound A.A. Taylor. Jones offered Greene \$2,000.00 a year. Later, while working with Woodson, Greene was offered jobs teaching at Howard University and at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College at Greensboro. Greene, nonetheless, saw many benefits to working with Woodson. He saw it as a way of "ending my mother's long years of washing, ironing and cooking for white folks." It presented Greene with an opportunity to get some materials for a Ph.D. dissertation, to pay off some of his student loans at Columbia, and to test the effectiveness of his training. Greene also perceived this job as being a chance to help the advancement of "the race." By late March of 1928, Greene wrote in his diary, "I would not give up this work now for a teaching position. It is too fascinating." By accepting this position, Greene had changed his earlier perceptions of the "Father of Black History." The man

¹Strickland, editor, Working with Carter G. Woodson, 149; Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson: The Man As I Knew Him," 9-12.

whom he once pitied was now his boss and would come to drastically affect his early development as a scholar.²

The period from early March of 1928 until early September of 1933 when he accepted a job teaching at Lincoln University "marked a crucial point" in Greene's life. In this brief period of time, he worked as Wesley's assistant in the field exploring Black churches and interviewing various folks in Baltimore, New York, and Suffolk, Virginia; he became Woodson's right-hand-man, publishing his first scholarly article, proof-reading the ASNLH leader's monographs, and co-authoring several ASNLH studies; and he took to the road selling books for the Association. Greene's years of working directly under Woodson can be sub-divided into several periods. From March 1928 until June of 1928, he worked as an investigator under Wesley on a study of the Black church. From July of 1928 until February of 1930, Greene worked as an assistant to Woodson and a researcher and organizer for the Association in Washington, D.C. And, from June of 1930 until the fall of 1933, Greene, along with four Howard University students, traveled throughout the country on a bookselling campaign. Within each of these periods of time, separated by an important event of some sort, Greene generated different ideas and matured as an intellectual, scholar, and historian. These changes were largely the product of the particular setting under which Greene operated. Though sub-divided here, many of his ideas remained the same and overlapped in two or more of the periods.

"Today [March 15, 1928] marks one of the mile-posts of my life. For the first time in my life, I am assuming responsibility. Today I begin to draw upon the accumulation of seven years of collegiate and graduate training.

²Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson: The Man As I Knew Him," 12; Strickland, editor, Working With Carter G. Woodson, 31.

Theory must be translated into practice," Greene recorded in his diary on 15 March 1928, "Words must be resolved into action; in short, Lorenzo J. Greene is on trail--on trial before a critical, unsympathetic public, that measures success or failure by the performance of, or the ability to discharge, the tasks it sets before him. God grant that I may summon every ounce of energy to vindicate my extended training! If I fail, I have studied, sacrificed, and labored in vain."³ Greene clearly perceived his role in the Association very seriously. In reality, he was not going to be under close public scrutiny. He was nervous and anxious because this was his first experiences with hands-on research. The work was sociological in nature, similar to Du Bois's path-breaking studies with Atlanta University and his 1899 The Philadelphia Negro. Greene's assignment was to amass, organize, and interpret data and surveys collected from one hundred churches, one hundred youth, three hundred prominent Negro citizens, and two hundred Whites. He sought to assess the role of the church in the Black community.

Between March 16 when he began working in Baltimore until late June of 1928 when Woodson suddenly ended the Association's role in the study, Greene visited hundreds of churches in various communities in Baltimore and Virginia. He stayed in Baltimore for about three weeks and stayed in Virginia for slightly more than two weeks. He also briefly returned to New York and spent several weeks in Washington, D.C. making sense of the data he collected. He accomplished and learned a lot in these three eye opening months.

In Baltimore and Virginia, he conducted interviews with and distributed questionnaires to church leaders and preachers, prominent Whites and

³Strickland, editor, Working with Carter G. Woodson, 11.

Blacks, community youths, and the Black working-class. He experienced the difficulties of conducting field research in the Black community. Many preachers, for instance, were very reluctant to provide him with information because the project was funded by Whites and because he was an outsider.

In Virginia, he visited Black homes with a "Colored Child Welfare Nurse." He ventured into the Black community of Saratoga, Virginia and gave presentations to many high schools, such as Nansemond High School, Huntington High School of Newport News, and Booker T. Washington High School. He informed them about the nature of the Association's work and inspired them to work towards uplifting their people and fellow man. He also scheduled speaking engagements for Wesley and Woodson. Traveling out of D.C. to Baltimore, and especially to Virginia, was a very eyes opening experience for Greene. The Black ghettos of Baltimore shocked him. Suffolk and Saratoga, Virginia and the surrounding rural areas revealed even more to Greene. This appears to have been Greene's first intimate contact with segregation in the South. He was shocked at the effects that this "insidious, vicious thing" had on Blacks' educational levels, their living and working conditions, and their disposition towards whites. Greene constantly compared the low levels of Southern Blacks' education with the higher levels of their New England counterparts. Upon several occasions, he vowed to never live in the South. By 1933, he had changed his mind.

During these several months of being a field investigator, Greene kept a very detailed account of his day-to-day experiences. He was a very keen observer. He commented on a range of experiences and contemporary issues. His diary served as an outlet for his most sincere impressions and opinions about various people, life in general, and where he viewed himself in the greater scheme of things. His observations ran the gamut. They can help

us reconstruct the consciousness, the early world view, and the developing intellectual identity of a novice field researcher, social scientist, historian, and social reformer from New England. Among other things, he commented extensively upon the Black masses, Black ministers, nationally recognized Black leaders, Woodson and Wesley, and the Black professional class. He discussed his ideas of religion and history and he also provided a philosophy of some sort for African-American advancement.⁴

His perceptions of many ministers and the Black working-class culture in general revealed the effects of growing up in a Northeast town with an almost invisible Black population and of attending an elite, ivy league college for several years. Greene definitely drew caste-determined lines between himself and his subjects. His diary abounds with humorous and critical descriptions of Black ministers. He described a reverend of Shiloh Baptist Church in Baltimore as being a "sleek, greasy . . . interesting man, Not well educated. Say 'Ah' and 'Heah'; speaks very broadly and with a typically southern accent. Yet he was kind, affable, and obliging."⁵ He harped on the

⁴Greene first made these insights public in the summer of 1951 by featuring them in the "Documents" section of the Midwest Journal under the title "Impressions of the Negro Church in 1928." He featured sections of his observations in the following issues of the Midwest Journal: Volume 3, Number 2; Volume 4, Numbers 1 and 2; and Volume VI, Number 1. Then, in the late 1980s, following his mentor Wesley's advice, Greene decided to publish his "private impressions." Wesley convinced Greene that his diary was truly one of a kind, that Greene was "the sole associate of Woodson who had kept such a record and that nothing of this nature existed in Afro-American literature." After some hesitation, Greene agreed with Wesley and decided to work towards publishing his diary. The first volume, covering the period of time from March of 1928 until February of 1930 was published in 1989 and the second volume, stemming from June of 1930 until September of 1933, was published eight years after Greene's death.

⁵Strickland, editor, Working with the Carter G. Woodson, 20. It is also interesting to note that Greene writes in dialect when recording the opinions

fact that another AME Evangelist was illiterate and that this somehow affected his character. Greene pitied those uneducated preachers who had mail-order degrees and claimed to be healers. He also commented on the disorganization and lack of education of Black ministers whom he met. He was not totally critical of illiterate preachers. In Baltimore, for example, a Rev. Brown "illiterate though he was, blind man leading the blind" moved Greene with the "spontaneity of his words, which at times assumed a grandeur, similar to that of a Demosthenes or a Webster." Greene tended to speak very highly of those ministers who were opposed to emotionalism. Still, overall he believed that the majority of Black ministers were ignorant, lacking the training to "fight intelligently for the rights of the race."⁶

Greene's perceptions of the poor, working-class folk with whom he came into contact reflected his close affiliation with social uplifters of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Greene perceived East Baltimore, a Black section, as "a sink of ignorance" where "most Negroes live in dilapidated houses. Brazen, leud, and unkempt women; sly, evil-looking men."⁷

In Harlem, he was disturbed by the behavior of everyday people on the transportation system. "Train was full of Negroes who acted disgracefully. Embarrassed me, yelled, ran from coach to coach, laughing boisterously, drinking, fussing, and passing coarse jokes. Ought to have been in a cattle car.

of certain ministers. Unlike his novelist counterparts, I would argue that Greene does this in order to stress the validity of the study at hand, that is to uplift the masses from ignorance. At the same time, however, in April of 1927 he authored a thought-provoking poem called "The New Negro" in dialect.

⁶Ibid., 35, 76.

⁷Ibid., 40.

Were I a railroad executive, I'd segregate them myself," the New Englander continues, "There are some Negroes who should be segregated, but it should not be made general. There are some intelligent, well dressed, and orderly. They should be given consideration, but there are some who are not fit to sit with hogs. The same applies to whites as well." Greene added Whites to this discussion, because he wanted to make it clear that this behavior is a human condition, not one restricted to the Blacks. Greene was opposed to his people acting in this manner because he saw it affecting their opportunities. This type of behavior, Greene thought like his predecessors who were very much pre-occupied with etiquette, justified ill treatment. On the other hand, many of Greene's "New Negro" counterparts would have portrayed this type of behavior with openness and even pride.⁸

Greene's experiences in Suffolk seem to have exasperated a bourgeois attitude within him. "*Morals*: Very low, on the whole especially among the factory workers," Greene said commented in his assessment of Suffolk, "both white and blacks exhibit sexual laxity." Echoing Booker T. Washington, Greene acknowledged that racial discrimination was a crime which drastically affected Black America's destiny, but he also believed that Blacks could do a lot to remedy their situation. A revolution in morals in his mind did not require the aid or sympathy of Whites.⁹

Historically, highly educated Black intellectuals and leaders have viewed themselves as cultural reformers, as the bearers of civilization and a refined culture for a needy Black population. Religion has been one of the most important vehicles of this social uplift program. During the "golden age of

⁸Ibid., 66.

⁹Strickland, editor, Working with Carter G. Woodson, 145.

Black nationalism," Black leaders especially perceived themselves as the missionaries of the masses. Because of their often Puritan, Northern upbringings and quests to be recognized and accepted by White society, they frowned upon the cultural practices of the masses which they were not prepared to understand. In terms of religion, before thinkers of Greene's generation this is best demonstrated by the thought of Charlotte Forten (1838-1914) during reconstruction and by Du Bois around the turn of the century.

Forten, the granddaughter of the well-known Philadelphia abolitionist James Forten, was one of the many Northern teachers who ventured to Port Royal Island, South Carolina to educate the newly freed population. While there, she was a very keen observer and maintained a detailed diary. When she returned from South Carolina in 1864 she published her observation in the Atlantic Monthly. This Philadelphia native was extremely fearful of the African-rooted religious practices of the Sea Island Blacks. She commented:

In the evenings, the children frequently came in to sing and shout for us. These "shouts" are very strange, -- in truth, almost indescribable . . . it is probable that they are the barbarous expressions of religion, handed down to them from their African ancestors, and destined to pass away under the influence of Christian teachings.¹⁰

Nearly four decades later, Du Bois echoed Forten's observations in an essay entitled "The Religion of the American Negro" in the New World. Grounded in what one scholar has called "his Puritan New England origins and Enlightenment values," Du Bois, like Forten, feared this highly emotional brand of African rooted religious practices. "Fresh from the east, "

¹⁰Charlotte Forten, "Life on the Sea Islands," in Harvey Wish, editor, Slavery in the South (New York: The Noonday Press, 1972), 95-96.

he described a church service in rural Tennessee, his first encounter with a "Southern Negro Revival":

A sort of suppressed terror hung in the air and seemed to seize us, -- a pythian madness, a demoniac possession, that lent terrible reality to song and word. The black and massive form of the preacher swayed and quivered as the words crowded to his lips and flew at us in singular eloquence. The people moaned and fluttered, and then the ganut-cheeked brown woman beside me suddenly leaped straight into the air and shrieked like a lost soul, while round about came wail and groan and outcry, and a scene of human passion such as I had never conceived.

Those who have not thus witnessed the frenzy of a Negro revival in the untouched backwoods of the South can but dimly realize the religious feeling of the slave; as described, such scenes appear grotesque and funny, but as seen they are awful.¹¹

Nearly three decades later, Greene echoed his fellow New England native. He was equally as disturbed by the religious practices of the urban Black masses. On Sunday, May 13, 1928 while he was in Washington, D.C. analyzing his data for the Black Church study, Greene paid a visit to his cousin Bertha Baylor. While he was waiting for her to return, his attention was drawn to a church service of the United House of Prayer for All People. Greene wrote:

What I beheld almost made me weep. Surely, I told myself, these people could not be civilized. A swirling, jumping, dancing, shouting mass of human beings filled the place to overflowing. Screams, laughter, songs, and groans broke from this gyrating, frenzied, perspiring throng. I looked

¹¹Cornel West, "Black Strivings in a Twilight Civilization," in Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Cornel West, The Future of the Race (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996); W.E.B. Du Bois, The Souls of Black Folk (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993).

on with amazement . . . The stamping of the feet, the cries of "lard have mercy" and "Hallelujah," the wild shouts and mutterings of those people awoke in me a profound feeling of pity. This is their conception of Christianity. Empty "mouthings." Emotional frenzy and manifestations of barbaric dancing and primitive religions in the midst of civilization.¹²

The similarity between Forten's, Du Bois's, and Greene's observations are striking. Greene and Du Bois seemed to have been witnessing the same event. While Forten's and Du Bois's observations were more in line with the thinking of many Black leaders of the time, Greene's comments seem archaic and out of tune with the thought of creative Black intellectuals of the late 1920s who were glorifying Black folk culture and attempting to explain its significance.

Greene argued about the meaning of religion with his cousin Bertha who was a member of "Sweet Daddy" Grace's church. For Greene, "religion did not consist of loud mouthings, shouting, dancing, and epileptic fits." On the other hand, he simply defined Christ's doctrine as being love. He argued that "every man has in him a bit of God that guides him aright" and that religion was a "personal affair between man and his creator." He stressed that instead of professing and broadcasting one's faith or beliefs in the streets, one should concentrate on living a righteous life. "Unselfishness, utter lack of vindictiveness, and service to one's fellow men" were the key factors of his religious ideology. Greene's "religious creed" was the Golden Rule, to do to another as one would have other do to them. He was very much like Booker T. Washington and Woodson in that he believed that religion was a

¹²Strickland, editor, Working with Carter G. Woodson, 160.

day-to-day component of life, something which needed to be made practical.¹³

During the three months of researching the function of the Black church, Greene articulated a philosophy of race advancement. He did not write one comprehensive essay on how to solve what his immediate predecessors called the "Negro Problem." Instead, scattered throughout his diary are various, at times spontaneous, candid comments. Beyond serving as a day-to-day mechanism to help Blacks survive, Greene did not place a very high emphasis on the church or on religion in his philosophy for uplifting Blacks. Greene did, however, believe that the church had to play a more active role in the community as a nexus of reform. "Let the churches unite and found community centers, something to interest these workers in clean living and harmless amusements, rather than sex." Greene also surmised that instead of building so many churches that Blacks should be more like Jews and focus on founding businesses. Like those whom Harold Cruse accused of buying into the "myth of Negro Business," he believed that economic nationalism would lay the foundation for political strength. "I believe that if we develop businesses, we will of necessity develop politicians, who will have interests to be guarded and, in protecting their own, will be securing the rights of their co-entrepreneurs."¹⁴

At one level, Greene believed that African-Americans suffered because they allowed the "white man open the way" and then followed blindly

¹³Ibid., 161-162.

¹⁴Ibid., 145, 124, 76.

behind him. The "white man" ruled the world, he reasoned, because Blacks chose to follow their lead. We are consumers not producers," he lamented.¹⁵

Greene used his diary as a place where he could discuss his perceptions of prominent Black intellectuals and leaders candidly. While he praised Wesley during the duration of their working together, Greene more critically described Woodson. It seems that the longer Greene worked for the Association founder, the more candid and sharp his critiques of him became. Most of the conflicts between the two, however, revolved around personality differences and their varying perceptions upon how certain Association tasks should be performed. Greene tended to agree with his employer on the problems facing Black America and how they could best be remedied.

Greene, however, had little patience with one of Woodson's contemporaries, Kelly Miller. In early April of 1928 in Baltimore, Greene attended one of Miller's characteristic lectures at Grace Presbyterian Church. While he agreed with his elder's political stance advocating that Black should "uphold the constitution, . . . engage in politics to secure their civil rights," and encourage political participation amongst ministers, Greene vehemently disagreed with Miller's conviction that African Americans "had special genius for religion and that he should abjure the material realm and bend his every effort to the furtherance of the spiritual." He deemed Miller's philosophy archaic and passé, catering to the beliefs of a largely ignorant congregation of ministers. Greene, who at this stage of his life seemed to

¹⁵Ibid., 60. Whether Greene would have acknowledged it or not, this is classic Washington thought. In his first major publication, The Future of the American Negro (1899), the Tuskegee principal stresses that the post-reconstruction Black generation must lay the foundation for Negro civilization. Laced in his propaganda, Washington, as Garvey would later reiterate, beseeched Blacks to do what the white man could do, but do it better and for the Black community foremost.

borrow greatly from his predecessors who came of age in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, interestingly drew a sharp line between himself and older leaders. "Kelly Miller's sun of leadership has set," Greene commented, "The philosophy of men of this kind belongs to an earlier day."¹⁶

Greene's alternative sounds strikingly like something Booker T. Washington once said. "In my opinion, the white man has everything that conduces progress. Not only that, he has religion too, probably a thousand fold more sincere and practical than that of the Negroes," Greene ascertained, "I would rather ape the white man than wallow in the slough of artificial fervor and unprogressiveness that Kelly Miller proposes to his followers." In this case, Greene synthesized several broader streams of African-American thought. On the one hand, like his "New Negro" counterparts, he challenged part of the "Old Negro" ideology. On the other hand, Greene downplayed Black America's cultural "genius" and individuality. A twenty-eight year old Greene not extensively versed in Black America's past advocated that Black people draw inspiration from a seemingly successful White American civilization to not only uplift themselves and integrate themselves into American society, but also to work towards the elimination of Black oppression.

¹⁶Strickland, editor, Working with Carter G. Woodson, 76-77. By focusing on Blacks' spiritual inventiveness and imagination, Miller was probably, at one level, re invoking Du Bois's argument in The Souls of Black Folk while at the same time catering to a philosophy prevalent amongst "New Negroes"--the belief that Blacks possessed a culture distinctly different from White America. At the same time, Miller reduced the Black masses to spiritual beings who did not have the mental capacity to enter political discourses, the terrain providing access to power.

On April 28, 1928, Greene returned to Washington, D.C. and began to make sense of the data and surveys he had collected for the Black church study. His most extensive analysis was on the Black Suffolk community. He divided it into three groups for separate analysis: business, professional church going Blacks; business, professional non-church going Blacks, and the illiterate masses. By late May of 1928, Greene presented Wesley with the first draft of roughly two hundred pages. His mentor made few corrections. Woodson felt differently.

On June 5, 1928, he sent Wesley and Greene a telegram which declared their report "worthless." The Association founder believed that they were doing too much "sermonizing." The Howard associates ignored their dictator and sent their study to the Institute of Social and Religious Research in New York City (ISRR) on June 5. Shortly after Woodson returned to the office on June 8, Greene could sense that his boss was upset. Greene and Wesley did not discuss the telegram with Woodson, beyond acknowledging that they had received it. They decided to ignore their "self-opinionated" boss once again and continued to work on the "Suffolk Report." On 21 June, the day that it was completed and ready to be mailed to the ISSR, Woodson called Greene into the kitchen, "the private *sanctum*," and they talked for several hours. Woodson informed Greene that the study was over, because Wesley, by accepting the position of Presiding Elder of the A.M.E. Church, had broken his contract between the ASNLH and the ISRR. Unless Wesley resigned his Eldership, Woodson considered the study over. Greene was "dumbfounded." The months of meticulous research seemed to have meant nothing all of a sudden. He was equally as concerned about how such an incident would reflect on Black scholars in general. He feared that it would not only confirm stereotypes about the "unreliability" of and the lack of solidarity amongst

Blacks, but that it would adversely affect future projects of this sort and his personal reputation as a scholar.¹⁷

Why Woodson suddenly decided to terminate the ASNLH's support to the project remains open to historians' interpretations. Perhaps, as Greene suggested, Woodson was becoming jealous of Wesley, one of the only other Ph.D. holding Black historians. Or, maybe he was upset that Wesley ignored his telegram. When Greene spoke with Wesley, he told him that Woodson had never even told him that by holding an Eldership he jeopardized his job. Greene disagreed with Woodson and stood by Wesley throughout the conflict. After finding out that Wesley had willingly resigned, Greene became depressed. Not only had he turned down a teaching position at Fisk, but in early June, Walter Dyson offered him a job teaching history at his alma mater. Greene was not, however, left hanging. On 25 June, shortly after Wesley and Woodson met with ISSR representatives, the ASNLH director offered his distraught employee a job paying the same as his previous salary doing the same type of fieldwork he had been doing or developing a study of "Negro occupations." After a couple days of thinking and praying, Greene told Woodson that he would work on a study of African American occupations for a salary of at least \$2,000.00. Woodson offered him \$166.66 a month and Greene agreed as long as he had the liberty to accept other job offers. Woodson reluctantly agreed. Despite how Woodson had treated Wesley, Greene believed that he could get along with him. For the next several years, Greene began his eye-opening apprenticeship under "the Father of Negro History."

¹⁷Ibid., 177-194.

