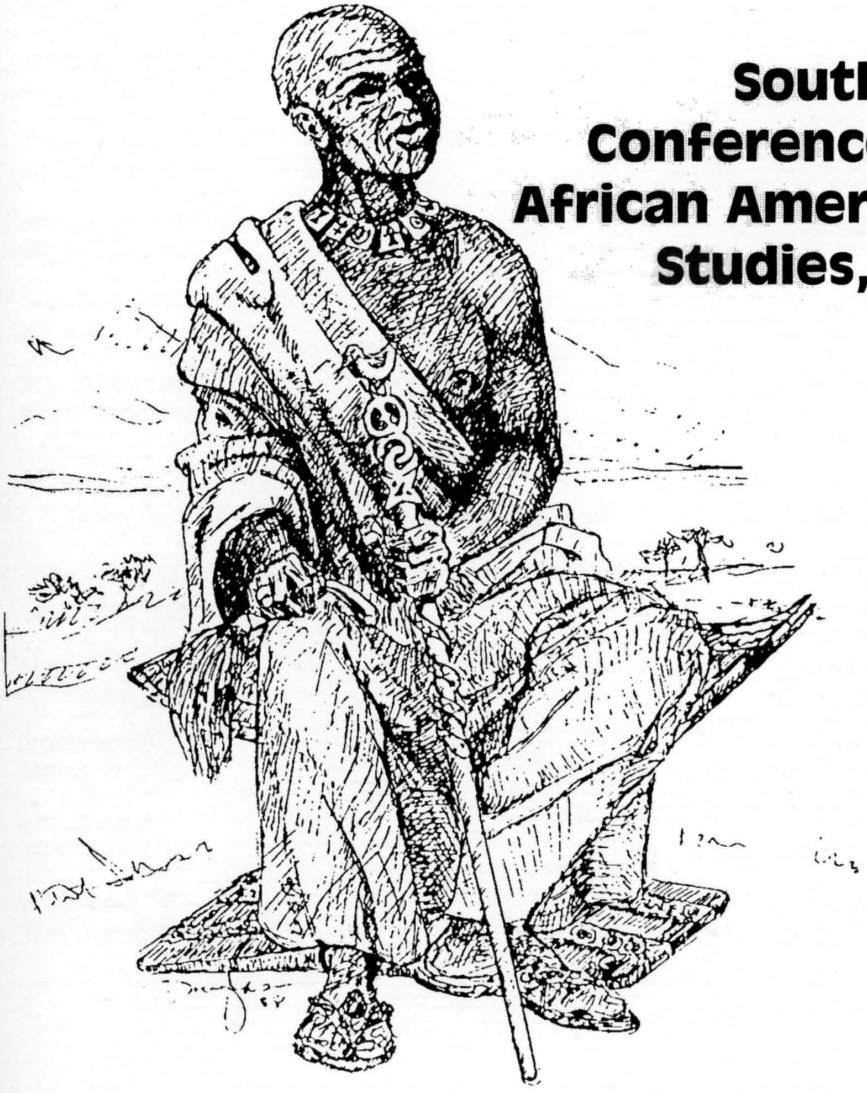
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THE GRIOT: The Journal of African American Studies

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IN ANCIENT AFRICA. . .
'GRIOT' WERE THE COUNSELORS OF KINGS, THEY CONSERVED THE CONSTITUTIONS OF KINGDOMS BY MEMORY ALONE... IT WAS FROM AMONG THE GRIOTS THAT KINGS USED TO CHOOSE THE TUTORS FOR YOUNG PRINCES... FOR WANT OF ARCHIVES (THEY) RECORDED THE CUSTOMS, TRADITIONS AND GOVERNMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF KINGS...
SUNDIATA, DJIBRIL T. NAINE

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The State and Future of the Ph.D. in Black Studies: Assessing the Role of the Comprehensive Examination

Stephanie Y. Evans

In 1969, amidst national and campus movements for racial justice, the W.E.B. Du Bois Department of Afro-American Studies at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst (hereafter UMass) was founded. Among the original faculty were Michael Thelwell, William Julius Wilson, Sidney Kaplan, Bernard Bell, and Ester Terry, who were soon joined by scholar-activists including John Bracey, Bill Strickland, Ernest Allen, Johnnetta Cole, James Baldwin, John Edgar Wideman, Robert Paul Wolff and others. Unlike many programs of the day that struggled to secure a permanent place in the academy, the founding faculty of UMass was successful at building a sustainable program with departmental status with a sound curriculum. The program has provided much guidance for other programs nationwide. Simultaneous happenings took place at Harvard University (Harvard), Temple University (Temple), University of California Berkeley (Berkeley), and Northwestern University (Northwestern) and these undergraduate programs of the late 1960s have developed to provide leadership in Black graduate studies in the millennium.

Dr. Molefe Asante, who arrived at Temple in 1984, proposed the first autonomous doctoral program in 1987 and overcame significant resistance (even from low-level Black administrators), to develop graduate status for the emerging field. In an oral history interview, Dr. Asante recalled his transition from training in a traditional field (communications at UCLA) to his advancing the field at the graduate level. The first Ph.D. graduate in Black Studies, Dr. Adeniyi Coker (Temple, 1991), is now advancing the field as Director of African American Studies and associate professor of theater at the University of Alabama, Birmingham. At UMass, a doctoral program in AfroAmerican Studies was founded in 1996, almost a decade after Temple's doctoral program, and now leads the field in the number of doctoral students enrolled. To date, at all six autonomous doctoral granting programs combined, more than 150 scholars have graduated with a Ph.D. in Black Studies. Despite initial growing pains, quietly and methodically, these six departments are training and preparing the next generation of scholars to explore and advance scholarship on Black history, politics, and culture (see Appendix A for program names and contact information).[1]

In Fall 2005, Northwestern began accepting applications for its doctoral program which signals a continual growth of graduate studies in the field. With this growth comes many questions about the state and future of Black graduate studies. Thus, the purpose of this paper is twofold. First, this paper reports survey findings of the six stand-alone doctoral programs in African American Studies. Second, this paper reveals a portion of the authors' own comprehensive exam answers as a starting point for the collective discussion of scholarly expectations of doctoral programs. Both of these objectives seek to increase communication between scholars about graduate studies in the discipline. There are now six stand-alone doctoral programs in African American Studies in the nation; "stand-alone" refers to programs that are not joint degrees, minors, spe-

cializations, or certificates. Though there are numerous master's degree programs and several successful doctoral programs that have a joint degree or certificate, this survey focused on Temple, Massachusetts, Berkeley, Harvard, Michigan State University (Michigan State), and Northwestern. Important questions must be asked of these leaders in the field.

In accordance with Melvin Williams' conclusion in "The Power and Powerlessness of Academe" (Griot, Fall 2004), decoding institutional systems and dismantling power-hording in the Academy is imperative. In the name of tradition, academic bureaucrats at all levels withhold power by blocking open communication and collaboration between students, faculty, and administrators. Worse yet, scholarship of White supremacy in the name of "objectivity" or "excellence," reifies academic hierarchies that challenge the existence of Black Studies programs. By questioning leading programs, we gain an opportunity to locate areas of convergence and divergence in vision and practice. Presenting my own work as a case study examination surely makes me vulnerable (this is very raw work; "raw," of course, being a euphemism for unedited, simplistic, disheveled, and, in some areas, shortsighted). Yet, comparing programs and sharing one answer to basic questions about major works in Black Studies contributes to an ongoing and much needed dialogue as the field expands and as the numbers of Ph.D. candidates increase.

The willingness of programs to share insights about expectations of graduate students can increase support for Black Studies in higher education. Regardless of varying ideologies or program names (Africana, Afro-American, African American, or Black Studies), the field is vital because the activist-scholarship helps to address ongoing crises around equitable distribution of resources, and the critical race consciousness deepens human knowledge by offering alternative academic perspectives. Black Studies scholarship offers corrective interpretations of history, politics, and culture in the United States. Academically marginalized programs like ethnic and gender studies provide much needed guidance in problem-solving research and pedagogies. Without advanced scholarship in Africana Studies, American academies will continue to face intellectual and social problems through a myopic, and therefore ineffective, lens.

Survey of Six Doctoral Programs

In October 2005, a survey was sent to the six stand-alone Ph.D. programs in African American Studies (see Appendix B for an excerpt of the survey and respondent names). The first part of the survey asked five questions about the demographics of the program including program founding dates (undergraduate and graduate), number of students admitted and enrolled, and the number of Ph.D.s awarded thus far. The results for the quantitative questions were as follows:

	Dept founded	PhD founded	Annual admits	Currently enrolled	PhDs awarded
Temple	1971	1988	10	5	135
Mass	1969	1996	5	36	10
Berkeley	1970	1997	5-10	31	8
Harvard	1969	2001	Ca. 4	19	0
Michigan St	2002	2002	4	15	0
Northwestern	1971	2006	4-5	0	0

The fact that 153 doctorates have been earned since the inception of Black Studies is promising. Clearly, Temple has provided the vast majority of those degrees, but with the growing numbers at Massachusetts, Michigan State, Berkeley, and the pending numbers enrolled at Harvard and Northwestern, doctoral earners will increase at a steady pace and come from a diverse number of programs. Five of the six programs were founded in the last decade, which also points toward an anticipated stability in future degrees awarded. With inevitable attrition and organizational difficulties associated with program startup, the productivity of the next decade will far outpace that of the past. The 91 graduate students currently enrolled will surely be joined by others as doctoral programs, hopefully in the South, begin to develop. That there are no Ph.D. programs in the South is telling, but not surprising; historic access for Black graduate students happened first in the North, Midwest, and West. The southern region's historical lag in granting access to Black students has clearly translated into a lag of development of Black Studies. With increasing academic validation, this should change in the decades to come.

The second part of the survey submitted to the graduate advisors asked two questions about the qualitative aspects of the doctoral programs' comprehensive or qualifying exams. Specifically, the questions were: "What is the exam content and structure? (i.e. Is the focus on a general reading list, specialization of the student, or both? Is the exam written, oral, or both? How many questions are given and what are the categories/themes? What is the exam setting and time allotment to complete the exam?)" and "What are the evaluation criteria of your comprehensive exam? (i.e. How is the exam evaluated? What determines an excellent, passing, or failing answer? What advice would you offer to students preparing for your exam?") The answers varied in specificity and they revealed a range of approaches to the graduate exam. However, they displayed striking concerns with identifying students' competency in both a general area and area of specialization.

Survey findings reveal that some graduate programs focus on African Diaspora, some on major authors and texts in the field, and some concentrate on schools of thought. The structure of the tests include the following: (Temple) a two-day test, including four sets of questions, with two three-hour sittings per day in a designated classroom; (UMass) a three day written take-home general exam after the "Major Works" courses and a three day written exam on the student's area of specialization before construction of the dissertation prospectus; (Berkeley) two written papers, one on theories and methodologies in the field and one on the student's area of specialization along with a two hour oral exam which measures familiarity with literature, critical engagement from a disciplinary and interdisciplinary perspective, and mastery of major issues; (Harvard) a two hour oral exam no later than the third year, then development and defense of a prospectus; (Michigan State) a three-day take-home exam with three questions measuring knowledge of content and theory in both a general area and specialization, then the answers evaluated by two full professors in the program and one professor from the advisory board; and (Northwestern) oral general exam that includes questions tailored to the student's specialization accompanied by a take home exam of three questions with a one-week allotment for completion. Though the schools vary greatly on form and function of exam, the gist is the same: to test students' mastery of the program's content and to measure readiness for the student to

move forward with independent research.

Most answers to the survey show programmatic standards of requiring the student to demonstrate an understanding of the various approaches to Black Studies scholarship. Additionally, most programs require the student to choose a focus, either through traditional discipline or group of disciplines, for example: "History and Politics or Literature and Culture" at UMass; "Cultural Aesthetics or Socio-Behavioral Track" at Temple; "Expressive Arts, History, or Politics and Public Policy" at Northwestern; or eleven specific areas at Berkeley which include "Politics and Culture, Critical Theory, Political Economy, Comparative Literatures and Cultures, Urban Sociology, Popular Culture, Women's Studies or Performance, Film and Visual Arts" as choices. Students in each program must cover broad and specific approaches to the scholarship presented. What is not so clear by the answers provided is each programs' theoretical grounding. Though one can easily see foci inspired by Afrocientric, Diasporic, or Socialist approaches based on program wording, this does not account for the range of texts in required seminars nor does wording reflect individual faculty members' divergent reading of those texts. This is very important because each programs' faculty evaluates the student exams and decides who to pass, fail, pass with distinction, or provisional pass. That each student must present a convincing argument to faculty who may not agree on approach or interpretation of materials is par for the course in graduate school. However, graduate students in Black Studies must answer questions in-line with the approach and focus of their particular departments, but also foster an awareness of the very different academic cultures of Black Studies programs that faculty may represent.

Below is an excerpt from the authors' own 2002 comprehensive examination. It demonstrates the importance of addressing the canon in a specific department, raises questions about whether one exam answer can or should be expected to cover all of the approaches to Black Studies and presents a point of departure for discussions between faculty and students about exam expectations.

A Case Study of the Comprehensive Exam in Black Studies

The core curriculum of the doctoral program at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst is a "Major Works" seminar of over 50 books designated by the faculty to be cornerstones of study in the field of Afro-American Studies (see Appendix C for book list). The list is revised each year, in an annual melee of the core faculty, but largely remains the same. As the faculty recognize, the difficulty of this would-be canon is that it presents a wide range of resources, but is not, and by design cannot, possibly be exhaustive or representative of all approaches to existing scholarship on Black life. However, as an introduction to scholarship on African American experiences, this reading list for the two-semester introductory seminar provides a crucial entry point from which all graduate students can launch deeper and more specialized queries after the first year. From engaging the major works booklist, students are well equipped to explore an extended ideological range of leaders in the field (perhaps toward the Afrocentrism of the Temple program or the comparative ethnic studies of Berkeley, for example).

Entering graduate students in 1999, read 2-4 books each week. Each student in our cohort wrote two 3-5 page papers per week, and endured a three hour grilling, twice a week (Mondays and Wednesdays), in a discussion seminar held by two professors (one mainstay and one rotating

professor depending on the topic that week). With this structure, students in my cohort, (there were 5 of us), had a catalogue of 10 papers per week to consult in addition to lectures by professors and an assortment of articles or book reviews that we shared during long study/rant sessions between the bi-weekly classes. After the yearlong Major Works seminar, students declared a "Literature and Culture" track or a "History and Politics" track to pursue; both were interdisciplinary and blended critical social science with a historicized consideration of humanities. Regardless of the changes that the program has experienced over the past decade, all graduate students proceed from the common stepping stone of the Major Works core curriculum.

The general comprehensive exam of the Major Works seminar precedes the dissertation proposal phase and, though the questions change each year, they are designed in some way to address literature, culture, history, and politics in Black scholarship covered in the seminar. My cohorts, Cathy, Adam, Miko, and Zeb, provided a collective sprit of grim but unifying determination. The advanced colleagues in the department assured the neophytes that we would, by hook or crook, make it past this grueling trial of qualifying examinations.

The comprehensive exam had two parts: the general exam (question 1) and a question based on one's own area of specialization (question 2). The general exam (question 1) had two components: literature (part A) and history (part B). Below is the second part of my general exam (history), in original form, submitted after three and a half days of non-stop typing. On reflection, my essay focused mainly on categorizing and classifying the texts and less on main themes within the texts or within Black history itself. Though certain parts are now embarrassingly elementary, overall, the basic nature of the answers provide a useful base from which to launch a discussion about how a comprehensive exam should be designed, what the faculty expectations are, what constitutes an adequate or passing answer, and what students should emulate or avoid. Though the question is not included here (for professional consideration), the answer demonstrates that the question involved basic identification of themes in scholarship about African American history.

Comprehensive Exam: Question 1, part B - History

The question of themes in Afro-American history is different from the question of themes in Afro-American historiography. Though both questions are important, I am interpreting this exam query in such a way that requires a focus more on the historiography than on the history itself. Thus, for the purpose this essay, I explore the general schools of thought that Major Works historians have written within, how they have recorded and interpreted African-American life, and what evidence they utilized in order to draw conclusions about, decipher, or challenge the mosaic historical narrative of Blacks in America.

In *Black History and the Historical Profession. 1915-1980,* August Meier and Elliott Rudwick track trends in the historiography of Black Americans and present the complex context of the personalities that have worked on constructing the body of work in Black history. Meier and Rudwick identify and present a wide spectrum of answers to the questions that are inherent in the study of Black life. By way of outlining tensions in the field, they write,

> Franklin had identified not only the dilemmas facing black historians, but also the range of dilemmas experienced by all students

> of the Afro-American past: the tension between studying Negro history as a distinct—and separate—field and incorporating it into the larger stream of American history; the tension between scholarship and advocacy—or more broadly stated, the tension between the canons of scholarship and the expression of one's value judgments; the tension between calm and detached scholarship and the pragmatic, instrumental use of history to reform society; the tension arising over whether Afro-American history is a specialty best done by blacks, or whether it should be open to all with a serious interest and appropriate academic training.[2]

These questions of Afro-American historiography are paramount in the quest to appreciate the disciplinary context in which the Major Works authors are operating.

In order for me to proceed with answering this question, it was first necessary to grasp the concept of what exactly historiography is. I found that categorization of types of historiography can include topical history (i.e. Political history, Marxist history, Revolutionary history, Intellectual history, Economic history, Educational history, Scientific history, Social history, Labor history, Cultural history, Women's history, or Black history), epochal history (i.e. periods such as the American Colonial, Antebellum, Civil War, Reconstruction, Jim Crow, Civil Rights, or Black Power eras), or a focus on broader themes (such as studies of American historiography or cultural fluidities in the African Diaspora).[3] Within these schools there are also sub-topics such as regional or area studies (i.e. American Southern, New England, Maryland, or South Carolina histories) or ideological approaches to history (i.e. feminist historiography).

Of the numerous major themes that were apparent to me in the historiography of the Major Works seminar, for the purpose of this paper, I will focus on social, legal, women's, military, and revolutionary historiography. In the colonial, antebellum, and post-emancipation eras, authors presented fascinating, and oftentimes vastly different, perspectives of how Black people developed their social lives, navigated the politics of legal and military systems, revolted against individual, institutional, and social oppression, and how women were portrayed, or not portrayed throughout the course.[4]

Social themes, specifically those of Black culture (African folk cultural transmission, music, and religion for example) were prevalent in the Major Works studies. It makes sense that those who are attempting to record a history of a marginalized population would present social rather than institutional approaches. This is a very different approach than the top down history of wars, presidents, and governments that has dominated the field of American history in the past. For example, in Charles Joyner's *Down by the Riverside*, Eileen Southern's *The Music of Black Americans*, Gary Nash's *Forging Freedom*, and the Hortons' *In Hope of Liberty*, the reader is introduced to folk tales, performance of the oral tradition, and other evidence of a continuum of cultural transition of African inspired religious practices, artistic creation, food, dress, and labor habits, and philosophy.

The theme of legal issues in the Black American experience, addressed by Tomas Morris' *Southern Slavery and the Law*, and Richard Klugger's *Simple Justice* also represent an important strand in the seminar studies. An important similarity that existed in these two otherwise different legal

texts was the focus on the active role of Black people in the legal system. Neither Morris nor Mugger ignored how African-Americans used the legal system to make gains in their own emancipation and social liberation. However, although the subject was the same, differences can be seen in how they went about studying the subject. While Morris spent considerable amount of time attempting to give an account of how shifting legal oppressions in different time periods and in different places impacted a vast number of people (both Black and White), Mugger's investigation revealed the legal, political, and social antecedents to one set of court cases that deal with one aspect of the law (the desegregation of educational institutions). This is but one example of the possible range in approaches to one theme within Black history.

Women's historiography is a school of study that shows the inherently political nature of all historiography. Not only has the recognition of the centrality of gender analysis to Black history been virtually ignored, representation of the topic in the seminar was also shamelessly thin. While Ira Berlin's *Many Thousands Gone* did incorporate the treatment of women in slavery and the role of women in social development, a reading of Angela Davis' "The Legacy of Slavery: Standards for a New Womanhood" would have been useful to bring to light how sex and gender worked in Black culture and within the larger American society.[5] This essay is especially appropriate because Davis draws on the scholarship of Aptheker (*American Negro Slave Revolts*) and Gutman (*The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom*) and illuminates blind spots in both works that would have allowed students a more complex understanding of these texts.[6]

In the broader field of history, Black women historians, and the focus on Black women as an area of study, is still a fairly recent phenomenon. In the mid-1980s, there was an explosion of texts about various aspects of Black women's lives. Although not all of these works were historical monographs, in a short five years, many women developed a base for studying gender in Afro-American history that built on the few individual efforts of earlier scholars.[7] Now the focus on various aspects of Black women's experiences are becoming more of an accepted focus and Black women historians, whether they explicitly focus on gender issues or not, are gaining more recognition as "serious" scholars by those who deem themselves worthy to judge "quality" historiography. Further, although White women, such as Gerda Lemer in the 1970s and Jacqueline Jones in the 1980s, have been involved in documenting the history of Black women, now Black men, most notably V. P. Franklin, are also beginning to publish monographs on Black women.

Two final themes that I found fascinating in the seminar were of the military participation and revolutionary action of Black people. The question of whether or not Black people should fight in America's wars is a longstanding one. In *Blacks in the American Revolution* (the Kaplans) and *Blacks in Civil War* (Benjamin Quarles) authors investigated the presence of African-Americans in America's struggle for independence from Britain and their active role in their own emancipation. The demand of an exchange of liberty for patriotism is a central question that extended through WWI, WWII, and continues to be relevant today. Further, in Herbert Aptheker's *Slave Revolts*, C.L.R. James' *Black Jacobins*, Peter Woods' *Black Majority*, Crawford, Rouse, and Wood's *Trailblazers & Torchbearers*, and Charles Payne's *I've Got the Light of Freedom*, it is evident that Black people were not only willing to fight for emancipation and social justice, but it is also clear that Black people's definitions of "resistance" encompassed a

wide range of ideals, strategies, and actions. An interesting variation in the presentation of these resistance stories is the difference in voice of the authors. For example, although both C. L. R. James and Peter Woods deal with topics of revolt, (James in San Domingo and Woods in South Carolina), their approach and interpretation are extremely different. On the one hand, James' work is clearly polemical. In his work, Toussaint L'Ouverture was the godfather of revolution whom Africans in general and West Indians in particular should follow in order to rise up and shake off European oppression for once and for all. On the other hand, while Woods does chronicle the climate of revolt in South Carolina and surrounding areas, he does not valorize Nat Turner, Gabriel Prossor, or the Charleston Blacks of the Stono Rebellion. This example is one that elicits major debates around racial influence and methodology—as explored in Meier and Rudwcik's "On the Dilemmas of Scholarship"—that looms large within the field of Black historiography.

In order to better understand the difference between historiography and methodology, it was important for me to note that one's school of thought does not necessarily determine one's methodological approach, methods, or evidence. For example, a "Marxist history" can be taken to mean either a study of Marxist influences on particular labor practices, as seen in Robin Kelly's *Hammer and Hoe*, or it can mean that the historian has taken on the epistemological assumptions of Marxism, as exemplified by E. Franklin Frazier in his *Black Bourgeoisie: The Rise of a New Middle Class*. It was an important step for me to be able to separate the historical structure of a text from the historical content.