Greene had learned a lot during the first four months of working directly under Woodson. He recognized the variety of skills and means needed for conducting sociological field research. He further honed his writing and editing skills, and he encountered the peculiarity of Woodson's character. On the one hand, he disliked how Woodson treated his employees, including himself; yet he deeply respected his devotion and unwavering commitment to the Association and the Black history movement it advocated.

In the period from late June of 1928 until Negro History Week of 1930, Greene remained in Washington, D.C. and worked with Woodson in many different capacities. It was during this period of nearly two years when Greene matured intellectually and truly began discovering the many sides to the (African-American) historian's craft.

Greene was hired to conduct a study on Black occupations through the 1920s. Woodson wanted him to find out how Blacks had progressed until 1920. He was interested in knowing in which occupations Black workers increased and in which ones they decreased and why these changes occurred. Greene worked diligently on this project from July 11, 1928 until the Negro Wage Earner was published in 1930. He frequented the Library of Congress; he examined census reports and met with various representatives for the Bureau of the Census; he tabulated figures and analyzed statistics; and he explored various journals, magazines, and newspapers mainly from the 1890s through the 1920s. Despite his background in mathematics while in medical school, Greene disliked working with figures and statistics. His major methodology of research was thorough and comprehensive. He gathered all the data which appeared to "throw any light upon" his topic. He would then later critically appraise this body of information.

Greene performed many other duties in addition to researching Blacks in occupations. He proof-read the "galley" for many of Woodson's books and Journal articles, including African Myths, The Negro in Our History, "Negro Makers of History," and Rayford W. Logan's "The Operation of the Mandate System in Africa" (1928). He often took this type of work home with him. Woodson benefited greatly from Greene's superior writing and editing skills. Greene often caught the small errors which his employer had overlooked and he also advised him to simplify the language of his books written for children and for the masses. In fact, Greene suggested to Woodson upon several occasions that he should write more books at the level of children. Though this work was demanding, Greene liked it because he learned intimately about the long process of book publishing.

From mid 1928 until mid 1930, Greene was Woodson's number one staff investigator and personal assistant, replacing Alrutheus A. Taylor who worked closely with Woodson from 1919 until 1926 when he accepted a teaching position at Fisk. Upon numerous occasions when he was out of town, Woodson placed Greene in charge of the Association office headquarters. While Woodson was gone, Greene opened and closed the office, made sure that bills were paid on time, and, like Woodson, acted as a secretary and janitor.

Greene played a role in Woodson's various research projects. In January of 1929, Woodson instructed Greene, who frequented used bookstores in the Washington, D.C. area, to begin collecting old manuscripts pertaining to African Americans. Greene worked especially hard for Woodson in publicizing and organizing the Negro History Week celebration in Washington, D.C. in February of 1930. He visited Black churches in the Washington, D.C. and Virginia, lecturing to them about Black history and

informing them about the celebration. And, he rallied the support of the masses by advertising the celebration in movie theaters in the Black community. Greene's hard work on this project paid off. On February 10, 1930, he estimated that between 5,000 and 6,000 people attended the program held in Armstrong High School's auditorium. The success of this program had a profound impact on a thirty-year old Greene. "Negro History shall be my life's work. The Association is indelibly stamped upon me. It is my cause and shall transcend everything else, even my allegiance to Woodson," Greene wrote in his diary on the night of the celebration, "I know I had found my life's vocation and that Dr. Woodson was my historical idol."¹⁸

These years were especially productive for Greene in terms of his development as a historian. While researching and working for Woodson, he read many different books pertaining to American, African, and African-American history. Throughout his diary, he provided brief reviews of these materials. His favorite books in this period appeared to have been A Tropical Dependency (1906) by Lady Flora F.S. Lugard and Raymond E. Turner's The Negro in Pennsylvania (1911). Greene's philosophy of history during this time was derived from both Woodson and Charles Wesley. Greene believed in "impersonal scientific history" void of emotionalism. He celebrated the fact that Woodson could write about "the horrors of peonage in the South . . . so objectively that the reader could not tell whether the author was white or Black." He did not agree with Du Bois's philosophy of writing in order to propagandize Black humanity. Of Du Bois's The Negro, Greene said, "a pretty fair work, although he lets his personality creep in from time to time." He made a similar critique of an article by William Brewer on John Russworm

¹⁸Strickland, editor, Working with Carter G. Woodson, 464.

submitted to the Journal.¹⁹ Greene, like Benjamin Quarles and John Hope Franklin, wrote in a very objective manner well into the second half of the twentieth-century.

Greene respected the detached writing style of Woodson, Wesley, and others and he strove to imitate it with his own twist. Greene did not, however, totally frown upon using Black history as propaganda or removing history from academic circles. As a lecturer, he called upon Blacks to celebrate their glorious past and emancipate themselves from mental slavery. In Georgetown in December of 1929, he told an audience of Baptists that all Blacks suffered from a disease, "a disease more deadly than cancer or consumption -- an inferiority complex." He proceeded to tell them about the monumental achievements of their African ancestors. On the pragmatic side, Greene believed early on that Black history should be written at the level of children "in order to inspire racial self-respect, a pride and a consciousness of being black, and to furnish the Negro a means for dispelling his inferiority complex."²⁰ Greene was, therefore, very much like his mentor. He operated in a privatized, elite, academic setting and within a more accessible Black community. He believed in objective history in order to discover "the truth," while using Black history to build pride and self-esteem within Black people.

Between 1928 and 1930, Greene published his first pieces of historical scholarship: a long article in the Journal and The Negro Wage Earner. In mid August of 1928 Woodson told Greene that he would like to publish part of an essay that he had done for a history seminar with Dixon Ryan Fox at Columbia in 1927 entitled "Negro Slavery in New England." When Woodson

¹⁹Ibid., 282, 325.

²⁰Ibid., 421, 396.

made his proposal, Greene was shocked, he did not believe that he had the merits of a solid historian yet. Though extremely bright, his confidence as a historian was not boosted until his 1942 major publication. Woodson suggested that the title be changed to "Slavery and Awakening in New England." After some hesitation, Greene basically concurred and for the rest of the month revised the original manuscript drawing greatly from the Library of Congress's repository. Greene's essay was published in Woodson's journal in late 1928. "Slaveholding New England and Its Awakening," the agreed upon final title, looks at slavery in colonial New England in eight sections: the colonial period, Puritan sanctions for slavery, status of slaves, conversion of the slaves, the treatment of the slave, slave codes, the Awakening, and legislative action.²¹ Greene treated slavery in colonial New England with the objectivity of Thorpe's "New School" of Black historians. This essay laid the foundation for The Negro in Colonial New England (1942).

By January of 1930, after completing his comprehensive examinations at Columbia, Greene gave Woodson the final draft of his study on Black occupations. Later that year it was published as The Negro Wage Earner under the authorship of both Woodson and Greene. Woodson decided to add his name after advertisements in the Journal as late as July 1930 announced Greene as the sole author. In the introduction Woodson claimed that "most of the data in this treatise were collected by Mr. Lorenzo J. Greene. These findings were then checked, corrected, and supplemented by the undersigned, who reduced the work to literal form."²² Greene was very

²¹See Lorenzo Johnston Greene, "Slaveholding New England and Its Awakening," The Journal of Negro History 13 (1928): 492-533.

upset with Woodson's actions. He, as well as others in the Association office, knew that he had done all of the hard work for this study to the point of jeopardizing his health. Woodson basically made some shallow conclusions based upon a careless reading of the manuscript. "There is not an idea of Woodson's in the entire book," Greene confided in his diary in December of 1930, "Woodson never held a high place in my estimation, but now my regard for him in every respect, save scholarship, has sunk into its nadir."²³ A year later, Woodson even admitted that Greene was the major force behind The Negro Wage Earner. When the book was later criticized by the New York Tribune and by Ira De A. Reid in Opportunity for its "weak interpretations," Greene did not object, noting that Woodson carelessly drew shallow interpretations from a body of data which Greene had collected and the Association Director did not even fully comprehend.

Greene's study is broken down into seventeen chapters and explores patterns in Black occupations and employment since roughly 1850, focusing upon themes since 1890. Because of the paucity of sources, Greene's commentary on Black employment before 1890 is fairly scanty. He offered surface level distinctions between the opportunities of the Northern and Southern slaves, explaining that Blacks in the North were mostly domestics, whereas the bulk of their southern counterparts served as agricultural workers. Greene elaborated upon Black laborers in the South. According to Greene, different manufacturers based upon crop types and industries such as railroads and maritime opened the door to many skilled Black laborers.

²²Lorenzo Greene and Carter G. Woodson, The Negro Wage Earner (Washington: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1930), vi; see, "Annual Report of the Director," Journal of Negro History 16 (1931): 349-351.

²³Strickland, editor, Working with Carter G. Woodson, 222.

Following the Civil War, southern Blacks, according to Greene, were relegated to three major positions: sharecropping, domestic work, and lastly unskilled manufacturing labor. While he acknowledged the presence of independent and collectively operating Black farmers, their existence was "relatively insignificant" to his study. Greene did, however, praise Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes for their attempts at scientifically enlarging this class of independent Blacks tillers of the soil.²⁴

By 1890, the U.S. Bureau of the Census revealed that Blacks in the South were relegated to agricultural and domestic/personal service related work. In 1890, 1.1% of Blacks were found in "the professions" and three-fifths of the Negro wage earners were illiterate.²⁵ According to Greene, the industrial revolution in the South had little positive impact on Blacks, since they were not trained to do the skilled labor of Whites. Instead, they did the same work as during the days of slavery. This era also gave birth to a decrease in Black managers and an increase of Black tenant/cash renters, cash-share tenants, and share tenants, all of whom were exploited.²⁶

Greene spent a considerable amount of time exploring the ramifications of the Great Migration on the role of Black women as domestics and Black males' pursuits in trade, transportation, manufacturing, mechanics, skilled trades, and a host of other industries.²⁷

²⁴Greene and Woodson, The Negro Wage Earner, 35.

²⁵Ibid., 47.

²⁶Ibid., 67-70.

²⁷Ibid., 75-246.

A significant section of his study surveys how some Blacks found refuge in specific industries. Tinsmithing, automobile industries, the coal mines and railroads, the packing industry, tanning and curing, shoe factories, soap companies, vegetable and fruit canning, tobacco growing and harvesting, gasoline station work, and ship building are among some of the job opportunities he explored in reference to specific states, North and South.

In July of 1931, with no surprise the Journal of Negro History positively received the book. "*The Negro Wage Earner* will hardly be appreciated as much to day as it will be a few decades hence when persons will cease to give most of their attention to the polemic aspects of history and economics and will approach these matters from the definitive point of view," the anonymous reviewer (most likely Woodson) proceeded, "This book accomplishes an important task of summarizing what the Negroes have done in making a living in the various occupations . . . We are often called upon to discuss the various aspects of the progress of Negroes and find ourselves drifting into unprofitable discussion because of the lack of adequate data as to what the Negroes have actually achieved in the various lines in which they have been employed. This need for such data has been supplied by this book."²⁸ The New York Times also positively reviewed it. The Tribune and Opportunity, on the other hand, were more critical. Their reviewers saw some of the inconsistencies in terms of the data and the interpretations.

This brief discussion has in no way revealed the amount of back breaking work that Greene put into The Negro Wage Earner. A perusal of his diary in which he laments over reading and re-calculating "figures, figures, figures" is a testament to the difficulty involved in such a historically grounded

²⁸"Book Reviews," Journal of Negro History 16 (1931): 341.

statistical study. The monograph reads like that as well, monotonous and redundant in style. Such rigorous academic work coupled by Woodson's high expectations, took its toll on Greene. By the fall of 1929, he became so sick with stomach problems that he thought that he was going to die.

During the period of nearly two years while he worked for Woodson in the Association headquarters, Greene recorded many significant observations in his diary. Not only did he closely follow current events, but he also continued to critically comment on Black leadership, male and female, and to formulate an ideology which he thought best suited African-Americans. Between the summer of 1928 and the winter of 1930, Greene critiqued many Black leaders for a variety of reasons. He agreed with Woodson's ideas that the NAACP and Du Bois were too pre-occupied with propaganda and lacked "practicality" and "some cogent and systematic plan." He also agreed with the Association founder that the Urban League was not focused enough and that inter-racial struggles were flawed.²⁹

Greene very easily dismissed many of his Black women counterparts involved in the struggle. Before even checking out one of their meetings, Greene concluded that the Federation of Women's Clubs "are interested more in the social functions" connected with their annual sessions "than with any constructive program for racial amelioration." Certainly, Greene, like many men of his time, underestimated the impact of Black female reformers. But, less than a week later after he actually attended a session of the Federation, he developed a different outlook. "The Negro male certainly has every reason to envy this organization composed of members of the so-called weaker sex," Greene proclaimed on August 3, 1928. He noted that the

²⁹Strickland, editor, Working with Carter G. Woodson, 221.

Federation program was "forward moving" and even that women in general were more enthusiastic, zealous reformers. One need not, however, overstate Greene's support of Black female leadership. For one, when describing Black women leaders, he seemed to have focused more on their physical attributes than on their ideologies. In one instance, his comments reveal how he had perhaps internalized the "colorphobia" of the Black community, something which he later spoke out against in his diary. In his late twenties, Greene apparently supported the Black bourgeoisie notion that lighter skin was more attractive, intellectually and physically. "Miss Burroughs is a woman of medium height and build, dark complexion, and not at all good looking . . . Miss Hunter resembles Miss Burroughs as to height and build. She, however, is a mulatto and is possessed of one of the most charming personalities . . . She speaks softly and her works are accompanied by a smile that issues forth like soft and delightful music."³⁰ These ideas were rooted in his personal taste for female companions rather than in his view of the Black community in general.

Greene looked at Black male leadership much more seriously, even though he criticized one of its leading spokesman. While Greene, like most African-American intellectuals of the 1920s, was very skeptical of Garvey's African return, deeming it "chimerical" at best, he did agree with the Jamaican hero's economic nationalist platform, his dream and plan of making Blacks "economically self-sufficient." At one level, a young Greene's views on how to best solve Black America's problems derived components from the pre-existing and contemporary trends in Black intellectual thought.

³⁰Ibid., 222, 384, 385.

He supported the growth of independent Black businesses and championed that Blacks abandon non-practical forms of religion.³¹

Working for the Negro History Week celebration of 1930 greatly influenced Greene's outlook. By February of 1930, it became very clear that Greene was adopting an ideology of cultural assimilation. Like Woodson, he was optimistic about American race relations and the integration of Black people into American society as equals. He wanted to employ Black history as a means of bringing people together. Though during his late twenties he began to read many books on the glorious past of Africa, he took enormous pride in the fact that he was "an *American* and *New Englander* to boot." Further, while planning for the Negro History Week celebration of 1930, he protested vehemently against substituting "The Star Spangled Banner" with James Weldon Johnson's "Lift Every Voice and Sing." Greene passionately argued that African-Americans were "first and foremost American citizens." He believed that adopting Johnson's anthem would "not only be tantamount to reunification of our citizenship, but a voluntary yielding up of those rights and privileges for which we have been so long and bitterly contending." Greene and Woodson optimistically believed that their symbolic support of a nation which for roughly three centuries had oppressed their ancestors would have helped them. Sure, in singing "The Star Spangled Banner" powerful White, philanthropist onlookers would feel more comfortable in donating money to Woodson's cause. But, as history has revealed, cultural assimilation is a dangerous strategy for Black liberation. By the dawning of the 1930s, it was certainly becoming impractical. At the age of thirty, in the midst of a cultural rejuvenation of the Black intelligentsia, Greene held fast

³¹Ibid., 365-366.

to an out-dated, yet understandable, ideology for attaining Black social justice. While a professor at Lincoln University, Missouri, he recognized the limitations of such an outlook and re-configured it accordingly.

The early 1930s were particularly pivotal for Greene. In a span of roughly three years, he initiated a book selling campaign for the Association; he "officially" entered the world of White academia; he published two studies on Black employment and wrote a brief essay on Southern Blacks during the Depression; he worked as a member of the Committee on Negro Housing of President Herbert Hoover's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership; he authored Negro Housing (1932) with Charles S. Johnson and some others; he lost his soulmate and "dearest treasure" to another man; and by early September of 1933 he ventured to Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Missouri.

The brief period from the summer of 1930 until the summer of 1931 represented a major step in Greene's intellectual development. By the dawning of the Depression years, the sale of the Association's books had dropped drastically. Nicely bound hard cover books were literally mildewing in the Association headquarters' basement. In mid 1930, Greene suggested to Woodson that they sell the books cheaply, in order to salvage something from the situation. Greene, who had experience at selling magazine subscriptions in the summer of 1927, volunteered to travel across the country selling books and spreading the name of the Association. A skeptical Woodson agreed to sell the books for near wholesale prices. These books included Woodson's The Negro in Our History, Negro Makers of History, History of the Negro Church, African Myths, and Maurice Delafosse's Negroes of Africa, Kelly Miller's Everlasting Stain, Willis Richardson's Plays and Pageants, and Negro Poets and Their Poems by R.T. Kerlin. The

Association also offered other special combinations for those interested in Africa, religion, economics, teaching, and history in general.

On June 21, 1930, Greene and four Howard University students--John Wesley Poe, Noble Payton, James Cecil Wilkey, and Oliver LaGrone--piled into a used Model A Ford which Woodson purchased and they began their book selling campaign. For Greene, the campaign lasted for almost one year. He ventured to Virginia, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, Missouri, Illinois, and Pennsylvania. Given the state of race relations and the fact that well into the 1930s the NAACP documented many lynchings, Greene's trip was very dangerous. Surprisingly, the five men experienced very little racial hostility during the trip. While in Georgia, for instance, they were called "niggers" by some "young white hoodlums" who were, Greene surmised, infuriated by the sight of five Black men in a car as they walked. They were never, however, physically attacked in any manner.

Life for Greene and the others during this campaign was very hard in other manners. Throughout 1930 they made very little money and that which they did make went towards repairing the car, purchasing food, acquiring lodging, and washing their clothes. Greene routinely spoke of the awful food to which he was subjected. Unlike his traveling companions, he was not used to eating in establishments which were run by poor, working-class folks. He could not stand the flies in restaurants and therefore often went hungry or bought some fruit, milk, ice cream, and/or oatmeal. They stayed in a variety of places including YMCAs, boarding houses and cheap hotels, or in the homes of acquaintances and close friends. In one case, while seriously ill, Greene stayed with James C. Wilkey's brother in Chicago who apparently rented a room in a whorehouse which could be used by clients upon demand. The survival of these five African-American men was based upon how many

books they could sell. Yet, during the Depression, they still found a way to spend part of their meager income on entertaining women or playing golf.

The first four months of book selling was very enlightening to the New Englander. He learned how to sell books, he developed as a speaker, and he learned first-hand about the state of Blacks in the South. Greene was a tenacious salesman. Upon arriving in a new city or town, he would immediately find out the names, business addresses, and even home addresses of the Black community's leading professionals, including lawyers, dentists, teachers, physicians, teachers, college presidents, and Black businessmen. He always contacted the ministers of leading churches and attempted to sell them a set of books relating to religion. He asked to speak at their churches about the Association and the necessity of owning books about their past. He sold books to countless elementary and high schools and Black colleges, including North Carolina College for Negroes, Winston-Salem Teachers College, Tuskegee, Prairie View State College for Negroes, and Langston University. Some of the leading businessmen and entrepreneurs he touched base with included C.C. Spaulding of North Carolina Insurance Company, the offices of the Chicago Defender and the Whip, and Chicago's Urban League.

During a full year of selling books, from June of 1930 until September of 1931, Greene made many contacts and sold many books. Though Woodson complained that many of the books he mailed out were returned, by March of 1931 Greene ascertained that he had, almost single-handedly, rescued the Association from bankruptcy.

Greene began his career as a lecturer during the several years that he worked for the ISSR's and the Association's study of the Black church. Between the summer of 1930 and the fall of 1931, he became a first rate

speaker in Black communities throughout the country while also entering the elite lecturing circuit of White academia.

During his book selling campaigns, Greene spoke at various churches, colleges, and elementary and high schools within the Black community. Sometimes he was given between ten and fifteen minutes to plead his case. In other instances, as in Philadelphia in February of 1931, he was given most of the church service hour to speak. In the fall of 1930 in Oklahoma, he delivered some of his best orations. He spoke at Langston University to a group of between five hundred and six hundred people, including amongst its ranks professors, students, youths, and unemployed laborers. Greene was most satisfied with his interaction with schoolchildren. In an elementary school in Oklahoma, he was so pleased to speak to a class of ten year olds. He shared with his attentive listeners the history of Africa, recounting how "Africans discovered America hundreds of years before Columbus."³² "Never have I been more gratified nor more satisfied with three quarters of an hour's toil," Greene commented after speaking with these children who clung to his every word. Early in 1931, Greene also felt equally as gratified in speaking to Philadelphia schoolchildren about Africa's contribution to discovery, art, empire building, culture, and human civilization.

Greene's speeches to Black audiences were not all, however, praiseworthy of Africa's glorious past. Like Woodson, whether Greene admitted it or not, he was a polemicist of some sort. In November of 1930, Greene publicly critiqued the Black church so much that on November 22 Woodson wrote to his understudy and told him to dis-associate himself from the Association.

³²Arvah Strickland, editor, Selling Black History for Carter G. Woodson: A Diary, 1930-1933, Lorenzo J. Greene (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996), 159.

Woodson believed that Greene was jeopardizing the Association's status in the Black community of ministers and church goers. Woodson was also probably upset that Greene had not consulted him before making such statements.