There are many types of methodologies that influence how a historian approaches a body of work. Whether one is seeking to draw conclusions (positivist), decipher complexities (interpretive), or challenge conventions (critical social science) will make a large impact on what type of history is produced.[8] Is the author looking to delineate the cause and effect of a certain event? Is he seeking to investigate the fascinating complexities of a certain historical phenomenon? Is she seeking to dismantle a conventional, or "traditional" approach or interpretation? Does the author employ a mixture of these styles? The answer to these questions can give readers a clue as to what type of methodological approach a particular historian is taking.

In the Major Works seminar, there were clearly representative illustrations of how historians chose to approach their work. In *Simple Justice* and *Impending Crisis*, Kiugger and Potter were attempting to make connecting statements about influences of the Brown case, and to delineate the role that the Civil War played in the advancement of U.S. nationalism. In contrast, Joyner and Berlin, wrote *Down By the Riverside*, and *Many Thousands Gone*, in order to decipher complex aspects of Black experiences in antebellum South Carolina and the first two centuries of slavery within regional contexts, while Nash and Painter in *Forging Freedom* and *Exodusters* explored the social maneuverings of free Blacks in Philadelphia and the particulars of mass movement from the Mississippi Valley to Kansas after Reconstruction. Finally, there were authors who were not only writing to make a statement or explore characteristics of an event or a particular population but were clearly writing to challenge established narratives. For example, Du Bois wrote to refute Booker T. Washington's assertion of the necessity of economic over political gain and to challenge apologists for American governments' failure to adequately provide for freedman after emanci-

pation and Gutman wrote to refute the "deterioration of the Negro Family" that Daniel P. Moynihan asserted in his 1965 report "The Negro Family in America: A Case for National Action."[9]

While it is important to contemplate the various approaches that historians favor, it is also interesting to note the combination of methodologies that some employ. For example, in *Capitalism and Slavery*, Williams explored the ways in which slavery contributed to the development of British capitalism (interpretive history) but he was also clearly writing against the thesis that racism spawned capitalism, not the other way around (critical social history).

I have found that methodology should not be confused with methods. For example, one can employ statistics as method of data collection and analysis, but can choose to do either a quantitative or a qualitative methodological analysis. For example, statistical analysis is present in both *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom* (Gutman) and *Time on the Cross* (Fogel and Engerman); however, *Black Family* is more of a sociological study (qualitative) while *Time* is much more concerned with using clinometrics to approach Black history (quantitative). A clear understanding of methodology and methods provides the necessary context for considering the varied use of evidence that the Major Works authors worked with.

In the introduction to *The African-American Mosaic: A Library of Congress Resource Guide for the Study of Black History and Culture*, the authors state that the collection covers "the nearly 500 years of the black experience in the Western hemisphere...the Mosaic surveys the full range size, and variety of the Library's collections, including books, periodicals, prints, photographs, music, film, and recorded sound." These types of evidence have not always been considered to be credible evidence—in fact, some of these forms are still heavily refuted when included in historical studies. Benjamin Quarles, in *Black Mosaic: Essays in Afro-American History and Historiographv*, wrote on the controversy surrounding what kind of evidence qualifies as "credible" or "valuable" in traditional American history and how historians in the field of Black Studies have challenged that criterion. In "The Problem of Materials" he writes on the scarcity of materials in Black families where illiteracy or record keeping were forbidden as well as the limitations of written materials as seen in the National Archives.

The issue of where to find records of Black American experiences despite limited materials is paramount in the historiography of the colonial and antebellum eras. In "Generating Change," Meier and Rudwick present efforts to document the African-American oral tradition in order that it be introduced into the record. They write that although slave narratives and autobiographies have been challenged, historians have attempted use this type of evidence to broaden the knowledge base about these time periods. Interviews of ex-slaves were collected by Charles S Johnson, at the Fisk University Social Science Department (1929—1934) interviews in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Alabama), and John C. Cade (at Southern University), L. D. Reddick at Kentucky State College (Federal Emergency Relief Administration). The most extensive collection of oral history can be seen in the Federal Writers Project in the WPA (1936-1938). Oral histories, like autobiographies, are challenged because they are biased. However, the claimed objectivity of the written text requires scrutiny as well.

Some historians see written records as the only credible type of material.[10] However, records like government documents, census records, tax documents, estate inventories,

voting records, and legislative roll calls, are inherently biased and incomplete because of the paramount role that racism has played in the institutional development of this country. Thus, it is my opinion that methods—whether qualitative or quantitative—which incorporate a range of materials and sources are more likely to offer a more complete picture. In this way, I am very much a synthesis historian. By using a combination of methods and a multitude of different classes of material evidence, it seems that historians are able to provide a more accurate telling of the story, but it also allows researchers to get at the complexities within the Black experience.

Many Major Works historians have seemed to use this technique. Throughout his career, Du Bois moved between a mixture of qualitative and quantitative history, fiction, poetry, autobiography, polemical historiography and critical social science. As a master storyteller his flexibility shines as an example of true scholarship and his dedication to the field of history was enhanced by his willingness to engage many methods, methodologies, and means of evidence. *The Souls of Black Folk* is a key example of how this disciplinary fluidity can culminate in one vital text. Similarly, both in *Been in the Storm so Long* and *Trouble in Mind*, Leon Litwack combines work from Louisiana, Arkansas, and South Carolina WPA collections, newspapers, Senate and House proceedings, scholarly books and journals, discographies, church records, slave narratives, autobiographies, and fiction in order to create a rich picture of Reconstruction and Jim Crow history.

Exam Conclusion

John Hope Franklin offers a hypothesis about thematic approaches to history and although it presents many problems and imposes limitations on how to understand African-American historiography, (like all organizational tools), it does offer a useful entry point into better understanding how historians have addressed the larger schools of thought. In "On the Evolution of Scholarship in Afro-American History", Franklin asserted that there have been four stages of writing in Black history.[11] The first stage in the late 1800s and early 1900s was a basic attempt to record and establish the *presence* of African Americans; The second stage involved recording Black "firsts" and asserting the *contribution* of African Americans to the development of the United States; The third stage, during the Jim Crow era and the onset of the Civil Rights Movement, historians began to record the long list of *oppressions* in the Black experience; Finally, during the development of Black Power consciousness in the late 1960s and early 1970s, historians began documenting the long tradition of *revolt and resistance* to American systems of oppression. Franklin does not assert that these stages were neat or static, rather he outlines the general tendency of historians to approach Black history from certain perspectives with specific assertions and assumptions based on the era they were writing in.

While it is clear that this paradigm is not entirely accurate (for example, *American Negro Slave Revolts* was written in the 1940s and Black women's histories are still focusing on presence and contributions), it does present yet another type of methodology that can be considered when looking at Afro-American historiography. Initially, I adapted this outline as an approach to my work because with it I could work with a neat paradigm for categorization of messy events of Black woman's educational history. Rather than simply record the presence, barriers, firsts, or triumphs of Black women's American educational experience, I could use the three categories of "presence," "oppres-

sion," and "contribution and creative resistance" as guidelines by which to neatly record the broad history. However, after reflecting on the approaches used by historians that we have been introduced to in this seminar, I realize that Franklin's theoretical assertion and my methodological approach will only be truly useful when used in tandem with a range of other methodologies, methods, and types of material evidence.

In *Black Mosaic*, Quarles discusses differences in approaches to history. He distinguishes between" 'the great man' theory of history, presenting a gallery of heroic men and women pushing on to victory against greater odds" and the "revolutionary black nationalists." I anticipate that in my work as a neophyte historian, I will attempt to tell the story of my predecessors, Black women educators, in a way that is neither wholly subjective or objective, nor simply qualitative or quantitative. I do not want to point only to the heroines nor do I want to engage in "writing against" everyone to prove how smart I am (as is the habit with many an overzealous graduate student). I imagine that as I proceed in the work of recording and interpreting the thoughts and actions of Black women educators that have come before me, I shall find a way to make some contribution that will add to the color and texture of the mosaic of human history. Studying how others have approached history will make my contribution richer. Thank you for teaching me; thank you for this experience.

Lessons from the Comprehensive Exam: Graduate Studies Reflection and Projection

The above case study reveals strengths and weaknesses of the exam process. The exam answer points to central questions about what students in the field should be able to demonstrate. For example: 1) should students use "I" in exams or scholarly writing? 2) Should students make the process of answering the question transparent or should they simply answer the question and leave their process up for interpretation? 3) Should answers focus only on texts presented in the programs' bibliography or should students be required/encouraged to consult outside texts? 4) Should exam content cover thematic and substantive areas of the question or can the student choose one focus? 5) To what extent should students reference how the general question contextualizes their area of specialization? 6) Who is the primary audience that students are addressing in their exam? 7) What is the use of the general exam answer after the test is given?

In addition, there are important logistical questions regarding the exam: 1) To what extent should the questions change annually? 2) Should students have access to former exams? The questions about the comprehensive exam are as infinite as the possible answers students can give. On one hand, programs should keep some areas open to broad interpretation to account for faculty disagreements and necessary program flexibility to meet needs of the students; on the other hand, some areas need to be specifically addressed in order to give students guidance and faculty guidelines to ensure increased student success, faculty satisfaction, and programmatic consistency. If neither students nor faculty are clear on roles, expectations, and evaluation criteria, the results can be discouraging. Students cannot be faulted for not meeting criteria that are ill defined. The six doctoral programs in the field can provide guidelines to address these questions. Though there will surely not be a unified approach to the exam, standardization of expectations can be obtained through continued discussions.

At the October 2005 meeting of the Association for the Study of African American Life and History in Buffalo New York, a plenary session was held titled, "W.E.B. Du Bois, the Development of Black Studies, and the Future of the Discipline." Two speakers of the session, Valerie Grim of University of Indiana and Abdul Akalimat of University of Toledo, provided valuable insight into aspects of the discipline that graduate studies programs must contend with. Dr. Akalimat, who has long led the digitization of Black Studies, argued that the future of the field must advance Black Studies in three distinct areas: 1) as a social movement; 2) as an academic profession; and 3) as a knowledge network that shares production and dissemination of information. Dr. Akalimat argued that while professional academic preparation is a vital part of the field, it is not the sole purview of the discipline. Black Studies originated from activism and must remain rooted as a social movement rather than simply another wing of the Ivory Tower. In tandem with the imperative for community engagement, Akalimat argued that all scholars must diligently work to digitize information to make Black Studies more of a democracy of knowledge rather than isolated property of a few experts. In her ASALH panel contribution, Dr. Grim offered her assessment. Grim argued the Black experience, in all the Diaspora, has been largely agricultural and that Black Studies scholars have not paid due attention to Black rural life. Further, she argued that scholars must address the digital divide by race, but also address the stark contrasts in major issues that Black people in the rural south confront. In a final point, she challenged researchers in all areas to go beyond the humanities and social science to contribute research in science and math in understudied areas of Black history and contemporary life.

In addition to Dr. Akalimat and Dr. Grim's comments, I would add two statements. First, Black Studies scholars advancing graduate studies must address the regional disparity in the field. As of January 2006, there are still no Ph.D. programs in the South. This is obviously an area where growth in the field is imperative. For, as I experienced in my transition from a graduate student in Amherst to faculty member in Gainesville, reading *Their Eyes Were Watching God* during a Massachusetts winter is drastically different than reading the text during hurricane season in Florida. My second point is a crucial suggestion for those invested in Black graduate studies. PLEASE create an opportunity for all graduate students in Black Studies to meet in one place. I suggest a joint meeting of the Southern Conference on African American Studies (SCAASI), the Association for the Study of African American Life and History (ASALH), the National Council for Black Studies (NCBS), and the National Black Graduate Student Association (NBGSA). A meeting of these crucial organizations (definitely held in the South) would enable much-needed graduate student introductions and cross-fertilization. Advanced planning would be imperative, but a collaborative effort of the stand-along programs and the major Black Studies organizations would be well worth the effort at this juncture of development. The future of the field depends on it.

In sum, graduate programs in Black Studies must prepare scholars to use technology to advance the field, must re-focus on the rural and southern areas where African Americans have historically been concentrated, must provide for practical experiences that will allow graduate students competency in applied aspects of their work, and must create more opportunities for networking within the field. Clearly, much scholarship has yet to be produced. Gradu-

ate programs in Black Studies have much work to do and fortunately, growing interest in advanced levels of the field can meet this need. How graduate faculty decide to train and test their students for comprehensive exams will have a major impact on the direction and growth in the field. Discussions within and between the programs are vital; hopefully, this research can further current efforts toward those dialogues.

Appendix A - Program Names and Contact Information

Temple: Department of African American Studies, *(215)* 204-8491 http://www. ternple.edu!AAS/

Massachusetts: W.E.B. Du Bois Department of Afro-American Studies, (413) *545-2751* http://www.umass.edul afroam/

Berkeley: Department of African American Studies, *(510)* 642-7084 http: /list-socrates.berkelev.edu/~africam/ index.html

Harvard: Department of African and African American Studies, (617) *495-4113* http://aaas.fas.harvard.edw' index.html

Michigan State: African and African American Studies Department, *(517)* 432-0869 http://www.aaas.msu. edu/welcome .html

Northwestern: African American Studies Department, (847) 491-5122 http:// www.afam.northwestern.edu/

Appendix B - Excerpt from the Graduate Advisor Survey

To Graduate Coordinators:
Temple: Dr. Abu Shardow Abarry, Graduate Director
Massachusetts: Dr. Robert Paul Wolff, Graduate Program Director
Berkeley: Dr. Robert Allen, Graduate Advisor
Harvard: Dr. Werner Sollers, Acting Director of Graduate Studies
Michigan State: Dr. Gloria Smith, Interim Director, African American/African Studies
Northwestern: Dr. Richard Iton, Director of Graduate Studies

"...Program graduates are now joining faculty ranks across the nation and this discussion of exams will take on added relevance as we begin to prepare and train our own graduate students. As I encourage my undergraduate students to pursue a doctoral degree in Black Studies, I want to offer them sound advice about expectations for graduate coursework and the requisite exams in various programs.

Your standing (as the six programs that are not joint degrees, minors, specializations, or certificates) situates you as uniquely qualified to comment on the state and future of training in the field. This journal article will reveal substantive and comparative information on the content and structure of general, comprehensive, and qualifying exams. This article can inform graduate faculty and current students in doctoral programs by generating an open discussion of exam expectations and highlight relative foci for each department. The answers you provide can also assist departments in deliberations about constructing their own stand-alone Ph.D. program in Black Studies. Lastly, this research can serve as a recruitment tool for undergraduates interested in earning a terminal degree in our important—and growing—area of study.

Clearly, the theoretical frameworks, departmental identity, program structure, research methods,

and areas of expertise in each institution are different. However, there is much that unites the field: each department articulates expectations of academic excellence, historical consciousness, political critique, reflection on construction and expression of culture, interrogation of race, geographic grounding, practical training for the professorate, and the centrality of social responsibility in our work. This survey will clarify these areas of intersection and shape advancement of candidates in Africana Studies as well as across disciplines...."

Appendix C - University of Massachusetts, Amherst Reading List

AFROAM 701 "MAJOR WORKS IN AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES I"

Reading list for Summer 2000

•Harding, Vincent, *There is a River*

•Meier, August and Elliott Rudwick, *Black History and the Historical Profession. 1915-1980*

•Williams, Eric, *Capitalism and Slavery*

Reading List for Fall 2000

•Aptheker, Herbert, *American Negro Slave Revolts*

•Berlin, Ira, *Many Thousands Gone*

•Berlin, Ira, and Barbara Fields, et al., *Slaves No More*

•Chesnutt, Charles W., *The Conjure Woman and Other Conjure Tales*

•Delany, Martin, *Blake, or the Huts of America*

•Du Bois, W.E.B., *Black Reconstruction--selected chapters*

•Foner, Eric *Reconstruction*

•Fields, Barbara Jeanne, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*

•Gates, Henry Louis, Jr., ed., *Classic Slave Narratives*

•Gutman, Herbert, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom*

•Harper, Frances, *Iola Leroy: or, Shadows Uplifted*

•Horton, James 0., *In Hope of Liberty: Culture. Community and Protest Among Northern Free Blacks. 1700-1860*

•James, C.L.R., *Black Jacobins*

•Jones, Jacqueline, *Labor of Love. Labor of Sorrow*

•Joyner, Charles, *Down by the Riverside*

•Kaplan, Sidney, and Emma Kaplan, *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution*

•Litwack, Leon, *Been in the Storm So Long*

•Morris, Thomas, *Southern Slavery and the Law*

•Nash, Gary, *Forging Freedom*

•Painter, Nell, *Exodusters*

•Quarles, Benjamin, *The Negro in the Civil War*

•Sinha, Manisha, *The Counterrevolution of Slavery*

•Stowe, Harriet Beecher, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

•Walker, Margaret, *Jubilee*

•Wood, Peter, *Black Majority.*

AFRO AM 702 "MAJOR WORKS IN AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES II"

Reading List for Intersession 2000-2001

•Litwack, Leon, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow*

•Meier, August, *Negro Thought in America*

•Southern, Eileen, *The Music of Black Americans*

Reading List for Spring 2001

•Baldwin , James, *Go Tell It On The Mountain*

•Baldwin, James, *The Fire Next Time*

•Crawford, Vicky (ed.,) *Women in the Civil Rights Movement*

•Drake, St. Clair, and Horace Cayton, *Black Metropolis*

•Ellison, Ralph. *Invisible Man*

•Franklin, John Hope, ed., *Three Negro Classics*

•Frazier, Franklin, *Black Bourgeoisie*

•Gaines, Ernest J., *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman*

•Himes, Chester, *If He Hollers Let Him Go*

•Hurston, Zora Neale, *Their Eyes Were Watching God*

•Johnson, James Weldon, *The Book of American Negro Poetry*

•Kelley, Robin, *Hammer and Hoe*

•Kluger, Richard, *Simple Justice*

•Larsen, Nella, *Quicksand/Passing* (one-volume edition)

•Locke, Alain, ed., *The New Negro*

•Mitchell, Angelyn, (ed.), *Within the Circle: An Anthology of African American Literary Criticism*

•Murray, Pauli, *Proud Shoes*

•Payne, Charles, *I Got the Light of Freedom*

•*The Autobiography of Malcolm X*

•Toomer, Jean, *Cane*

•Wells, Ida B., *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*

•Woodson, Carter G., *The Miseducation of the Negro*

•Wright, Richard, *Native Son*

•Wright, Richard, *Uncle Tom's Children*

Footnotes

1. Diane Turner. 2002. "An Oral History Interview: Molefi Kete Asante." *Journal of Black Studies*. 32 (6), 711-734.

2. August Meier and Elliot Rudwick. 1986. *Black History and the Historical Profession. 1915-1980*. University of Illinois, 279.

3. Anthony Molho and Gordon S. Wood. 1998. Imagined Histories: American Historians Internret the Past. Princeton U Press. Conal Furay and Michael J. Salevouris. 1979. *The Methods and Skills of History: A Practical Guide*. Harlan Davidson, 223-4, 231.

4. I appreciate the necessary broadness of these exam questions, thus I am interpreting the "post-emancipation eras" rather liberally. I will include analysis of Major Works texts from *Many Thousands Gone* (1600s) to *I've Got the Light of Freedom* (1960s).

5. In Angela Y. Davis. 1981. *Women. Race and Class*. Random House.

6. I am aware that I did not respond to the call for suggestions when the department revamped the Major Works seminar. Please accept this reflection as a tardy submission. In addition, Deborah Gray White's *Too Heavy a Load* would supplement texts like *Crusade for Justice* and *Trailblazers and Torchbearers* to ensure that history by and/or about Black women was integral to rather than in addition to the study of Black life.

7. Some of these texts were: *All the Women are White. All the Men are Black. But Some of Us Are Brave* (Gloria Hull, Patricia Bell-Scott, and Barbara Smith 1982); "The Impact of Black Women in Education" (Bettye Collier-Thomas *Journal of Negro Education* special edition 1982); *Home Girls: A Black Feminist Anthology* (Barbara Smith 1983); *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (Paula Giddings 1984); *SAGE: A Scholarly Journal on Black Women* (Patricia Bell-Scott and Beverly Guy-Shiftall eds. 1984); *We Are Your Sisters* (Dorothy Sterling 1984); "Lifting the Veil, Shattering the Silence: Black Women's History in Slavery and Freedom" (Darlene Clark Hine The State of Afro-American History 1988); *Labor of Love. Labor of Sorrow: Black Women. Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (Jacqueline Jones 1986); 'The Education of Black Women in the Nineteenth Century" and "The Higher Education of

Black Women in the Twentieth Century" (Linda Perkins and Jeanne Noble in *Women and Higher Education in American History* 1988); *Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race. 1895-1925* (Cynthia Neverdon-Morton 1989).

8. "A summary of Differences between the Three Approaches to Research" in Chapter 3 ("The Meanings of Methodology") by William Newman in *Social Research Methods*. 1991. Allyn & Bacon, 63.

9. Oftentimes, challenges take place in historian's notes; a model of this can be seen in Barbara Field's discussion of the debate over "what constitutes capitalist socialist relations" in her notes in *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground* (page 248, note 7).

10. Further some say that only work using primary documents is real history. It is interesting that I have heard some of my colleagues say that *Whwn and Where I Enter*, like Howard Zinn's *People's history of the United States* is not real history because they do not use primary sources.

11. In Darlene Clark Hine (Ed.). 1986. *The State of Afro-American History: Past. Present and Future*. Louisiana University Press,' 13-22.

Cooperative-Communal Activism in African-American Communities

Randall D. Swain

Does the African-American church facilitate cooperative-communal activism among Black Americans?[1] A number of studies have highlighted the importance of these churches in the electoral political behavior of Black Americans (Calhoun-Brown, 1996, Harris, 1999). But only a few have examined the impact of black churches in fostering cooperative-communal activism among blacks.

Cooperative-communal political participation deals with the political activities citizens engage in as part of informal or formal organizations in order to achieve political goals that benefit a group or community with whom they identify (Verba and Nie, 1972, 53, Schlozman, Verba, and Brady, 1995). What makes cooperative-communal political activism different from individualistic activism is that the desired outcome seeks the improvement of social conditions for a particular sub-group in American society. Verba and Nie (1972) state that cooperative-communal activism is more likely to be relevant to outcomes of a collective nature. While anecdotal evidence suggests that African-American churches are an essential factor for many black Americans who join organizations that take political stands such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the amount of empirical research that explores the efficacy of church involvement in promoting this type of activism is miniscule when compared to research that explores other forms of political and social activism of Black Americans. Outside of Harris (1999), who finds that church attendance depresses cooperative-communal activism, there have not been many empirical research efforts that have examined the role of black churches in promoting cooperative-communal activism among African-Americans.

Some may question whether organizational involvement, in and of itself, is a form of political participation. Some scholars point out, however, that community activism and membership in organizations that take stands on public issues are second-hand forms of political participation (Verba and Nie, 1972; Schlozman, Brady, and Verba, 1994; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995). Verba et al. (1995) suggest that not only is organizational involvement an important form of political participation, but for some people, it is their primary form of political activity:

> "...support of an organization that takes stands on public issues, even passive support or support motivated by concerns other than government influence, represents a form of political activity. For many citizens it may be the main form of political participation—albeit often at second hand" (p. 41).

Yet, it seems that scholars have long overlooked evidence that supports the proposition that cooperative-communal activism is engaged in by a number of Black Americans. A recurring criticism of black religious scholars who study the fusion of religion and politics is that political science scholars rarely include the community organizing and empowering activities of blacks, in their research on the political and social activism of black Americans (Lincoln and Mamiya 1990). This omission leaves a

void in understanding the true nature of social and political activism in the black community, especially when we consider that these community organizing and empowering activities are undertaken with specific political outcomes in mind. While these activities are communal in nature, they become in and of themselves political acts that should be taken into consideration (Lincoln and Mamiya, 1990).

The majority of research on blacks and political participation has concluded that they are relatively politically inactive because they lack the necessary resources—money, education, time, etc. (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 1995). This assessment is correct, in that individual resources are a prerequisite for individual modes of political activism. But by neglecting to analyze the importance of cooperative-communal political participation in the black community, scholars have failed to recognize how the collective resources of a group or community can offset the lack of individual resources available to any one person. Cooperative-communal activism facilitates an understanding of how blacks were able to achieve the objectives of the civil rights movement during the 1960's. In examining the various political activities of black Americans, Verba and Nie (1972) found that cooperative-communal activism was the *only* mode of political participation in which the political activity of black Americans not only approached that of whites, but surpassed it.[2] In considering the cooperative-communal activities of black Americans, it is important to consider the role black churches play in getting blacks to join organizations that seek to improve the quality of life for black community such as the NAACP (Morris 1984). Given the historical significance of the African-American church in the black community, and the role it has played in establishing organizations that have sought to improve the plight of blacks, it is reasonable to assume that involvement in community organizations by black Americans may be explained by the proximity of the black church to the African-American community.

The Role of the Black Church in Political and Social Activism Among Black Americans

Research on African-American politics has been divided on the importance of the African-American churches in the political and social activism of Black Americans. Some have viewed the black church as facilitating a sense of passivity and an other-worldly orientation among its members. Those who support this view of the black church posit that because the church focuses on spiritual development in preparing parishioners for the after-life and the world to come, it discourages any involvement with things that are temporal and transitory, such as political or social activism. Although E. Franklin Frazier (1963) points out that since the end of slavery, the black church has provided blacks a place a refuge from an inimical American society whose malevolence towards them was evident in private as well as public spheres. For ambitious blacks of acumen and ability, the church provided a venue to practice politics and exercise power. Frazier (1963) found that the black church's other-worldly orientation facilitates a mentality that "accommodates an inferior status." among blacks.[3] Before Franklin's work on the black church and family, Carter G. Woodson (1945) argued that the black church was conciliatory in its dealings with mainstream America. He perceived that black ministers were careful to cultivate restraint and caution in their members in dealing with racism and segregation in society for fear that inciting radicalism and social activism among their parishioners would incur the wrath of hostile whites and endanger the

safety of the church. Reed (1986) asserts that the black church's involvement in political and social activism in merely reactionary, as opposed to being a proactive agent of change. He argues that black clergymen were largely acquiescent to other community leaders during the civil rights movement, and were thrust—almost against their will—into a leadership role because it was the only institution within the black community capable of mobilizing the black masses.

An alternative view of the black church, however, sees it as a force for social change, being proactive rather than reactive to social and political problems. Aldon D. Morris, in *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement* (1984), illustrates the significance of black churches in the burgeoning Civil Rights Movement in the mid to late 1950's in Alabama, Florida, and Louisiana. Barker, Jones, and Tate's (1999) research suggests that membership in black churches that emphasize political activism was positively associated with campaign activism in the 1984 and 1996 presidential elections. Furthermore, Tate (1993) notes the importance of black churches in Jesse Jackson's 1984 and 1988 presidential campaigns. Lincoln and Mamiya's (1990) profile of African-American churches rests on the assumptions that the African-American church, as an institution in the African-American community, is the foundation for communal involvement among black Americans. Using the communal-privatistic continuum as one of the typologies for analyzing the role black churches have played in the black community, Lincoln and Mamiya (1990) suggests the African-American church tilts toward the communal tradition. Mamiya's (1999) book states that because of its proximity to the black community, the African-American church became the context for social, economic, and political expression among black Americans before the civil rights movement removed institutional barriers to societal inclusion. He states that for blacks the church "was his government, his social club, his secret order....his political party" (Mamiya, 1999, p. 72).

Theoretical Assumptions

Given the communal nature of the church environment, it is logical to expect that black churches would be one of the most effective agents in the African-American community in mobilizing parishioners for cooperative-communal activism. Kenneth Wald's (2003) statement bears this out:

> "the communal nature of religion may induce a particular pattern of political activity by members of a congregation. If a church attracts people who experience similar conditions of life, whether poverty or affluence, that shared status may lead congregants to develop a common outlook on politics and social issues" (p. 29).

Although Wald is not referring to black churches per se, the quote underscores the significance of the African-American church in two ways. First, Wald supposes that religious organizations are by nature, communal. Second, because black Americans routinely endure overt and covert forms of racism, the church is better situated to promote organizational activity as a way to mitigate institutional racism and achieve political goals and objectives, than any other institution in the black community. Thus, in black churches, the particular pattern of political activity that Wald speaks of could be construed as cooperative-communal activism.

Furthermore, because black Americans were disenfranchised throughout much of American history, their social and political activism

was largely confined to the church or to community involvement in organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People NAACP. Although blacks were barred from conventional forms of political participation such as voting, they may have viewed their involvement in community and religious organization as politically efficacious, especially if these activities were intended to produce a political or social outcome.

Given the significance of Wald's statement regarding the potential of black churches to encourage and foster cooperative-communal activism among its adherents, and the history of political disenfranchisement of African-Americans and exclusion by white America from social and cultural involvement, we should expect an empirical inquiry to validate our assertion regarding the African-American Church's role in fostering cooperative-communal activism among adherents.

Data and Measures

Data for this study comes from the 1996 National Black Election Studies (NBES). This data set is a national telephone sample of voting aged African-Americans that focus on their electoral behavior and political attitudes. The respondents were asked about their opinions on a range of political issues on public policy, race and gender issues, the economy, and government spending. The data set also queries respondents about religiosity and their involvement in church politics. Initially, 1,216 blacks were interviewed between July and November, 1996. Of this number, 854 were contacted for a follow-up interview after the presidential election. The sample was collected using a stratified sampling technique. The four sampling strata comprised in the study are as follow: 1) MSA's with populations of one million, or more, and where blacks make up 15% of the population, 2) Southern states: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia, 3) telephone exchanges serving the remaining continental United States with a black population of 5% or more, 4) remaining telephone exchanges in the continental United States with a black population of 5% or less (Tate, 1996).

Dependent Variable

The first task is to determine if cooperative-communal political activism is engaged in by a substantial number of blacks. Two questions posed in the 1996 NBES are used to measure cooperative-communal political activism. The first question asks respondents if they belong to an organization that is working to improve the status of black Americans. For the second measure, respondents are asked if they have joined a community organization or worked with others within the past year to address a community problem. Responses are coded 1 for yes, and 0 for no.

Independent Variables

The primary independent variable is church attendance. To measure church attendance, respondents are asked how often they attend church. A scale is created from the possible answers to this question. Those who say they never attend church are coded 1, those who say they attend a few times a year are coded 2, those who attend once or twice a month are coded 3, those say they attend almost every week are coded 4, those who indicate that they attend church once a week are coded 5, and those who indicate attending church two or more times week are coded 7. Furthermore, research has shown that a distinction should be made between churches that advocate political and social activism among its members and those that do not (Calhoun-Brown, 1996; Harris, 1999). Thus, a measure is created for

politicized churches by combining two questions from the 1996 NBES to create a three-point index. The first question asks respondents if their church made any announcements pertaining to the presidential campaign. The second question asks if black churches encouraged members to vote in the election. Responses that indicate both experiences occurred at church are coded 2, a 1 is coded for responses that indicate one of the two occurred at church, and 0 is coded for responses where neither occurred.

The model includes standard control variables that might mitigate or spur greater social and political involvement. Gender has been shown to be an important predictor of political participation and religious involvement (Schlozman, Burns, and Verba 1994, Verba, Burns, and Schlozman 1997, Booth 1972) and is therefore included in the model. In measuring gender, male is coded 1, female is coded 0. Age is determined by asking the respondent his (or her) age. Marital status is coded as a dummy variable, 1 for married, 0 for those not married. A dummy variable is also employed for region of residence. Responses that indicate the respondent resides in the South are coded 1 and responses that indicate the respondent resides in regions outside of the South are coded 0. The socioeconomic variables are income and formal education. Income is measured with an 11-point scale, the low end of the scale (coded 1), is comprised of those whose income ranges from $1 to $10,000. The high end of the scale (coded 11) is comprised of those whose income levels exceed $105,000. Formal education has been positively associated with a number of social and political activities, and is expected to be a significant predictor of cooperative-communal activism (Verba and Nie 1972). It is measured with a nine-point scale. The low end of the scale (coded 1) is comprised of those with grade school education—grades one to eight. The high end of the scale (coded 9) is made up of those who have a doctorate or law degree.

Method of Analysis

In addition to a descriptive table, a bivariate cross tabulation of church attendance and the dependent variables are computed. If both decline with church attendance, it would be an important indicator of a positive relationship between black churches and community activism. In order to obtain a more precise relationship between the African-American church and cooperative-communal political participation, logistic regression is employed to rule out confounding effects of other variables. The measures for the dependent variable are dichotomous and therefore assumptions of linearity are violated by using Ordinary Least Squares regression. Therefore, logistic regression is used to estimate the effect the church attendance has on the dependent variables.

Findings and Discussion

Table 1 suggests that a modest number of African-Americans are involved in some type of secular organizational involvement. Approximately 30% of survey respondents indicated that they held membership in an organization that is dedicated to improving the status of blacks, and another 40% indicated that they had joined a community organization or worked with others to address a community problem.

Table I: Cooperative-Communal Activism of Black Americans

Cooperative-Communal Activity	Yes (%)	No (%)	N
Member of organization to improve the status of Black Americans	30.3	69.7	1209
Worked with others/joined a community organization to address a community problem	39.5	60.5	1210

The data in Table 1 supports Verba et al.'s (1995) statement that organizational involvement for some is a second hand form of political and it appears that cooperative communal activism is undertaken by more Black Americans than previously thought.

Table 2: Church Attendance and Cooperative-Communal Activism Among Black Americans

Cooperative-Communal Activity	Church Attendance					
	Two or more times a week	Every Week	Almost Every Week	Once or twice a month	Few Times a Year	Never
Member of an organization that is dedicated to improving the status of blacks[a]	33%	38.6%	36.2%	25.1%	19.8%	21%
Joined a community organization or worked with others[b]	63	50.4	46	32.5	21.2	21

(a) Chi Square = 34.7*** (df 5)
(b) Chi Square = 61.4*** (df 5)

***p<.001
Source: 1996 National Black Election Study

In Table 2, both measures for cooperative-communal political activism increases as church attendance increases. The chi square value is statistically significant at 34.7. According to the first row in the table, 33% of the respondents who attend church service two or three times a week report membership in organizations that are dedicated to improving the status of

black Americans. The numbers increase among those who report weekly church attendance, with approximately 39% reporting membership in organizations that are dedicated to improving the status of black Americans. As church attendance steadily declines after weekly attendance, the number of those who report membership in organizations dedicated to improving the status of blacks also declines.

There is roughly a seventeen percentage point difference between those who report attending church every week and those who report never attending church, and membership in an organization that is dedicated to improving the status of blacks.

The story is similar for those who joined or worked with a community organization to address a community problem. The chi square value is higher, and also statistically significant. According to the data in the second row of Table 2, 63% of the respondents who attend church two or more times a week report having joined a community organization or working with others to solve a community problem. Moreover, approximately 50% of those who indicate weekly church attendance have joined a community organization or worked with others. The percentage difference between those who report church attendance of two or more times a week and those who never attend is more pronounced than those who belong to an organization that is dedicated to improving the status of blacks. Hence, while those who report the most frequent church attendance also report the highest rate of membership—33% and 63%, for membership in an organization that is dedicated to improving the status of blacks and joining a community organization or working with others to address a community problem, respectively—the rate of membership in both organizations declines as church attendance declines.

The effects of church attendance on both cooperative-communal activism measures are listed in Tables 3 and 4. In both tables, the unstandardized logistic regression coefficients, the standard errors, and odds ratios are presented. The logistic regression equations in both tables are moderately good fits.

The pseudo R^2 value for both models are .23, and 71% of the outcomes are correctly predicted in Table 3, and 69% are correctly predicted in Table 4. For the primary independent variables, both church attendance and politicized black churches show statistically significant relationships with cooperative-communal activism. The data in Tables 3 and 4 are consistent with research that contend that blacks attending politicized churches will have more confidence in the system responsiveness of government than those attending non-politicized churches and therefore are more likely to be politically active (Calhoun-Brown, 1996). A belief in system responsiveness and greater faith in the government may explain why the odds ratios for politicized churches in both tables are slightly stronger than the odds ratios for church attendance. The statistical significance of church attendance and politicized churches in tables 3 and 4 lends empirical credibility to this article's main argument—the African-American Church is an important facilitator of organizational and community involvement. As stated earlier, this finding was expected given the historical proximity of black churches to community organizations, especially those that take stands on issues relevant to blacks. The empirical validation of this however, is an important contribution to the literature that seeks to understand the social and political behavior of African-Americans.

Table 3: Church Attendance and Cooperative-Communal Political Participation

Independent Variables	Membership of an organization that is dedicated to improving the status of blacks		
	b	s.e.	Odds Ratio
Gender (male)	.537**	.185	1.710
Income	.070*	.038	1.073
Education	.444***	.058	1.559
Age	.012*	.006	1.012
Married	- .209	.192	.811
South	.022	.186	1.023
Church Attendance	.226**	.069	1.254
Politicized Church	.295**	.112	1.343
Constant	-4.849***	.502	
- 2 Log Likelihood		796	
Model Chi Square		131.14*** (df 8)	
Nagelkerke Pseudo R^2		.23	
Percent Correctly Predicted		71.3 (67.5)[a]	
N		735	

***p<.01 **p<.01 *p<.05
(a) null model predicted
Source: 1996 National Black Election Study

That the b coefficients for education in both models are statistically significant suggests that education is as important a determinant for blacks in cooperative-communal activism as church attendance. Tate (1993) states that blacks with higher incomes are more likely to join fraternal or civil rights organizations while Patillo-McCoy's (1999) research suggest that blacks of all social classes are likely to join community organizations in order to address the issues that may affect them. If blacks of all socio-economic levels are likely to join community organizations as Patillo-McCoy (1999) suggests, then this may explain why income is statistically significant in the first model but not in the second model.

Table 4: Church Attendance and Cooperative-Communal Political Participation

Independent Variables	Joined a community organization or worked with others to address a community problem		
	b	s.e.	Odds Ratio
Gender (male)	.704***	.176	2.022
Income	- .029	.036	.972
Education	.368***	.056	1.446
Age	.003	.006	1.003
Married	.383*	.181	1.467
South	- .154	.176	.857
Church Attendance	.378***	.067	1.459
Politicized Church	.413***	.107	1.512
Constant	-4.849***	.502	
- 2 Log Likelihood		858.21	
Model Chi Square		135.13*** (df 8)	
Nagelkerke Pseudo R^2		.23	
Percent Correctly Predicted		69 (58.8)[a]	
N		733	

***p<.01 **p<.01 *p<.05
(a) null model predicted
Source: 1996 National Black Election Study

The data in Tables 3 and 4 suggest that men are more likely to join both types of organizations than women. Schlozman, Burns, and Verba (1994) found men more likely than women to work with others in the community to address local problems and issues. Since one of the measures for cooperative-communal activism in this study is similar to Schlozman et. al.'s variable, the statistical significance of gender is not surprising. Thus, the statistical significance of gender in Tables 3 and 4 supports the findings of Schlozman et al. (1994). Furthermore, their research found that women are substantially more likely than men to attend religious services. Data from the 1996 NBES that is not reported here suggest that 45% of the men joined a community organization or worked with others to address a community problem, compared to 38% of women, but indicated that 36% of the women attended religious services every week compared to 25% among men.

Summary

The primary objective of this research was to offer a persuasive argument that Black Americans are not as passive about joining voluntary organizations as previously argued. Moreover, it appears that the African-American church is an important factor that must be included in discussions that seek to understand this phenomenon. Based on the research of Wald (2003), Harris (1999), and Calhoun-Brown (1996), an essential role of black churches is helping African-Americans overcome the lack of resources needed to be politically active. This research builds on Harris's (1999) and Calhoun's (1999) by offering persuasive evidence that African-American churches facilitate organizational involvement.

Undoubtedly, more needs to be done in understanding the factors that make the African-American Church particularly situated to promote this kind of activism. Future research involving the black church and cooperative-communal political activism may investigate the role of group consciousness in facilitating the African-American church's ability to galvanize its members for political action. Researchers have argued that group consciousness among blacks compensates for the resource inequalities that exist among blacks relative to whites and enables them to participate in politics at higher levels than would be expected given their lack of socio-economic resources (Verba and Nie 1972, Hurst 1972, Shingles 1981). What needs to be determined however, is what role if any, the church plays in using race conscious appeals as a motivating mechanism in inspiring its members to political and social activism. It seems that the content of sermons by black clergy may evoke race conscious sentiments from parishioners (Reese and Brown 1995). However, because the primary objective of this research, was to show that cooperative-communal activism should be included in discussions about the political activism of black Americans, this research does not make inquiries about the viability of group conscious theories as way to explain the moderately high levels of black involvement in community organizations that seek to improve the status of blacks.

Cooperative-communal activism may have applications for other minority groups in the United States or other countries. Undoubtedly, there are minority groups in other countries who have exhibited behavior that could be considered cooperative-communal in nature, in the pursuit of collective political and social acceptance. This could especially be the case for minority groups, who, like American blacks, have endured a history of social, political, and economic ostracism and who seek to achieve public policies that alter or change existing social norms and mores.

Hopefully, the findings presented here will alter discussions about the willingness of blacks to join secular organizations for the purpose of achieving collective political and social gains. In addition, the results of this study may encourage others to make further inquiries about the implications this mode of political activism has for other groups in the greater American polity.

Footnotes

1. African-Americans, blacks, and Black Americans are used interchangeably throughout the article.
2. The authors assert that group consciousness explains why blacks' level of political participation is higher than expected given their socio-economic status.
3. Frazier, p. 46

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Grand Council of the Best Minds and the Economic Crisis of the Negro in the 1930s

C. Alvin Hughes

With the beginning of the Great Depression, African Americans found themselves shackled with the weight of discrimination and poverty with no collective voice to speak for them. The National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People (NAACP) and the National Urban League had not developed an adequate economic policy for black America. The Negro Sanhedrin, established in the nineteen twenties, did not provide the aggressive leadership which motivated the masses of black America to support its call for a united agenda for Negro improvement. The black working class needed its grievances to be championed by a black intelligentsia well prepared to translate its concerns to white public officials.

Those persons on the lower level of the society were affected more than other groups during the Great Depression. Unemployment among blacks increased rapidly as underemployment continued. The national government under President Herbert Hoover was slow to respond to this crisis. However, the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the presidency produced a tidal-wave of legislation in the general forms of relief, reform, and recovery. The Roosevelt Administration often yielded to southern political pressure which made it difficult to improve the conditions of black workers. In some cases, after legislation passed Congress providing for fair treatment and equal distribution of resources to all citizens, blacks were still discriminated against. For example, Eugene Talmadge, governor of Georgia, ignored or simply refused to give fair treatment to blacks in his state. One Georgia official commented:

> There will be no Negroes pushing wheelbarrows and boys driving trucks getting forty cents an hour when the good white men and white women, working in the fields alongside these roads, can hardly earn forty cents a day.[1]

Moreover, black workers received far less than their fair share of work on relief assistance from such agencies as the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Works Progress Administration, the Farm Credit Administration, and the Resettlement Administration. Discrimination was also practiced against blacks in the Federal Housing Administration, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Civilian Conservation Corps.[2]

The desire to receive their fair share from these New Deal programs prompted blacks to rekindle their efforts toward a united front. The Negro Industrial League, 1932-1933, initiated by a group of black graduate students from New England colleges after a series of discussions at Harvard University, began the first direct action program to ensure that the New Deal agencies created during the "Hundred Days" did not disregard the plight of African Americans. These black graduate students set specific but limited goals to achieve. The Negro Industrial League limited itself to deal with the problems of black industrial workers and the impact or lack of impact of the New Deal legislation upon them. And it did not take much time for them to discover the

vast need for a greater unified action on the part of all black organizations if they hoped to succeed in their limited mission.

From a discussion group of about ten participants, the Negro Industrial League developed into a viable organization with affiliates in thirty states. The executive secretary of the Negro Industrial League, John P. Davis, became the central figure in the 1930s in implementing the united front idea. Davis's experiences with the Negro Industrial League created his style of lobbying for the cause of African American development. Davis was a graduate of Bates College in Lewiston, Maine, and later, of Harvard Law School. At Bates College, Davis was an outstanding member of the debating team which toured English and Scottish universities in 1925. During his studies at Harvard Law School, Davis met Robert C. Weaver and Ralph J. Bunche, who were graduate students in economics and political science, respectively. Davis was an aggressive political organizer and from 1933 to 1935, served as executive secretary of the Joint Committee on National Recovery, which replaced the Negro Industrial League. From 1935 to 1943, Davis was the primary organizer and national executive secretary of the National Negro Congress, and participated actively in Clark Forman's Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Davis resigned his position in the National Negro Congress in 1943 to begin a law practice in labor relations and to become the political correspondent for the Pittsburgh Courier.[3]

Throughout the New Deal era, Davis believed that he could best serve the interests of black America by bringing pressure on the Roosevelt Administration from the outside. He did not, therefore, become a member of the "black brain-trust" which was formed to advise the president and other agency directors on race-related issues. Davis contended that the vast executive power which President Roosevelt used to shift the center of activity from legislative action to administrative control made it imperative that black organizations establish new tactics to advance their causes. The Negro Industrial League represented Davis's first step toward the establishment of a grand council of the bests.[4]

The other major staff member in the Negro Industrial League, Robert C. Weaver, served as its director of research. With his Ph.D. in economics, Weaver concentrated on collecting data to support the argument for fairer treatment of black workers and to destroy the policy of wage differentials. Unlike Davis, Weaver believed his talents could be better used and his impact on the "Negro Problem" would be greater if he worked within the governmental structure. In November 1933, shortly after the Negro Industrial League had evolved into the Joint Committee on National Recovery, Weaver became the chief assistant to Clark Forman in the Department of the Interior. Clark Forman had been appointed special adviser to Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, on the economic status of African Americans. For the next ten years, Weaver served in the Roosevelt Administration, concentrating on housing and employment problems, which he considered the "keys to all the other problems confronting the black population."[5]

Under the leadership of Davis and Weaver, the Negro Industrial League appeared before several hearings in the United States Congress to represent the interests of African Americans on economic matters. The League's position was that

> whenever the federal government lends its hand to aid recovery in the nation, it is the purpose of the League to watch carefully the developments and to seek to ensure the protec-

> tion of the interests of the race in such measures as are taken.[6]

The League attended hearings on the Code of Fair Competition in the various industries such as clay products, cotton textile, coal, and timber products industry. The League collected very impressive data and statistics to buttress its arguments at these National Recovery Administration (NRA) code hearings.

The problem with the NRA, as Davis perceived it, was the unfairness of its codes. Discrimination in the New Deal programs could not be seen in the letter of the legislation creating the programs. It was the system of wage and hour differentials which created problems for black workers. The cotton textile industry received the first Administration-approved Code of Fair Competition.