While nearly all of Greene's speeches were directed towards Black audiences, one of his most important speeches was delivered to the senior class at Dartmouth College. In February of 1931, Greene was invited to speak at this ivy league college on "Labor Relations in America." Though his honorarium was only \$50.00, he was very pleased with this opportunity. He interpreted it as recognition for his hard work on The Negro Wage Earner and he viewed it as a step towards independence from Woodson. "This invitation from Dartmouth brings me just that much nearer my breaking point with him [Woodson]. Just so much more able will I be able to stand alone," Greene recorded in his diary on February 7, 1931, "I desire only the scholarship from him. Then, if necessary, I shall be free to wash my hands."³³ March 18, 1931, the day Greene spoke to the Dartmouth senior class, therefore, marked his "debut--so to speak--in academic society." Greene apparently performed well at Dartmouth. After March of 1931, many other opportunities opened up for him, including working with Herbert Hoover's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership beginning in late April of this year.

Overall, the book selling campaigns were extremely significant in Greene's development because they exposed him to the harsh realities of Blacks' lives throughout the South. While traveling through the Deep South, Greene was particularly struck by the conditions endured by unemployed Black

³³Ibid., 281.

agricultural workers. He spoke to unemployed Blacks and occasionally to some migrant White laborers. Texas was especially enlightening for him. He had never seen so many Blacks picking cotton for close to nothing. "Men, women, and children of all ages were picking cotton," Greene commented on September 2, 1930, "Other men were filling the cart with the newly picked cotton. It was a novel sight to me -- a New Englander." Greene was shocked by the labor dynamics of Texas. He noticed that Whites dominated the work in the gins, whereas Blacks and Mexicans picked cotton. He observed that Mexicans, especially those in Waco, really hurt Black laborers by always under working them. He was surprised that many Blacks were not willing to submit to such low wages and instead migrated in search of more favorable conditions. He sympathized with them, yet understood why so many Mexicans had crossed the boarder.³⁴

While Greene sold books and worked for the Association in the early 1930s, he continued to cultivate an ideology for altering the status of Black America. He was still opposed to the emotional, escapist brands of religion. He believed that industrial education offered at Black institutions were out of date and that the only real solution along these lines lied in transforming such institutions into replicas of Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In terms of economics, he still believed strongly in the development of Black owned businesses, but at the 1930 Association annual meeting in Cleveland from October 26-30, stressed that the Black middle-class "must develop a business or businesses that can attract the patronage of all groups." He also frowned upon protests which struck at the economic foundations of White

³⁴Ibid., 114.

supremacy. Boycotting was a dangerous tactic in Greene's estimation because he thought that it "may slip from our grasp and crush the wielder."³⁵

At the root of Greene's social philosophy was still the optimist, Woodsonian belief that history was essential in improving Blacks' status. In late January of 1931, Greene once again reaffirmed and proclaimed his dedication to Black history. "My life's purpose is to further the Negro's appreciation of himself and all the petty chicaneries, petty treacheries, and dishonesty of Woodson could not deter me." Greene's philosophy of history was also still grounded in a rigorous, scholarly framework. In the early thirties, he objected to the polemic columns Woodson wrote in various leading Black papers. He held fast to the ideal and romantic dictum that historians should remain objective chroniclers of the past. Woodson's columns, Greene concluded, did not impart "historical information" but instead "denigrated" the Association's work into "muckraking." Ironically, Greene condemned Woodson for something which he himself practiced in different settings.³⁶

During the early 1930s after the publication of The Negro Wage Earner in 1930, Greene continued to develop as a scholar by writing an essay on Black life in the South during the Depression, by contributing to several publications, and by producing a study of Black employment in Washington, D.C.

In late October of 1930, Greene wrote in his diary that he wanted to "write a pamphlet on Negro unemployment in the South, its causes, and remedies, and sell it." Woodson did not seem to accept Greene's idea and instead

³⁵Ibid., 199-200.

³⁶Ibid., 270, 368.

encouraged him to conduct a study of Black unemployment in Washington, D.C. Though Greene never published his proposed pamphlet, sometime before March of 1931 he wrote a revealing twenty page article entitled "Sidelight on Economic Conditions Among Negroes in the South During the Depression, 1930." This unpublished document represents Greene's most comprehensive analysis of the major problems facing the Black American middle class and masses before the Civil Rights struggle. Though scholarly, it is written in a very simple manner, digestible by those with rudimentary reading skills. The last six pages of the paper were clearly directed to the Black workers and middle class. It almost seems as if he was giving them orders. By the time he sat down to write this pamphlet, Greene was no longer skeptical of his scholarly capabilities.

For Greene, Blacks in the South during the Depression faced "their greatest crisis since emancipation." Based largely upon his own observations and interviews with Black and White workers, he analyzed the displacement of the Black agricultural workers, paying close attention to the entry of Whites into positions previously dominated by Blacks; the cheap working Mexicans who migrated in large numbers to Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Southern Louisiana; and the wide spread droughts during the Depression. Black independent farmers, Greene ascertained, were disappearing because of the Depression coupled by their inability to secure loans at reasonable rates. Greene noted that these former farmers left the rural areas for the cities in search of work. "Here they force the townspeople out of their already dwindling employment and also bring down their wages to a minimum," he observed. In other fields of work, such as domestic service, hotel work, barbering, common labor, factory labor, and skilled labor Greene noted that Blacks were being displaced by Whites and Mexicans and by larger

technological transformations. In his sophisticated analysis, Greene noticed and articulated the complex web of inter-relationships between Black, White, and Mexican labor, the Depression, and technological transformations.³⁷

Greene offered many remedies for this great problem. He called upon Black workers to hold tightly onto those jobs which they had. In a Woodsonian fashion, he placed the responsibility upon the exploited Black laborers themselves. He instructed them to be punctual, reliable, clean, tidy, and neat, honest; to stop "tattling on" their fellows "in order to curry favor with the boss"; to stop loafing, sulking on the job, asking for raises during times of economic hardships, and cutting down on work time if one received a raise; to train oneself, by attending night school if necessary, to hold a job; and to make oneself "indispensable on the job." In a typical Washington manner, he said "do not tell that a job is due to you because you are a Negro, but because you are able to give your employer the largest return for his money."³⁸

Job conservation was only one step to Greene's solution to Black unemployment during the Depression. His solution was comprehensive, yet simple. He said nothing about protesting for political and civil rights. But, instead re-invoked a philosophy of self-help, self-determination, and pragmatic living. He first called upon Blacks to "become producers instead of consumers." In order to better realize this, as Booker T. Washington had counseled decades earlier, Greene called upon Blacks to flee from the vices of the cities and return to the "millions of acres" of land in the South in order to

³⁷Lorenzo Johnston Greene, "Sidelight on Economic Conditions Among Negroes in the South During the Depression, 1930, unpublished paper, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 93, Folder 7, 7.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 15-16.

engage in truck farming, poultry raising, fruit raising, and cattle raising. Greene posited that Blacks in the South could maintain farms of six to ten acres and avoid the ills of sharecropping. Greene was not alone in advocating such a stance. During the 1920s and the Depression era, many Blacks leaders advocated a "Back to the Farm" movement.

The foundations for Greene's solution to Black poverty was the development of Black businesses. He believed that the Black masses and middle-class in the South possessed the means to create and maintain businesses using common sense. Like Woodson in The Mis-Education of the Negro, he told his people to stop living above their means. "Instead of building or buying the most elaborate houses, riding in the most expensive limousines, and trying to outdo whites in dressing," Greene pointed out, "he [the Black businessman] should put this surplus money to work." He also told his middle-class colleagues to stop pouring money into useless fraternity lodges and buildings. Instead, he advocated that such money be invested into factories in turn providing labor for the masses.

The creation of Black businesses was key to Greene's solutions. He counseled Black ministers to stop building so many churches and instead called upon preachers to invest these "hundreds or thousands of dollars" into the development of Black businesses. "Don't spend your cash with the white man and run the Negro entrepreneur asking for credit as soon as you are broke," Greene outlined his economic nationalist program, "Your patronage will mean a larger number of jobs for your sons and daughters." Greene's nationalism was mild in comparison to Garvey, for Greene believed that Blacks needed to establish a commercial relationship with White America as

well. He told Blacks to spend their dollars wherever they could earn them.³⁹

Greene's final plea fell in line with the tradition of post-reconstruction Black social thought: racial solidarity amongst a "Talented Tenth." Greene ultimately believed that the changes he called for would be generated by the middle-class. He described the laboring masses as being helpless and ignorant of the seriousness of the Depression. In his estimation, "school teachers, parent-teacher associations, the press, pulpit, lodges, clubs, and social welfare agencies" needed to wage an "intensive campaign . . . to awaken the Negroes in general from their apathy and stupor," Greene concluded his pamphlet, "Many of them, though jobless, are laughing, dancing, and kicking up their heels, while their very economic foundations are crumbling about them."⁴⁰

Around the same time that Greene wrote this pamphlet, Woodson published The Rural Negro (1931) which assesses the conditions "among the peasants and persons living in centers of not more than two thousand inhabitants" in southern locales. Woodson, admittedly, did not do all the leg work himself. "The investigators of the Association used the questionnaires largely to find clues to things more important than what was generally disclosed," the ASNLH founder continued, "They went to the people's homes, approaching them indirectly as ordinary visitors, and after winning their confidence obtained facts which otherwise could not have been collected. In many cases these investigators collected written and printed materials to support what persons had to say about themselves and the

³⁹Ibid., 18-19.

⁴⁰Ibid., 20.

communities in which they lived."⁴¹ Along with Iva R. Marshall, Glenn C. Carrington, John T. McKinley, and Robert C. Woods, Greene was one of these nameless "investigators." Greene is also said to have helped Woodson with The Negro Professional Man and the Community published a year after he went to Lincoln University.⁴²

Two years following the appearance of The Negro Wage Earner, in 1932 Greene produced a succinct survey entitled The Employment of Negroes in the District of Columbia.⁴³ This study was aimed at explaining and remedying high Black unemployment rates in Washington, D.C. The style and methodology was straight forward and reminiscent of The Negro Wage Earner. He distributed questionnaires to some 330 different firms in D.C. The study itself is an analysis of the data. For example, using two key case studies, a newspaper plant and a laundry service, he explored the segregation of the workplace, the high Black turnover rates, social welfare, the "alleged undesirable qualities of the Negro worker," racism in the workplace, Blacks as unskilled laborers, as well as the effects of the Great Depression.

In his "Summary and Conclusions," made four recommendations. One, he suggested that Blacks needed to attend only those vocational and industrial educational schools which were highly advanced. Two, he championed that Black workers "should be taught the proper and wholesome

⁴¹Carter G. Woodson, The Rural Negro (New York: Russell and Russell, 1969), xv-xvi.

⁴² Goggin, Carter G. Woodson, 73-74; Meier and Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 1915-1980, 82.

⁴³Myra Colson Callis is listed as the co-author, since she contributed the final chapter, "The Household Employment of Negroes." See, Lorenzo J. Greene and Myra Colson Callis, The Employment of Negroes in the District of Columbia (Washington: ASNLH, 1932), 71-89.

attitudes toward their jobs and that they be encouraged to make efficiency rather than favoritism or sympathy the criterion for their employment."⁴⁴ Three, he called for more social welfare programs. And lastly, he invited more studies like his to facilitate positive race relations.

By the early 1930s, Greene was gaining recognition as a promising scholar within the Black community and as well as within White academia. He was a well recognized figure on the lecture circuit of Black intellectuals and leaders, especially during Negro History Week celebrations; he worked with President Hoover's Committee on Negro Housing; he had published one major scholarly article and two books; and he had contributed to several other studies for which Woodson usually took full credit. Nonetheless, Greene was not very happy and stable emotionally.

In September of 1932, his soulmate and "dearest treasure," Lenora Pritchett, married another man. Greene was devastated and even proposed to her in a last minute act of desperation. Financially, Greene was in dire straits. From the fall of 1931 until the fall of 1932, he worked towards completing the Ph.D. degree at Columbia. Since Greene was not offered any jobs in 1932, he decided to remain at Columbia for yet another year in hopes of completing all of the requirements for the Ph.D. degree. For part of 1932, he received no fellowship money from the ASNLH. According to Arvah Strickland, he became "totally dependent upon income from selling books. Often this meant that he had to accept speaking engagements, with only his expenses covered, in order to have an opportunity to sell books after his speech."⁴⁵ Well into 1933, selling

⁴⁴Greene and Callis, The Employment of Negroes, 69.

⁴⁵Strickland, "Editor's Introduction: Serving the Cause," in Selling Black History for Carter G. Woodson, 19-20.

books continued to be his fundamental source of income. The spring and summer months of this year were both extremely bitter and sweet. In June, Greene's mother died and, thanks to Woodson's advice, Charles W. Florence, the president of Lincoln University, Missouri from 1931 until 1937, offered Greene a position as an assistant professor in the department of political science and history paying \$200.00 per month for twelve months. Greene accepted the offer.

CHAPTER IX

DISCOVERING LIFE'S WORK AT LINCOLN UNIVERSITY, 1933-1944

Arriving at Lincoln on September 2, 1933, Greene opened a new chapter of his life. He made Jefferson City, Missouri his home and Lincoln University his base of operation. He taught history full time at Lincoln from 1933 until 1972. From 1972 until 1988, he was an Emeritus Professor of History there. While at Lincoln from 1933 until Woodson's death, Greene developed into a first rate professor; he continued to work for Woodson's association; he spearheaded Lincoln University's interaction with victimized sharecroppers in Southeast Missouri in 1939 and 1940; he married concert pianist Thomasina Talley; he completed his dissertation and published it as his magnum opus; he embraced the "Double V" campaign during World War II; he battled the Lincoln University administration under the presidency of Scruggs for a higher salary; and he began editing a leading journal for scholarly research and creative writings. By his early fifties, Greene had clearly demonstrated that he possessed all of the qualities of a scholar-activist. He successfully operated within the isolated walls of Black and White academe while maintaining an intimate relationship with the Black masses. He cautioned Blacks not to use scholarship as propaganda, yet he continued to inspire Black youth and adults with his captivating lectures and embraced a radical political outlook in attempting to help his economically oppressed counterparts. Greene's vision during the years between 1933 and 1950 was truly authentic. After all, Lincoln, Greene was free from Woodson's control. This autonomy had a price. For instance, in the late 1930s and the early 1940s, Greene found it extremely difficult to secure funding and support for his study on Blacks in colonial New England. Greene's first decade at Lincoln,

from the closing years of the Depression through the era of World War II, was one of great growth for the Black New Englander.

In early September of 1933, Greene arrived at Lincoln University. He was welcomed to Missouri with White racism. He could not get a taxi cab from the train station and he was denied service in a Jefferson City restaurant. "Racism was so pervasive, that on the first night, unable to find a place to eat or to lodge, I cried," Greene recounted forty years after first arriving in Missouri. He was so distraught that he contemplated leaving Lincoln after receiving his first paycheck. In fact, the National Urban League of New York City had offered him a job surveying Black employment in two blocks of West 127th Street. Initially, Greene had only intended to remain at Lincoln for one year and then take this job. When classes began and the school became alive, he changed his mind. "I realized that my services were needed here," he recounted in his early eighties. Greene also took pride in the fact that Lincoln was an "all-black school" located in Missouri's capital and that it "held the distinction of being the only institution of higher learning formed by Northern soldiers who fought in the Union Army during the Civil War."¹

He liked the fact that there were so many leading Black intellectuals at Lincoln and with them he became determined to change the economic and social climate which oppressed Missouri's Black population. Missouri has "an infamous tradition of lynching." From 1900 until several years before Greene arrived in Jefferson City, at least seventeen Black men were lynched. In 1933, a Lloyd Warren was murdered and burned in St. Joseph, Missouri. Throughout the 1930s, there were several miniature race riots in the state as well. The Depression took its toll on Black Missourians. By 1930, for

¹Greene to a Mildred, circa 1973, The Papers of LJG, Container 65, Folder 1.

example, forty three per cent of St. Louis' Black workers were unemployed and by the time Greene arrived in Jefferson City close to half of all St. Louis Black families were receiving some form of aid from the government. Black agricultural workers in Missouri were victimized even more. Throughout the 1930s, Black workers found it difficult to unionize and Black sharecroppers found it especially hard to make ends meet. Some New Deal policies alleviated some of the economic hardships endured by a small sector of Missouri's African-American population. Under the guidance of Mary McLeod Bethune, the National Youth Administration "enabled students and others, particularly at Lincoln University, to earn a college education or to learn trades." Overall, however, Greene's first several decades in Missouri coincided with an era of widespread segregation and racial discrimination.²

In other respects, Greene's early years at Lincoln were very positive. According to William Sherman Savage, Charles W. Florence initiated a host of very significant changes to Lincoln as its president from August of 1931 until 1937. Florence improved the administration, the school traditions, the scholarship of students, college training, teaching methods, and extra circular activities. Most notably, he established a debating society, the Clarion school paper, a comprehensive exam process for seniors, he encouraged professors to attend graduate school, and he inaugurated a High School Day. A year after Greene arrived at Lincoln, the university witnessed a thirty two per cent increase in students and was admitted to the North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges.³

²Lorenzo Greene, Gary R. Kremer, and Antonio F. Holland, Missouri's Black Heritage (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1993), 2, 148-152.

³William Sherman Savage, The History of Lincoln University (Jefferson City: The New Day Press, 1939).

According to one scholar, Greene contributed immensely to Lincoln's becoming a "Black culture Mecca of the Midwest." Under the presidency of Nathan B. Young, many leading African-American scholars were recruited to Lincoln. When Greene arrived on campus, he was welcomed by a first rate faculty, including historian William Sherman Savage, English professor Sterling Brown, artist James Dallas Parker, and short story writer Cecil Archibald Blue. In the 1930s, Greene teamed up with Blue and they called themselves "the color boys." They shared a place which they called "the Monastery." Their residence was "an off campus site for faculty-student interaction" where they frequently hosted "all night discussions about Roosevelt's New Deal, international communism, and race relations." According to Greene's testimony five decades later, "the Monastery" had a respected reputation beyond the walls of Jefferson City. In the 1930s, Greene became intensely involved with academic life at Lincoln. He was an active professor, he was secretary of the university debating team, and with other professors he strove to make Lincoln "an academic replica of Amherst."⁴

Unfortunately, Greene did not keep a diary of his Lincoln years. In his various personal statements, he spoke very little about his life and work there. Yet, it was at Lincoln during the thirties when he underwent significant transformations as a scholar-activist and intellectual. Between 1933 and 1940, Greene was a concerned teacher dedicated to social change; he kept working with Woodson; he picked up writing poetry seriously again; and he

⁴Gary R. Kremer, "Lincoln University, Black Culture Mecca of the Midwest, 1921-1955," in Black Heartland: African American Life, The Middle West, and the Meaning of American Regionalism African and Afro-American Studies Occasional Papers Series Vol. 1, Number 2 (St. Louis: Washington University, African and Afro-American Studies Program, 1997), 40-41.

joined the ranks of prominent Black activists by spearheading a campaign on behalf of Southeast Missouri sharecroppers.

Looking through Greene's Papers at the Library of Congress, it becomes clear that he was a teacher who was deeply involved with his students inside and outside of the classroom. He seems to have taken students' opinions seriously. After his courses were concluded, he had his students comment on the course. From the thirties on, students shared similar ideas about their teacher. Most noted that he was a very demanding, knowledgeable professor. He was often praised for his ability to make the social sciences interesting, simple to comprehend, and relevant to the times. "I've gotten a broader vision and a greater desire and determination to help cure the 'ills of society,'" one student ascertained. Another student said, "I have received more practical knowledge from your lectures than from any of my other courses." Other students believed that he took "certain students for granted" and that the work load was "unbearable."⁵ It is clear that Greene strove to influence the actual life of his students. He took great pride when his students returned and told him that he "had some little influence on their success in life." Greene's concern with Lincoln went beyond the student body.

He was determined to reform the segregated South. With a handful of Lincoln and University of Missouri professors, from the early 1930s on Greene worked hard at breaking down the walls separating the two universities. When he first arrived in Missouri, meetings between Blacks and Whites could not be held on either campus. He challenged this and claimed that the efforts of he and his cohorts resulted in four White

⁵Typed out course evaluations, circa 1933-1943, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 21, Folder 4.

professors at the University of Missouri loosing their jobs. In 1935, Greene also inspired Llyod Gaines to apply for admission to the Law School of the University of Missouri. This started a wave of major Supreme Court decision in Gaines verses Canada et al. which, in Greene's estimation, "finally culminated in the landmark decision of the High Tribunal in May, 1954."⁶

In early 1936, Lincoln University's Board of Curators decided to conduct a serious study of the university in order to determine what specific changes were needed to improve the university. On April 28, a committee of five convened and decided to elect Greene to conduct the survey beginning in the summer months. By late December, Greene completed his report, totaling forty-six pages and he was ready to present it to the Board of Curators. In "The Needs of the Negro in Missouri in Respect to Higher Education," he offered more than ten recommendations to be instituted over a period of ten years.

He called for changes affecting the lives of both students and faculty. Greene advised that the Board of Curators develop at Lincoln "strong" departments of business and commerce, mechanic arts, agriculture and veterinary science, sociology, physical education, kindergarten education, and fine arts. He argued that such changes would enable their graduates to enter into their respective communities and make valuable contributions. For professors, he recommended salary increases equal to those offered at the University of Missouri and suggested that "creative work be encouraged." Black professors and scholars found it very difficult to get support for their work on campus. While at Howard University, for instance, pioneering biologist Ernest Everett Just was denied funding for his path-breaking

⁶Greene to a Mildred, circa 1973, The Papers of LJG, Container 65, Folder 1.

research by Mordecai W. Johnson, President from 1926 until 1960.⁷ Greene, who was teaching a full load and trying to complete his dissertation at the time of this report, suggested that a faculty research fund and research committee be established. "Leaves of absence with pay for the purpose of research and reduction of teaching load were some of the ways the school was to encourage creative work,"⁸ Greene summarized. However, Greene's study was not taken seriously by the rest of the survey committee and the university.