> The code established a minimum of $12 a week for the South and $13 a week for the North. Employees under the code were not to be employed more than 40 hours a week. Incidentally, the cleaners, outside crews, and yardmen were not to be given benefits of a minimum wage or limitation of weekly hours of service.[7]

Immediately the black leaders observed that the categories of jobs excluded from benefits under the codes were those manned by blacks. Davis continued that

> for these workers the NRA meant an increase of from 10 to 40 percent in the cost of everything they had to buy, without a single penny in increased wages.[8]

Finally, the codes prevented the creation of new jobs for the black unemployed because working hours were not reduced. In fact, the rising inflation forced those blacks who were working to try to work additional hours to compensate for the losses created by inflation.

To the Negro Industrial League the New Deal was more of a raw deal for the black workers, and it offered no hope for the unemployed. Hence, black organizations had to respond to this new challenge or blacks would continue to suffer in great numbers. The Negro Industrial League called upon other black organizations to join them in this struggle. The result was the founding of the Joint Committee on National Recovery in 1933, which took over the work begun by the Negro Industrial League.

In early June of 1933, Davis and Weaver sent out invitations to other black organizations to unite with them to mobilize a united front against the discriminatory industrial codes. Davis reported to Frances Williams, secretary of the Labor Division of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association, that "it appeared that none of the national Negro organizations had taken any interest in the NRA program," and that "responses to the appeal were vague and indefinite."[9] But one group, the National Urban League, claimed it had already established an office in Washington, D.C., to do the same kind of work the Negro Industrial League was proposing. Obviously, if the Negro Industrial League knew of such an office set up by the Urban League, it would not have sent it an invitation to join them. Meanwhile, a counter or alternative group, the Emergency Council for Negroes, was formed to fight for economic improvement of African Americans. In spite of this internal black leadership struggle, the Joint Committee on National Recovery was organized in July 1933 by Davis and Weaver to repre-

sent all black organizations to lobby for action on issues facing African Americans.

The Joint Committee on National Recovery (JCNR) continued the work initiated by the Negro Industrial League. Davis became the executive secretary of the JCNR, and George D. Haynes, chairman of the JCNR; Haynes was a long-time worker for black economic and social improvement. As the first black to earn a PhD in sociology at Columbia University, Haynes was very instrumental in the establishment of the National Urban League, Booker T. Washington's alternative group to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. During the nineteen twenties, Haynes directed the influential Commission on Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. The Commission on Race Relations' major task was to ease racial tension and to prevent racial confrontation. Joining the JCNR as chairman, Haynes, brought to the Committee expertise in public policy and established contact with white America. Nannie H. Burroughs, treasurer of the JCNR, was a member of the Board of Directors of the NAACP, and had distinguished herself as an organizer with the United Front Conference which sponsored the Negro Sanhedrin and served on the Committee on Arrangements with Kelly Miller.

Shortly after its inauguration, the Joint Committee on National Recovery had affiliations with eighteen black national organizations: sororities, fraternities, the Methodist and Baptist National Churches and Conventions, black lawyer and business associations, colleges, NAACP, and women's clubs. These affiliates were virtually the same organizations which were present at the Negro Sanhedrin nearly ten years earlier. However, this was not true as far as the delegates were concerned; most of the delegates had not attended the Negro Sanhedrin. The NAACP, one of the principal financers of the JCNR, committed itself only to a six-month or temporary affiliation. The collective or affiliate membership of the JCNR was about one and a half million black industrial workers, according to Davis's calculations.[10] From the affiliates and from a grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund came the funds to support the work of the JCNR.

The expressed purpose of the JCNR was the same as the Negro Industrial League: to integrate blacks into the recovery programs of the New Deal. The JCNR representatives attended public hearings and submitted legal briefs and other evidence against the discriminatory industrial codes of more than fifty different industries. The JCNR wanted to be the voice of the black working class to prevent discrimination from becoming public policy through the New Deal agencies. Davis attended the complaint hearings of the NRA and presented briefs and other data collected by Drs. Weaver and Haynes. With the support of the JCNR membership, Davis argued tirelessly against wage and hour differentials and against other discriminatory codes based upon classification of workers which, in essence, excluded black workers from the benefits of the New Deal legislation. In addition to the regional wage and hour differentials, the JCNR opposed what it called the "economic grandfather clause." This clause stated that

> the minimum wage for those workers who on July 15, 1929, received more than 30 cents an hour shall not be less than 40 cents an hour and the minimum wage for those workers who received less than 30 cents an hour on that date shall not be less than 30 cents an hour.[11]

"Thus it was possible," Davis contended, "to pay workers doing the same work, in the same locality, where costs of living were the same 10 cents an hour less than is paid other workers."[12]

Southern politicians rebuffed Davis's argument and asserted that high wages in the South for black workers caused them to be replacement by white workers which resulted in a greater loss for black workers. They postulated that: black workers were inefficient; high wages drew black workers from the farms in search of government jobs; and it was government policy for the NRA codes not to heighten wages for black workers in southern industries so as to outbid farm wages.[13] It was apparent to the JCNR that southern industries were taking advantage of the NRA codes by cutting wages and hiring more workers. Thus the workers increased their production without increasing wages. Davis asked the National Recovery Administration to conduct a complete study of Title I of the National Industrial Recovery Act for its effect upon black workers and asked for black assistant administrators to help study the problem. He also demanded that more purchasing power be given to African Americans and Davis closed his plea by stating that "this nation cannot long endure economically half free and half slave."[14]

In response to Davis's presentation before the complaint hearings on the textile codes, President Roosevelt, in approving the codes for the industry, "made the condition that these exempted occupations should be brought under the code not later than January 1, 1934.[15] Other steps were taken to expedite the elimination of discriminatory codes in the textile industry. Davis appealed to the president of the Cotton Textile Institute, George A. Sloan, for his assistance in initiating "fair labor conditions for the exempted class."[16] Sloan offered to study the problem and to present recommendations to the Cotton Textile Industrial Committee for their action. Meanwhile, the Joint Committee on National Recovery began collecting data on all phases of the black cotton textile workers. The data was used for future hearings, publishing, and convincing the labor organizations to cooperate with the JCNR. Finally, the JCNR studied the impact of the textile codes upon the black consumers and forwarded this information to the chairman and director of the Consumer's Advisory Board.[17]

In addition to the cotton textile industry, the JCNR studied, filed legal briefs, and attended public hearings on the following industries: shipbuilding, lumber, iron and steel, bituminous coal, and construction. In all of these cases, Davis, Weaver, or Haynes made appearances before the hearings committee on the codes and presented their data and arguments against code discrimination. Some victories were won, but, in many instances, they were minor. No changes in wages were achieved with the shipbuilding industry, but the minimum wage set for that industry was acceptable to the JCNR. Its primary concern with the shipbuilders was to safeguard jobs held by blacks. Since that industry held government contracts, the JCNR could use the threat of forfeiture of those contracts, if discrimination could be proved, based upon an October 4, 1932, executive order issued by Secretary of the Treasury Ogden Mills, that directed "all contractors and subcontractors engaged in construction work using government funds not to discriminate in employing labor on account of color."[18]

The worst conditions and financial arrangements were in the lumber industry codes. Black labor represented sixty per cent of the work force and received only 22½ cents an hour for a maximum 48 hour week.

White laborers received 40 cents an hour for a 40 hour week. The explanation given by the lumber industry for this wage differential was that most blacks lived in southern districts with low wages while most whites lived in the Western region. After much deliberation over the brief on the lumber industry codes presented by Dr. Weaver, wages for black workers increased a meager half cent to 23 cents an hour when the codes were approved by the NRA, but the work was decreased to 40 hours. The cut in hours worked per week made available approximately 15,000 additional jobs for black workers.[19]

The other briefs the JCNR presented at the NRA code hearings had little impact on the NRA's final decisions. No success was achieved with the iron and steel industry where wages differed considerable between the Birmingham district and the Pittsburgh districts. Nor was any progress made with the bituminous coal industry, the structural clay products, or the fertilizer industry. The last two industries used the infamous "economic grandfather clause" to justify lower wages for black workers. The worst situation existed with the construction industry, where black workers earned only 12½ cents an hour for an 11 to 16 hour day. This industry was also investigated by the NAACP and the American Federation of Labor.

There were other problems facing black workers which the JCNR was concerned with but was not structurally prepared to deal with since they did not fall within the industrial codes. For example, a million and a half black domestic workers were totally excluded from all governmental aid or guidelines. Davis believed the JCNR had to expand its role beyond that of an "executive watchdog" and become a public advocate. He wanted the JCNR to use the press, black and white, and its affiliated organizations to pass on information affecting black workers to the public. The JCNR should, in Davis's opinion, keep the people informed about the new agencies and programs established constantly by the New Deal recovery team.

The NAACP did not concur with the proposed expanded role proposed for the Joint Committee. The NAACP had agreed to support the work of the JCNR for its initial six months operation, after which the NAACP reserved the right to reconsider its support. Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, wanted to discontinue financial support to the JCNR but wanted the NAACP to continue influencing its policies. White's concern over protecting the NAACP from adverse criticism because of its association with the JCNR prompted his desire to separate from it. The NAACP was already under attack by W. E. B. DuBois, a founding member of the organization and the editor of its publication, the Crisis, for not developing what he called a "positive program" to meet the needs of African Americans during the Great Depression.[20] White did not want his sponsors joining the critics of the NAACP because of its support for "progressive" thinkers like the staff of the JCNR, nor did he want DuBois's new ideas on segregation to gain support.

In a memorandum to Charles Houston, legal advisor, and to Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary, White expressed his desire to "make a clean break as John [John P. Davis] may turn the Joint Committee over to the Communists, at least tacitly, if not openly."[21] By raising the red scare, White was trying to find a way to discontinue the NAACP's support of the JCNR without creating adverse criticism from the affiliate members of the JCNR. It was fortunate for the JCNR that when open opposition from the NAACP began to surface, its major evaluative work of the NRA codes had been completed. The fears

that the NAACP leader harbored since the JCNR was founded concerning the possibility that the JCNR might become a permanent organization became a dead issue with the founding of the National Negro Congress in 1936. White was well aware that if the JCNR became a permanent organization without the endorsement of the NAACP, the NAACP would be alienated from the black United Front Movement, and its influence in the black community would decline.

The work began by the Negro Industrial League and continued by the Joint Committee on National Recovery established the basis for a clearer analysis of the problems facing black workers during the Great Depression. John P. Davis, executive director of the JCNR, and Rose Marcus Coe, technical advisor to the JCNR, in their study, "Negro Workers Under the NRA," documented their findings. The study showed that there were three major devices used in drafting the codes which placed black workers at a disadvantage: occupational differentials, geographical differentials, and historical differentials, or the economic grandfather clause.[22]

The work of the JCNR and the studies it conducted showed that the codes authorized by the National Recovery Administration (NRA) and approved by the Roosevelt Administration kept blacks from receiving benefits from the New Deal recovery program. It is no wonder then that some blacks called the New Deal the Raw Deal, and they called the NRA the Negroes Ruined Again scheme. This system forced black workers to work longer hours than other workers, to receive less pay for more work, and to pay higher prices for the same goods through the company store system.[23]

The JCNR decided that studying codes, filing briefs, attending public hearings, and lobbying administrators were not getting their mission accomplished. The Joint Committee began to study alternative methods of industrial recovery and to conduct field investigations of labor conditions and costs of living. Its conclusion was that a national conference on the subject "The Position of the Negro in our National Economic Crisis" needed to be convened.[24]

Out of the experiences of the Negro Industrial League and the Joint Committee on National Recovery, the idea of a "grand council of the best minds" resurfaced. Although the JCNR claimed to be non-political and non-partisan, its experiences demonstrated that it was difficult to separate the struggle for economic advancement of blacks from the political system which controlled economic policies. Therefore, John P. Davis thought that the JCNR should be broader in scope and transformed into a national congress. To examine further the relationship between economic advancement and the political order, Davis turned to Dr. Ralph Bunche of Howard University for assistance. Davis knew that Bunche and his colleagues at Howard University would provide the kind of expertise needed to examine the problems of black America. Bunche agreed to cooperate and the two men organized a national conference on "The Position of the Negro in Our Economic Crisis."

Howard University, one of the leading black institutions of higher education, provided a magnificent setting for this meeting of the "best minds" of the race and other interested persons. Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, chairman of the Department of Political Science, joined resources with the Joint Committee on National Recovery to sponsor this national conference on "The Position of the Negro in Our Economic Crisis." In their joint letter of invitation, sent out in March 1935, Davis and Bunche wrote:

> We seek to perform the much needed task of bringing together for careful

analysis the factual material of social scientists in various fields who have studied some particular phase of the Negro citizen in the nation's social and economic life.

Our purpose is to find out the present social and economic conditions of the Negro in America, to determine its effect on our whole national economy and to act on the basis of this data.[25]

The conference called for special attention to the problems connected with black domestic and industrial workers, labor conditions, and problems with relief agencies, federal credit agencies, and trade unions.

The Howard University Conference, proclaimed as a success by the black press, demonstrated the need for an economically oriented national congress. The Cleveland Gazette reported that around two hundred and fifty persons, led by Davis, met for three days in Washington to survey the Negroes' position in the national crisis. Representing some fifty or sixty interracial organizations, including the official affiliate organizations of the JCNR and others such as the Southern Tenant Farmer's Union and representatives from government, the delegates devoted themselves to a wide range of topics. The Gazette asserted that the Conference discovered

> that unemployment among our male industrial workers is 20 per cent higher than general unemployment. That four million are on relief rolls, or twice as many as there were about eighteen months ago. That relief given our families, shown in 18 sample countries in 11 southern states, is admitted by the government to be from two to ten dollars a month less than relief given white families there of the same size. That the social security plan of the government excludes 15 out of every 23 of our citizens. The NRA meant nothing to our industrial workers and AAA had doomed our sharecropping and tenant farmers to starvation.[26]

All the participants—industrial workers, farmers and economists—agreed that the New Deal was a raw deal for blacks. Inflation nullified all wage increases proposed by the NRA codes. Jim Crow in the unions hampered the organization of black workers despite the cry for all workers to unite. The Roosevelt Administration's farm policy proved useless for black farmers. The government checks to the landowners to compensate them for cutting their production were not shared with the sharecroppers. With the cutback in production, the landowners tried to evict the idle sharecroppers from their homes and farms. When the sharecroppers refused to be evicted, many were threatened with mob action.[27]

John P. Davis, in his opening address to the national conference, raised the basis question for discussion: "What shall our program be?"[28] He continued with an in-depth analysis of the problems of African Americans under the New Deal Administration. His figures showed that in 1933, 17.8 per cent of black families were on relief and in 1935, nearly 30 per cent of black families received relief funds. A part of the problem was discrimination with federal government sanction. The Bankhead bill's supporters hailed it as "a virtual fulfillment of the old Reconstruction promise of forty acres and a mule," according to Davis.[29] The Bankhead bill, introduced by Alabama's Senator John Bankhead

in 1935 and eventually passed and signed into law as the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenancy Act of 1937, was designed to "help tenant farmers and farm laborers become landowners."[30] Davis contended that the Bankhead bill would not relieve the problems of the black farmers because the landowners preferred the sharecropping system over the wage labor system; the landowners controlled the land and the capital resources necessary for development; and many sharecroppers believed it was more secure to have a tenancy than to own land under the system that existed in the South.[31]

On the other New Deal programs such as the NRA, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and others, Davis reiterated the position of the Joint Committee on National Recovery that as long as the "federal government joins with private employers in imposing upon Negroes by law and administrative practices sub-normal standards of living" there was little hope for economic improvement.[32] Thus, Davis thought that the major problems that faced blacks were economic inequalities, not racial discrimination. He warned that blacks added to their dilemma while they remained unorganized, inarticulate, and immobile. Davis proposed that new economic systems should be tried; the New Deal had failed to reform capitalism. The new system must change the "emphasis from protection of private property to protection of human beings from misery and poverty."[33]

Delivering his paper to the national conference on "The Plight of the Negro Industrial Worker," T. Arnold Hill, director of industrial relations of the National Urban League, reminded the group that it was unfair to blame the New Deal programs for an historical problem which had its roots in slavery. Rather, reasons should be sought to explain the intensification of job insecurity that blacks faced. Hill outlined three possible sources for the economic woes of African Americans. The first was technological unemployment, the competition of the machine; secondly, the displacement of skilled workers who took lesser paying or nonskilled jobs which traditionally were taken by blacks; and thirdly, the closing of millions of jobs in agriculture and in domestic service. These shifting economic conditions, when accelerated by racial discrimination, provided the root cause of the black economic problem.

The problem associated with the solution to the plight of the black industrial workers was that "Washington makes the regulations and the states enforce them."[34] Also the federal government had problems with enforcing its regulations because "the South lacks a sufficient number of liberal-minded white people who favor provisions for Negroes equal to those granted whites."[35] Therefore, Hill called upon black workers to protect their "special rights."[36] The black intellectuals must take interest and leadership in solving problems of black workers, and blackness alone could not pull the masses together. "Negroes must secure the organized cooperation of white workers with black workers in the interest of all labor," Hill concluded.[37]

On the issue of government farm policies and the black farmers, J. Phil Campbell, president of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers, asserted that the primary problem was an excess farm population existing in the South. The Great Depression forced ex-farmers and unemployed industrial and other workers to return to the farms in search of a livelihood. The government responded to this crisis by establishing the Resettlement Administration under Rexford Guy Tugwell, Under-Secretary of Agriculture. Some 300,000 families, or approximately a million and a half people, were assisted by this agency

and its successor the Farm Security Administration to begin a new life on the farm. Provided with land and farm tools, the new farmers worked to produce their own food. The problem was that everything one needed could not be grown on the farm and cash was needed for items which the farmers could not produce. Campbell suggested that the way out for farmers was "a combination of farming and industry" in the South.[38] He thought that industrial activities should be introduced slowly so as not to interfere with subsistence farming.

Campbell noted that already in the South the government was sponsoring work center programs. Although it was a very expensive enterprise, the work center programs provided a positive work experience and livelihood for many families. They engaged in cooperative farming and the surplus products were canned or refrigerated for storage or for the market. The work center projects also included meat cutting and curing, and handicrafts—"toy-making, knitting, weaving, the production of household articles, souvenirs and garment-making, basketry, and artistic house-furnishings."[39] There were "community meetings, discussion groups, dramatics, music, folk-games, fairs, festivals and exhibits of handicraft products."[40] In short, the work center program introduced a new concept in rural living which went beyond survival; "it offered security, self-respect, and unlimited opportunity to develop skills and craftsmanship and an incentive for the development of organized community life."[41]

Thus the basic issue confronting the government's farm policies, as Campbell put it, was "will we appreciate the opportunities and make the most of them?"[42] The southern conservative politicians thought that this concept was too radical and opted to push for rural industries to subsidize farming rather than the collective farm self-sufficiency structure.

The National Conference on the Economic Crisis and the Negro also analyzed the problem of the New Deal and social planning. These sessions, chaired by Walter White of the NAACP and Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, heard papers by eminent scholars: Dr. George E. Haynes on "The American Negro in the Changing Economic Order," Dr. Ralph J. Bunche on "A Critique of New Deal Social Planning as it Affects Negroes," Dr. Emmett E. Dorsey on "The Negro and Social Planning," and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois on "Social Planning for the Negro, Past and Present."

Haynes in his presentation, while offering no concrete solution to the dilemma of African Americans, suggested a theoretical framework by which the plight of African Americans could be understood. Utilizing his vast knowledge of the Negro problem and his background as a sociologist, Haynes asserted that the problem of tension in America had outdistanced folkways and mores; Americans were experiencing a cultural lag: "Experience and surrounding conditions have changed faster than the habits and ideas of the people."[43] The rapid changes in communications, transportation, and agricultural and industrial relations made any notions of independent racial economic development (economic nationalism) an anachronism. There could be no separation of the improvement of white workers from the improvement of black workers and vice versa.[44]

The problem facing the American economic order, according to Haynes, was a deep sociological problem of allowing old ideas produced by a certain set of historical conditions to die and give rise to new ideas. Also the problem of material change for African Americans created friction between them and the white Americans, whose mores were linked to the

old nineteenth century social and economic arrangement. Here in this sociological paradigm lay the root of the problems of both economic and racial discrimination. And the changes sought to improve the relations between the two groups—black workers and white workers—could be affected only by "influencing group habits or folkways through motivation that spring out of fundamental group interest."[45]

Haynes's analysis connected historical conditions and experiences with the development of economic theory, and associated economic and racial improvement with the acceptance of new mores. From his presentation the impression was definite that whatever action the conference decided to take must be biracial, pragmatic, and limited to the existing socio-economic conditions.

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche's critique of New Deal social planning revealed that the New Deal fell short of expectation. Bunche reported that "after two years of frantic trial and error, the New Deal . . . remains suspended in mid-air, bewildered, and innocuous."[46] And Bunche insisted that the "staunchest supporters of the New Deal" admitted that "its ideology was illogical, inconsistent, vague, and confused."[47] Bunche's analysis followed basically the line of the Joint Committee on National Recovery that

> primarily, the New Deal is a great relief program which guarantees at level best only a precarious livelihood of the most meager essentials for the millions of distressed workers and farmers who are on the outside of our economic life looking in.[48]

Thus blacks could expect very little from the New Deal which perpetuated an economy of scarcity.

Professors Emmett E. Dorsey and W. E. B. DuBois approached the issue of social planning for African Americans in a similar form. Both presented an analysis of the historical background to social planning, and DuBois outlined the various methods which were pursued by previous generations to solve the problem involved with social planning. Dorsey concluded that the economic crisis facing the blacks was the same as that confronting others in the working class; it differed only in degree. The only way out for the black working class, in Dorsey's view, was in "a transformation of our economic system and the desegregation of the Negro population."[49] This could be achieved through basic social legislation and political power.

DuBois arrived at quite opposite conclusions from those suggested by Dorsey. After his much more in-depth study, which examined methods of violence, mass migration, political enfranchisement, Booker T. Washington's plan, and the legal approach used by the NAACP, DuBois suggested that the present dilemma of blacks had been faced through three ways: "toward involving the protection of restored capitalism, a movement toward alliance with organized labor, and a movement toward socialism."[50]

DuBois recognized that most of the established civil rights groups preferred to reform the present system, and a few radicals opted for labor alliances or for socialism. DuBois asserted that the primary objective of all should be economic security and all else must be subordinate to that goal. In DuBois's view, reforming the system simply brought more benefits to those who already were enjoying the fruits of capitalism. Racial prejudice hindered and prevented black and white workers' alliances and biracial union organizations. And "there is no automatic power in socialism to override and suppress race prejudice."[51] Furthermore, DuBois warned

that the "worse things that Negroes could do today would be to join the American Communist Party or any of its many branches."[52] As long as the monster of racial prejudice reigned, DuBois advised blacks to seek economic independence and racial solidarity, to organize black consumer power, and to stop being ashamed of being black and living in segregated communities. After all, DuBois admonished, "race segregation is the white man's loss and not the black man's damnation."[53]

The final segment of the Howard University Conference on the Economic Crisis and the Negro discussed problems of domestic workers, black trade unionism, and alternative solutions to the traditional capitalist approach. In her study on the plight of black domestics, Mary Anderson, director of the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor, concluded that domestic workers' improvement could come only as the general national economy improved. "As industrial and white collar workers are reemployed they will cease to compete with the normal domestic group."[54] So, the problem of unemployment among domestic workers was increased because workers with higher qualifications and skills were taking menial jobs.

On trade unionism, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, advised blacks to organize black unions and to join white unions that allowed them to do so. Economic strength was necessary for bargaining power with the employers. He cautioned black workers against strike-breaking but explained that the practice was perpetuated by the exclusion policy of white unions.

James W. Ford, a Communist Party leader active in national politics as a candidate for vice president of the United States, spoke for Communism as an alternative solution to the economic crisis and the plight of the African Americans in other areas as civil rights and legal defense. He supported John P. Davis's idea, which called for a broadbased National Negro Congress, and added that sympathetic organizations of whites should be also included.[55]

The consensus of the Howard University Conference on the Economic Crisis and the Negro was that the basic and immediate concern of African Americans was the economic crisis, which was made more acute among black workers by the discriminatory practices of both industry and the unions. And that the government was a partner in this discrimination against black workers by allowing unfair codes to be adopted and its policies administered by prejudiced southern whites. The Conference proposed a stronger alliance between blacks and the organized labor movement, more black participation in the New Deal agencies, and the creation of a new black congress to develop national goals and to keep African Americans informed on national trends. The by-product of the Conference was a black-directed Congress with an open policy which encouraged all friends of the race to support its programs.[56]

The central significance of the Howard University Conference on the Economic Crisis and the Negro was that its variety of opinions created a desire on the part of the council of "best minds" to act. The Conference served as a catalyst and as a challenge to the black intelligentsia to move from theory into practice. Armed with the results of three years of study and data collection, with the political experience of the Joint Committee on National Recovery, and with an understanding of the effects of the economic crisis upon the black masses, the Conference leaders made a decision to establish an alternative group to the NAACP to implement the findings of the Howard University Conference.

This alternative group, which would become the National Negro Congress (NNC), followed the example of the Negro Sanhedrin and the methods of the Joint Committee on National Recovery. The Negro Sanhedrin had been an organizational conference to bring the black leadership together to agree on national policies and goals for black America, and to avoid duplication of efforts in achieving those goals. The JCNR had been an experiment in working together to carry out common interests projects for black workers. The same black organizations sent delegates and lent their support to the Negro Sanhedrin, the Negro Industrial League, and the Joint Committee on National Recovery, and they gave their support to the National Negro Congress. The two major exceptions were the National Urban League, which refused to endorse the NNC and became its antagonist, and the NAACP, which viewed the NNC as a threat to its dominant role in black America. In spite of this dissent by the Urban League and the NAACP, the work of the National Negro Congress continued the organizational style and agenda advocated by the grand council of the best minds until the war drafted many of its leaders into the military service and other projects or jobs related to the war effort. The NNC declined during the war years and became a victim of the postwar anticommunist crusade as many progressive organizations jettisoned their associations with individuals and organizations which were part of the popular front which denounced the German invasion of the Soviet Union during the war and hoped for continued cooperation with the Soviet Union in the postwar era. In 1947, the NNC merged with the Civil Rights Congress which followed the precedent established by the NNC and petitioned the United Nations to address the problems blacks faced in the United States as human rights violations. However, the United Nation's Commission on Human Rights did not take jurisdiction over civil rights violations in the United States as human rights issues, but black organizations including the NAACP continued to push for an international hearing on the Negro Problem in America.

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Knight v. Alabama: Alabama's Higher Education Desegregation Saga Continues

F. Erik Brooks

Abstract

This manuscript deconstructs Knight v. Alabama. It also examines the impact of the federal court's ruling by examining graduate and professional student demographic data at four Alabama universities. The manuscript also examines the history of integration in Alabama higher education, the use of federal intervention, massive resistance, and political climate during the de jure segregation era. This manuscript shows that some 50 years after Brown, the racial and ethnic balance is still tilted in Alabama's higher education system. The state's implementation of the Knight ruling clearly shows that it is not enough for the court to make rulings if true change is to going to take place. Each of the state's educational institutions must embrace diversity and adopt policies that truly uphold the court's ruling.

Introduction

Desegregation in American higher education continues to be a hot-button issue on the public's agenda and it remains the focus of scholarship for many academics.[1] The primary concern with segregation of the old era is a question of law: may a state constitutionally segregate its colleges and universities on the basis of race. The heart of the battle for modern desegregation focuses on the need to ensure that the rulings made by the courts are being implemented properly. The modern era reflects the need for parity among black and white institutions in the United States, i.e. funding; facilities; racial composition of student bodies; faculties; administrators, and staffs. A concern with the segregation of the new era is a question of educational policy: how can states that practiced open and legal segregation in higher education remove the remnants of segregation and meet the higher-educational needs of their citizenry?[2]

As a result of the Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the federal government was handed a mandate to desegregate public higher education. Nineteen states ignored the federal government and continued to operate dual systems.[3] From 1969 to the late 1970s the Office of Civil Rights in the Department of Health and Human Services notified states that were violating Title VI. Alabama was included in these states. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Legal Defense Fund filed suit against the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare asserting that ten states continue to defy the law by operating dual systems of higher education; this litigation became known as Adams v. Richardson (1972). Eventually, the Adams case was dismissed and individual cases were filed in each of the states, the Knight case is Alabama's higher education desegregation case.

This article analyzes and evaluates the history of desegregation efforts in Alabama higher education, specifically, the impact of the court's decision on graduate and professional programs in the state. This article also deconstructs the Knight v. Alabama case as it traces the development of desegregation efforts in Alabama higher education. Deconstruction of the Knight case is essential so that the state's decision-makers can see the progress or the lack thereof in implementing the court's ruling. This article also examines demographic

data for graduate student enrollments for Alabama State University, Auburn University at Montgomery, and Troy State University Montgomery to see if progress has been made in desegregating their graduate student bodies. These universities were chosen because of their overlapping service area in Montgomery, Alabama. Montgomery is home to three public higher education institutions along with three private higher education institutions, which makes for heated competition for resources. The court's decree sun-set in 2005. Currently, there are appeals to keep the case open, so it is prudent to evaluate the impact the decision has had on desegregation in higher education in Alabama.

Early Attempt to Integrate Alabama Higher Education

In 1952, the first attempt was made to integrate the state's capstone university. Arthurine Lucy, a twenty-two year old Negro college graduate sought admission to the University of Alabama as a graduate student. After three years of court proceedings, she attempted to attend classes in 1956. On her second day on the campus, she was met by a crowd of white, mostly male students who burned a cross at the scene, while others demonstrated in the streets of Tuscaloosa. The crowd pelted Lucy with rotten eggs, rocks and other objects, while sneering chants of "Hit the Nigger whore," "Lynch the Nigger," and "Keep Bama White" mixed with the chorus of "Dixie."[4] The Board of Trustees of the University of Alabama voted to expel her from the university. Alabama Governor "Big" Jim Folsom managed to avoid the segregation issue by forging coalitions with southern liberals and was conveniently out of town on the day Lucy attempted to enroll at the University of Alabama.[5] There would not be another attempt to integrate the University of Alabama until 1963.

Alabama's Political Climate During Segregation Era

In the mid 1950s, the state leadership was firmly in the hands of avid segregationists. In 1956, the Montgomery Bus Boycott decision was handed down, which held the city's segregated bus system unconstitutional. This decision and the desegregation controversy would help bring to power hitherto a little-known politician named George C. Wallace. The emerging prominence of Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Wallace's ascension to state power would bring Alabama center stage nationally in the desegregation fight. Southern politicians played the "race card" frequently to garner support in state elections. Alabama politicians especially had a history of playing the "race card" in statewide elections, and Wallace used it effectively to advance his political career. In Alabama's history of political campaigns, the worst insult to a white politician was to be called a "Nigger lover."[6] Wallace ascended to power on opportunistic racist rhetoric, which helped to advance his political career; but in his early career, his philosophy was quite different. The ambitious Wallace supported Governor Folsom in the 1940s and refused to join the Dixiecrats who walked out of the Democratic national convention in 1948 because of proposed civil rights legislation. The Brown decision led to a resurgence of white-supremacy ideology and swung public opinion back to old conservative ways of thinking.[7] This led many Alabama politicians seeking office to pander to racist sentiments and white-supremacist constituencies. The Montgomery Bus Boycott contributed to this shift at the local level.[8]

In 1958, Wallace lost the Democratic nomination for Governor to a devout segregationist, Alabama

State Attorney General John Patterson. In comparison to Patterson, Wallace appeared to be more moderate to white constituencies. When Wallace denounced Patterson's Ku Klux Klan ties, he received the endorsement of the local branch of the NAACP; as a result he was defeated soundly. This loss prompted him to rethink his strategies and recreate himself as a staunch segregationist. After the election, Wallace stated, "They out nigggered me and no other son-of-a bitch will ever out-nigger me again."[9]

During the next election, Wallace ran a racist campaign and won the governor's race by the largest margin in state history. In his inaugural address in 1963, Wallace boldly exclaimed, "In the name of the greatest people that ever trod the earth, I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny, and I say, Segregation now! Segregation tomorrow! Segregation forever!"[10] A few months later, Wallace would make his infamous schoolhouse door stand and become a symbol of southern resistance to integration.[11]

Federal Judicial Intervention and State Resistance

While Wallace's ranting about integration and railing about the involvement of federal government was well publicized, a former law school classmate at the University of Alabama would become his political nemesis. Some people called Federal District Judge Frank Johnson the "real governor of Alabama" because his decisions in many cases had much more significance than the exploits of Wallace. Johnson issued scores of important decisions that helped shape the state by ordering the end to state sanctioned-segregation in public schools and facilities, and by cleaning up the inhumane condition of the state's prisons and mental institutions. Wallace called this judicial activism a usurpation of state's rights and an unwarranted intrusion by the federal government. Johnson believed the failure of state leaders, its governor, and legislature to deal with the state's problems led to judicial intervention. Later in his career, Johnson provided new insight as to why he used the judicial intervention to shape state policy:

> State government must begin to accept responsibility for its constitutional obligations. It has been too amply demonstrated that when a state fails to accept those obligations, it is very costly for everyone-those of us in the overburdened judiciary, those who suffer deprivation of their rights and those in state government who necessarily lose some of the flexibility and some authority of their office that it is their duty to exercise on behalf of the people they are elected and appointed to represent.[12]

Johnson's failure to force the state to take an active role in desegregating public universities would also play a role in shaping educational policies at the two historically black colleges by his rulings in Craig v. Alabama State University (1976) and Alabama State Teachers Association v. Alabama Public School and College Authority (1968). Johnson agreed with the group who brought the latter law suit that Alabama had failed to dismantle its segregated system, but believed that the responsibility of desegregation relied more so with the individual schools and the educational policymakers.

Meanwhile in 1963, the fight to integrate the University of Alabama resurfaced. President John F. Kennedy issued a proclamation asking Governor Wallace to obey a court or-

der to admit two Negro students, Vivian Malone and James Hood, to the University of Alabama. Deputy Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach was sent to escort the two students to the university. Wallace blocked the doorway as the two students attempted to enter the university building. After hearing of the incident, President Kennedy federalized the Alabama National Guard and later the same day, the two students, accompanied this time by 100 guardsmen, attempted to register once more. On this occasion, Governor Wallace again stood in the doorway, but this time he read a protest statement and then moved aside.[13] While Wallace received telegrams from segregationists supporting his action, the integration of the university was relatively peaceful.

A year later Auburn University would face the segregation issue in a more subtle fashion than the University of Alabama. Harold Franklin, a graduate from historically black Alabama State University, sought admission into the Auburn University graduate school. At the time neither Alabama A&M nor Alabama State University, both historically black colleges, were not accredited, although a majority of the state's white schools had obtained accreditation.[14] It is logical to think that since blacks could only attend black colleges, which were not accredited, that this fact assisted in established de-facto segregation which continued to perpetuate a dual higher education system. Franklin was denied admission to the graduate school on the grounds that he had not graduated from an accredited college and he filed suit.

Despite Auburn University's claim that Franklin had been denied admission to graduate school because he had not graduated from an accredited college, the truth of the matter was that Franklin was denied admission because Auburn officials did not believe that the university was ready for integration. In fact, reminiscent of the early desegregation cases, Auburn University offered to pay Franklin's expenses to attend a "northern graduate school" and attempted to get Alabama State University to convince him to accept this out of state scholarship rather than attend the institution.[15] The federal court struck down the accreditation requirement and Franklin was admitted into Auburn University on January 3, 1964.[16]

Precursors to Knight v. Alabama

By the late 1960s, George Wallace and the state legislature saw the need to establish a new college in the city of Montgomery, which was the service area of historically black Alabama State University. Critics and black interest groups believed that the new college was just an attempt to stop desegregation efforts. They also believed that those who advocated the need for a new college used the two big state universities, the University of Alabama and Auburn University, as umbrella institutions to ward off legal challenges and pass accreditation standards. It was decided that Auburn University would be the mother institution for the new school, with the support of state leaders and the city of Montgomery Chamber of Commerce. Few people knew of the legislation or the proposed new college. Under a cloud of secrecy, Senator Joe Goodwyn proposed the legislation to establish Auburn University at Montgomery and the bill moved through the legislature in just five days.[17]

On September 8, 1967 Governor Lurleen Wallace signed Bill No. 403 authorizing the sale of bonds totaling $5 million for constructing, equipping, creating, supporting, and maintaining a four year college at Montgomery under the supervision and control of the Board of Trustees of Auburn University.[18] Alabama State University was promised monies under this same act, but did not receive

any funds. With the establishment of Auburn University at Montgomery, the consensus among whites was that Montgomery would now have an institution of learning appropriate for Alabama's capital city. The campus would be on a 500-acre setting adjoining Interstate 85 east of downtown Montgomery.

In 1968, an organization of black teachers, many of whom were Alabama State University alumni, attempted to stop Auburn University from establishing a branch campus in Montgomery, which was historically black Alabama State University's service area. They were concerned that Auburn's extension campus would impede the growth and development of Alabama State University. This group consisted of Alvin A. Holmes, William Sankey, Albert Harris, Sylvester Pressley, and Joe L. Reed. The defendants were Governor Lurleen B. Wallace; Ernest Stone, the Vice President of the Public School Authority; Seymore Trammell, the Secretary of the Public School Authority; and the members of the Board of Trustees at Auburn University.[19] This group argued that the establishment of the extension campus would further establish a dual system of higher education in Montgomery; moreover, the new campus was being established to service whites who did not want to attend Alabama State University or who could not travel to the main campus in Auburn.

On May 2, 1968, a three-judge panel consisting of United States Circuit Judge Walter Gewin, District Judge Frank Johnson Jr., and District Judge Virgil Pittman heard the case. In Alabama State Teacher's Association v. Alabama Public School and College Authority (1968), the court held that the state had a duty to dismantle dual systems of education, but the court lacked the authority to regulate construction on college campuses. They believed that the authority to direct the state's higher education system belonged to the legislature. The court believed that Auburn University at Montgomery had taken proper precautions to ensure that the new school would be open to students of all races. The court also did not believe that the new school would further perpetuate segregation in higher education in Montgomery. Federal District Judge Frank Johnson specifically wrote:

> We believe that an effective beginning has been made by Auburn to dismantle the racial characteristics of the school system. We must thus reject the conclusion that, when the new college is put into operation, Montgomery will have two colleges, one Negro and one white... It is reasonable to conclude that a new institution will not be a white or a Negro school, but just a school...[20]

This ruling allowed Auburn University to build an extension campus in Montgomery, which had been traditionally an Alabama State University service area because the court believed that both universities could operate in the area without any racial identity. Almost a year later after the decision, the Supreme Court refused to hear the appeal and Auburn University quickly began developing its four-year institution in Montgomery. The lower court was wrong in its assertion, and a few years later Montgomery had two universities, one distinctly black and the other distinctly white. The case did not solve any issues concerning desegregation and would become one of the precursors to Knight v. Alabama (1991).

Adams v. Richardson (1973) and Ayers v. Fordice (1992), two desegregation cases in neighboring Mississippi helped define issues in the Knight case. In the Adams case, the

NAACP Legal Defense Fund filed suit against Department of Health, Education, and Welfare on behalf of twenty-two families who claimed to have suffered from state segregation and two other groups that claimed their federal tax monies were illegally allocated because some states had failed to desegregate their higher education systems. These states were Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Okalahoma, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. As a result of this suit, the Office of Civil Rights launched investigations and subsequent suits were filed. The suit requested that HEW terminate federal aid to those states and enforce Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Title VI, enacted as part of the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964, prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, and national origin in programs and activities receiving federal financial assistance. If a recipient of federal assistance is found to have discriminated and voluntary compliance cannot be achieved, the federal agency providing the assistance should either initiate fund termination proceedings or refer the matter to the Department of Justice for appropriate legal action. In 1990, the Adams case was thrown out because of a ruling in Women's Equity Action League v. Cavazos (1990), in which it was decided that Congress did not provide for a lawsuit against the federal government.[21] By the end of this case, several states had been referred to the Justice Department for legal action. Alabama was one of those states.

In 1975, Jake Ayers along with the United States filed suit against the state of Mississippi, contending that segregation still existed in higher education. This would later become United States v. Fordice, which became the precedent in determining subsequent higher education desegregation cases. This was the first case to reach the Supreme Court since the end of the Adams litigation. After years of wrangling and attempting to reach a voluntary remedy, the Court ruled that Mississippi had not desegregated its system of higher education.[22] This decision in Fordice was monumental because it established a legal standard and guidelines to determine whether a state has addressed its duty to remove vestiges of segregation from its system of higher education. This has become known as the Fordice standard. Simply put, if a state's policies and practice can be traced to a segregated system, and if these policies continue to have an effect of racial segregation at universities, then the state has not satisfied its burden of proving that it has eliminated segregation.[23]

Knight v. Alabama

The Knight case began in 1978 when the Office of Civil Rights of the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare began a Title VI compliance investigation of public higher education in the state. A memorandum, which has become known as the "Cynthia Brown Memo," laid out the procedure to be followed in the 1978 Office of Civil Rights investigation of public higher education institutions in Alabama.[24] The memo was sent to regional directors, including Director William H. Thomas in Atlanta, Georgia, who was responsible for the state of Alabama. The memo set out the procedures to be followed in looking at certain areas, including student admissions, financial aid, counseling and tutoring, athletics, and program duplication.[25] Alabama's public senior level institutions were sent letters from the Atlanta branch of the Office of Civil Rights, which identified certain subject areas on which the investigation would be focused when an on-site compliance review took place.

The United States Department of Education issued a letter of findings

on January 7, 1981 to Alabama Governor Fob James along with the presidents of several public state universities.[26] The letter notified Governor James and the university presidents that vestiges of the former de jure system allegedly remained in Alabama's public institutions of higher education in violation of Title VI, and the state was directed to submit a plan to assure future compliance. After months of unsuccessful negotiations between the Governor's representatives and the Office of Civil Rights, the Assistant Secretary of Civil Rights for the Department of Education Clarence Thomas, who is now an associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, sent a letter to Governor James which stated that if a plan to eliminate the alleged vestiges of a dual system was not submitted within ten days, the matter would be referred to the Department of Education for litigation.[27] The state of Alabama defied this request and no plan was ever submitted.

Just as in earlier strategies used in the NAACP Legal Defense Fund segregation challenges, Alabama State University President Levi Watkins, who had been following a desegregation case in Tennessee, handpicked a lead plaintiff. John F. Knight Jr., an ASU alum and employee of the university, along with the chapters of ASU's alumni organization, concluded that in order for black citizens of Alabama to protect the interest and futures of the state's two HBCUs in the legal arena, a suit similar to the Tennessee lawsuit should be filed in Alabama. In the Tennessee case, Rita Sanders (Geier) and a group consisting of both black and white citizens brought suit seeking to stop the expansion of the University of Tennessee's branch campus in Nashville. The group argued that the state was operating a dual system of higher education in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

On January 15, 1981, John F. Knight Jr. and other alumni, students, and faculty members of Alabama State University filed suit in the Middle District Court of Alabama, alleging vestiges of segregation still remained in Alabama public education. Knight v James, Civil Action No. 81-52-n (M.D. Ala.), alleged that the desegregation of Alabama State University was impeded by duplicative educational programming at Auburn University at Montgomery and Troy State University at Montgomery, which violated the Fourteenth Amendment and Title VI. On May 20, 1981, the district court granted the motion of Governor James and the Alabama Commission of Higher Education to hold off any further action in the case pending the settlement of a statewide desegregation agreement of Title VI administrative proceedings between the state and the United States Department of Education.[28] No agreement was reached and the Department of Education referred the matter to the Department of Justice for enforcement.

Knight's Argument

Knight's team of lawyers argued that segregation was only one aspect of a broader official state policy of white supremacy and that many current institutions, policies and practices of public higher education in Alabama were designed with the specific intent of keeping African-American citizens' status second-class. They stated that higher education was the gateway to middle class society. Alabama's official policy was and remained that public higher education should afford full access to these middle class roles only to the state's white citizens and that public higher education for the state's African-American citizens should be restricted, so as to limit them to subordinate roles in the state's political, social, and economic order.

Knight's lawyers argued that the official policy of white supremacy in higher education had been implemented through a number of policies. They stated that the continuous restriction of mission assignments to Alabama State University and Alabama A&M University to regional teacher colleges was established and maintained for the purpose of discriminating against the state's black citizens.[29] They also argued that African-American Alabamians were promised in 1873 and thereafter that Alabama State University would provide them with the same liberal arts, graduate, and professional educational opportunities that the University of Alabama provided for whites, but the state failed on this promise.

They alleged that the state of Alabama withheld state funding for land grant functions from Alabama A&M University until 1982, although the university was designated Alabama's black land grant institution in 1890. After small appropriations began, the state denied and continued to deny Alabama A&M any share of federal funds from the Morrill Act of 1862, the Hatch Act of 1887, and the Smith-Lever Act of 1914. As a result, African-American farmers had suffered and were still denied access to modern agricultural and engineering technologies that land grant funding was intended to support. They also argued that the denial to Alabama State University and Alabama A&M University of graduate, professional, and research programs was done intentionally to curb the growth of these universities. They further argued that Alabama physically separated African-Americans and whites in public education, and law had maintained this. As evidence to this claim, they offered an example that de jure segregation was imposed in a variety of ways, ranging from the policies of the Reconstruction era State Board of Education to constitutional prohibitions in 1875 and 1901 to massive resistance policies of governors and white boards of trustees in the twentieth century.

The Knight law team also held that Alabama had always maintained a steadfast policy of imposing white control over the public education of African-American people. This racially motivated policy was crucial to white supremacy for two purposes: to make sure the content, values, and styles of African-Americans' education prepared them for subordinate roles in society, and to ensure that white people would never be forced to submit to the authority of an African-American person.

They also stated that Alabama has a historic policy of channeling its African-American citizens into "sub-par public higher education." They believed it had been accomplished by limiting African-Americans' access to many undergraduate, graduate, and professional programs at white institutions. Various admission criteria caused the number of African-Americans in white institutions to be disproportionately low, and those African-American students who entered white universities encountered administrators, staff, and students who did not expect them to succeed at the same rate as white students.

Knight and his lawyers argued that the state had excluded African-Americans or underrepresented them on the governing boards, administrations and faculties of the white institutions and this was a continuance of historical practice of preventing African-Americans from exercising authority over the education of white people. They argued that the small pool of African Americans who already had doctoral and professional degrees and the lack of university faculty positions for blacks was a result of at least two racially motivated policies: the restriction of historically black institutions' mission with respect to graduate and professional programs and African-Americans' con-

tinued inability to overcome institutionalized massive resistance at white colleges' graduate and professional schools.