While at Lincoln during the 1930s, Greene continued to work with Woodson. In February of 1934, for instance, Greene remained dedicated to the Association and the Black History Movement. Between February 11 and February 18, he spoke at more than a dozen locations in Missouri and Kansas. "I am enclosing a check for \$10.00 which the faculty of Sumner High School of Kansas City, Kansas donated to me for expenses," Greene wrote to Woodson in 1934, "Since my expenses have been paid to Kansas City Missouri and since I could not think of exploiting Negro History Week for my own benefit I had them make out the check to the Association." Woodson applauded Greene for his overarching "spirit of sacrifice" and for his intellectual contributions to the annual meetings. Greene remained faithful to Woodson and the Association in the midst of controversy. Though he did not agree with the manner in which Woodson dismissed Rayford Logan, in January of 1937, Greene guaranteed his mentor that the Association was his

⁷Winston, "Through the Back Door," 702.

⁸William Sherman Savage, The History of Lincoln University (Jefferson City: The New Day Press, 1939), 264-265. This is the only history of Lincoln University and it contains most of Greene's investigation into how to improve the university.

cause célèbre. Unlike Logan, Greene "refused to have anything to do with the proposed Stokes Encyclopedia." Greene seemed to be just as dedicated to Woodson and the Association in his late thirties as he was when he served as an Association investigator more than five years earlier. "Personally I shall deplore anything which shall cause a rift in the ranks of those who are so intimately bound to the Association as this person [Logan] and the rest of us. For me it is my first love; the thing to which I have dedicated my life and I should regret to see its work even momentarily retarded by something of this kind," Greene wrote to Woodson early in 1937.⁹

Throughout the rest of the decade, Greene continued to support Woodson and the Association. He participated in the One Dollar Sustaining Membership, the Negro History Bulletin, and Negro History Week. He gave Woodson some key suggestions as to how the Association might survive the days of philanthropic drought. He advised the Association founder to institute "a tag day, on which persons of every income bracket, no matter how small, might be given an opportunity to contribute to the work of the Association." Greene suggested that Woodson enable the masses to purchase tags or buttons symbolic of their contributions.

After Greene arrived at Lincoln, he also trailblazed the Negro History Week celebrations in Missouri and adjacent states. Under Greene's influence, Lincoln University became "a clearing house" for speakers during this week. Greene reported to Woodson that within a relatively brief period of time more students and teachers began enrolling in Black history courses; that Missouri libraries began acquiring more books pertaining to Black America; that significant numbers of people frequently wrote to Lincoln asking for

⁹Greene to Woodson, February 21, 1934, Greene to Woodson, January 7, 1937, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 74, Folder 7.

available information on Black history; that White high schools and colleges also began writing to Lincoln asking for information about Black America's past; and that "school authorities" had permitted the "teaching of Negro History in all of the Missouri public schools."¹⁰

While working closely with Woodson from the spring of 1928 until the summer months of 1933, Greene appears to have put his poetry to the side. During these years, he apparently wrote no more than ten poems and nearly all of them were expressions of his love for particular females. Several of the poems were composed as responses to his soulmate Lenora Pritchett's decision to marry another man in September of 1932.¹¹

After arriving at Lincoln, Greene picked up poetry again. Between the fall of 1933 and 1937, Greene wrote more than thirty poems. Nearly all of these poems were tributes to women and a substantial number of these were for Thomasina Talley whom he married in December of 1941. Out of this large group of writings, one stands out. "To a Brown Girl," written in 1936, is a lyrical poem written in a Black, southern dialect. The main character is a "pretty brown girl" who has, for whatever reason, experienced some great pain in her life. The narrator, who comforts the young woman, asks God to "shoo de pain away" and "make dis brown girl well."¹² When read aloud,

¹⁰Greene to Woodson, November 30, 1937, Ibid.

¹¹The Papers of LJG, Container 100, Folder 7. Greene, who over and over again in his diary spoke of how he had to fend off the persistent attempts of women to tie him down, fell into a haunting state of depression for at least one year after Ms. Pritchett determined that Greene was not moving fast enough towards something serious for her. Greene regretted this after the fact. In October of 1932, he wrote three poems, "Distraction," "Dry Leaves," and "Rain," in which he lamented the loss of his "dearest treasure," yet professed his enduring, everlasting love for her.

¹²"To a Brown Girl," The Papers of LJG, Container 100, Folder 7.

the poem takes on the character of the jazz poetry made popular by Langston Hughes. The poem also takes on the character of a song by an amateur Blues singer.

Greene appears to have written his last body of poetic works at Lincoln after only five years of working there. Why he apparently stopped typing out his poetry is hard to pin-point. The most obvious explanation is that he became intensely involved with academic work and later with political activism. By the late 1930s, he began to focus increasingly on completing his dissertation, devoting much of his energies towards carefully marrying academic culture with a life of social and political activism.

When Lincoln University President Dr. Sherman D. Scruggs asked Greene to fill in for him as a speaker at a high school in Southeast Missouri in mid March of 1939, the enthusiastic history professor had no idea how much this experience would change his life, especially his perception of the role of the university trained scholar. After Greene spoke to teachers, students, and townspeople at Charleston High School, he returned to his car and realized that he had locked his keys inside. By the time they were able to unlock the car, the teachers had convinced Greene that it was much too late for him to drive back to Jefferson City. They offered him a place to stay over night and one said that in the morning he would take Greene to witness the hardships endured by a group of sharecroppers who had protested their ill treatment and walked off of the plantations. Before this point, Greene had heard of the sharecroppers' protest, but, like others, he did not know the specific details of the case.

The sharecroppers of Southeast Missouri began their protest several months earlier. On January 9 and 10, 1939, between 1,300 and 1,500 White and Black sharecroppers were evicted or walked off of the plantations where they

worked and lived. Under the guidance of "a charismatic," African-American preacher, labor leader, and sharecropper, Reverend Owen H. Whitfield, a significant body of these sharecroppers protested against "unspeakable living conditions, wretched housing and lack of sanitation . . . unhealthy diet, starvation wages, poor educational facilities and maltreatment." The demands of these exploited workers were simple and radical. They desired the sharecropping and tenant farming system to be abolished; the formal organization of the farm workers; consistent wages; the right to raise their own animals and crops; "free pasturage;" the "use of a team truck to haul produce to market;" and some other modest rights. Because these fundamental rights were not met, the determined sharecroppers protested.¹³

The morning after Greene delivered his speech before Charleston High School, he went to see the living conditions of the sharecroppers. He was "shocked and distressed" with what he saw. He could not believe that men, women, and children could be treated like that in America. He took pictures of and spoke "freely" with many of the sharecroppers. He took the pictures in order to raise the consciousness of the people back in Jefferson City. During this initial visit, he also met Walter Johnson, a spokesman for one group of the sharecroppers, who underscored to the Lincoln University professor that his people did not need pity, but the basic necessities of life, "food, clothing, shelter, medicines, etc..." Before Greene returned to Lincoln, he promised Johnson that he would help.

When Greene returned to Lincoln, he shared his experiences with his eight o'clock American history class. He told them how the sharecroppers

¹³Lorenzo J. Greene, "Lincoln University's Involvement with the Sharecropper Demonstration in Southeast Missouri, 1939-1940," The Papers of LJG, Container 93, Folder 4.

were being victimized by their landlords and how federal, state, county, and local government had turned their backs on these working peoples' plight. Greene then chastised his students for being more concerned with their spring prom than with humanity. Later on that March day, on separate occasions, two of his students, Adele James, the President of Lincoln's Delta Sigma Theta chapter, and Bernice Smith of Alpha Kappa Alpha, told Professor Greene that they had decided to give all the money that they had saved for their prom to the sharecroppers of Southeast Missouri. One other student, Cynthia Bolt, a senior history major and the President of the Lincoln University Student Council, also met with Greene that day and informed him that they had resolved to donate their entire treasury to the sharecroppers.¹⁴

According to Greene, after these initial events, "a whirlwind campaign" blossomed. President Scruggs called a "special convocation" and invited Greene to address the student body and faculty as a whole. He "emphasized their pressing need for shelter, food, clothing, medicine and the best approach for getting relief to them." After his testimony and plea, the campus developed into "a hive of activity." By April, students, teachers, and concerned citizens of Jefferson City donated, bought, and collected "nearly a truckload" of clothes and food. In addition, close to \$200.00 was donated to the sharecroppers. On one occasion, Greene took several of the female student leaders with him to donate the provisions. He wrote, "I cautioned

¹⁴Ibid. In the early 1970s, Greene said that she was one of the two students who stood out in his memory. He was impressed by this Boston native's devotion to social activism. At Greene's advice, she got an M.A. in psychiatric social work at Boston University then married a Jamaican and "became famous all over the island for her volunteer work." See a letter from Greene to a Mildred, circa 1973, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 65, Folder 1.

the girls . . . to be particularly careful of their attitude toward these people. In no way, I warned them, should they act toward them in a patronizing or condescending manner," Greene continued, "If anyone did so, I would take her back to the home where we were staying and leave her until we were ready to return to the university." Greene's students acted appropriately and were deeply affected by the conditions endured by the sharecroppers.¹⁵

Throughout the spring and summer months of 1939, Greene continued to maintain close connections with a group of the sharecroppers. He was determined to significantly improve their status. In order to build his case, he had the sharecroppers themselves write to the best of their ability the reasons why they left the plantations and how their lives were since then. Greene took these pleas very seriously. He saved them and they constitute roughly two containers of his *Papers* at the Library of Congress. Greene also broadened the campaign beyond the walls of Jefferson City. He appealed to leading African-American newspapers to publicize the sharecroppers' plight. Claude Barnett, editor of the Associated Negro Press, helped Greene tell middle-class Black Americans and liberal Whites about this victimized group. As a result, concerned people throughout the country learned about Southeast Missouri sharecroppers' plight, some sent money and clothing, and a handful offered their own sometimes far-reaching solutions. Greene served as one of the main contact persons for the sharecroppers. He responded to many concerned citizens' inquiries. He also pressured the U.S. Federal Government. On May 21, 1939, he asked Henry A. Wallace, the Secretary of Agriculture, for information about the sharecroppers and he asked the Department for aid. In early June, John Fischer, the Director of

¹⁵Ibid.

Information, responded to Greene's letter. He told the Lincoln professor something about the background of the Southeast Missouri area. He defended the Roosevelt Administration claiming that the Farm Security Administration had attempted to help "the 300 families who took part in the demonstration" by giving them grants (averaging less than \$20.00 per family); by loaning a small fraction of them tents for shelter (twenty-six families to be exact); and by attempting "to carry out a permanent rehabilitation program."¹⁶

While Greene solicited the FSA, the local leaders continued to fight other battles. In June, two of Greene's students affiliated with the Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority, Adele James and Marianne White, helped Reverend Whitfield raise the down payment necessary to purchase ninety acres of land for slightly more than three dollars an acre. After purchasing the land, however, many Whites proved to be hostile and attempted to prevent Whitfield and his people from settling on their newly purchased land. Additionally, the land was not suitable for raising crops and Whites did not hire Black labor.

Throughout the summer, Greene continued to involve Lincoln students in helping the sharecroppers. He did so at great risks and met much resistance. "Rumors circulated that if I continued my trips to Southeast Missouri," Greene recalled a year before his death, "I would not return alive." A friend of his even offered to arm and/or protect him. Greene continued to travel to Southeast Missouri without a gun or a bodyguard. The university also began to pose a threat to Greene's work. In mid-July of 1939, President Scruggs told Greene that "state officials" would "reduce Lincoln's

¹⁶Greene to Wallace, May 21, 1939; John Fischer to Greene, June 6, 1939, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 40, Folder 10.

appropriations" if the university did not stop aiding the sharecroppers. Greene and other activists at the university basically ignored President Scruggs' warnings. Realizing that he was outnumbered, he did not do anything to further try to stop the university's activists from continuing their efforts.

By the dawning of the next decade, Greene's and others' works bore some fruit. In 1940, the Farm Security Administration began constructing homes for the sharecroppers. A year later, the housing project was completed and a total of ten villages, seven White and three Black, were built. The homes were equipped with the basic necessities and could be paid off in easy installments totaling \$800.00 per family.

In the late 1930s, Greene and his followers placed Lincoln University on the map as an educational institution concerned about the welfare of humanity, a Black university with a vision of social activism linked with academic excellence. In doing so, Greene jeopardized his reputation in the eyes of Black and White academe. But, as usual, he followed his true feelings and did what he believed was right.

Had the Farm Security Administration not acted on behalf of the sharecroppers, it is very likely that Greene may have completed his dissertation at a later date. Greene began working on the Ph.D. degree at Columbia after he received the Master's degree in 1926. According to Greene, he first began "seriously" studying and researching Blacks in colonial New England in 1931. The lapse in time between when he began first hand research and when his dissertation appeared is best explained by the fact that Greene divided his time between various causes from the late 1920s through the early 1940s. One, he was a key figure in the Black History Movement spearheaded by Woodson. He lectured at countless elementary and high

schools, at colleges and universities, at churches, and at various Black community functions. February of every year was especially busy for Woodson's number one disciple. Two, Greene was a convicted social activist on Lincoln's campus, in Missouri, and even at the national level. And three, he was a committed and overworked teacher. Before the widespread integration of Black intellectuals into the White academy in the 1960s and 1970s, Black colleges and universities worked their professors to the point that many complained of not having enough time or resources to conduct the research necessary for establishing a reputation in their respective fields. From the late 1920s until 1942, Greene taught three to four classes during each semester and taught during the summers.

Between 1931 and 1941, Greene could have surely published some of his findings on Blacks in New England as articles. He refrained from doing so because he feared that other scholars dealing with his subject would jump on it themselves or assign it to their graduate students. In retrospect it is doubtful that his topic would have been something over which historians would have salivated. White historians, for the most part, did not believe that Black history was legitimate and most established Black historians of the time were close to Greene and probably would have respected his work. Black graduate students, moreover, did not begin writing dissertations on Black subject matters en masse until the Civil Rights era. More serious obstacles stood in Greene's path.

By May of 1941, for all practical purposes Greene had successfully completed all the requirements for the Ph.D. degree at Columbia University, "with the sole exception" of publishing his dissertation. At the time at Columbia, before candidates actually received their degree, they were required to submit "a specified number of printed copies" to the university. In 1941,

Greene did not possess the financial wherewithal to pay for such copies. His funds were "exhausted in developing the study." Like many Black scholars several decades before World War II, Greene had received funding from a few White foundations. In 1934, the Rosenwald Fund, granted him \$400.00 with which he has able to "collect indispensable data from libraries in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut." In 1935, the General Education Board granted him \$810.00 which he used to conduct research in New York City libraries, and to take classes at Columbia University and at the New School for Social Research. And, in 1940, the Julius Rosenwald Fund gave him a fellowship which helped him complete the dissertation. All of this funding, however, did not amount to enough to pay for the publication of the dissertation. Greene had to use parts of his meager salary at Lincoln to help fund the publication of his dissertation. He could have published his study with an obscure publisher for no more than \$400.00. He decided to turn to a more reputable publisher because he thought that his study deserved it. He wanted to join the ranks of leading scholars. Here then was a Black historian in the prime of his career, with a truly path-breaking study complete, who would have great trouble in rallying the support which he ever so needed and deserved.¹⁷

In late October of 1941, in desperation, Greene wrote the American Council of Learned Societies of Washington, D.C. requesting financial support. He shared with the Council's Secretary for Grants-in-Aid, Donald Goodchild, that he needed between \$1,500.00 and \$1,800.00 to publish his "valuable contribution" with The Columbia University Press; The Columbia Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law; The University of North Carolina Press;

¹⁷The Papers of LJG, Box 13, File 10; Container 33, Folder 3.

The King's Crown Press; or The Associated Press. Greene asked the Council for \$1,000.00 and supplied them with an impressive list of references; a copy of the 500 page manuscript; and an estimate from Columbia University Press. Several months later, Goodchild told Greene that the Council could not meet his request supposedly because of the "large number of applications."¹⁸

Greene was well aware that publishing his "opus" would be based chiefly upon his own determination and effort. From the fall of 1941, he therefore began actively advertising himself as a lecturer. He sent brief vitae and letters offering his services as a speaker on "Negro history or [on] some of the social and economic problems facing the Negro today" to many different colleges, universities, and organizations throughout the country. In November of 1941, for instance, he politely asked Mr. John B. Eubanks of the National Council of the Y.M.C.A. in Dallas, Texas, if he could help him raise money to publish his dissertation. "Thanks for your words relative to my completing the work for the doctorate degree . . . It was quite a lengthy dissertation and I am now seeking to raise some \$2,000.00 in order to publish it," Greene shared with Eubanks, "For this reason I have decided to schedule as many speaking engagements as possible during this school year . . . I would consider it a great favor if you would pass my name on to other branches and schools and organizations which might have need of a speaker on some aspect of Negro history or the present day problems confronting the race."¹⁹

¹⁸Greene to the American Council of Learned Societies, October 23, 1941; Donald Goodchild to Greene, December 16, 1941, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 29, Folder 1. Subjects pertaining to Black America with Black authors were not high on their priority list. There were, for instance, no Black academic organizations belonging to the International Union of Academies to which the Council took pride in belonging.

By late January of 1942, Greene had not obtained adequate funding for publishing his dissertation. He wrote to the Dean of Columbia University's department of Political Science, George Braxton Pegram, asking "whether it would be possible for the Faculty of Political Science to waive temporarily the requirement for publishing the dissertation as a prerequisite for awarding the degree."²⁰ Greene wanted to publish the dissertation with Columbia University Press for many reasons. One, he wanted to have his Ph.D. in hand in order to get a promotion at Lincoln or seek employment elsewhere. Greene was becoming disenchanted with Lincoln. In the early 1940s, he spoke of wanting to become the History department head at an Eastern College. In 1941, he applied for positions at several city colleges in New York. Though Greene enjoyed teaching and interacting with the Jefferson City Black community, he reasoned that in the East he could exploit "broader opportunities," such as the available libraries which contained sources pertaining to colonial New England. None of the colleges, however, replied to him. Greene sensed that racism was behind the failure of these institutions to contact him. In February of 1942, he even shared his concerns with the outspoken Pastor of New York's Abyssinia Baptist Church, Reverend Adam Clayton Powell. At the time Powell was a member of the New York City Council and worked hard at getting "qualified Negro professors" on the faculties of New York's municipal colleges. Greene asked Powell if he could help him in his quest to desegregate the academy, to "break

¹⁹Greene to John E. Eubanks, November 21, 1941, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 28, Folder 3.

²⁰Greene to George Braxton Pegram, January 21, 1942, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 33, Folder 2.

down this intellectual barrier against the Negro."²¹ Powell's efforts did not help Greene.

Greene also showed early interest in at least one Black college. In January of 1942, he wrote to Dr. James E. Shepard, President of North Carolina College for Negroes, seeking a position in their Department of History. He told Shepard that he was "eager to become associated with a dynamic institution" where he "might render a larger service than is possible at Lincoln University."²²

Greene also wanted to have the Ph.D. in hand because he believed that it would help him secure a job with the federal government to do his "bit" during the national emergency.

Less than a week later after he wrote Dean Pegram, Greene's request was denied, but he was offered some "alternative means." Greene's persistence soon paid off. On March 31, 1942, he secured a contract with the Columbia Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, to publish his dissertation for \$990.00. Greene thought that he had finally overcome the bureaucratic side of completing the dissertation process. Sometime in April or May, he received a disturbing letter from the Registrar's Office of Columbia University. They informed him that the actual diploma would not be conferred unto him until the "requisite number of copies had actually been deposited with the University." Greene wrote Dean Pegram on May 28 and told him that he thought that the contract "for the delivery . . . of a specified number of printed copies of the dissertation" was satisfactory for receiving his degree. Greene

²¹Greene to Powell, February 25, 1942, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 33, Folder 3.

²²Greene to James E. Shepard, January 21, 1942, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 34.

asked Pegram to clarify the conflict in policies. It seems that Pegram and the Registrar's Office gave him conflicting regulations. Two weeks later, Pegram responded to Greene and said that if he fulfilled "the guaranty" of filing 75 printed copies of his dissertation and "after the date when the proper certifications" were made and he had graduated with the Ph.D. that he would receive his diploma. He closed the succinct, confusing letter by saying that he Registrar's Office would be contacting him "within a few days."²³

On June 18, Greene, apparently understanding the procedure, wrote to Pegram and thanked him from clearing up the "new regulations regarding the conferring of the diploma upon those who have contracted to supply the University with the required 75 printed copies of their dissertation in advance of publication." Greene still, however, faced problems with Columbia. Under Charles H. Wesley's guidance, Greene applied for the position of assistant professor of History at Brooklyn College sometime in 1941 or 1942. When he and his mentor were informed that he could not be considered because he did not possess a Ph.D. degree, Greene was embarrassed and vexed, to say the least. In a letter dated October 19, Greene asked Pegram to help him clear up this great misinterpretation. "I wonder if you would be good enough to inform me whether I am actually free to use the title Doctor?," Greene asked, "I would also be very appreciative if you would drop a note to Dr. Wesley and to the head of the department of History and the Chairman of the Committee of Appointments at Brooklyn College correcting the erroneous impression which has been given them?"²⁴

²³Greene to Pegram, January 29, 1942; Greene to Pegram, May 28, 1942; Pegram to Greene, June 11, 1942, The Papers of LJG, Container 33, Folders 2, 3.

²⁴Greene to Pegram, June 11, 1942; Greene to Pegram, June 18, 1942, The Papers of LJG, Container 33, Folder 3.