Knight's lawyers further argued that the creation, expansion, and maintenance of white university branch campuses in Montgomery and Huntsville remained an example of Alabama's intentionally discriminatory policies of restricting the black institutions missions, ensuring that white people would not be forced to submit to the educational authority of African-American people, and denying historically black institutions the opportunity to provide educational and developmental support for social and economical growth of the state and of the region. They argued that these schools continued to duplicate programs that were already offered at Alabama State University and Alabama A&M University created a stigma against historically black universities, which prevented them from attracting students.

Resistance to *Knight*

The district court entered an opinion in which it found that a racially dual system of higher education previously had been operated by the State of Alabama until 1967 and that the state had failed to dismantle the vestiges of the prior de jure dual system. The court found evidence of past segregation in Alabama's higher education system. The court held that the branch campuses established by Troy State University in Montgomery and Dothan, by Auburn University in Montgomery, and by the University of Alabama in Huntsville had had a negative impact on the efforts of Alabama A&M University and Alabama State University to recruit other race students.

The court also concluded that the segregated racial compositions of all the state's public universities' student bodies and faculty members, and the duplication of programs at schools within close distances of each other, were vestiges of past segregation. The court held that the vast difference in size and quality of the physical plants between the historically black institutions and white institutions were vestiges of past desegregation. Judge Clemons ordered the Governor and the Alabama Commission of Higher Education to submit a plan to eliminate all vestiges of the dual system of higher education.

An appeal was filed in the Eleventh Circuit Court of Appeals. The appeals court affirmed the injunction on behalf of the Knight plaintiffs, but it also held that Alabama State University had no right to file suit against the state or its agencies under Title VI or the Fourteenth Amendment. Alabama State University then petitioned the United States Supreme Court, but was denied.

Meanwhile, the district court overruled motions by several of the defendants seeking immediate appellate review of the district court's original findings concerning the existence of a dual system of higher education based on race. Alabama and the white schools filed a notice of appeal to the Eleventh Circuit Court of Appeals. On February 13, 1986, Auburn University and the University of Alabama attempted to stop the trial, stating that the group did not have the right to challenge vestiges of segregation under the Fourteenth Amendment. In response, the Knight group and the state's historically black universities filed an application with Justice Lewis F. Powell to dissolve the postponement. Justice Lewis F. Powell denied the application. The Court of Appeals did, however, affirm the Knight group's right to challenge vestiges of segregation under the Fourteenth Amendment.[30]

Change of Venue

After six other district judges removed themselves because of their own motion or by order of the Elev-

enth Circuit, the Chief Judge of the Northern District of Alabama saw the need for a judge from another district to preside over this case. Judge Harold Murphy, United States District Judge of the Northern District of Georgia, was designated to handle all the judicial duties related to the case. John Knight Jr. was designated lead plaintiff in the class action suit. The class consisted of African-American citizens of Alabama and all past, present, and future students, faculty, staff, and administration of Alabama State University and Alabama A&M University. The class was then designated as the "Knight group."

By the time the case actually went to trial, several universities had worked out consent decrees. At the beginning of the trial, the court reaffirmed numerous consent decrees. The United States had negotiated consent decrees with the University of South Alabama, the University of Montevallo, Jacksonville State University, and the University of West Alabama, formerly Livingston University. The United States also reached and approved first time agreements with Troy State University, the State Board of Education, Athens State College, and Calhoun State Community College. The court deemed these schools' first attempt at settlement unacceptable.

The Knight group objected to all the consent decrees that had been reached. With the approval of the consent decrees, the court essentially acknowledged that there was an issue of liability and that a remedy was required. The court indicated it would retain jurisdiction over all settling remedies related to the problem after a trial took place on the merits of case. The court chose to hear both issues in a single trial to efficiently use judicial and financial resources. The trial began on October 29, 1990 and continued uninterrupted except for holiday recesses until December 27, 1991. The Court heard from approximately 200 witnesses, received hundreds of thousands of pages of exhibits, and produced a transcript well in excess of 22,000 pages.[31]

The Outcome of *Knight*

U.S. District Judge Harold Murphy repeatedly stated during the six-month trial that he did not want to force a remedy on the parties, but would if he was compelled to do so. After hearing some two hundred witnesses, examining hundreds of thousands of pages of exhibits, and reviewing the court's transcripts, Judge Murphy rendered an 840 page court order in the case.[32] The court considered the disparate enrollments and employment between African Americans and whites in the higher education system and the continued polarization of student bodies and faculties at the states' public institutions. Judge Murphy also looked at the racial compositions of the governing boards and boards of trustees at state institutions. Using the precedent set in the United States v. Fordice (1992), Murphy ruled that vestiges of segregation had impeded and restricted Alabama State University and Alabama A&M University, that the Fourteenth Amendment required the state to eliminate vestiges of discrimination root and branch, and that race neutral policies alone did not constitute desegregation in higher education. The court also held that the state and the two historically black universities had to increase their institutional endowments, and establish new academic programs and other-race scholarships to help desegregate the state's institutions. The court also ordered that the land grant extension services at Alabama A&M University and Auburn University be consolidated into a unitary system and that a statewide monitoring committee be established to monitor higher education desegregation in Alabama.[33]

Specifically, the court ordered Auburn University, Calhoun State

Community College, West Alabama University, Troy State University, and the University of Montevallo to hire more African-American faculty members. Auburn University, Jacksonville State University, the University of Alabama, the University of Alabama at Huntsville, and the University of North Alabama were ordered to recruit and employ more African-American administrators.

Alabama A&M University was awarded $16 million and Alabama State was awarded more than $15 million for capital expenditures to eliminate the remnants of discrimination in regards to their existing physical plants and facilities as a result of past discriminating funding practices by the state. Troy State University in Montgomery was stopped from expanding its campus' physical plant without the consent of the court. The Alabama Commission on Higher Education was ordered to change its higher education funding formula, which had heavily based appropriations on average statewide tuition and enrollment.

Alabama State University and Alabama A&M University were directed to develop and implement a recruitment policy specifically targeting white students and advertisement campaigns that focused on the institutions' quality and open environment to other-race students. Also, funding for other-race scholarships was awarded to Alabama State University and Alabama A&M University to help diversify the student bodies at both universities. The scholarships would be funded annually from 1995 until 2005 and both universities would be reimbursed up to $1 million a year for diversity scholarships.

In addition, the two-year college system was prohibited from establishing community colleges or junior colleges in Montgomery County or Madison County, the homes of the two black colleges, so that the two historically black colleges could competitively recruit some of those students.

A trust fund for educational excellence was created at Alabama State University and Alabama A&M University to help their poor endowments. Both universities were awarded $1 million annually from 1995 until 2005 and the state was required to match contributions up to $1 million for each university's endowment annually. Several high demand programs were also awarded to the two historically black universities to assist with-desegregation. Alabama State University was allowed to develop programs in allied health sciences, up to two Ph. D. programs, and a Master's program in accounting.

Meanwhile, Alabama A&M University was permitted to establish undergraduate mechanical and electrical engineering programs. The term of the consent decree was issued in 1995 and remained in effect until July 31, 2005. In essence, Judge Murphy wanted Alabama State University and Alabama A&M University to become less black in regards to the racial composition of their students, faculty, staff, and administrators.

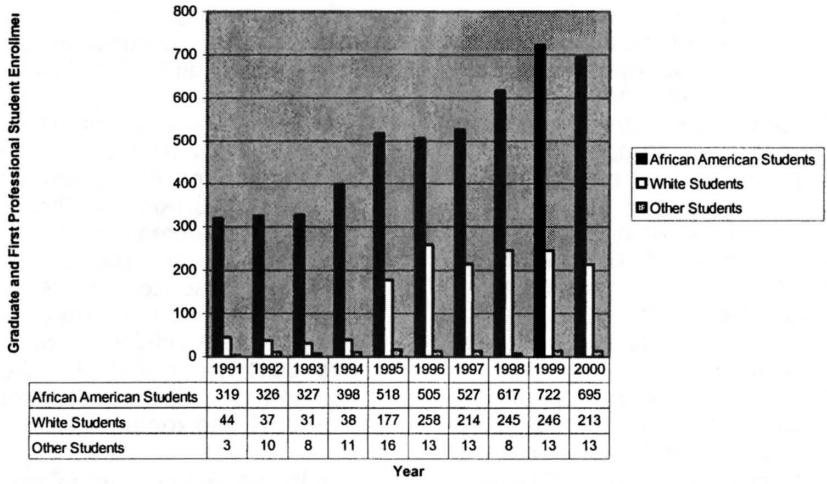
The Impact of the *Knight* Case

Figure 1, shows an increase in the percentage of white graduate and professional students at Alabama State University for the ten-year period. In fall 1991, the percentage of white graduate and professional students was 12.02% (44), and the percentage of African-American students was 87.16% (319). The percentage of other graduate and professional students was 0.82% (3). The total graduate and professional student enrollment was 366. In fall 2000, the percentage of white graduate and professional students was 23.23% (213). The percentage of African-American graduate and professional students was 75.46% (695) out of a total graduate and professional student enrollment of 921. The percent-

age of other graduate and professional students was 1.41% (13). From fall 1999 to fall 2000, Alabama State University's number of white graduate and professional students decreased slightly from 246 students to 213 students.

Alabama State University Graduate and Professional Student Enrollment

Figure 1
Alabama State University Graduate and Professional Enrollment



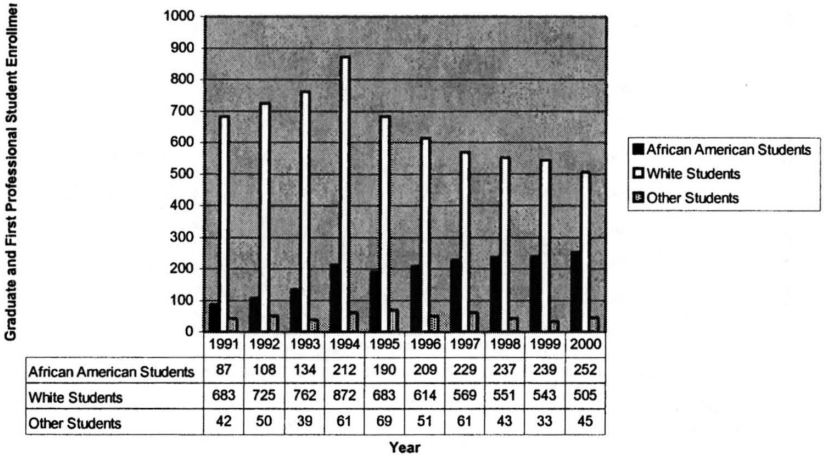
	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
African American Students	319	326	327	398	518	505	527	617	722	695
White Students	44	37	31	38	177	258	214	245	246	213
Other Students	3	10	8	11	16	13	13	8	13	13

The percentage of African-American graduate and professional student enrollment increased as seen in Figure 2. In fall 1991, the percentage of African-American graduate and professional students was 10.71% (87) out of a total student enrollment of 812. The percentage of white students was 84.11% (683). The percentage of other graduate and professional students was 5.17% (42). In fall 2000, the percentage of African-American graduate and professional students increased to 31.42% (252) out of a total graduate and professional student enrollment of 802. The percentage of white students was 65.97% (505) and the percentage of other graduate and professional students was 5.61% (45). Fall 2000 marked the highest number of African-American graduate and professional students enrolled at Auburn University Montgomery.

Auburn University Montgomery increased the number of African-American graduate and professional students in its programs; however, the overall number of the total graduate and professional student enrollment has decreased slightly.

Auburn University Montgomery Graduate and Professional Enrollment

Figure 2
Auburn University in Montgomery Graduate and Professional Enrollment



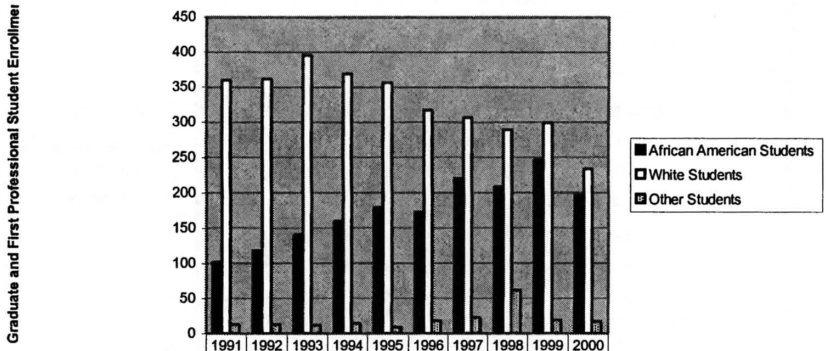
	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
African American Students	87	108	134	212	190	209	229	237	239	252
White Students	683	725	762	872	683	614	569	551	543	505
Other Students	42	50	39	61	69	51	61	43	33	45

Figure 3 shows a slight increase in the percentage of African-American graduate and professional students enrolled at Troy State Montgomery. In fall 1991, the percentage of African-American graduate and professional students was 21.47% (102) out of a total graduate and professional student enrollment of 475. The percentage of white students was 75.79% (360). The percentage of other graduate and professional students was 2.74% (13). In fall 2000, the percentage of African-American graduate and professional students was 43.85% (196) out of the total graduate and professional student enrollment 447. The percentage of white students was 52.35% (234) and the percentage of other students was 3.80% (17). In fall 1999 and fall 2000, the percentage of African-American graduate and professional students held constant at 43.85% and 43.62% respectively. Troy State University Montgomery steadily increased its percentage of African-American graduate and professional students in each year of the ten-year period.

The data shows that it is not enough for the court to make rulings if change is to truly take place. Each educational institution must embrace diversity and adopt policies that uphold the court's ruling. The data also shows that only moderate progress has taken place in desegregating Alabama's educational institutions. With only moderate progress in desegregating and without desegregation policies with teeth, more than likely as soon as the court's decree is lifted, Alabama's universities will return to their homogeneous demographics at the graduate and professional levels.

Troy State University Montgomery Graduate and Professional Student Enrollment

Figure 3
Troy State University - Montgomery Graduate and Professional Enrollment



	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
African American Students	102	118	141	160	179	173	220	208	246	196
White Students	360	362	395	369	356	317	306	289	299	234
Other Students	13	13	12	15	9	18	23	62	19	17

Year

Conclusion

This was an expensive battle for both sides. Legal fees in the case were well over $25 million. Some higher education observers thought that the Knight case would bring a new day in higher education policy and policy-making in Alabama.[34] Although some progress was made in diversifying undergraduate student populations, this progress cannot be seen in all state universities. The issues of inequitable funding and a lack of diversity in the racial compositions of faculty, staff employees, and boards of trustees at public colleges and universities continues to be issues in the state's higher education system. The desegregation of Alabama's colleges and universities has been a long, turbulent, and tedious journey, and it is clear that there remain miles to go. Some 50 years after Brown, the racial and ethnic balance is still tilted in Alabama's higher education system. The court's ruling is just a mere first step and the court's ruling must be followed by a good faith effort by institutions to create sound educational policies that incorporate diversity in their institutions' future.

Requested Addition

By the end of 2005, both sides had entered into talks to resolved pending issues. These negotiations have stalled and Alabama State University and Alabama A&M University have requested the federal court to grant a continuance in the case. In December of 2005, attorneys representing Alabama State University and Alabama A&M University filed briefs asking Judge Murphy to continue the relief from the Knight ruling.

Among the relief requested, the plaintiffs asked the federal court to order additional funds, to monitor

course offerings of institutions that have overlapping service areas, to continue diversity and needs based scholarships, and to require some historically white universities to increase black faculty and administrators. Specifically, Alabama State wanted restrictions on course offerings and the establishment of an effective cross enrollment program with Troy State University Montgomery. Alabama State University also wanted the judge to order a continuance of voluntary and mandatory cross enrollment programs that have been established with Auburn University Montgomery, while Alabama A&M University requested an additional $17 million for construction, repairs, and renovation of campus buildings. With the federal rulings in 1991 and 1995, many hoped that the issues surrounding this case would be settled. However, a final resolution remains to be seen. Many speculate that another trial is looming on the horizon.

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5. Samuel Webb and Margaret Armbrester. *Alabama Governors: A Political History of the State*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2001), 204.

6. *Gayle v. Browder*, 352 U.S. 903 1956.

7. Jeffrey Raffel, *Historical Dictionary of School Segregation and Desegregation*. (Westport: Greenwood Publishing, 1998), 33.

8. J. Mills Thornton, *Dividing Lines Municipal Politics and the Struggle for Civil Rights in Montgomery, Birmingham, and Selma*, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002), pp.50-55, 73-78.

9. Dan Carter, *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origin of New Conservatism and the Transformation of American Politics* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 96.

10. George Wallace Gubernatorial Inaugural Address, January 14, 1963.

11. Dan Carter, *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origin of New Conservatism and the Transformation of American Politics.*

12. Tinsley Yarbrough, *Judge Frank Johnson and Human Rights in Alabama* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002), 155-215; and Robert F. Kennedy, *Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr.: A Biography* (New York: Penguin Group, 1978), 82-124.

13. Jeffrey Raffel, *Historical Dictionary of School Segregation and Desegregation.* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing, 1998), 158; and Dan Carter, The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origin of New Conservatism and the Transformation of American Politics, p. 149.

14. Tinsley Yarbrough, *Judge Frank Johnson Human Rights in Alabama* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama, 2002), 95.

15. Levi Watkins, *Fighting Hard: the Alabama State Experience.* (Detroit: Harlo Press, 1987), 249.

16. *Franklin v. Parker,* 223 F. Supp. 724 M.D. Ala. 1964.

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18. Ibid.

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24. *Knight v. Alabama,* 787 F. Supp. 1030 N.D. Ala. 1991.

25. Ibid.

26. *Knight v. James,* Civil Action No. 81-52-n M.D. Ala.1981.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid

29. *Knight v. Alabama,* 787 F. Supp. 1030 N.D. Ala. 1991.

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32. *Knight v. Alabama,* 900 F. Supp. 272 N.D. Ala. 1995.

33. Eleventh Circuit Court Northern District Court of Alabama. 1995. *Alabama Higher Education Remedial Desegregation Decree,* 17.

34. Patrick Healy, "Despite Some Success, Many Say Alabama Must Increase the Pace of Desegregation," The Chronicle of Higher Education (November 29, 1996), A31; and Patrick Healy, "The Next Step in Desegregation" The Chronicle of Higher Education (February 9, 1996) A22: and Lisa Grernsy, "Lecturing Presidents, Alabama Judge Demands Progress in Desegregation" The Chronicle of Higher Education (April 20, 1996), A40.

POETRY

A. Leonard A. Slade, Jr.

Katrina

Forecasts.
Sirens.
Cries.
Winds rushed to New Orleans,
Splashing water did not discriminate,
Black and white bodies floated,
Yellow busses rested miles away
Until Katrina left town.
The Mayor spoke
The Governor spoke
The President spoke
Too late.

ЖЖЖЖЖЖ

A Day That Changed the World

His birth changed the world,
Taught us the Meaning of peace and joy,
Gave us hope for better tomorrows,
Kindled pure light where darkness existed,
Challenged the world to seek salvation,
Gave us His life and eternal love.

The Word "Office"

The word "office" is palatial

desks and lamps, luxury of
books, and ringing telephones

high in an attic and heavenly
ceiling

comfortable bathroom
magazines and journals
read, savored, and pictured

fire and smoke, water and ashes
now rebuilding
new meaning

The College of Saint Rose
Albany, New York
5 November 2005

£££££££

Rosa Parks

I see a bus
Picking up passengers.
Radiant Rosa
Sits near the front
Refusing to move
Dragged away
Handcuffed
Fingerprinted
Jailed.
Tell me, America,
Your whole history
Of race relations
Of Rosa in particular
Who lives forever
Deep in conscience
A nation suffering
Still healing.

B. Ronald Dorris

Tapestry

Eternal life, *mon petit*
you no 'blee in eternal life
loss is gain, gain is loss
a law of nature as old as time
more ancient than printed books.

When da night comes
us do not live it
us race toward da lite
when da day comes
we do not live it
us race toward da nite
'umani-tee follows da sun and moon
so it 'tis with life an' death
at the point that us is born
us race toward no return
only then does us begin to life.

Eternal life, *mon petit*
You no 'blee in eternal life
loss is gai, gain is loss
us learn secrets through sacrifice
you do not blee' in eternal life
'cuz ya cannot see
thru yo' shadow tall
which stands on earth
as above so below.

Lift thine eyes upward, *mon petit*
lose not this mo-ment
blinded by smoke dat purifies
learn to undahstain
that da ball of fire suspended
from the thread of heaven
descends at da height of its glory
ascends at da depth of its fall
learn ta undahstain
dat d stars backward S
you see in da adverse
relative to yo 'zition on earth
Eternal life, *mon petit*
you no 'blee in eternal life
you are eternal life, *mon petit*
no less than the moon and stars.

The Reverend Collin Bennett: Hartford's Caribbean Pioneer in Politics, Civil Rights, and Business

Dennis C. Canterbury

Introduction

The story of the Reverend Collin Bennett, a West Indian from St. Andrew, Jamaica, recruited to work as a tobacco farm laborer in Connecticut in the 1950s, became the first person from that region and black Republican to be elected to the Hartford City Council.[1] The Collin Bennett story is one that serves as an inspiration to ordinary working class people who have an interest in entering into politics as a means of contributing towards the social, political, and economic development of their communities. Its historical sociological significance is that it adds positively towards our understanding of the political, economic, and social processes, events, and institutional developments in the black West Indian community in Hartford.

As the first and only West Indian migrant worker in the tobacco valley that became an elected official in Connecticut, Bennett was a pioneer and a trailblazer. Veronica Airey-Wilson recalls that he was a peoples' person on whom many individuals relied for opportunities, information, and advice. He paved the way in the field of politics and entrepreneurship for the descendants of West Indian and Puerto Rican migrant workers in Hartford. As a bridge builder, he brought people from different political, economic, race, and ethnic backgrounds together for the common goal of improving the community of color in Hartford. Through his efforts, a stronger unity was forged between the West Indian and African American communities.

The Collin Bennett story answers five key questions. What was the nature of the process by which Bennett became politically mature? What were the major socio-economic and political conditions between the 1930s and 1950s that helped to shape Bennett's consciousness? What was the nature of the society, economy, and civil rights situation into which Bennett was enlisted as a farm laborer? What were the fundamental political and economic developments that Bennett helped to bring about while he was politically active in Hartford? What efforts did Bennett make to address the ethic conflict between the West Indians and African Americans in Hartford, and to bring them together to take common political action for their self-development?

Background on Tobacco Farming and Labor in Connecticut

Farm laborers were recruited directly from the British West Indian colonies to work in Connecticut's tobacco valley beginning in the early 1940s until the 1950s.[2] Characterized by fertile lands appropriate for tobacco cultivation that commenced during the 1800s, the valley stretches northwards along the Connecticut River from Portland, Connecticut to Massachusetts. The acreage under cultivation peaked in 1921 at 31,000 acres, but only 4,000 acres were being planted in 1997.[3]

Although thousands of young people fourteen years and above were employed as tobacco workers when tobacco cultivation commenced, the industry was still faced with a severe labor shortage. In a desperate effort to save the industry, the tobacco farmers turned to recruiting girls from Florida, boys from Pennsylvania, African American college students from the US south, and migrant workers from the West Indies and Puerto Rico.[4] Migrant workers are

still recruited to work in the Connecticut tobacco valley.