The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620-1776 was eventually published as one of the Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law by Columbia University Press and in London by P.S. King and Staples sometime between August 1 and August 15, 1942.²⁵ It is therefore surprising that as late as October Columbia still failed to properly acknowledge Greene's Ph.D. In total, Greene's study, the 494th dissertation in the series, included 334 pages of text. With the bibliography, appendices, and index, it totaled 404 pages. It was fairly expensive, retailing at \$4.50. Greene was extremely thankful to many White professors and many of his Black colleagues for making his study possible. He credited Emeritus Professor Evarts Greene with first suggesting that he conduct such a study. Evarts Greene, who retired in 1939, helped Greene shape his overall views of colonial history; proof-read the manuscript; and helped him secure little funding for conducting the necessary research. Other Columbia professors, including John A. Krout, Dr. Dixon Ryan Fox, Harry J. Carman, Samuel McKee, Jr., Merle Curti, Aurthur W. McMahan, and Carter Goodrich, read the manuscript and offered "many helpful suggestions." Curti was perhaps the most qualified person of this group to review Greene's study. Before the World War II era, he was one of the few White scholars who tried to "integrate Black history into the mainstream of American history." Curti affiliated himself with Woodson and included Blacks in his 1935 opus, The Social Ideas of American Educators.²⁶

²⁵On June 20, 1942, Greene wrote a letter to Woodson informing him that Columbia University Press expected to publish his study "sometime between August 1-15." Whatever the case may be, we know that the study appeared by the winter months of 1942 at latest. See The Papers of L.J.G., Container 74, Folder 8.

Greene was also supported by close friends and colleagues like L.D. Reddick, Helen Boardman, Harold J. Jonas, and some Lincoln University faculty members. During Negro History Week of 1943, he wrote an extended thanks to Reddick for his help: "Certainly, your reading and criticizing of the manuscript, while in preparation, helped to make the printed opus a better work than it could have possibly been without it." In addition to checking his references and reading the galley and page proofs, his wife, Dr. Thomasina Talley Greene, supported her husband emotionally during an extremely stressful time in both of their lives. In 1942, she received a Ed.D. from Columbia University in Music and Music Education. She became the first Black woman to accomplish such a feat. Woodson, for whom Greene had labored tirelessly for more than ten years, was not as supportive. In fact, the Association founder seems to have discouraged Greene. Several decades after his opus first appeared, Greene recounted how Woodson dismissed his study prior to its publication. "When the Columbia University Press offered to subsidize publication of the NEGRO IN COLONIAL NEW ENGLAND, I considered it treason not to give first preference to the Association," Greene recalled, "Woodson took the manuscript, turned up his nose in characteristic "Woodsonian" fashion, scornfully curled his lip and sarcastically asked, without even opening it, 'What do you have here? Nothing.' Punctuating it with a contemptuous snap of his fingers, he threw it on his desk." According to Greene, Woodson had an "intricate" personality. While he supported many younger, promising Black historians, Woodson also, in

²⁶Meier and Rudwick, Black History and the Historical Profession, 105-106; Harvey Wish, The American Historian: A Social-Intellectual History of the Writing of the American Past (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), 313-315; Merle Curti, The Social Ideas of American Educators (New Jersey: Pageant Books, 1959).

Greene's words, "seemed to take pleasure in crushing any vestige of self-confidence" in his associates and assistants. The dictator's employees, especially his female secretaries, were often "constant objects of his sharp tongue." Woodson may have treated Greene in this manner because he may have resented the fact that the study was done under the guidance of White professors.²⁷

Greene introduced The Negro in Colonial New England as a path-breaking work. "Nowhere can a comprehensive treatment of the Negro in the Puritan colonies be found," Greene prefaced his study, "The present study is an attempt to fill this gap in the literature of American colonial history." The book expanded on the ideas first presented in Greene's first scholarly article, "Slaveholding New England and Its Awakening" (1928). Greene began his study by exploring the origins of slavery and the lucrative slave trade in various New England colonies. He was a pioneer in examining advertisements for their references to Blacks.

According to Greene, New England Whites, particularly from Massachusetts, made the slave trade profitable. New England did not have as many slaves and the southern colonies and often received the more sickly slaves who were unfit for the hard labor of the Caribbean sugar colonies. Still, Greene challenged the prevailing myth of Puritan righteousness and rationality by investigating New England's tripartite justification of the peculiar institution: economic, legal, and spiritual. "Slavery was a part of the

²⁷Greene to Reddick, February 17, 1943, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 33, Folder 5; Lorenzo Johnston Greene, "Dr. Carter G. Woodson: The Man As I Knew Him," unpublished paper, no date, 28, 29.

cultural pattern of the seventeenth and eighteenth century Massachusetts and of New England in general," Greene surmised.²⁸

Greene faced many challenges in terms of sources. The first official census including Blacks was conducted in 1790, when slavery was under attack. Greene, therefore, conducted meticulous research reconstructing colonial New England Black populations. Among other factors, he discovered that while Boston had many Blacks, New Hampshire and Connecticut had very few. This was influenced by geographic conditions. One key finding was that by 1790, 3,763 slaves were owned by 2,141 families.²⁹ In other words, the slave to slaveholder ratio was roughly 2:1 (i.e., one to two slaves per slaveholding family). Greene also challenged the widely held presumption that Blacks could only serve as domestics. Citing various advertisements, he found that Blacks labored in sheep raising, stock farming, lumber industries, distilleries, fishing, trading, whaling, and other artisan specific jobs. "Negro slaves were a valuable and essential part of New England's labor supply and that they unquestionably played a role in the commercial and industrial development of that section,"³⁰ he concluded.

According to Greene's findings, Black New England slaves' day-to-day lives were relegated by a "mild" strategy of slave control. The laws were not too effective and slaves managed to resist through stealing, "witchcraft," arson, murder, plots, and even suicide. This status was further complicated since New England slaves "were considered both as property and as persons

²⁸Lorenzo J. Greene, The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620-1776 (New York: Atheneum, 1968), "Preface," 66.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 99.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 123.

before the law." Such an "indefinite status" enabled some Blacks to locate vestiges of free space in the courts and other institutions. Despite such autonomy, Greene argued that culturally Black New Englanders were in many ways no different than Whites. "As members of the Puritan family, they assimilated the manners and customs of their masters," the Black Yankee continues, "The Negro was forced to revise the ideas, attitudes, and practices regarding marriage and sex relationships which he had brought from Africa, and to adopt those of the master class." In this instance, Greene sided with his fellow Howard graduate and contemporary, E. Franklin Frazier, instead of with anthropologist Melville J. Herskovits. Greene's views were not as cut and dry as this, however. For instance, in exploring slaves' recreational activities, such as "training day," storytelling, and Governors' elections, he asserted that "most popular of all slave diversion . . . was dancing, an art which Negroes brought from Africa."³¹

The last section of Greene's study is on "The Free Negro," something which did not exist in his earlier graduate school paper. While there is evidence of free Blacks as early as 1646 in New England, he stressed that this freedom had restrictions. "Despite the handicaps under which they labored," the proud Black New Englander continued, "the free Negroes of colonial New England were slowly shaping the foundation for the Negro families of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A number of them not only became leaders and spokesmen for their group but also received recognition from their former masters for demonstrating unusual abilities in their circumscribed condition."³²

³¹Ibid., 213, 167, 191-192, 249.

Greene's work was well-accepted within the scholarly community, Black and White. According to Woodson, "this work is another serious treatment of the history of the Negro . . . a new chapter in the history of the black man--a new chapter in the history of the United States." Woodson was impressed with how Greene employed "advanced scholarship" and "scientific method" to reveal the "truth" about a neglected aspect of New England history. Woodson applauded Greene for debunking the myth of a New England anti-slavery heritage. "While we must still feel ashamed of the South for its lingering medievalism inflicted upon the section by chattel slavery," Woodson concluded, "we must hold the Mayflower descendants responsible for accelerating that backward step into a darkness which still overshadows the land of cotton." The other Black scholar to review Greene's study was his long-time friend, Clarence A. Bacote. Before Bacote's review appeared, Greene told Ira De A. Reid, editor of Phylon, that he eagerly awaited his review "especially since he [Bacote] does not see eye to eye with some of my conclusions." Bacote's review was not, however, critical in terms of scholarly approach or content. For him, despite some typographical errors, Greene's study constituted a "major contribution to the literature of the slave period."³³

³²Ibid., 299-300, 303, 312, 314. There was legislation against Black suffrage, Blacks bearing arms, wandering in public without passes, and purchasing land or engaging in business without "first obtaining the consent of the town." The leaders whom he deals with include Phillis Wheatley, Abijah Price, Lemeul Haynes, Paul Cuffee, Lucy Terry Prince, Emanuel Manna Bernoon, and Prince Hall.

³³Carter G. Woodson, "Book Review," Journal of Negro History 28 (1943): 478-481; Greene to Reid, April 12, 1943, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 33, Folder 6.; Clarence A. Bacote, "Black Merchandise in New England," Phylon 4 (1943): 185-187. Woodson also praised Greene's book in a less scholarly fashion in the Bulletin of February of 1943. Horace Mann Bond,

While White reviewers praised Greene's study for its thoroughness and meticulous use of source materials, many defended their New England foreparents. The Negro in Colonial New England was reviewed in all of the leading American historical journals. "It is not probable that any significant additions will be made to the body of facts here presented by Dr. Greene," asserted Elizabeth Donnan. This editor of the four volume Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America (1930-1935) also claimed that Greene did not have the evidence to demonstrate the effects of the slave trade or the Black presence on New England life. She concluded that "these effects were too slight to be discerned and measured." Historian Harvey Wish praised Greene's work. "The proslavery school of the antebellum South could have made profitable use of the facts that professor Greene has discovered regarding slavery in colonial New England," Wish added "In view of the contradictory nature of the statistics upon which he has been forced to rely, he has displayed admirable caution in his conclusions." Wish, who published two articles in the Journal of Negro History before Greene's study appeared, also commended Greene for using the available sources with "ingenuity." Paul Lewinson of The National Archives agreed with his assessment, yet he criticized Greene for not examining his subject against the backdrop of Blacks in southern colonies. Harvard University's Oscar Handlin asserted that Greene did not have adequate knowledge "with some phases of Puritan ideas that sometimes leads to serious misinterpretation" especially when dealing with religion. Harry J. Walker of

The American Journal of Sociology apparently had no problems with Greene's study.³⁴

All in all, White reviewers tended to welcome Greene's study because of its objectivity. Greene wrote The Negro In Colonial New England in a scientific, non-emotional tone for many reasons. For one, it was a dissertation at Columbia University in an era of scholarly conservatism. In a note to L.D. Reddick in late January of 1943, Greene noted that his professors did not object to any of his ideas, but instead only instructed him to "lessen some of the supporting evidence." Following Woodson's lead, Greene knew that there were many skeptics who would not easily swallow this pill. He, therefore, showered his readers with solid evidence. Two, this was Greene's first major publication and he wanted it to be taken seriously by the White academic community. During the early 1940s, Greene was also looking for a job at a White Eastern college or university and a non-emotional, hyper-objective opus would have soothed the nerves of those who reviewed his credentials. And, most importantly, at this point in his life Greene believed firmly that academic scholarship had to be scientific, objective, and rigorous in order to be legitimate. While he was certainly the prototype for the Black scholar-activist, Greene drew careful lines between his scholarship and his

another Black scholar, commented that he did "not recall ever having read a historical work with more satisfaction or pleasure."

³⁴Elizabeth Donnan, "Review of Books," American Historical Review 48 (1943): 797-798; Harvey Wish, "Book Reviews," Journal of Southern History 10 (1944): 96-97; Paul Lewinson, "Book Reviews," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review 30 (September, 1943): 276-277; Oscar Handlin, "Book Reviews," The New England Quarterly 346-347; Harry J. Walker, "Book Reviews," The American Journal of Sociology 49 (1944): 376. Other reviews written by White scholars appeared in Harvard University's Isis, the American Sociological Review, the Crozier Quarterly, the Historical Bulletin, the Journal of Economic History, the Catholic Historical Review, and the Essex Institute Historical Review.

political and social activism. Even throughout the turbulent 1960s, he remained firmly rooted in publishing objective scholarship.

Despite his super objectivity, Greene believed that he had written a radical enough text to loose some friends. "If I still remain a 'persona grata' in New England now," Greene wrote to L.D. Reddick on January 20, 1943, "I shall be very much surprised, since even some 'dark-complexioned Puritans' have already accused me of having traduced by section."³⁵

About two decades after Greene's book first appeared, August Meier wrote and told him that he thought that The Negro in Colonial New England was "one of the tope half dozen monographs" in the field of Black History. He asked Greene whether or not he could contact Hill and Wang about reprinting it. Shortly thereafter, Meier contacted Arthur Wang in New York and strongly recommended that his press consider reprinting Greene's opus. Hill and Wang, one of the various presses who began publishing books on Black History after the Civil Rights Movement, did not express great interest in the plan. Under the general editorship of Meier, in the late 1960s, Atheneum published some key studies in Black history in paperback by Louis R. Harlan, Benjamin Quarles, Elliott M. Rudwick, Sterling D. Spero, and Abram L. Harris. Greene's book was the first for which Atheneum had acquired the rights and it was one of the first volumes to be published in its "Studies in American Negro Life" series. Even though it was not first published by Atheneum until 1968, by 1966 Greene had received his advanced royalty for \$100.00. In the preface to the Atheneum edition, Benjamin Quarles praised the study. "Of the many historical works that have been given second birth by the reprint revolution of our times, few are more

³⁵The Papers of LJG, Container 33, Folder 5.

worthy of serious attention than Lorenzo J. Greene's *The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620-1776*."³⁶

Since the late 1980s, a few more scholars have begun dealing with the issues raised by Greene more than fifty years ago. In 1988, William D. Piersen, an ideological descendant of Melville J. Herskovits, published Black Yankees. Piersen paid tribute to Greene and built upon his findings. His argument is, as time has allowed it to be, much more complex than his predecessor's. By exploring factors such as demographic patterns, the slave family, language, names, the role of elders, the enculturation and acculturation processes, Christianity and Black folk religion, slave resistance, work habits, attire, the construction of homes, diet, games, music, humor, and Governors' Days, Piersen maintained that eighteenth century Black New Englanders consciously fused a "double identity"--"a folklore that may have looked Euro-American, but was instead a complex, intercontinental alloy." Piersen's study certainly would not have been possible without Greene's ground-breaking work. Just recently, Joanne Pope Melish has also taken the discourse inaugurated by Greene to a new level.³⁷

By 1942, Greene was no longer known simply as the Lincoln University history professor who once worked closely with "the Father of Negro

³⁶Meier to Greene, August 28, 1964; Meier to Arthur Wang, circa 1964; Greene to Meier, October 12, 1966; Meier to Greene, March 11, 1968; Greene to Meier, March 25, 1968, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 31, Folder 4; Benjamin Quarles, "Preface to the Atheneum Edition," in Lorenzo J. Greene, The Negro in Colonial New England (New York: Atheneum, 1968).

³⁷William D. Piersen, Black Yankees: The Development of an Afro-American Subculture in Eighteenth-Century New England (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1988; Joanne Pope Melish, Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and "Race" In New England, 1780-1860 (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1998).

History." The Negro in Colonial New England, particularly its meticulous, objective, and easy-to-read approach, clearly indicated that this former Howard medical student took the historian's craft very seriously. His contributions in Black and Colonial American history were heralded by Black and White historians alike. Still, in the first several years of its circulation, Greene had to do a lot of self promotion. Though Woodson spoke highly of The Negro in Colonial New England, since it was not an Associated Publishers product he did not go to any great extents in encouraging folks to go out and secure a copy of the book. The Association founder also realized that it was not the type of study suitable for the first or second time book buyer.³⁸

Being the seasoned book-seller whom he was, Greene sold his opus throughout the 1940s. Whenever he gave lectures in Missouri and throughout the country, he attempted to sell his books. Before speaking to a Y.W.C.A. branch luncheon in Kansas City, Missouri on February 20, 1943, Greene had Columbia University Press forward twenty-five pre-paid copies of his book for display and sale. He also left copies with stores on consignment. In March of 1943, The Missouri Book Store dedicated a section of a window to his book. The profits from these sales could not have been that large. He was primarily concerned with making a few dollars, getting his name into the public discourse of the mainstream academy, and with clearing the way for other Black scholars. "I want to take advantage of as many opportunities to bring this publication before the public," Greene shared with Elsie M.

³⁸Woodson did not advertise Greene's study extensively in the Bulletin. He did, however, solicit him to has a simple article about his study submitted to the magazine so that the non-professional scholar could develop an apprecioation for his work. See, Thomasina Talley, "Another Negro Historian--Lorenzo Johnston Greene," NHB 6 (November 1942): 38-40, 46.

Mountain of the Paseo Branch Y.W.C.A. of Kansas City, Missouri, "Moreover, the Columbia University Press is especially anxious that books by Negro authors find as large an outlet among the reading public as possible; otherwise, the Columbia University Press and other large white publishers will remain hesitant about publishing books by Negroes."³⁹

The Sales Manager of Columbia University Press in the early 1940s, Joseph Duffy, did not work hard at promoting Greene's study. Upon several occasions Greene asked Duffy to promote his book in Connecticut book stores and to make arrangements with sales people and publishers like the General Subscription Agency at Mangum, Oklahoma and The Crisis Book shop in New York City. Throughout 1943, Greene worked especially hard at promoting his book. During the first half of the 1940s, Greene, with perhaps a little support from the Sales Managers at Columbia University Press, sold many copies of his book. Within a year and a half after The Negro in Colonial New England first appeared, the first edition was "entirely sold out." The editor of the Columbia Studies told Greene that this was "a most unusual occurrence for a book of its nature." This is even more noteworthy when one considers that he sold so many books during the war emergency when people were not buying too many books of this nature and the U.S. was campaigning to conserve paper products. On February 15, 1945, the Publications Department of Columbia University Press notified Greene that they would reprint his book "as a commercial proposition . . . to meet the demand for orders." Columbia University Press bore "all expenses" and agreed to pay

³⁹Greene to Reddick, January 20, 1943, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 33, Folder 5; Greene to Elsie M. Mountain, February 11, 1943, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 31, Folder 6.

Greene one-third of the total net proceeds. The foreign agent was the prestigious London based Oxford University Press.⁴⁰

Throughout the early 1940s, Greene's life was changed by other factors beyond the publishing and promoting of his dissertation. For one, in 1941, he married Thomasina Talley, "famous concert pianist of Nashville, Tennessee." Greene first met Talley in the early 1930s in Missouri. Talley came from a "musical family." Her father, a well-known chemistry professor at Fisk University, was a celebrated basso with the second group of Fisk Jubilee Singers and a song writer. Thomasina started taking piano lessons at the early age of five. At the age of fifteen, she graduated from Fisk University with a major in music. After Fisk, she was granted scholarships to the prestigious Julliard School of Music in New York City. She remained there for three years, receiving her certificate in 1932. She then began teaching music at a Black high school in Missouri. Greene met her soon after he arrived at Lincoln. Sometime in the thirties, Talley left Missouri to teach in Texas. Then, in 1939, she received Rockefeller Fellowships to Columbia University. She and Greene "renewed their friendship, fell in love, and were married on December 19, 1941." She earned the Ph.D. degree in Music and Music Education in the same year that Greene earned the Ph.D. in History. No doubt, they gave each other strength and motivation to finish their degrees. During the 1940s, and beyond, she earned a living as a professional concert pianist; a part-time teacher at Lincoln; and she gave individual lessons at her in home studio. Like her husband, she was also active in social welfare societies, such as the Missouri Association for Social Welfare and the NAACP. Several years after being married to Talley, Greene expressed the joy

⁴⁰Greene to Duffy, March 12, 1943; Greene to Duffy, September 25, 1943; The Papers of L.J.G., Container 27, Folder 1; Container 9, Folder 4.

of being married to his friend L.D. Reddick. "Married life is wonderful. Thomasina and I are inseparable. Had I known what married life was like, perhaps I should not have been so persistent in sacrificing everything for The Negro in Colonial New England. Verily, the ball and chain is of gold."⁴¹

Throughout the early 1940s, Greene continued to help Woodson and the Association stay afloat. In October of 1941, for instance, Woodson thanked Greene for his personal contribution of \$5.00 to the cause. "With the support of faithful workers like you we cannot fail," Woodson told his former assistant. In the early 1940s, Greene continued to work hard at placing Missouri on the Black History Movement map. In mid January of 1942, he mailed out a letter to Black schools in Missouri asking them to make the Negro History Week of 1942 from February 8-15, "the greatest Negro History Week Celebration ever." He called upon his fellow workers to (1) invite a speaker to talk about "some phase of Negro History" to the student body; (2) to present a play or pageant dealing with certain events "in the life of the race;" and (3) to contribute to the ASNLH by obtaining subscriptions to the Journal and the Bulletin for \$3.00 and \$1.00 a year respectively and by securing a penny from each student and ten cents or more from each teacher. "Every meeting held, every penny raised helps to forward this work so vital to our race!," Greene concluded his plea.⁴²

He was also well known throughout Missouri for his campaigning during Negro History Week and he worked closely with different organizations. He

⁴¹"Thomasina Talley, Concert Pianist," no date, in The Papers of L.J.G., Container 2, Folder 7; Strickland, editor, Selling Black History For Carter G. Woodson, 9; Greene to Reddick, February 17, 1943, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 33, Folder 5.

⁴²The Papers of L.J.G., Container 74, Folder 8; Greene to "Fellow Worker," January 12, 1942, Container 42, Folder 3.

had a close relationship with the Paseo Branch Y.W.C.A. located in Kansas City, Missouri from the mid 1930s through the mid 1940s. He helped the organization, which he deemed "a tower of strength in disseminating the history and contributions of the Negro," with their annual Negro History Week Celebrations. In February of 1944, he discussed the possibility of setting up a Negro History Institute in Kansas City consisting of nine major lectures to be delivered by him covering the role of Blacks "in the development of World Culture" from ancient times through the present. Greene suggested to the Paseo Branch Y.W.C.A. that the lectures be delivered over five week-ends and that the participants be required to register for \$10.00. By June, Greene and the Executive Secretary of the organization, Elsie M. Mountain, made formal arrangements for the lecture series. He gave her the choice of nine potential "catchy" titles and subdivided the lectures under four major subjects: the African origins, "Black Builders of the New World," free Blacks before the Civil War, and Blacks in industrial America from 1860 until 1944. Greene's lecture, he outlined, would be accompanied by a recital by his wife. In total, they asked for \$450.00, \$200.00 for Greene's lectures and \$250.00 for his wife's concert. Greene ended up delivering the lectures from November 8 until November 11, 1944 for the fee of \$425.00 including his wife's recital. Each lecture lasted for about two hours and Greene hailed it a success. The turnout was "fine" in Greene's estimation. This probably meant that at least twenty-five folks attended each seminar. Since Executive Secretary Mountain was ill during the lectures, several weeks later Greene provided her with a four page, single-spaced summary of their contents.⁴³

⁴³Elsie M. Mountain to Greene, January 2, 1935; Greene to Mountain, February 17, 1944; Greene to Mountain, June 1944; Greene to Mountain,

Woodson was especially surprised by what his former employee was able to accomplish. "I am surprised to hear that anyone in Missouri is interested in the study of the Negro . . . What have you done there to bring about the change?," Woodson sarcastically commented to Greene, "Missouri is generally black as far as supporting the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History is concerned. We receive more support from one school in Washington, D.C. than we do from the whole state of Missouri." Greene also impressed Woodson by mobilizing the faculty at Lincoln University. In mid May of 1943, Woodson thanked the faculty and employees of Lincoln for their contribution of \$19.00. While Woodson appreciated Greene's efforts at the grassroots level, he wished that his former employee could have been more active with the Journal. Early in 1944, Greene told Woodson that he was sorry that he had to side step "some of the things" which he "desired very greatly to do" because of his "other duties." He still assured Woodson that he had "only the welfare of the Journal and the Association at heart" and that he would review books or render "any other service" for the Association.⁴⁴

One of the "other duties" about which Greene spoke was his concern with the role of Blacks during World War II. In late 1941 and early 1942, Greene wrote William Henry Hastie, Assistant to the Secretary of War, a series of letters asking him to send him all the available information regarding the overall status of Blacks in the armed forces. He also offered his services as a lecturer to Black soldiers in the various segregated training camps throughout the country. The Secretary of War did not have any job openings for Greene,

September 23, 1944, Greene to Mountain, November 28, 1944, The Papers of LIG, Container 31, Folder 6.

⁴⁴Woodson to Greene, July 1, 1942; Greene to Woodson, January 17, 1944, The Papers of LIG, Container 74, Folder 8.

and Hastie was not too helpful in briefing him on Blacks' conditions during the war. "The policy of the War Department has been that theses unites and the individual soldiers therein be accorded identical treatment with all other organization and soldiers," Hastie claimed.⁴⁵

Greene strongly supported America during World War II and volunteered himself elsewhere. In January of 1942, he wrote to Dr. Ambrose Caliver, Senior Specialist in the Education of Negroes for the Office of Education, laid out his credentials and offered his "services to the government in any capacity in which they may be utilized to the greatest advantage of the nation." About two weeks later, Caliver informed Greene that there were no available positions which suited his credentials. Greene did not end his quest to serve his country here. In early March of 1942, he offered his services to the Office of Facts and Figures as a possible spokesperson for the Liaison Bureau for Group Morale. Once again, he was denied a formal position because of "budgetary concerns." Sometime in late March, Greene met with Theodore Berry, Liaison Officer from the Office of Facts and Figures, but he was not offered a position within their office. Greene continued his patriotic quest to serve his country. In late June he wrote Mary McLeod Bethune inquiring whether or not the National Youth Administration could use his services in any way. Though she could not employ him, Bethune was instrumental in opening some other doors for Greene. "The very mention of your name proved an 'open sesame' to everyone I approached," Greene told

⁴⁵Greene to Hastie, December 12, 1941; Hastie to Green, December 15, 1941; Green to Hastie, February 23, 1942; Hastie to Greene, February 26, 1942, Greene to Hastie March 21, 1942; Greene to Hastie, June 18, 1942; Greene to Hastie, November 5, 1942, Greene to Hastie, November 16, 1942, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 29, Folder 5.

the elder club woman. Most importantly, she referred him to George Barnes, Assistant to the Director of the Office of War Information.⁴⁶

In early November of 1942, Greene wrote a very important letter to Barnes. He told the Assistant Director of the O.W.I. that despite their "fine work," they were making "little impression upon most of the 12,000,000 Negroes in the country" because its representatives were not actively attempting to reach them. He told Barnes that White Moral Building speakers all too often alienated Blacks with their racist presentations. He provided him with several examples he had witnessed first hand in Missouri. Greene argued that Black participation was at an all time low and he warned Barnes that if such speakers continued their work that Blacks would "become fertile breeding grounds for Axis propaganda, as shown by a few disillusionary Negroes who have identified themselves with the Pacific movement." Greene's solution was that the Office of War Information instigate an "all out" campaign "to build up sagging Negro moral and thereby secure their wholehearted support of the war effort." Greene sketched out a detailed job description for a Black man, namely himself, who could help gain the widespread Black support. Greene declared:

I believe that the Office of War Information should have on its staff a Negro, possessing a broad background of the history of the Negro group, one who is conversant with their economic, social and political problems and who, through service to his people and through the various experiences gained from his identity with this minority, understands the psychology of the Negro. He must make the

⁴⁶Greene to Caliver, January 27, 1942; Caliver to Greene, February 10, 1942, The Papers of L.J.G. Container 26, Folder 6; Greene to Berry, March 5, 1942; Greene to Berry, March 14, 1942; Greene to Berry, March 21, 1942, Container 25, Folder 7; Greene to Bethune, November 5, 1942, Container 25, Folder 7.

Negroes feel that they are part and parcel of the American people, that they have a stake in American Democracy which they helped to found and preserve. He must make them feel that their whole welfare is bound up with the ultimate victory of the United Nations, that life under Axis domination would be intolerable. He must be able to appeal to the Negroes' past, he must recall to them their loyalty and sacrifices whenever American has been at war, thus arousing in them enthusiastic determination to defend the priceless heritage which they have helped to create. Lastly he should convince them that although they have not received all of the benefits of American Democracy, the prospects of achieving this goals are brighter now than ever before in our History . . . I think that I am well equipped to do this job by virtue of training, experience and contacts.⁴⁷

Roughly a year later, Greene continued his enthusiastic support of America's role in World War II. In the morning of December 2, 1943, for instance, as the Air Raid Warden and the Chairman of the Committee on War Information at Lincoln, Greene spoke to Jefferson City Blacks and Whites over the local radio station, K.W.O.S. He stressed that food was "vital to winning the war" and then he commended Americans, especially Black and White citizens of Jefferson City, for planting "Victory Gardens" in order to help supply "our boys at the front" and America's allies during 1943. After mentioning some of those who did exceptional jobs in canning, drying, and salting "thousands of quarts of food from their gardens" on behalf of "Uncle Sam," he asked Jefferson City citizens to be active participants in helping raise the proposed 380 million acres of food for 1944. "Let us remember that all of us, irrespective of race, creed, or color, have a vital stake in this conflict . . . Either we all win it, or we all lose it," Greene concluded his brief appeal, "If

⁴⁷Greene to Barnes, November 6, 1942, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 25, Folder 6.

food production and conservation can shorten the war, I assure you that Negro citizens of Jefferson City will be in there doing their utmost to put the 1944 food campaign over the top and thereby help to insure the total defeat of the Axis in 1944."⁴⁸

World War II evoked a complex collection of feelings within Greene. Like Black spokespersons since the Revolutionary War, he hoped and believed that if his people demonstrated their unyielding patriotism, their unrelentless dedication to American democracy that White America would return the favor by granting Black people equality. He joined the "Double V" Campaign with great enthusiasm and optimism. Yet, as a historian he knew that after fighting for White Americans in the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the Civil War, the Spanish American War, and World War I, institutional racism, racial violence, and everyday discrimination continued to thrive on American soil. Perhaps his analysis of the historical record suggested that this was the time when White Americans were finally going to acknowledge their humanity. The harsh realities of the war were not welcomed by Greene. In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, He became the pacifist he once was in the 1920s. "War . . . is, in most cases, inexcusable and always abominable. Peace must be considered the normal state of society," Greene continued in the late 1940s, " It must be striven for, prepared for with all the fervor that society from time to time immemorial has devoted to war."⁴⁹

⁴⁸Lorenzo J. Greene, "Jefferson City Negroes Share in the 'Food Fights for Freedom' Campaign," unpublished speech broadcasted over K.W.O.S., Jefferson City, Missouri, December 2, 1943.

⁴⁹Lorenzo J. Greene, unpublished biographical sketch.

CHAPTER X
BECOMING A WELL-RESPECTED HISTORIAN
AND REDEFINING HIS STATUS AND FUNCTION AT LINCOLN,
1944-1950

The mid-late 1940s was an especially trying and busy time for Greene. Between completing his dissertation in 1942 and the death of Woodson in 1950, he became increasingly disenchanted with Lincoln University and not only sought employment elsewhere, but struggled with President Dr. Sherman Scruggs and a Special Committee appointed by him over a salary increase. Though this took up a lot of his time, he continued to be active as a scholar. He wrote a handful of published and unpublished articles and book reviews. Beginning in 1945, he also worked hard to make a trilogy out of his work on colonial New England. Beginning in 1948, Greene also served as the editor for Lincoln's short-lived, yet impressive, Mid-West Journal.

While it may appear to the casual onlooker that Greene was always happy at Lincoln, by the 1940s he began to not only rethink remaining there, but he also challenged the university to increase his salary. Shortly before completing his dissertation, he applied for positions at several different colleges in New York. The teaching load was overbearing at Lincoln, he wanted to get more recognition, and be situated in a more thriving intellectual atmosphere. Being located in the East would have given him easy access to explore documents dealing with colonial New England. None of the White colleges where he applied responded to him. Greene also showed interest in teaching at Tennessee A. and I. State College. During the summer of 1944, he and his wife taught there for several months. Shortly thereafter, Greene wrote its president, Dr. Walter S. Davis, and indicated that

both he and his wife would be interested in working there, if they could (1) join the faculty in June of 1945; (2) if Mrs. Greene could receive \$250.00 a month for ten months or work; (3) if Greene could receive a salary comparable to that he was receiving at Lincoln; and (4) if he could possibly become head of the History Department.¹ For whatever reasons, Greene's plan did not materialize.

Despite his dis-satisfaction with Lincoln, by the mid 1940s, Greene had moved slowly up the academic ladder there. During the 1943-1944 academic year, he served as the Acting Head of the History Department, a small department consisting of no more than three members, including Greene, by 1945. It was while he was in this position that he challenged the university for a higher salary.

In the spring of 1944 Greene first recommended to Lincoln's Dean Dawson that his salary be made equal to that of the regular Department Head, a salary which amounted to \$360.00 each month. He was asking for a raise of about \$40.00 per month. On April 7, 1944 Dawson reported Greene's gripe to President Scruggs, but he did not recommend that his salary be increased. Towards the end of the month, the Dean informed Greene that he did not believe that he deserved a raise in salary. Several weeks later, Greene wrote back to the Dean and requested "that a faculty committee be appointed to pass upon the merits of my request and to show cause, if necessary, why I should not be paid a salary equal to that of a department head." During the summer of 1944, Greene, Dawson, William Sherman Savage, and Scruggs met together and tried to work out Greene's case. On September 9, Scruggs informed Greene that he had decided to award him a salary increase from \$310.00 to

¹Greene to Davis, August 28, 1944, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 27.

\$335.00 a month, effective on September 1, 1944. Still unsatisfied, on September 15, Greene wrote a letter to Scruggs laying out his case. He thanked Scruggs and members of the Board of Curators for the small raise, but added that he still wanted to be accorded the "extra compensation" given to department heads. He stated that based upon his training and services to Lincoln, which "are equal to, or, in some cases, even surpass those of department heads," he should be "compensated accordingly." Greene believed that his case was an example of the inequalities scarring Lincoln. In closing, he assured Scruggs that as long as he was connected with Lincoln, he would continue to give his "all" towards building the "highest type of educational institution." A raise in his salary, he added, would facilitate achieving this goal at a much quicker pace.²

Greene had believed that in the spring of 1945 "a settlement" and "proper adjustment" would be made. In early March of 1945, Greene then wrote Scruggs reminding him that he hoped that his demands would be met in terms of the type of salary increase which he desired. Sounding confident, he wrote to Scruggs:

After a lengthy discussion, I subscribed to the opinion of the other conferees that it would not be in the best interest of the University to make the adjustment at that time. However, I was assured by you, Dean Dawson and Dr. Savage, as you will recall, that in return for postponing a settlement until the Spring of 1945, proper adjustment would then be made.

²Greene to Dawson, March 24, 1944; Dawson to Greene, April 7, 1944; Greene to Dawson, May 10, 1944; Scruggs to Greene, September 15, 1944, The Papers of LJG, Container 36, Folder 2.

This letter is just to remind you of the above
with the hope that this matter may be settled at
your earliest convenience.³

Scruggs wrote back to Greene informing him that he had misunderstood the conclusions reached at the conference.

According to Scruggs, he never promised to meet Greene's demands. He informed Greene that he had appointed a Special Committee to deal with his case and to consider--based upon "the views that Professor Greene holds . . . , the supporting data which he presents," and "all available sources"--whether or not he deserved the salary increase he proposed. Scruggs assured Greene that this investigation would not have any negative consequences, like demotion or dismissal. He also told his colleague that he could supply the committee with "any materials" and they would be considered and that he had the right to appear before the committee "before or anytime after it begins its work."⁴

On the same day that Scruggs wrote to Greene, he contacted the members of the Special Committee. This group included five full professors in departments unrelated to History. Scruggs selected Professors W.R. Ralbot, U.S. Maxwell, W.W. Dowdy, G.R. Cotton, and O.A. Fuller because he believed that they would keep themselves "from any personal biases in the matters to be considered" and that they would "act with integrity in seeking the facts in the cases." Scruggs selected Dr. C.F. Littell, a Professor of History and Political Science at Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa, to serve as an outside consultant and advisor to the committee. According to the letter Scruggs sent

³Greene to Scruggs, March 2, 1945, The Papers of LJG, Container 36, Folder 2.

⁴Scruggs to Greene, March 7, 1945, The Papers of LJG, Container 36, Folder 2.

to the Special Committee members, he wanted them to finish the case very quickly. He expected a report by May 1, 1945.⁵

Several days later, Greene replied to Scruggs. While he thanked the President for "the pains" to which he went to "bring about an impartial settlement," he harped upon the fact that they had conflicting understandings about their meeting in the fall of 1944 and he voiced some objections to the investigation procedure. He asked that some non-department heads be added to the committee; he questioned Scruggs' decision to exclude historians from the committee; and, most importantly, he brought attention to the criteria for promotion in rank and salary as they appeared in Lincoln's handbook. He wanted to be judged based upon his training and preparation for his job; his teaching effectiveness; his scholarship and professional standing; his research; his personal character; and his various community service activities. "I seek no special consideration. Neither do I expect that the Committee will establish new standards for my appraisal which are not in harmony with the criteria already adopted by the University for such purposes," Greene concluded, "I merely hold that a comparative evaluation of my services to the University, using the above criteria as a yardstick, should enable me to received compensation equal to that of any other professor in the College of Liberal Arts."⁶

Throughout March and part of April, 1945, it appears that the Committee met and began investigating Greene's case. On April 25, Greene presented his case in person and in the form of a letter. His presentation included fifteen

⁵Scruggs to Special Committee Members, March 7, 1945, The Papers of LIG, Container 36, Folder 2.

⁶Greene to Scruggs, March 10, 1945, The Papers of LIG, Container 36, Folder 2..

pages of text and several exhibits of evidence. Greene reminded the committee to ascertain his services in order to determine whether he should receive an increase in salary. "If, by these criteria, he proved inferior to his higher paid colleagues, then his remuneration should be less; if equal, his stipend should be identical; if superior, then his salary should be higher," Greene proclaimed in the third person. He submitted what he considered evidence for his case. He discussed his training since his days at Howard, highlighting his work with the ASNLH. In order to demonstrate the effectiveness of his teaching, he wrote, at random, to fifteen students whom he instructed between 1933 and 1943. He asked them to assess his teaching. Ten students responded, representing in his view "several points of view." Greene also submitted many informal statements from students which he noted were collected months before the formal investigation began. In terms of his personal characteristics, Greene asked that if there was any evidence which demonstrated that he did not have a positive attitude towards the History Department and the University administration that it be brought forward against him.⁷

The strongest part of Greene's claim rested in his history of community service. He divided this work into three categories: "(a) services to the school community, (b) services to the community in which the school is located and (c) services outside the community in which the school is located." On campus, Greene noted that he was a member of many committees since 1933; that he spoke to faculty and students "on innumerable occasions;" that he had been appointed in 1936 by the Board of Curators to help evaluate Lincoln; and that he strove to break down the social barriers separating students and

⁷Greene to Dr. Walter R. Talbot, Chairman, Special Committee, April 25, 1945, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 9, Folder 4.

faculty. He mentioned that after he was married in 1941, he often held his classes at his home and "constantly" advised students on various issues. He even "frequently" gave students "material assistance." As far as off campus community service, Greene highlighted that he had spoken at various venues pertaining to a range of issues, like education, Black history, civil rights, World War II, and race relations. He highlighted his role in reforming segregated education, helping destitute sharecroppers in Southwest Missouri, and in spearheading an anti-lynching campaign.⁸

Greene's professional work seemed equally as impressive. He listed five journal articles, five newspaper articles, and five books which he authored or co-authored. He noted that he was working on three articles and two books complementing The Negro in Colonial New England. He explained that the paucity in his publications while at Lincoln could be best explained by the fact that he strategically chose not to publish the findings of his dissertation as articles and that he did not choose to publish any of his countless speeches. He maintained that his professional standing could be determined by his membership in professional societies; his honors; and the publication and public reception of his dissertation and his other publications under the auspices of the ASNLH.

According to Greene's evidence, he was a well-known historian who belonged to ten professional societies, who had been awarded several prestigious fellowships and grants, and one whose scholarship was respected and used throughout the country by leading educational institutions. Greene ended his plea thanking the Committee for their consideration, yet also by asking that if he was denied his request that they "show cause" why he

⁸Ibid.

"should not receive a salary equal to that of the higher paid professors in the Liberal Arts College."⁹

On December 7, 1945, under the leadership of Chairman Walter R. Talbot, the Special Committee laid out its final responses to Greene's claims. The committee basically challenged Greene on each of the criteria by which he was judged. They opened their consideration of the case by indicating that they did not agree with Greene that it was their responsibility to "ascertain all the professors excepting Dr. Greene data comparable to that presented by Dr. Greene." They did not agree with Greene that it was their duty to "show cause" why he should not be granted the salary he desired. They stressed that their decision would be based largely upon the evidence which Greene supplied them with, therefore placing all of the burden on him. Their response totaled nearly fifty pages.¹⁰

The Committee believed that Greene had training which met all of the requirements of the University, yet they questioned the fact that most of his non-academic experience was acquired before he joined Lincoln's staff. They disagreed with Greene's method of ascertaining his teaching effectiveness. They thought that the letters he solicited from students were not objective. They implied that Greene may have been "suggestive" in seeking these evaluations. On November 12, the Committee therefore asked the History Department Head about Greene's teaching methods. According to the Committee, he responded that Greene worked better with graduate students

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Robert Cotton, W.W. Dowdy, O. Anderson Fuller, U.S. Maxwell, and Walter R. Talbot, "Preliminary Report of the Special Committee Appointed by the President of the University to Consider the Salary Question Raised by Professor Lorenzo J. Greene," unpublished report, December 7, 1945, The Papers of LJG, Container 9, Folder 4.

than with undergraduates mainly because he was known to give his students demanding assignments of "great length."

The biggest blow that the Committee delivered to Greene was their dismissal of his community service. They said that merely belonging to a committee on campus or to an organization did not mean anything. They added that in the 1943-1944 school year, Dean Dawson told the President that Greene "had not rendered his services to the various committees of the faculty as he is capable of doing." While they acknowledged that he was an active speaker, they pointed out that he did not adequately describe the nature of his speeches. They challenged his assertion that his 1936 "Needs of the Negroes of Missouri in Respect to Higher Education" was a significant document. The Committee credited Greene credited a little for interacting with students outside of the classroom and for fostering better faculty-student relationships. However, they asserted that as president of the Faculty Club, Greene was very ineffective and even opposed to by other faculty members. The Committee recognized that Greene was a committed activist, but for the purposes of their review they decided not to consider activities "which did not have their origins at some time prior to the 1944-1945 school year." They claimed that while he provided an impressive list of speaking engagements, the Public Relations Office did not list Greene as a highly sought after speaker. They implied that since he was only requested to speak outside the walls of Lincoln twice that he was not as affective as he had implied in his report of April 25. The Committee ignored the fact that as a grassroots lecturer, Greene spoke before audiences without making formal arrangements through the university. In fact, Greene did his own advertising and arranged his speeches himself. He also served as manager for his wife.¹¹

The final and perhaps most painful blow which the Committee delivered to the New Englander concerned his scholarship. They said that after arriving at Lincoln, Greene's small list of publications was "hardly suggestive of a prolific writer or even an energetic worker." Though they had no choice except to admit that his 1942 opus was widely praised, they belittled it by positing that its acclaim was "due in part to the fact that the field and subject are intelligible to the ordinary man." Other dissertations which were more technical, they continued, received much less attention. In other words, this group of non-historians implied that Greene's work was not a scientific piece of scholarship.