The Process of Political Maturing[5]

Collin Bennett was born in St. Andrew Jamaica on June 8, 1931, the constituency in which Marcus Garvey had stood for election in 1930.[6] He was the eldest child and the only son of Rudolph and Ada Bennett. Rudolph worked at the Stony Hill Appearance School for abandoned or unfortunate children, while Ada was a homemaker/seamstress who was very much the political person in the Bennett household. The decades of the 1930s and 1940s were fruitful for the Bennett family as Ada bore three other children: Cynthia, born in 1934, Norma, born in 1941, and Joan, born in1945.

Simultaneously as the Bennett family multiplied, it had to contend with the greatest economic disaster and world war that had ever visited the global capitalist system of production, distribution, and exchange between 1930 and 1945. The crash in the New York Stock Exchange in 1929 set in motion a series of economic events that resulted in the Great Depression that lasted for more than a decade, and ended with the Second World War between 1939 and 1945. These events were of grave consequences in the West Indies as they stimulated social unrest and the nationalist political movement in the region. Collin Bennett grew up during these tumultuous years.

He attended the Stony Hill Government School where he was instructed by teachers such as Mrs. Edwards, and Mrs. Gordon. At age 11-12, he was successful at the secondary school qualification examination that gained him a place at Browning College. Subsequently, he took up bookkeeping. Collin was baptized and confirmed at the St. Judes Anglican Church and was an acolyte, chorister and Boy Scout.

The economic crisis in the West Indies during the 1930s and 1940s sucked many people in the region into politics. Collin listened to the political discourses conducted by the older men in his community on the burning issues of the day. These issues involved the political events including party politics, political mobilization, mass political meetings, and industrial unrest that led to the introduction of universal adult suffrage in Jamaica in 1944. Collin encouraged people to go out and vote in these elections. He attended political meetings that local politician Madam Rose Leon held at the Lodge Hall in Stony Hill. Also, he participated with his mother in political meetings organized by the local branches of the Jamaica Labor Party (JLP) and the People's National Party (PNP), the leading nationalist political parties that grew out of the social unrest in 1938. The interest that Collin showed in politics caused several persons in Stony Hill to predict that he was a future politician in the making.

Socio-Economic and Political Conditions 1930 – 1950[7]

The West Indies was marred by colonialism, the collapse of the colonial system and the emergence of a new world order under US hegemony between 1930 and 1950, developments that had a lasting impact on the life of Collin Bennett. These were the events that caused Bennett to leave Jamaica for the US as a tobacco farm worker recruit in search of better opportunities in 1950.

The global capitalist system in the 1930s

The Great Depression in the 1930s was characterized by high unemployment, failed businesses, and the collapse of the capitalist financial institutions. There were approximately 13 million unemployed persons in the US in 1932 or about a quarter of the country's entire labor force. The economic decline had started earlier in

the European textile manufacturing industries. They were replaced by new industries – chemical, automobile, electrical, and mechanical that provided the basis for new industrial firms, and the spread of industrialization outside of Europe. The expansion in industrial development increased the effectiveness of trade unions, working class militancy, and amplified national rivalries between the industrial powers that sought to create their own spheres of commercial influence (Thomas, 1988).

Industrial expansion necessitated corresponding developments in international organization, the creation of appropriate frameworks of rules and regulations for the flow of finance and capital, and foreign exchange and currency management that gave rise to competitive devaluation, dumping, and protectionism (Thomas, 1988). The global economy had become engulfed in a complicated and unprecedented era of price inflation due to conditions associated with World War I (Thomas, 1988).

The crisis in the West Indies during the 1930s

Bennett was in his pre-teens during the 1930s as the crisis in the global economy became manifest in the West Indies in the form of widespread social unrest. The West Indies was a hotbed of riots, strikes, and general disturbances. In his native Jamaica, there were serious disturbances in May 1935, and May and June 1938. There were strikes and or disturbances in Trinidad and Tobago between May and July 1934 and in June 1937; St. Kitts in January 1935; Guyana in September and October 1935 and February 1939; St. Vincent in October 1935; and Barbados in July 1937 (Thomas, 1988; Bolland, 2001). Although the crisis in the global capitalist system was the general external cause of the social unrest in the region, colonialism had created local conditions that stimulated the turbulence. Also, there were other general factors with regional application that helped to trigger the riots, strikes, and demonstrations.

The Great Depression caused the colonial economy in the West Indies that depended heavily on the export of agricultural staples to Europe to collapse. For example, 75% of the value of all exports from Antigua, and 95%, 86%, 60%, and 45% from Barbados, St. Kitts-Nevis, and St. Lucia respectively, was characterized by sugar and its by-products in 1928 (Bolland, 2001). While the economies depended heavily on the export of sugar, however, the price of the commodity plummeted during the depression, dramatizing the negative effect of the crisis on the region.

The price of sugar per ton in Barbados fell from $73.20 in 1927 to $41.52 in 1931. In Jamaica, sugar price declined from £16 15 shillings in 1927 to £11 5 shillings in 1931 and to a low of £9 10 shillings and 9 pence in 1936. The average price for Guyanese sugar was £26 per ton between 1920 and 1924, £12 per ton between 1925 and 1929, and £6 per ton between 1930 and 1939. The average annual output of sugar in the West Indies increased from 312,000 tons in the 1920s to 485,000 tons in the 1930s. The price that the West Indian sugar producers received declined catastrophically after 1929 to less than £5 per ton in 1934, the lowest in its history (Bolland, 2001:126).

The longstanding grievances over land and production and marketing issues that the West Indian peasants had against the plantations were collectively another general cause of the widespread social unrest. Historically, the peasants occupied the least fertile lands, and were subjected to, bullying by the plantations. The peasants had problems with land titles, poor technologies, lack of finance and marketing assistance, and poor transportation of their produce from the farm to the market. These and other

grievances common to the peasants in the region stimulated their participation in the disturbances during the 1930s (Thomas, 1988).

Further, at the time there was a rapid growth in the consciousness of the working class in the West Indies. For example, labor associations were organized in Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, and Jamaica. Bian Alves led the Longshoreman's Union formed in Jamaica in 1918. The British Guiana Labor Union (BGLU), the first union in the Commonwealth Caribbean to be legally recognized, was formed by Hubert Nathaniel Critchlow in 1919 (Chase, 1964, Henry, 1979).[8] The Trinidad Workingmen's Association was revived under the leadership of Captain Cipriani in 1919.

There were earlier attempts at union organization in these West Indian colonies before 1900 (Chase, 1964, Henry, 1979, Rodney, 1981). The colonial legal infrastructure at the time however did not allow for the recognition of trade unions and collective bargaining in the West Indies. It was not until 1921 that the appropriate labor law was enacted in the West Indies that introduced collective bargaining (Chase, 1964). The BGLU was the first workers' organization to cash in on the passage of that colonial bill and became legally recognized in 1922.

Additionally, there was a general increase in nationalist and pro-independence sentiments in the1930s. The labor unions in the West Indies were organized as broad-based social movements that campaigned for improved wages and conditions of service, political independence, and radical transformation of the colonial system.

Rising expectations that resulted from West Indians traveling abroad and experiencing living conditions in Europe and the US also played a major role in the disturbances. Upon returning home, these individuals wanted for themselves the same high standard of living they experienced abroad. They wanted opportunities for upward mobility in the colonial system and accorded the respect they deserved as trained professionals. That was not to be the case, as they still had to contend with the political, economic, social, color and racial hierarchies of the colonial system. Rising expectations tied in with the widespread provision of education in the region. The West Indian population was highly educated and demanded a greater say in the region's political, economic and social affairs (Thomas, 1988).

Some other important factors that contributed toward the social unrest in the West Indies included high unemployment, the woefully inadequate social welfare system, and the challenge by Garvyism and Ethiopianism on the one hand and Fabian socialism and Marxism on the other to the deeply rooted colonial political culture that was based on racism and rigid social hierarchies (Thomas, 1988, Bolland 2001).

The West Indies during the Second World War

The Second World War intersected with the Great Depression, creating even harsher times for the West Indian colonies. Collin Bennett was only eight years old when the war started. The depression and the war years must have had lasting memories on the mind of young Collin Bennett. The economic conditions in his home were not that rosy. Throughout Jamaica and the rest of the West Indies, the people faced testing times during the Second World War. Several men in search of employment volunteered to join the British West Indian Regiment to fight on behalf of the Allied Forces. Nonetheless, the Second World War did have some positive political and economic effects in the region.

One constructive development was that the relentless pressure by

the Jamaican people on the colonial system won them universal adult suffrage in 1944 that ushered in the modern political period in the British West Indies. That development was a clear signal that the British Empire had started to collapse. For example, India won its political independence in 1947, which gave impetus to the nationalist movement in the British colonies. Thereafter political independence was placed on the horizon in the entire region in a serious way.

The Second World War brought certain economic benefits to the British West Indies. The construction of US military bases and other wartime facilities in the West Indies expanded economic activities in the area. Regional employment increased, more income was generated, and the labor force received important training in a wide range of construction skills (Thomas, 1988).

Further, the region's import-export trade was severely interrupted by the war. The disruption was most acute in the sugar industry. The British government undertook a massive rehabilitation program in the sugar industry in those colonies after the war. The trade disorder between Britain and the West Indies created the opportunity for the US to emerge as the dominant trading partner with the region (Thomas, 1988).

Inadequate imports to the West Indies and the inability of exporters to ship their produce to Europe during the war caused them to shift their focus to production for the local and regional markets. The result was an increase in intra-regional trade reflected for example in Trinidad and Tobago's production of food in 1945 of two and a half times of 1939 (Thomas, 1988).

In addition, a variety of new industries was established and the region began to pursue the protectionist import substitution industrialization economic strategy. Some large-scale secondary industries – lime and limestone, matches, industrial gases – were established to produce for domestic consumption and the export market. There were other secondary industries that developed to produce food, drink, tobacco, clothing, and household items for the local markets. As well, the local handicraft industries and artisan output experienced a major fillip at that time (Thomas, 1988).

The report of the Moyne Commission, established to investigate the social unrest in the West Indies during the 1930s, published its report at the end of the Second World War. The Moyne Commission recommended sweeping social, political, and economic reforms in the region that were subsequently implemented. The restructuring ushered in a modern system of social welfare in the region similar to that enjoyed by the citizens of the developed countries in the British Commonwealth.

Meanwhile the hardships of the Great Depression and the Second World War pushed the West Indian population outwards. While there were few employment opportunities abroad throughout the depression, job openings abounded in Europe and the US during and after the Second World War because of severe labor shortages.

The tobacco industry in the US was one business area that experienced labor shortages during the Second World War. West Indian workers were recruited to overcome the labor problem in that industry in Connecticut around 1943. Collin Bennett was only twelve years old when the first batch of farm laborers left Jamaica for the tobacco valley. Eight years later in 1951, he joined in the stream of migrants from the West Indies to the tobacco valley.

The 1950s were characterized by a wave of out-migration from the West Indies to the US and Britain. Approximately 168,000 West Indians traveled to Britain between 1953 and

1954. They entered Britain at a rate of about 20,000 and 30,000 a year between 1955 and 1959. The Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962 however placed a break on the constant flow of West Indians to Britain. It is recorded that roughly 200,000 West Indians migrated to the US between 1951 and 1960, and 500,000 between 1951 and 1970 (Thomas, 1988). Therefore, Collin Bennett was not alone in his decision to leave Jamaica in February 1951. He was recruited by the Farm Workers' Association like several other Jamaicans.

The United States in the 1950s[9]

The socio-political and economic conditions in the US into which Collin Bennett arrived in the 1950s were quite different to that which he was accustomed in Jamaica. The US had begun to experience unprecedented economic prosperity. It established its global dominance as leader of the capitalist world in the Cold War with the former Soviet Union. Simultaneously, a significant percentage of the US' population was un-free subjected to Jim Crow segregation laws under the doctrine of 'separate but equal.' The civil rights movement had begun to systematically chip away at Jim Crow.

The United States economy in the 1950s

The US economy was in a very good position in the 1950s. It produced sufficient goods and services to satisfy the domestic needs of the US (Vatter, 1963). That contributed towards the virtual disappearance of mass unemployment in that decade. Unemployment averaged at about 4.6% of the civilian labor force in the 1950s compared to about 15% to 25% between 1931 and 1940 (Vatter, 1963).

Economic growth however was moderate. In the period 1950 to 1955, the average annual rate of increase in real GNP was 4.7%, compared with 2.25% between 1955 and 1959. Prices were under control. The average annual increase in real GNP prices between 1950 and 1959 was 2.9%, compared with 4.7% between 1921 and 1929. But, both wholesale and consumer prices were poised for an upward movement (Vatter, 1963).

Five other important characteristics of the US in the 1950s were first the persistence of moderate economic instability due to fluctuating output, employment, income, and prices. Second, the paradox of economic prosperity was that it stimulated suburbanization, the problems associated with metropolitan communities, and the rise of depressed areas. Third, the US experienced a decline in its urban population. Fourth, the US became increasingly global in its interests by paying attention to the activities of other countries and in particular the former Soviet Union. And fifth, there were phenomenal improvements in technology in the areas of industrial arts, new products, organization, and processing (Vatter, 1963).

The tobacco industry also underwent technological innovations in the 1950s. A new technology ground tobacco and mixed it with an adhesive to create a new product, a thin paper-like sheet. The new product displaced the tobacco leaf as the raw material used to bind and wrap cigars. Eventually, the acreage cultivated with broadleaf tobacco declined (*http://www.cigarweekly.com/magazine/archives/ 1998/ issue12 /ct history .asp*).

The civil rights struggle and challenge to desegregation

In the West Indies, the US appeared to be a place to fulfill realizable dreams. In reality, however Jim Crow segregation and racism were major stumbling blocks in the path of black people that thwarted their life chances in the US. Collin Bennett therefore entered a country that was prosperous and in which he could

realize his boyhood dreams of personal success, but the glimmer of hope was fraught with stumbling blocks. Bennett could not have been oblivious to the race problem in the US.

Several legislative bills and court rulings were made against segregation during the 1950s. These were intended to remove segregation and discrimination in areas such as housing, restaurants, education, and public facilities.[10] Furthermore, there were actions taken against segregation in buses, waiting rooms, and interstate travel coaches, and city buses in Montgomery, Alabama. The Civil Rights Act was passed in 1957, the first civil rights legislation since 1875, and New York became the first state to adopt the Fair Housing Practice Law.

There were some efforts at the federal level to protect African Americans against racial discrimination in the awards of government contracts and employment in the 1950s. For example, President Truman established a committee to supervise compliance with the provisions against discrimination in US government contracts and sub-contracts in 1951. President Eisenhower established a Government Contract Compliance Committee to supervise anti-discrimination regulations applying to employers with government contracts in 1953 (Bennett, Jr., 1968).

White reactions to desegregation included attempts to physically eliminate African American leaders, the lynching of African American men, and challenges to formally derail the desegregation process (Bennett, Jr., 1968). The resistance against desegregation took various forms such as mob riots by whites, in Illinois, Texas, Tennessee, and Arkansas.

Breakthroughs for African Americans and stepped-up attacks on Jim Crow

There were significant breakthroughs for African Americans as they stepped up their attacks against Jim Crow. Racial discrimination in elementary, high school, and university education came under attack. There were many important firsts for African Americans in education, politics, and the military, in terms of their admission, appointments to high office, and promotion to high ranks.

African Americans stepped up their attacks on Jim Crow segregation through boycotts and demonstrations in the 1950s. These took place in cities like Montgomery, Alabama, and Tallahassee, Florida. Added pressure was brought to bear on Jim Crow segregation by new organizations such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference formed in New Orleans, led by the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., civil rights demonstrations in Washington, D.C., and elsewhere, and the boycotting of stores, such as the Tuskegee boycott (Bennett, Jr., 1968).

In Hartford, Connecticut, for example, there was segregation in employment in the insurance industry, banks, department stores, and public housing. Although the Fair Housing Act was in force there was redlining in Hartford. African Americans and black West Indians could not live on Tower Avenue, Franklin Avenue and in most of the North End. There was a quota system that limited African Americans and black West Indians to occupy one-fourth of the public housing in the City of Hartford. The quota system in public housing only ended in the 1950s.[11]

The North End Community Action Program was organized in the mid-1950s to fight against segregation in Hartford. Also, the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) formed a chapter in Hartford in the late 1950s led Thirman Milner and former State Senator Wilber G. Smith who was a civil rights activist in Hartford and president of the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). A chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was

organized in Hartford in the early 1960s.[12]

Bennett's Role in Black Political and Economic Development[13]

In was under those conditions of economic prosperity and civil rights struggles in the US that Collin Bennett decided to marry Winifred (Molly) Tate, his childhood friend, in 1957. Collin and Molly grew up on the same street in Jamaica, but she had traveled to England where she studied nursing. Collin brought her from England for them to be married in New York City. They had six children: Adlai, Barry, Sharon, Lisa, Dawn, and Michael.

Collin made his living as a tobacco worker and as a real estate agent. He obtained a full scholarship from the Convent Insurance Company to the Ohio School of Insurance at Oberlin College, where he graduated successfully and obtained his insurance license in August 1961. Thereafter he opened the Collin B. Bennett Insurance Agency, under the leadership of Molly Bennett.[14]

As a businessman, Collin became the owner of several proprieties in Hartford. Subsequently, he combined some of these properties as collateral to purchase the land and built a five-story building named the Colin B. Bennett Building on Albany Avenue in Hartford. The building housed a commercial bank, and several other offices. The Bennett family, now headed by Molly as matriarch, continues to be the owner of the building, a source of pride of the African American and black West Indian communities in Hartford.[15]

According to Molly Bennett, "As a black businessman Collin was honest, reliable, and trustworthy. There were not many African American and black West Indian businessmen in Hartford at that time so all eyes were on him. The African Americans and black West Indians felt that they could have trusted him with their business."[16]

The lasting legacies of Collin Bennett are his contributions to the political and economic development of the African American and black West Indian communities in Hartford. He was a relentless fighter for the African Americans and black West Indians to participate in the political process and to own businesses in the city. In that regard, he stood on the shoulders of several African American and black West Indian leaders such as Marcus Garvey, who had gone before him. African American and black West Indian participation in politics and economic self-sufficiency were themes that were brought forward from the Harlem Renaissance, and Marcus Garvey's struggle for black global self-emancipation. The nationalist movements in Jamaica and the West Indies were also about political and economic freedom. The teachings of the Nation of Islam and Black Power also espoused similar goals in the 1960s and 1970s. To fulfill his political mission in Hartford, Bennett entered into city politics.

After consultations with family-members and friends, Bennett ran for political office on a Republican ticket in Hartford in 1965. According to Molly Bennett and Veronica Airey-Wilson, he tried to become a candidate for the Democratic Party in the city but was turned down on the grounds that he had not previously worked with the organization. The Republicans placed him on their ticket. Bennett won his seat and became the first West Indian and black Republican to be elected to the City Council. He served for eight consecutive years as councilman, an unpaid position at the time.

The goal of Bennett to bring more people of color into the political process drove him to invite others to seek elected positions. Airey-Wilson recollects that Bennett lectured in homes and clubs on political empowerment. Although Bennett was a Republican, he encouraged Thirman

Milner, an African American, to run for mayor of Hartford. Milner had served before as a State Representative for the Democratic Party from 1976 and 1980. Bennett took Milner to the West Indian organizations in Hartford and introduced him to the West Indian community. He urged the West Indians in Hartford to vote for Milner in the mayoral elections. Bennett raised the first monies for Milner's mayoral campaign by passing a hat around at the meetings they attended at the West Indian organizations. Milner won the election and became the first popularly elected African American mayor in all of New England in 1981, a position he held until 1987.

Bennett took firm actions in the 1970s in fulfillment of his self-appointed mission to educate and politicize the African American and black West Indian communities and to encourage its members to buy property and start businesses. In the 1970s and 1980s, there were several West Indian groups in Hartford but they did not collectively address the major political, social, and economic issues of the day. Bennett brought the leadership of the groups together to begin to discuss those issues in the early 1990s. Some of the leaders that came together included Edgar Johnson, (now editor of the West Indian American Newspapers), Alfred Chambers (the first West Indian to own a general store in the Hartford community), Walter Benjamin, (owner of Benjamin Associates accounting firm), and Keith Thinker. The West Indian Planning and Development Organization (WIPDO), a sort of an *ad hoc* group, emerged from that meeting.[17]

The West Indian Credit Union materialized from the WIPDO to provide the African American and black West Indian community with easy access to loans and to help build financial responsibility and stability. The Credit Union intended to break the dependence of the African American and black West Indian communities on the mainstream financial institutions that discriminated against them.[18]

The West Indian American Newspapers was a product of the WIPDO in 1992. Bennett wanted a medium through which West Indians could communicate with each other and the wider society about community activities and on the positive things that they did in Hartford. This need arose because of the negative press that African Americans and black West Indians in particular received in Hartford. The West Indian American newspapers sought to reverse the negative attitudes about West Indians living in Hartford. At the same time, the papers served the dual role of developing as a black business venture.[19]

The WIPDO organized and implemented the West Indian New Arrival Program for West Indian children that migrate to Hartford. The children are placed in the new arrival program that helped them with the transition to get settled in the city upon their arrival, in Hartford. The children are given remedial training in the program if the need arises. This program is so successful that it is now a model for other states and cities in the US. New York City and Bloomfield, Connecticut, for example, have implemented similar programs. The Board of Education now operates the program that is extended to Bosnian and Asian children that arrive in Hartford.[20]

Also, the WIPDO encouraged West Indians to become involved in politics in Hartford. Bennett admonished the members of the WIPDO to identify West Indians who would seek office to all elected positions in Hartford including the Board of Education and the Hartford City Council. Bennett then suggested that Veronica Airey-Wilson run for a seat on the Hartford City Council.

According to Airey-Wilson, Bennett approached the Democratic

Party officials that dominated the Hartford City Council about her participation on their ticket, but they turned him down on the basis that she did not have a record of political activism with the organization. Airey-Wilson turned to the Republican Party that badly needed a black representative in Hartford. The Republicans agreed for her to become one of its candidates. She received the highest amount of votes of any candidate that contested the city election that year and won a seat in the Hartford City Council as a Republican. Collin Bennett and the WIPDO campaigned for her.[21]

Airey-Wilson became the deputy mayor of Hartford in 2002. The Democratic Mayor Eddie Perez, a descendant of a Puerto Rican tobacco farm worker in Connecticut won the election in that year, but he appointed Airey-Wilson, a Republican, as his deputy much to the consternation of his party comrades. Bennett mentored Airey-Wilson and helped her father, a Jamaican migrant tobacco worker, to establish a family-owned bakery business in Hartford.

Ethnic Conflict and Resolution[22]

Bennett sought a resolution to the ethnic conflict between the African Americans and the West Indians in Hartford. In the view of Thirman Milner, the biggest achievement of Bennett was perhaps the bridge that he built between the African Americans and the West Indians in Hartford. This was possibly his greatest contribution to the African American and black West Indian community in Hartford. Milner points out that Bennett became a mentor to the entire community of color in Hartford after the African Americans and West Indians became unified. For this to have happened, both groups had to break down the stereotypes they held about each other and to learn to cultivate mutual respect.