The Special Committee concluded that Greene did not offer them evidence of "extraordinary strength" and, therefore, did not demonstrate that he deserved a higher salary. In their estimation, he still needed to furnish proof and data indicating that he was of great worth to Lincoln. They concluded that he should only be granted a raise in salary which equaled the average size of salary increases granted by the university. They then said that he could determine further raises based upon his publication record. "As Dr. Greene increases his scholarly production while at Lincoln and as he increases his contributions to the school, his salary should be increased just as any professor who might do more scholarly work and fulfill all his duties within the school should expect increases in salary," the Committee concluded.¹²

This incident demonstrates the possible obstacles which often stood in the paths of first rate Black intellectuals and scholars before the modern Civil Rights Movement at Black colleges and universities. Greene's peers

¹¹Ibid., 28-29.

¹²Ibid., 46-47.

dismissed and belittled his case in a dis-respectful manner. On December 10, 1945 the Committee gave Greene a copy of their preliminary report so that he could make some corrections. One can clearly sense Greene's anger with the Committee members while reading his insightful, critical marginal notes. At one point, when the Committee accused him of following an "improper procedure" and implied that his report was "courageous or foolhardy," Greene penciled in that "such statements are liable for slander!"¹³

Greene's case revealed other things and had other consequences. He was a pioneer in many ways. He was one of the first professors to challenge the Lincoln administration in this manner as evidenced by the many recommendations proposed by the Special Committee. For instance, they recommended that the University adopt policies concerning the role of department heads and acting heads; revise its methods for evaluating appointment, promotion, and salary increases; keep better records; and that all faculty be kept up to date with all of the rules and regulations concerning cases like that of Dr. Greene's.

The final corrected copy of the Special Committee's examination of Greene's case was presented to President Scruggs on July 5, 1946, more than a year after Greene first presented his case before the Committee. They considered the case finished. This, however, was not the final word. "You will recall that the Special Committee, headed by the great G. Robert Cotton, sought to deny my request for equality of compensation, only to have a University of Chicago man grant my claim," Greene shared with a friend in April of 1948.¹⁴

¹³*Ibid.*, 39.

Greene did not stop his efforts at reforming Lincoln's treatment of its faculty. Sometime in the late 1940s, he and some other concerned faculty members wrote to the President and the Board of Curators concerning mainly "the problem of implementing the salary equalization principle." As early as May of 1942, the Board indicated that it would "strive continuously" to increase the salaries of Lincoln University faculty members until they were equal to those of professors at the University of Missouri. The average salary differential from 1942 until 1948 between the highest paid full professors at Lincoln and the University of Missouri amounted to \$3,398.00, in favor of the University of Missouri professors. When Greene made his complaint, his fellow workers were especially under paid. In the 1944-1945 academic year, the highest paid professor at the University of Missouri demanded \$7,635.00 while his counterpart at Lincoln only made \$3,600.00.¹⁵

The representatives of Lincoln's instructional faculty challenged the Board of Curators to dedicate itself to raising the standards of Lincoln in terms of its fundamental physical environment and its intellectual atmosphere. They stressed, as Greene had years earlier, that better salaries were "the necessary first step" in bridging the gap between salaries at Lincoln and the University of Missouri. The faculty informed the Board that Lincoln had fallen behind other Black colleges and universities. During the 1940s, they noted that many leading professors left Lincoln for much better salaries elsewhere. They pointed out that even some high school teachers with lower qualifications were making more money than some Lincoln professors.

¹⁴Greene to Dr. T. Thomas Fortune Fletcher, April 24, 1948, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 56, Folder 12.

¹⁵Lincoln University Faculty to the President and the Board of Curators, circa 1948, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 63, Folder 5.

Greene also vented his anger against Lincoln to his close friends. In late April of 1948, he told one of his friends working for the American Legation in Ethiopia that Lincoln seemed to be pre-occupied with the "external trappings" rather than with "the real and worthwhile things." Greene lamented that teachers were not funded to attend professional meetings and that for about six months they did not even have toilet paper for the students. He also told his friend that "inter-faculty division" was at an all time high since department heads were seeking to get salary increases, an attempt "to revive the same old evil against which I fought for three years."¹⁶

It is unlikely that during Greene's entire career at Lincoln that the salaries of its faculty ever equaled those of the University of Missouri faculty. But, Black professors at institutions like Lincoln were not willing to sit back and accept such inequality long before the modern Civil Rights Movement. Greene was one of the pioneers in forcing Black college and university administrators to treat their workers with the respect they deserved. Had Black colleges and universities heeded Greene's and others' demands, and had they had adequate funding sources as well, perhaps the great "brain drain" in the post-Civil Rights era would not have been as severe.

Despite these struggles Greene waged with administrators, throughout the 1940s he continued to be an active scholar. The Negro in Colonial New England was his most significant historical publication and certainly earned him his claim to fame as a published historian. After his opus appeared during the rest of the 1940s Greene did not publish another book or many articles. In fact, his two major articles in this period were published in 1944 in Woodson's journal and Phylon respectively.

¹⁶Greene to Fletcher, April 24, 1948, The Papers of LJG, Container 56, Folder 12.

In "The New England Negro As Seen in Advertisements for Runaway Slaves," Greene called for a more creative approach to studying slavery. He considered this research a "relatively untouched phase of American Negro Slavery." In surveying sixty-two New England newspaper advertisements from 1718 until 1784, he sought to shed some light on slaves' personality. He touched upon slaves' employment, birthplaces, names, ages, sex, physical characteristics, peculiar personal traits, attire, and personal possessions. "For this reason," he ascertained, "advertisements for runaway slaves are a mine of invaluable information—information which, when collected, analyzed and synthesized, afford an otherwise unobtainable picture of the slave personality." Greene also presented some intriguing arguments regarding the seasons in which Blacks ran away, the small rewards offered for most fugitives, and the omissions of the masters. According to Greene, slaves carefully calculated their flights during the "desirable season," late summer and early fall. Not only could they more easily acquire basic provisions, but they also avoided the long, cold winter, he reasoned. In Greene's estimation, the advertisements also revealed aspects of the master class's personality.¹⁷

In the same year, Greene published a refreshing article on eighteenth-century slave mutinies during the Middle Passage aboard New England vessels. He reasoned that such a study was necessary because leading scholars of slave revolts, including Aptheker, Joseph C. Carroll, and Harvey Wish, had not addressed one of the first acts "in the tragic drama of the Negro's continuous struggle for freedom." According to Greene, his ancestors "seized every opportunity to escape enslavement or to end their suffering."

¹⁷Lorenzo J. Greene, "The New England Negro as Seen in Advertisements for Runaway Slaves," Journal of Negro History 29 (1944): 127, 131-132, 146.

Attempting to kill the crew and return to African was a "frequently" chosen tactic. Though the captured Africans did not have the weapons or the organizational structure of the crews, they did, Greene stressed, have numbers and an "insatiable desire for liberty."¹⁸

Based upon a careful examination of first hand accounts from Elizabeth Donnan's four volume catalog of primary sources and other slave traders' journals, Greene described many of the slave revolts aboard New England slavers and concluded that (1) there were probably more unsuccessful revolts than successful one; (2) while all New England slave trading communities experienced revolts, Rhode Island slavers had the most because they lead the Puritan slave trade; and (3) that even though the American Revolution paved the way for the abolition of the slave trade in major New England states by the 1780s, Puritan merchants maintained an illegal slave trade and uprisings continued to take place on these vessels. Greene concluded his brief, yet noteworthy article, in a tone similar to nationalist historian Vincent Harding:

The foregoing insurrections portray but a single scene in the first act of a mighty drama for freedom, in which African slaves were the principal actors and the New England slave ships the stage. To complete the act, it is necessary to set forth similar struggles aboard other American vessels and ships of all the other nationalities which participated in the trade. Thus would be told the epic tragedy of battles for freedom fought by millions of blacks, on thousands of ships over a span of three and a half centuries. Such a work, especially for American slave ships, would make an heroic prelude for the second act in the drama -- the Negro's struggle for liberty on American soil -- . . . and overthrow

¹⁸Lorenzo J. Greene, "Mutiny on the Slave Ships," Phylon 5 (1944): 346-354.

completely the fiction that the Negro tamely submitted to enslavement.¹⁹

Several years after he completed his Ph.D. dissertation, he began publishing articles which were less non-emotional. In this instance, he meshed scientific, meticulous research with some emotional out-pourings. Du Bois' Phylon was a perfect forum in which to do this.

Throughout the 1940s, Woodson solicited Greene's help as a book reviewer for the Journal. At no point in his career was Greene a prolific book reviewer like his elder. This was unfortunate, because Greene was a very critical thinker who had the ability to find the most intricate oversights and problems with books. For instance, in 1948 he reviewed John Hope Franklin's From Slavery to Freedom (1947) in the Journal of Negro Education. Like most reviewers, Greene welcomed Franklin's work, deeming it "the most authoritative as well as the most readable synthesis of the Negro in American that exists in print." Yet, in the tradition of Woodsonian reviewers, he pointed out, in detail, the "few minor imperfections" and "occasional lapses from the general high standard maintained throughout the work." His most profound criticism concerned the title. Greene believed that a more accurate title would have been From Freedom to Slavery. He maintained that during the last five hundred years Black people had been waging a struggle to regain their freedom. Before slavery and the slave trade, Greene noted that Blacks in Africa "had built up independent states of their own with relatively high civilizations."²⁰

¹⁹Ibid., 354; Harding, There is A River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America, 1981.

²⁰Review of John Hope Franklin's From Slavery to Freedom (1947), undated, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 45, Folder 4.

After The Negro in Colonial New England was published Greene also worked on many articles dealing with New England and struggled to make his opus part of a trilogy. Late in 1945, Greene asked President Scruggs if he could have a leave of absence at half salary from February until September of 1946 so that he could conduct research at libraries in New England, New York, and Washington, D.C. in order to complete a study entitled The Abolition of Slavery in New England, 1638-1784. This monograph, the last of a proposed trilogy, would address the origins, evolution, and significance of antislavery in seventeenth and eighteenth century New England. Greene planned to explore the effects of humanitarianism and the "equalitarian philosophy" of the Revolutionary era on anti-slavery sentiments and abolition in New England. He noted that his study would be especially unique because he planned to explore "abolition efforts by the slaves themselves." While Columbia University Press expressed interest in Greene's work, in October of 1945 he still needed to raise about \$4,800.00 in order to complete the study. Greene told Scruggs that the General Board of Education had already agreed to grant him \$3,000.00 and that his study was going to fill a great gap in American social history.²¹

Scruggs granted Greene his request and on November 26, 1945, the General Education Board awarded him \$3,000.00. Between February and September of 1946, he made some significant inroads. He had collected "a large amount of data" from libraries in New England, New York, and Washington, D.C., including the Library of Congress; the New York Historical Society; the State Library of Massachusetts; the Yale University Library; and the Connecticut Historical Society and the State Library. He carefully sifted through various

²¹Greene to Scruggs, November 7, 1945, The Papers of LIG, Container 36, Folder 2.

troves of primary documents "for the precious nuggets which they occasionally yielded." He collected data which was previously unknown to researchers. He also spoke with descendants of persons related to many New England abolitionists. In mid October of 1946, Greene asked President Scruggs if he would give him another leave of absence from February 1 until September 15, 1947 at half salary so that he could complete the study. He explained that he needed more time because he still needed to visit some "key repositories;" collecting primary documents had proved to be a hard task; he needed to expand the time period of the study until 1800; and because securing photostats was hard and expensive. Greene assured Scruggs that this would allow him to finish collecting data and writing. Several months later, Scruggs informed Greene that they would grant him a special leave of absence with a stipend of \$1,912.50 from February 1 until August 31, 1947. About a month earlier, the General Board of Education agreed, after some deliberation and after Scruggs had written them several times, to contribute \$2,000.00 towards Greene's work to be distributed from February until October, 1947.²²

After another nine months of more of additional research time, Greene did not complete his study. In late December of 1947 he informed Scruggs that he had assembled "virtually all the data for the study." He had not yet completed the study because he was still busy filing the data and beginning the actual writing processes. Teaching, "and its incidental duties," took up a great deal of his energy. He was probably teaching at least three courses, each requiring its own separate preparation. Greene told Scruggs that if the University supplied him with a stenographer and reduced his teaching load, he would be able to perhaps finish the study "sometime in the ensuing year."

²²Greene to Scruggs, October 11, 1946; Scruggs to Greene, January, 14, 1947, The Papers of LJG, Container 34, Folder 1, Container 36, Folder 2.

Though Greene never published the study, he made some important findings previously unknown to American historians. In the late 1940s, Greene called for an analysis of slave resistance. He shared the views of his contemporaries like Joseph C. Carroll, author of Slave Insurrections in the United States, 1800-1865 (1938); Raymond and Alice Bauer, who published a ground breaking article on the intricacies of slave resistance in the Journal of Negro History (1942); and Aptheker who published his famous American Negro Slave Revolts in 1943. Greene also posited that the military history of New England during the American Revolution needed to be "largely rewritten," taking into consideration the role of Blacks therein. He contemplated publishing a book of primary sources on New England Blacks.

One major responsibility which prevented Greene from publishing his study on abolition in New England in the late 1940s was his becoming the editor of the Lincoln University Research Journal, renamed the Lincoln University Journal and then, by 1949, the Midwest Journal. In the 1930s and 1940s, several Black colleges founded and subsidized their own scholarly magazines, the most popular being the Journal of Negro Education founded at Howard in 1932 by Charles H. Thompson and Phylon of Atlanta University established in 1940. In the mid 1940s, Lincoln joined the ranks of these historically Black universities. In 1946, Lincoln's Legislative Faculty voted to create a scholarly magazine through which its faculty could publish their research and findings. The name of the journal was the Lincoln University Bulletin and one issue it appeared during the summer of 1947.

On November 21, 1947, Dr. Sidney J. Reedy and Dr. Cecil Blue, met at Greene's home in order to draw up some "concrete suggestions" for the Editorial Committee and Staff of the Bulletin. The main thrust of the meeting was Greene's suggestion that a plan for a new magazine with a new

name, set of policies, agenda, and program be presented to the faculty. At this meeting, Greene defined the new magazine, which he proposed be named the Midwest Journal, the Midwest Review, or the Midwest Record, as being "a vehicle or expression for creative writing (including fiction, poetry, drama, literary criticism, etc.) and for writing of a scholarly nature." Greene welcomed all subject matter, except "highly specialized" studies which would only be understood by a handful of scholars. He wanted to establish a wide readership. The length of the articles was set at about 5,000 words. Greene suggested that the journal have three departments, including articles, documents, and book reviews, and that it be published as an annual. He reasoned that it could be published more frequently if there was interest. At this initial meeting, he said that he wanted to have the first volume published on May 15, therefore, he proposed that the first deadline for submission be on March 15. There were many things very essential to the new projected journal. Greene suggested that they put forth requests for "necessary office space, equipment, materials, secretarial help, etc."²³

On January 21, 1948, "the Legislative Faculty of the University approved the recommendation of the Editorial Board, authorizing an enlargement in scope of the Lincoln University Research Journal, thereby making the magazine to be devoted to both research and creative writing." In mid-March of 1948, Greene described the journal to his colleagues as being a journal which sought to stimulate research and creative writing amongst Lincoln's faculty. As he said at the meeting at his home months earlier, he stressed that there was no restriction as to the scope of subject matter as long as it was

²³Minutes for a meeting held at Greene's home between Greene, Reedy, and Blue, November 21, 1947, The Papers of LIG, Container 50, Folder 11.

research or creative writing which was not simply written for a limited group of scholars. Those who planned to submit their work were expected to send in their pieces, of no more than 5,000 words, by May 15, since he planned to publish the first issue of the journal by June 15. Throughout March of 1948, Greene solicited articles from many important historians and intellectuals, including Rayford W. Logan, Luther Porter Jackson, C. Eric Williams, Marion Thompson Wright, Herbert Aptheker, Sterling Brown, Benjamin Quarles, Georgia Douglas Johnson, and Lois Jones. Greene struggled to get contributors and was under great pressure. "I am appealing to you in my 'hour of extremity'. . . Will you send us a contribution for this number? The subject we shall gladly leave to you," Greene told to both Sterling Brown and Benjamin Quarles. He extended the same type of invitation to many other of his colleagues. He was a little more frank with his friend Luther P. Jackson. "Will you do me a big favor?," he asked Jackson, "Lincoln University has decided to publish a magazine . . . I have had the 'misfortune' to be appointed Editor. You can guess the rest. In short, I need your help." While all of those whom he contacted supported his efforts, many were simply too busy to contribute anything at such short notice. Greene and his associates were perhaps naive, or over optimistic, in thinking that they would be able to bring the first issue out by June 15, 1948, only a few months after they were really becoming established and organized.²⁴

In August of 1948, Greene sent out a letter to his Lincoln colleagues informing them to be patient, that the Midwest Journal would "see the light

²⁴Greene to Sterling Brown, March 26, 1948, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 55, Folder 9; Greene to Benjamin Quarles, March 26, 1948, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 58, Folder 12; Greene to Luther Porter Jackson, March 13, 1948, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 57, Folder 14.

of day" very shortly, hopefully by the early fall. "Fact is, we've been afflicted with 'beginner's woe.' Remember, we're starting from scratch; building from the ground up. We've had trouble getting our Staff officially set up so that we could function with maximum efficiency; trouble getting regular, efficient secretarial help," Greene confessed, "The task of editing has been a heavy and in addition to this responsibility, the Editor carried a full teaching schedule the summer." The editors and staff also spent a great deal of energy debating the function and nature of the journal. They debated whether the magazine should be inter-racial in its scope or whether it should be devoted to Black Americans. None of the editors, moreover, had any experience in publishing a magazine. They were not prepared for all of the problems which came with the territory.²⁵

The first issue of the journal appeared in March of 1949. Roughly 600 copies were printed and were "widely distributed" throughout the U.S. and abroad. Free copies were sent to members of the Lincoln University faculty and staff; "outstanding officials of the state and nation"; certain scholars; and to various libraries, public and private, including the United Nations Library. Greene also sent a copy to President Truman. "It is not a perfect job by any means," Greene humbly told L.D. Reddick in late March of 1949.²⁶ Greene was most disturbed by the printing job which was done at Lincoln. Others did not seem to be bothered by what the editor critiqued. The first volume featured scholarship of many prominent scholars such as Aptheker, John Hope Franklin, Greene himself, Logan, Quarles, and Melvin B. Tolson. The

²⁵Greene to colleagues at Lincoln University, August 10, 1948, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 28, Folder 7.

²⁶Greene to Reddick, March 26, 1949, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 58, Folder 13.

latter's poem, "The Negro Scholar," was one of the most widely praised pieces. This Professor of English at Langston University in Langston, Oklahoma, told Greene that his poem was "the first attempt to set forth the tenets of the Negro scholar in poetry." Tolson hailed the Black scholar as being a "genealogist" of his people, a steady handed surgeon who removed lies infecting "the truth of race." Tolson outlined the role of the Black scholar in a similar manner to Woodson and Greene:

The Negro scholar must uproot the lies
Of ermine classes, puncture sophistries,
Break through dilemmas, rip the fallacies
Between his people and the Bill of Rights.

The Negro scholar is prophecy,
A Cloud by day, a pillar of fire by night,
Seen by black slaves upon the auction block,
Seen by black rebels with the grapes of wrath.

The Negro scholar is a Daniel Boone
Blazing a trail for Black America:
Let duty bone is pride when paler men
Are empty sacks that cannot stand alone!²⁷

Famous Black intellectuals also featured their scholarship in the pages of the Midwest Journal before 1950, including Langston Hughes and W.E.B. Du Bois.

The first volume of the journal was universally praised. In early August of 1949, Greene shared with his colleagues more than twenty positive appraisals of the magazine by leading Black and White scholars. "The journal is exerting an influence toward increasing the academic prestige of Lincoln University throughout the country," Greene assured his co-workers, "As

²⁷Greene to M.B. Tolson, May 5, 1949, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 59, Folder 12; Melvin B. Tolson, "The Negro Scholar," unpublished copy, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 51, Folder 5.

such, it can be an important factor in the development of more desirable public relations for the university." By the summer of 1949, the editors were receiving unsolicited subscriptions from individuals, scholars, libraries, and even from subscription agencies. Greene was fairly optimistic, believing that at least part of the cost of publication could be paid off by subscriptions.²⁸

While Greene clearly used the Midwest Journal as a vehicle for research and creative writing as well as for a strong public relations tool for Lincoln, he also employed it as a forum for radical politics. When the Communist Party USA was founded in 1917, anti-communist thought in America escalated. The Red Scare or "Palmer Raids" of 1919-1920 really gave birth to an American anti-communist ideology. Beginning in the 1940s, organizations such as the FBI, the Chamber of Commerce, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the House of Un-American Activities Commission, formed an informal network for opposing communists. In the post World War II era, anti-communist thought reached a peak. Hoover proclaimed that American communists were espionage agents following order from the Soviet Union. In the late 1940s, the CP USA was the target for the government's anti-communist beliefs. The McCarthy era to follow, sparked by McCarthy's report of July, 1950, was the most anti-communist era in American history. Clearly, to align oneself with communism during the first half of the twentieth-century was dangerous, especially if one was a Black man.²⁹

In the midst of this wave of anti-communism, Greene published two very controversial articles, leading the government to identify him as a

²⁸Greene to colleagues at Lincoln University, August 4, 1949, The Papers of LJG, Container 50, Folder 12.

²⁹See Ellen Schrecker, The Age of McCarthyism: A Brief History with Documents (Boston: Bedford Books, 1994).

communist. In "Role of Students in China's Struggle," published in the Midwest Journal in the summer of 1949, Shu-yi Yang celebrated Chinese communists as the emancipating force in China. Then, in the winter of 1949, Du Bois published an article in the journal entitled "The Freedom to Learn." He suggested that Americans needed to introduce a "free and open" system of education by which students could study Marx and Communism. According to Gary R. Kremer, shortly after Du Bois's essay was published, one Saturday while Greene was working in his office at Lincoln, a federal agent visited him and asked him questions about his political agenda and that of the journal. In 1986, by means of the Freedom of Information Act, Kremer obtained documents from the Justice Department which indicated that the government had a detailed file on the Midwest Journal.³⁰

Roughly a year after the first issue of the Midwest Journal appeared, four major figures in the Black struggle for social justice and equality died: Charles Drew (1904-1950), Charles Hamilton Houston (1895-1950), Luther Porter Jackson (1892-1950), and Carter G. Woodson (1875-1950). The Association founder's sudden death on April 3, 1950 shocked his co-workers. Shortly following Woodson's funeral, Greene, Wesley, and other Woodson "boys"--"Franklin, Reddick, Jackson, et al,"--met at the Association office "to decide whether the Association would continue." At this juncture, perhaps more than any other time, Woodson's associates and especially the Executive Council realized that their deceased leader truly *was* the Association. They also discovered that the Association's financial status was in great shambles.

³⁰Shu-yi Yang, "Role of Students in China's Struggle," Midwest Journal 1 (Summer 1949): 89-94; W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Freedom to Learn," Midwest Journal 1 (Winter 1949): 9-11; Gary R. Kremer, "Lincoln University, Black Culture Mecca of the Midwest, 1921-1955," 44-45.

They were in great debt. Yet, the first dilemma facing the organization was selecting a new Director-Editor, a competent successor to the man of "Spartan-like existence." Woodson only left behind one will which was drawn up in the 1930s. It empowered the heads of the history departments at Atlanta, Fisk, and Howard "some authority in selecting the editor." Due to the sudden nature of Woodson's death, the Association's Executive Council was unprepared. In this state of emergency, about a month after Woodson's death, the Association President, Mary McLeod Bethune, appointed Rayford W. Logan to succeed Woodson as Director-Editor.³¹

This choice was an interesting and controversial one. According to one of Woodson's close colleagues, Woodson "despised and loathed" Logan ever since he sided with Anson Phelps Stokes and Thomas Jones in working on a rival encyclopedia on Africa in 1936. Luther Porter Jackson would have probably succeeded Woodson had he not died in the same month and year. Other potential successors included Greene, Reddick, and Franklin. On June 24 and October 28, the Executive Council supported Bethune's decision. According to Logan's chief biographer, "his eighteen month stewardship was, like many of his endeavors, tempestuous yet productive." Logan expanded the Journal of Negro to include articles on "anything that touched the lives of African Americans." He also sought to straighten out the perilous financial status of the Association and change its business management system. He even brought in an outside auditor to assess the situation. Brewer and Louis R. Mehlinger, among others, were vehemently opposed to Logan's new tactics. They were pro-Woodson to the bone and could not accept that a

³¹Greene to Patricia W. Romero, March 15, 1984, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 70, Folder 8; William Brewer to Greene, June 30, 1950, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 72, Folder 8.

"traducer" could succeed their beloved friend. On December 18, 1951, Logan sent a letter of resignation to Charles H. Wesley. The Howard History Professor could not stand working under the constant challenges of Brewer, Mehlinger, and others any longer.³² The functions of the Director-Editor in matters of policy making were taken over by President Charles H. Wesley. Brewer replaced Logan as the Editor of the Journal from 1952 until his sudden death in October of 1970.

During Logan's brief reign as Director-Editor, Woodson's other associates and disciples decided to carry on the torch in their own manner. Some of those who met at the Association office after Woodson's funeral, established a Committee to Draw Up New Constitution for the ASNLH. Greene was elected the Committee's Chairman. He did not seek out this position. Sometime during the summer of 1950, he agreed that he would assist on a committee responsible for setting up a new constitution. "It was not my interpretation," Greene told L.D. Reddick in the fall of 1950, "that Wesley and I would compose a committee of two to do this job." During the fall of 1950, Greene worked on drafting a new constitution for the Association so that "never again will the organization be thrown in a state of chaos because of the death or defection of any one individual." Some of his initial thoughts were first articulated in September of 1950. "We must make changes," he told Reddick, "In my opinion, the Director, Business Manager, Editor of publications, and so forth, must have separate and distinct responsibilities. I agree too, that new blood should appear on the Council." In early October, Greene sent a copy of a constitution that he had been working on to Reddick and Brewer for constructive criticism. Brewer offered Greene many pointers.

³²Janken, Rayford W. Logan and the Dilemma of the African-American Intellectual, 215-218.

He instructed Greene that he needed to clarify the functions of the various officials, especially the Editor of the Journal and the Director of the ASNLH. He pointed out that he needed to include a detailed description of a Secretary-Treasurer and a Business Manager. Brewer warned Greene against placing too much of a burden on the Director since he seriously doubted if anyone could be as devoted to the cause as Woodson was. He sent Greene a copy of the constitution to the American Historical Association "for whatever light which it may afford." Brewer also suggested that Greene, with the help of others, establish a Program Committee so that the Director would not have all the power. In closing, Brewer stressed to Greene that in order for the Association to continue, "Dr. Woodson's loyal disciples" would have to "rally to almost any reasonable sacrifice."³³

Several weeks later, Greene responded to Brewer's criticisms and suggestions and clarified his vision of the new constitution. Greene envisioned that, unlike during Woodson's reign, the Director and the Editor would be two different people with two distinctly different job descriptions. Greene thought that the Director position would be best filled by "a comparatively young man" trained in history. His job would be "largely a promotional one," that is he would devote a lot of his time "promoting the welfare of the Association, and raising funds for the same." In Greene's vision, the Editors of both the Journal and the Bulletin would not be paid for their services. They would take charge of the journals as volunteers to the cause. Greene placed all of the financial and business matters of the ASNLH

³³Greene to Reddick, September 13, 1950, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 73, Folder 12; Greene to Brewer, October 7, 1950, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 72, Folder 8; Brewer to Greene, October 12, 1950, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 72, Folder 8.

and the Associated Publishers within the hands of a Business Manager. He agreed with Brewer's suggestion for establishing a Program Committee and in initiating some fund raisers.³⁴

Greene's vision of the Association leadership was dominated by men. He did not consider women for leadership positions. While he may have respected Bethune as President of the Association, apparently he did not believe that there were any Black women historians qualified to serve as Director or Editor. He did not consider empowering a Black female scholar in a leadership position in the Association until several decades later. In the mid-1980s, Greene supported electing Darlene Clark Hine, then Vice Provost and a Professor of History at Purdue, to the Association presidency. "It is time the ASALH had a woman scholar as President," Greene wrote to Hine, "I am in your corner."³⁵

A week after Greene responded to Brewer's comments, on October 28 and 29, 1950 during the ASNLH's thirty-fifth Annual Meeting held in Atlanta at several of the Black colleges in the area, the Executive Council held "special" business meetings to discuss the future of the Association. Greene's ideas for a new constitution were presented to the Council in his absence (he was at home resting at the advice of his physician), but they were pushed it aside "without careful consideration" because Article VI of the constitution at the time "forbade action any changes unless previously approved by the Executive Council." After hearing this from his Lincoln colleague, William Sherman Savage, Greene said that he would "have yielded on this technical

³⁴Greene to Brewer, October 21, 1950, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 72, Folder 8.

³⁵Greene to Hine, November 1, 1985, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 29, Folder 6.

point." He agreed, based upon the vote of the majority, that postponing such action was legitimate.

L.D. Reddick, on the other hand, refused to sit back and let his friend's "practical" suggestions go un-noticed. On November 1, 1950, he submitted a letter of resignation from the Executive Council and basically severed "all official connections" that he had to the Association. He was deeply disturbed with the manner in which two members of the administration, Logan and Wesley, handled the business session of the Atlanta convention. He was opposed to the "brushing aside" of Greene's constitutional revisions. Like Greene, he strongly believed that the Director-Editor position needed to be abolished. He championed that the Journal and the Bulletin be edited by one or two persons and that the Director be fully dedicated to his position. He did not feel that Logan could do an adequate job while still holding a full-time job at Howard. He also disagreed with the manners in which Logan dismissed his proposition to compile a book of essays in memory of Woodson and with the fact that Logan and others did not follow Woodson's will concerning the selection of editorial personnel. Reddick concluded his letter with a direct attack on Logan and Wesley, proclaiming that they were not living up to Woodson's ideals and even working counterproductive to the Association's best interests:

I no longer have confidence in two key members of the present administration of the Association. I would suspect them. I would watch for their subtle moves. I would scrutinize the circle of friends within which honor and power would be passed. . . Please understand, I am not saying that Dr. Logan and Dr. Wesley would behave in this manner. But I know that I would suspect them of doing so. I

would stand guard against their every move and might then become an obstructionist.³⁶

After this incident, Greene found himself caught in the middle of a feud. He was friends with both Logan and Reddick and saw validity in both of their positions. He even told each of them that he supported parts of their positions. While he agreed with his intentions and goals, Greene did not agree with Reddick's tactics. Greene believed that Woodson's successors should have been more concerned with remaining unified; strengthening the organization; and with tolerating each other's views. In early November, Greene assured Logan that he understood his stance and that he would try to change Reddick's mind. Greene then wrote to Reddick telling him that he agreed with him on the specific constitutional changes he championed. However, Greene suggested to his friend that resigning was not the solution. He asked Reddick to follow his example. "The way to make the Association the instrument of Negro uplift, in my opinion, is not to resign when defeated on an issue, but to stay in there and keep fighting. The Association needs your point of view," Greene consoled his close friend, "It needs your enthusiasm. It needs someone like you . . . I too shared your disappointment, but I am determined to stay in and fight for the set-up best calculated to strengthen the Association." Unsurprisingly, Logan did not see Reddick's critique in the same light as Greene. In Mid November, he sent a lengthy point-by-point rejoinder to Reddick's letter to Greene and to the members of the Executive Council. At bottom, Logan believed that his disappointed

³⁶Greene to Logan, November 8, 1950, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 73, Folder 8; Reddick to Members of the Executive Council of the ASNLH, November 1, 1950, The Papers of L.J.G., Container 73, Folder 12.

colleague's letter was a "flagrant attempt to sow distrust and to arouse dissension within the Association."³⁷

Despite the problems dividing the Association and the taxing role assumed by Greene as one of the key advisors to various parties, the Midwest Journal under the New Englander's guidance continued to blossom in the dawning of the 1950s. Sometime between May and August of 1952, the three editors of the journal, informed President Scruggs of the progress they had made within the last four years. By 1952, the journal was published semi-annually at six hundred copies per printing. It was distributed throughout the world and "men and women of all races" were contributors. Greene told Scruggs that as of May, 1952, the total number of subscriptions was 130, going mainly to libraries, . . . learned societies, educators, and laymen." The journal was also exchanged with about forty magazine from all over the U.S. and world. Still, Green and the other editors recognized that they had a host of obstacles standing in their paths. For instance, they shared with Scruggs the great struggles in getting more participation from Lincoln faculty members and in making the journal a self-sustaining venture. Scruggs appears to have supported Greene's and his associates' efforts, at least on paper. In early August of 1952, he sent copies of the twelve page progress report to Lincoln faculty members, praising the work of the Editorial Staff and asking the faculty to read the journal's pages "with a growing desire to encourage its wide dissemination among readers like yourself."³⁸

³⁷Greene to Logan, November 8, 1950, The Papers of LJG, Container 73, Folder 8; Greene to Reddick, November 8, 1950, The Papers of LJG, Container 73, Folder 12; Logan to Greene, November 14, 1950, The Papers of LJG, Container 73, Folder 8.

The early 1950s seemed to forecast a promising future for the journal. This bright future was clouded in the middle of the decade. On June 20, 1955, the Board of Curators decided that the Midwest Journal would operate for the last time from the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1955 ending June 30, 1956 with funding amounting to merely \$1,750.00. On June 30, 1955, Scruggs informed Greene of this decision. "I am sorry that we do not have the money to carry on this publication . . . As you know, publication is an expensive thing," Scruggs told Greene. As the end of the fiscal year approached, Greene asked the Acting President, Earl E. Dawson, whether or not the journal could have an extended life. On June 9, 1956, Dawson informed Greene that there were not adequate funds to support the journal after June 30, 1956. Greene "hated to see" the journal "cut off" since it had established such a wide readership; helped the university; and existed on a small printing budget. Greene was disappointed:

I realize that in your position the responsibility is yours to convince the curators how the aims and purposes of the University might be best advanced. Since the Journal is not considered essential to that program, I can understand your reluctance to continue to support the Journal since, in your opinion, to do so would impair other services to the University. I trust, however, that the elimination of the Journal at this time will not adversely affect the tendency of members of the staff to engage in research presently stimulated in part by the knowledge that a vehicle was at hand for the publication of their findings.³⁹

³⁸Greene to President Scruggs, undated letter, The Papers of LJG, Container 48, Folder 7; President Scruggs to Lincoln faculty and staff, August 7, 1952, The Papers of LJG, Container 48, Folder 7.

³⁹Dawson to Greene, June 9, 1956, The Papers of LJG, Container 56, Folder 6; Scruggs to Greene, June 30, 1955, The Papers of LJG, Container 56,

In its short existence of roughly eight years, the Midwest Journal under Greene's editorship accomplished a lot. Not only did it bring attention and recognition to Lincoln University, but it also served as an important outlet for various scholars' creative research. August Meier, for instance, used the journal as a place to develop his earliest theories of Black nationalism. Looking back on Greene's journal more than three decades later, Meier commented that it was a well-edited scholarly journal which was equal in caliber to the Journal of Negro History. For Greene, editing the Midwest Journal was a great learning experience. He got a taste of what his mentor did almost single-handedly for more than three decades. When Greene became editor, he had no experience at editing a journal. By 1956, he had some serious experience editing a well respected journal. The ending of the journal may have been a blessing in disguise. It allowed for him to take the vocation of being a scholar-activist to yet another level. From 1957 until 1972, Greene was a member of the Missouri Advisory Committee to the United States Civil Rights Commission and in 1959 he completed a thorough survey entitled The Desegregation of Public Schools in Missouri, 1954-1959.

By the middle of the twentieth-century and at mid-point of his life, Greene had accomplished what many Black intellectual-activists today only dream of. He worked very intimately with the "Father of Black History" for five years; he taught at a historically Black college for about twenty years; he received a M.A. degree and a Ph.D. degree from one of the most prestigious universities in the country; he published a yet-to-be-surpassed monograph; he was beginning an immediate family of his own; and he had busied himself with a range of activities outside the walls of academia which sought to

empower Black America and particularly the poor working class. One of the most remarkable features of Greene's personality was his desire and ability to continuously develop as an individual. At the same time, he insisted that his own personal evolution be closely intertwined with, and essentially dependent upon, helping those in need and reforming American society and culture for the better.

CONCLUSION

The intention of this study was to make a significant contribution to the scholarly discourse and historiography on Carter G. Woodson, Lorenzo Johnston Greene, Black historians, and on Black historiography. It has provided in-depth historiographical discussions. It has explored facets of Carter G. Woodson's work, thought, and legacy in manners which have been overlooked by most historians. And, it has offered the first major examination of the life, work, and thought of Lorenzo Johnston Greene.

The first part of this study has demonstrated that there exists a dynamic body of historiography and scholarship on Carter G. Woodson, Black historians, and Black intellectuals. Each of these discourses developed under different sets of circumstances. While there are many micro-studies on Black intellectuals, overarching studies are very few in number. Several important surveys of the Black historical profession have been written and the lives and works of a handful of Black historians have been chronicled in monographs. At one level, the first part of this study has suggested that the scholarship on Woodson is more dynamic than that on Black historians or on Black intellectuals in general terms. If each major Black historian and every branch of Black intellectual history addressed in this study was treated like the Association founder, then we could conclude that these discourses were very developed.

Why has Woodson received more attention? The potential reasons for this are many. One, it validates the assertion that American literary and academic culture places high value on biographies. Two, it reveals the great impact that Woodson had upon his direct protégés and the succeeding generations of historians of Black people's past. Woodson accomplished so

much that scholars could not have helped but to acknowledge him. In this sense, he shares something with Du Bois--a concrete legacy manifested in institutions, publications, and a noteworthy place in popular Black America's culture and memory. And lastly, the abundance of scholarship on Woodson and the respective lack of scholarly writings on Black historians and Black thinkers in general suggests that these personalities have not been considered as seriously by a large body of scholars. Does this mean that they have not had the influence that Woodson has had on American and African-American history and culture? Certainly not. It simply means that we have a long way to go before we complete a comprehensive history of either.

In the second part of this study, I have argued that one of the most important aspects of Woodson's program and philosophy was the democratization of the study of Black history. Throughout his lifetime, Woodson maintained a delicate balance between scientifically legitimizing the study of Black life and history within academia and popularizing Black history amongst the masses. When one considers the limited resources to which he had access to, his accomplishments become even more remarkable. Woodson was also a vital figure in the "iconoclastic tradition" of Black thought. Perhaps more than any other intellectual of his time, he directly challenged Black intellectuals to re-define their role in the "life-and-death" struggle for Black liberation by connecting themselves to the masses of "the race." In essence, he called upon Black intellectuals to be unselfish, dedicated reformers. A handful of scholars picked up on Woodson's philosophy and articulated it in various texts following his death. Like all human beings, Woodson had some flaws and ambiguities in his outlook. His views of women and their role in his program represents one of his greatest and most intriguing ambiguities.

In the third part of this study, I have focused on Lorenzo Johnston Greene's commitment to producing creative and scientific scholarship and to social and political activism. From the early 1920s through the thirties, Greene authored more than one hundred poems rivaling those written by some of the Harlem Renaissance artists. As a research assistant for the ASNLH and a Lincoln University professor, Greene was committed to social and political activism. Like Woodson, he devoted a great deal of his efforts towards popularizing the study of Black history and towards teaching. As it was clearly evidenced by his work with sharecroppers of Southeast Missouri in the late 1930s, Greene was dedicated to civil and human rights struggles. The New England native was so much involved with social and political reform that he only published one major study before 1950. But, The Negro in Colonial New England (1942) remains the authoritative study in the field. Greene's other scholarly endeavors prior to Woodson's death included several important articles, an unpublished trilogy of Blacks in New England through the abolition of the slave trade, and being editor of the Midwest Journal. Despite such accomplishments, Greene had to struggle to get the recognition he deserved from Lincoln University.

Future studies of this sort could address a host of other important issues. A comprehensive history of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History during and after Woodson's reign remains to be written. The recently microfilmed *Papers of Carter G. Woodson and the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1915-1950* is an ideal repository of information shedding light on the day-to-day runnings of the Association. The personal papers of Woodson's co-workers such as Greene, Rayford W. Logan, and Charles H. Wesley could add other dimensions to such an analysis.

Very little has been written on Association branches and clubs. Such studies could be comprehensive or focus on a specific club or branch or region. During the 1940s, branches in Washington, D.C. and Detroit were especially active. Black women played vital roles in these organizations. It would be worth while to explore how women made these groups distinctly their own. The lives and works of many of Woodson's co-workers and protégés also deserve attention. Intellectual biographies on Luther Porter Jackson, James Hugo Johnston, Charles H. Wesley, A.A. Taylor, L.D. Reddick, William H. Brewer, John Hope Franklin, and others are long overdue. The contributions of the Association founder's non-Ph.D. holding supporters needs to be documented as well. Comparative studies could also enhance Woodson scholarship and historiography. The Association could be compared with other scholarly organizations like the American Negro Academy, earlier Black learned societies, and other scholarly associations in different disciplines.

A comprehensive anthology of Black historians from the Antebellum era to the present is long overdue. Meier's and Rudwick's 1986 study needs to be revisited and updated. It would be helpful for scholars to compare various generations and to conduct interviews with elders in the profession like John Hope Franklin and those nationalist historians who came of age during the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Power era. Black women historians deserve special attention. Though the first major, identifiable group of Black female historians emerged during and after the Black Power era, in the first half of the twentieth-century a handful of Black women, including Anna Julia Cooper, Marion Thompson Wright, Elsie M. Lewis, and Merze Tate, overcame great obstacles and influenced the development of the profession. Oftentimes, because of sexism in the profession and in academe in general,

Black female scholars have had to work especially hard to gain recognition. Exploring how their experiences differed from their male counterparts would be enlightening. Future studies on Black historians should also examine them in tandem with other groups of Black scholars. How did the struggles of Black historians compare with those of Black psychologists, sociologists, philosophers, etc...? What accounts for these differences?

In attempting to take the study of Black history to higher levels of sophistication and in overcoming the obstacles which stand in our paths, for inspiration we should remember what Woodson once said to Negro History Bulletin readers about the labors of his foreparents:

To you, then, comes the challenge as to what you will do in building upon the foundation which they have laid. These people whose civilization was marked by the kerosene lamp, the wash tub, the hoe, and the ox-cart disappointed the prophets who said they would be exterminated; and on the contrary they enrolled themselves among the great. What will you do in the day of the moving picture, the radio, and the aeroplane? If we do not take hold where they left off and advance further in the service of truth and justice, we are unworthy to claim descent from such a noble people.¹

¹Carter G. Woodson, "The Heritage of the Negro," NHB 3 (February, 1940): 79.

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