Causes and nature of ethnic conflict

The original African Americans in Hartford lived in the South end of the city and the Jews occupied the North end. The black West Indians that settled in Hartford after serving their contract in the tobacco industry went to live in the north end in the late 1950s. Around the same time, newly arriving African Americans in Hartford from the US south also settled in the North end. The Jews in turn began to move out of the north end and to relocate in West Hartford, where according to Milner, it was believed that they had to sign a compact not to sell their property to African Americans and black West Indians.[23]

According to Milner, the separation between African Americans and West Indians was as deep as the divide between white and African Americans. When the West Indians began to raise families and their population expanded, the conflict with African Americans became even greater. In Milner's view, the African Americans' resentment towards the West Indians had several sources.

First, there was the belief that West Indian men only married African American women to stay legally in the US. In Milner's view, for that very reason the African American men in Hartford did not appreciate such marriages. Second, the African Americans believed that the West Indians were taking away their jobs. Third, the West Indians began to buy property in Hartford, a development that the African Americans did not appreciate. Milner points out that there were not many African American property owners, the white dominated society kept the African Americans in a subservient frame of mind. According to him, the African Americans were accustomed to their compliant status in the society, and they therefore did not contemplate property ownership on a large scale. The West Indians however began to buy-up property at a fast pace.

Fourth, the African Americans believed that the West Indians had only just arrived in Hartford but they were already accumulating wealth by buying property and opening stores. This caused even more segregation between West Indians and African Americans. Fifth, the African Americans resented what they considered as the air of superiority that the West Indians portrayed. This led to the belief among the African Americans that the West Indians thought that they were better than they were. And sixth, initially the West Indians attended the white churches. That baffled the African Americans and caused them to be upset and reinforced their belief that the West Indians believed that they were superior to them. It was only in the last 20 years that the West Indians have begun to attend the African American churches and/or form their own churches. Indeed, Collin Bennett was ordained as a Minister of the Episcopal Church – Dioceses of Connecticut on June 19, 1992.[24]

The West Indians also formulated stereotypes about the African Americans they encountered in Hartford. First, they thought that African Americans were uneducated and did only menial jobs. The West Indians did not understood how it was that there were so few college educated African American entrepreneurs in Hartford. In Milner's view, however the West Indians were unaware of the nature of white racism in Connecticut. He hypothesized that racism in Hartford was very different but yet the same as racism in the US south. According to him, even the African Americans from the US south that came to Connecticut at that time believed that they enjoyed more freedom in their newly found northern state. Milner preferred the South because everything there was in black and white. The African Americans in the US south therefore knew exactly how they were supposed to behave. In Connecticut, however it appeared on the surface that not everything was in plain black and white, but in reality, it was.

In Milner's view, the West Indians and even the African Americans from the US south did not fully understand the difference between appearance and reality in terms of racism in Connecticut. In the first instance, there were no traditional African American colleges or schools in New England. It was only in the 1930s that college educated African Americans came to Connecticut and Hartford city had its first African American teacher. African Americans came to Connecticut for the same reason as the West Indians, to work in the tobacco industry.[25]

The African Americans in Hartford had to send their children to historically African American colleges in the US south. When these students graduated, the majority of them did not return to Connecticut. Until today, the best of the African American students in Hartford attend the historical black colleges in the US south. Thus, Hartford lacked a, strong African American educated elite, which began to emerge only in the 1940s and 1950s.[26]

Second, the West Indians believed that the blacks in Hartford were lazy because they seemed not to be hard workers, and unambitious, because they were employed only in jobs that were at the bottom of society. The African Americans worked as undertakers, preachers, domestics, cleaners, and chauffeurs. The West Indians believed that the African Americans were not industrious because they had no businesses of their own, and only a few of them were property owners in Hartford. Again, in Milner's view these stereotypes reflected the ignorance of the West Indians who were not fully in tuned with American society.[27]

According to Milner, the African Americans in Hartford were less educated than the southern African

Americans who migrated to the city in the 1930s and 1940s. Even though that was the case, the African Americans in Hartford looked down on the southern African Americans. This was due primarily to cultural differences. For instance, Milner recalled that his grandmother told him about one source of conflict between the African American women in Hartford and the African American women from the US south that migrated to the city. The African American women in Hartford did not wear their dust apron and caps in the public. These were uniforms worn only on the job or indoors. The southern African American women worn their aprons and dust caps in public. The Hartford women thought that it was wrong to wear such apparel in the public and that the women from the south were not cultured. This was a source of ridicule and conflict between the two groups.

Conflict resolution in the black ethnic communities in Hartford

Earlier, in his capacity as a community leader, Bennett had appeased the fair housing demonstrators to avoid a major confrontation with the police on Main Street Hartford in 1967. Nonetheless, in Milner's view, unity between the West Indians and African Americans in Hartford really began to take shape after the spontaneous rioting in Hartford when the news broke on the assassination of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968. Bennett wanted to know why the African Americans and black West Indians were destroying the businesses in their own communities. The dialogue between the West Indians and the African Americans in Hartford began to take place after those riots when their leaders came together to talk about the cultural differences of their respective groups.

Milner recalls that there was an urgency of the two ethnic sections to come together after they realized that as black people they were indeed in the same situation in Hartford. The cultural differences that divided them paled in comparison to the common problems they faced as victims of racism, poverty, and their under-representative status in all spheres of economic and political life.

Milner recollects that Bennett formed 'coalitions' or *ad hoc* groups comprising West Indian and African American leaders from the churches, elected officials and other walks of life in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The mission of the coalitions was to explore the differences and similarities between two ethnic groups and to find ways to overcome their divisions; fight racism and promote social justice issues; promote black entrepreneurship and encourage West Indians to contest for elected office; and address the class differences that divided the black community. Bennett encouraged the leaders in the partnerships to take back to their respective organizations and communities the message that they were all black people faced with the same social, political and economic problems. These coalitions met on a monthly basis at different venues in Hartford.

These meetings helped to change the perceptions and reverse the image that the leaders of the ethnic groups held of each other. The West Indians began to work with the African Americans in Hartford and vice versa. There was greater integration between West Indians and African Americans. As the relationship between the two ethnic groups began to change, they learned to respect each other's cultural differences. Milner recollects that many of the African Americans began to have a mind shift and started to buy property and to start their own small businesses. Bennett's name became a household word in Hartford. Some conflicts still continue between the

two cultural sections but they are not as grave as in the past.[28]

Community and Social Development[29]

Collin Bennett spearheaded several efforts that helped in the community development of the black neighborhoods and the overall social development of the black people in Hartford. Cathy Tomlinson, Milner, and Airey-Wilson recall that his philosophy was that a strong and vital community could only evolve if its members were well educated, and if it had a vibrant economic base to sustain itself. Thus, both during and after his tenure at city hall, Bennett was a strong advocate for the development of the education system in Hartford. For example, he made a direct contribution to the building of several schools. These are John C. Clark School, named after the first black Councilman in Hartford, the Waverly Simpson School, the new Weaver High School in Hartford's North end, the Lewis Fox Middle School, the Parkview School and the Sands School. His service in education included his role as president of the Barbour Street Parent-Teacher Association.

Collin believed that housing and home ownership were important cornerstones of community development. Thus, he fought for fair housing and used the black community organizations to fight against housing discrimination. In this connection, he participated in the completion of various housing program namely the Percival Smith Towers, the Martin Luther King housing community, the Tuscan Homes, the Woodland Apartments, Sands Housing, the Mark Twain Towers, Bennett Commons on Cleveland Avenue, St. Monica Senior Low Income Housing Development, and the St. Martin Outreach Center on Woodland Street in Hartford. Molly Bennett recalls that Collin's commitment to housing led him to sell homes to black people who did not have the down payment. He would make a down payment on their behalf until they were able to repay him.

Bennett made an important contribution to the social development of the black community. There was a shortage of black nurses in Hartford and to address that problem Bennett established the St. Martin's Certified Nurse Assistant (CNA) program to train persons who could move on to become registered nurses. He engaged in relentless advocacy for the recruitment of minority officers in the police and fire departments, and in city and state positions.

Bennett participated in the activities of several organizations in Hartford. He was a member of the NAACP, the founder of the National Association of Jamaicans and Service Organizations (NAJASO), and the president of the Caribbean Club of Hartford. He sat on the boards of the Salvation Army, the Hartford Public Library, and the Horace Bushnell Management Corporation. He was a member of the State of Connecticut Unemployment Compensation Act Committee, and Commissioner of the Redevelopment Agency. Bennett was a member of the Board of Trustees for the State of Connecticut Community College and a Trustee at the University of Hartford. He served as a member of the Human Relations Commission in Connecticut, and the Hartford Metropolitan District Commission.

Bennett was the Connecticut Senior Warden – Emeritus at St. Monica Episcopal Church, where he inaugurated an annual dinner in honor of Marcus Garvey. Collin was serving a third consecutive five-year term as executive director of the St. Monica Episcopal Church when he died on June 23, 1998.

Bennett was the recipient of various awards including the Eastern Connecticut State University Distin-

guished Alumni Award, the Greater Hartford Council of Churches Ecumenical Award, the Salvation Army Community Service Award, and the Order of Distinction, the highest national honor of his native Jamaica. The Eastern Connecticut State University established the Collin Bennett Caribbean Library Collection in his honor in 2000.

Conclusion

There are several important lessons to be learned from the story of Collin Bennett. The socio-economic and political conditions in the US and Indies are all interwoven in the Collin Bennett story. There are four important points that stand out about his life and activities.

First, in spite of the adversaries he faced as a member of a typical Jamaican family, living under harsh political and economic conditions in the 1940s, and as a tobacco worker in the 1950s, he was able to find a way out and improve himself, economically, and politically. The determination for personal success must also be viewed against the sociological and political theoretical insights that can be gleaned from Bennett's activities in Hartford.

Second, Bennett's activities reflect upon ethnicity, ethnic conflict, and ethnic conflict resolution. He was more concerned with the practical aspects of ethnic conflict resolution. His deliberate strategy was to build bridges between the West Indians and African Americans through 'coalitions' or *ad hoc* group discussions that approached the problem head-on. Bennett's approach could be molded into a general theory on the practice of ethnic conflict resolution.

Third, the strategies of economic development that Bennett pursued rank him among the black nationalists. Black Nationalism, in the US is about black ownership of the means of production, blacks supporting black businesses.

Finally, Bennett was a community-builder, who led by example. It is important to record and study his community activism from the viewpoint of hands-on, bottom up approaches to community development.

Notes

1. The main sources of information on Collin Bennett for this paper were face-to-face interviews conducted with Mrs. Cathy Tomlinson, at her home in Hartford on January 9, 2004 and a telephone interview with her on January 29, 2004; face-to-face interviews with Mrs. Molly Bennett, Dawn Bennett, and Lisa Bennett at the Collin Bennett Building, Hartford, Connecticut, on January 9, and January 31, 2004, and on other occasions in February, 2004; face-to-face interview with Mr. Thirman Milner on January 31, 2004, and telephone interview with him on February 5, 2004; telephone interview with Cynthia Bennett on January 31; and face-to-face interview with Mrs. Veronica Airey-Wilson on January 9, 2004.

2. See Faye Clarke Johnson, *Soldiers of the Soil*, New York, Vintage Press, 1995.

3. See http://www.cptv.org/TVCT ExperienceTobacco.asp and http://www.cigarweekly.com/magazine/ archives/1998/issue12/cthistory.asp

4. For more on the tobacco industry in general and Connecticut in particular see Randall Kincaid, Economics of Cigar-Wrapper Tobacco, Ph.D. Thesis Duke University, 1967; Paul Johnson, The Economics of the Tobacco Industry, New York: Praeger, 1984; Joseph Robert, The Story of Tobacco in America, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967; David Pinsky, Shade Grown Tobacco in Tobacco Valley: Its Economics and Manpower, Storrs: Labor Education Center, Continuing Education Services, University of Connecticut, 1976; Connecticut and Tobacco: A Chapter in America's Industrial Growth, Washington, D.C.: Tobacco Institute, 1972; and Mary Welles, Child Laborers in the Shade Grown Tobacco Industry in Connecticut, Hartford Connecticut, Consumers' League of Connecticut, 1918.

5. The information in this section was obtained from interviews with Mrs. Molly Bennett and Cynthia Bennett.

6. See Rupert Lewis, *Marcus Garvey: Anti-Colonial Champion*, Trenton, NJ, Africa World Press, 1998.

7. The data in this section were obtained from Clive Thomas, *The Poor and the Powerless: Economic and Policy and Change in the Caribbean*, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1988; O. Nigel Boland, *The Politics of Labor in the Caribbean*, Kingston, Jamaica, Ian Randle Publishers, Ltd., 2001

8. See Ashton Chase, *A History of Trade Unionism in Guyana, 1900 – 1961*, Georgetown, Guyana, New Guyana Company Ltd., 1968.

9. The data for this section was obtained from Harold V. Vatter, *The U.S. Economy in the 1950s*, New York, W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1963; and Lerone Bennett, Jr., *Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America 1619-1964 (Revised Edition)*, Baltimore, Maryland, Penguin Books, 1968.

10. These included the New York City Council bill that prohibited racial discrimination in city-assisted housing development; the ruling by the Municipal Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia, against racial segregation in DC restaurants; the ruling by the Supreme Court ruled that restaurants in DC could not legally refuse to serve blacks; the Brown decision; the Supreme Court order that school integration should be implemented "with all deliberate speed" in 1955; and the banning of segregation in public recreational facilities in Baltimore, MD. See Lerone Bennett, Jr., *Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America 1619-1964 (Revised Edition)*, Baltimore, Maryland, Penguin Books, 1968.

11. Face-to-face interview conducted with Mr. Thirman Milner, former Democratic state representative and Mayor of Hartford, at the Collin Bennett Building, Hartford Connecticut, Saturday, January 31, 2004.

12. Face-to-face interview conducted with Mr. Thirman Milner, former Democratic state representative and Mayor of Hartford, at the Collin Bennett Building, Hartford Connecticut, Saturday, January 31, 2004.

13. The information in this section was obtained from interviews conducted with Thirman Milner, Veronica Airey-Wilson and Cathy Tomlinson, Cynthia Bennett and Molly Bennett.

14. Telephone interview with Cynthia Bennett on January 31.

15. Face to face Interview with Molly Bennett.

16. Face to face Interview with Molly Bennett.

17. Face-to-face interview with Mrs. Veronica Airey-Wilson on January 9, 2004

18. Face-to-face interview with Mrs. Veronica Airey-Wilson on January 9, 2004

19. Face-to-face interview with Mrs. Veronica Airey-Wilson on January 9, 2004

20. Face-to-face interview with Mrs. Veronica Airey-Wilson on January 9, 2004

21. Face-to-face interview with Mrs. Veronica Airey-Wilson on January 9, 2004

22. The points made here were taken from a face-to-face interview conducted with Mr. Thirman Milner, former Democratic state representative and Mayor of Hartford, at the Collin Bennett Building, Hartford Connecticut, Saturday, January 31, 2004.

23. Face-to-face interview conducted with Mr. Thirman Milner on January 31, 2004.

24. Face-to-face interview conducted with Mr. Thirman Milner on January 31, 2004.

25. Face-to-face interview conducted with Mr. Thirman Milner on January 31, 2004.

26. Face-to-face interview conducted with Mr. Thirman Milner on January 31, 2004.

27. Face-to-face interview conducted with Mr. Thirman Milner on January 31, 2004.

28. Face-to-face interview conducted with Mr. Thirman Milner on January 31, 2004.

29. The information in this section was obtained from interviews conducted with Thirman Milner, Veronica Airey-Wilson and Cathy Tomlinson, Cynthia Bennett and Molly Bennett.

The Power of Celebration: Christmas on the Plantation in the Old South

Tameka Bradley Hobbs

In the history of the United States of America, few subjects are as complicated and intriguing as slavery. The tragic irony that a nation known as a beacon of democracy for the world went to war to free itself from the tyranny of oppressing a segment of its population has long attracted the attention of scholars. Historians have diligently pursued the answer to that question; along the way they have begun to unravel one of the greatest and most tragic stories in human history. Over the years, writings on slavery have moved from the study of the institution of slavery, focusing on geography, economics, and politics to the study of slave life and culture. As historians continue to research and rewrite history, they have been able to illuminate the hidden details of the master-slave relationship that have heretofore been elusive.

One of the most puzzling aspects of slavery is attempting to understand how slaves endured the oppression that characterized their lives as human chattel. In an attempt to better understand the complexities of slave life and slave-master relations, this essay focuses on interpreting the celebration of Christmas on southern plantations from the perspective of the slaves who participated in the observances. It argues that, while slaveowners had their own motivations and purposes for allowing these holidays, slaves used these opportunities to confirm their humanity, strengthen and celebrate family bonds, and to celebrate their own cultural traditions. Information and descriptions about these antebellum Christmas celebrations are gathered mainly from the narratives of witnesses, both black and white, to such celebrations on southern plantations. Overall, this essay is an attempt to better understand slave-master relationships through the window of celebrations and, more specifically, one of many fascinating but elusive aspects of slave culture.

Over the years, explanations of the slave-master relationship have ranged from one end of the ideological spectrum to the other. Early treatments of slavery attribute the success of the institution to the docility of the African race; in his book *American Negro Slavery,* U. B. Phillips, one of the foremost Southern historians of his day, asserted that blacks had been happy as slaves. In later years, Kenneth Stampp's groundbreaking book, *The Peculiar Institution,* reversed this viewpoint. In his analysis, blacks were the victims of detrimental white oppression; the power of Stampp's pen transformed slaveowners from paternalists to predators. A few years later, Stanley Elkins' work, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life,* credited the traumatic trigger of the trans-Atlantic slave trade and subsequent ill-treatment as psychological and cultural disruptions that then allowed for the exploitation of blacks by whites.[1]

In a matter this complicated there are no easy answers. As historians continue to seek a fitting explanation of the dynamics of master-slave relationship, they have begun to look at the slave as all active participant in the drama of the Old South. Blacks were more than laborers and drudges. As investigations continue into the development of slave culture, historians are discovering more information about resistance and coping mechanisms employed by

slaves in order to endure their circumstances and exercise some level of control over their own lives. Slaves asserted their individuality and desire for personal space and time in different ways; when the slave master did not concede it willingly, or even hesitatingly, they created it. For example, some crept away at night to participate in clandestine meetings, whether they were dances or religious services. Numerous accounts exist from former slaves testifying to the prevalence of 'hush arbors', clusters of trees or other areas in the woods where slaves would gather to hold secret worship services.[2] At other times, slaves, males in particular, snuck away to visit family members or love interests who lived on other plantations, risking both limb and life. Aside from these more social occasions, enslaved Africans also met in secret to plan revolts and rebellions, which was especially prevalent in the case of Gabriel's Rebellion of 1801 and Nat Turner's rebellion of 1821.[3] These adventures were not without risk; discovery by the master or the slave patrollers would certainly mean instant and harsh punishment.

Planters acknowledged the need for leisure time among slaves, and attempted to control it, placing it within the boundaries of plantation management. They offered Saturday evening reprieves from work and, when it was not a crucial time in the harvest season, usually allowed slaves to abstain from fieldwork on Sunday. This allowed slaves the time to cultivate their personal gardens, where allowed, which was another exercise in independence. Bondsmen and bondswomen also looked forward to yearly holidays such as Easter and the Fourth of July with great anticipation.[4]

Of all the forms of leisure, Christmas celebrations were the most traditional as well as the most anticipated observance of the year.[5] Aside from the religious significance of the holiday, Christmas on many antebellum plantations meant the reduction or cessation of labor for several days or weeks, and the beginning of a respite that included layers of celebration that gave the enslaved, when compared with their lifestyles during other parts of the year, a temporary illusion of liberty. This façade was not only achieved by the change of work routine. While the format for Christmas observances varied from plantation to plantation, these celebrations often included traditions (that were repeated long enough to become rituals) which included the giving of gifts, the consumption of food and alcoholic drinks and other forms of revelry. The ex-slave Frederick Douglass highlighted the various forms of frolicking that slaves partook of during these times; according to him, the slaves "spent the holidays in sports, ball-playing, wrestling, boxing, running foot-races, dancing, and drinking whiskey."[6] In the most relative of terms, the Christmas holiday represented for enslaved African Americans a time of leisure and a small degree of personal liberty.

Slave owners, on the other hand, had other ideas about the meaning of these Christmas celebrations. The symbols and rituals reinforced what Southern whites idealized about their society: slave owners were "benevolent and generous" to their slaves; slaves were "merry and content" with their lot; and that master and slave shared familiar bonds of "affection and respect." It was during this time that planters sought to reinforce their control over their workforce. Christmas celebrations also provided a venue to express a type of cultural solidarity between slaves and their owners, albeit for formalized and forced. Christmas observances in the antebellum South became a ritualized expression of largess on the part of the planter.

However, closer evaluation reveals that the role of whites is only a

singular layer in a complex series of interactions and rituals. Such interpretation says much about the slave owner, but what about the slave?

Christmas in the Old South had all the ingredients of a secular ritual, described by anthropologists as "a complex type of symbolic behavior that usually has a statable purpose, but *one that invariably alludes to more than it says and has many meanings at once.*"[7] These occasions were "designed to propagate...the myth of cultural unity and social continuity, the myth of unchanging common traditions, [and] the myth of shared belief."[8] Slaves wove personal expressions of humanity into the layered meanings of Christmas celebrations on the plantations. It was an opportunity to act out their aspirations of freedom. Families reunited. Separated lovers rekindled their romances and solemnized their relationships through marriage. Blacks put on their best clothes—those reserved for Sunday or their freshly issued year allotment— and danced together. They could dine and drink together, share small talk and humor. It was on these occasions that blacks reaffirmed their collective identity and solidified their relationship to each other.[9] Christmas was a day that they could briefly be "free." More specifically, it allowed slaves an opportunity to imagine themselves as self-determining people, instead of the laboring captives that they indeed were. It was on these occasions that owners loosened the noose of slavery just enough that the enslaved could briefly think themselves unfettered.

While slave owners surely hoped to have their generosity interpreted as largess, Christmas rituals on the plantation operated as defense mechanisms. Frederick Douglass referred to these traditional celebrations as "safety valves": blacks treasured the memory of the previous Christmases and lived in anticipation of the next, so much so that the prospect of the celebration enticed them to work harder and to behave better as not to lose this small window of privilege. The fun, food, and relative freedom that characterized Christmas on some plantations had the preventative function of "[carrying] off the explosive elements inseparable from the mind when reduced to the condition of slavery." If not for these occasion of mild relief, Douglass acknowledges that "the rigors of bondage would have become too severe for endurance, and the slave would have been forced up to dangerous desperation."[10]

Traditional interpretations of Christmas and other holidays observed on southern plantations view them as control mechanisms used by white slave owners to placate their slaves.[11] Former slave and renowned abolitionist Frederick Douglass made clear his disdain for plantation holidays, noting they "were among the most effective means in the hands of slaveholders of keeping down the spirit of insurrection among the slaves."[12] Since Douglass' time, other historians have remained true to his sentiments. In his book *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, one of the most in-depth treatments of slave life and culture, Eugene Genovese accepts Douglass' interpretation of the paternalistic motivation in Christmas celebrations.[13] In discussing the social impact of the holiday, Penne Restad asserts that holiday celebrations like Christmas solidified the paternalistic relationship between master and slave.[14] However, for the majority of blacks who endured slavery as a way of life, they could not successfully escape, they became skilled at using whatever opportunities afforded to them to assert and express their humanity. Christmas was one of those opportunities. Many blacks relished the time and enjoyed themselves as much as they could; it provided the time and

of self-assertion through enjoyment.

In studying antebellum Christmas observances on southern plantations, it is important to consider the role of the plantation owners; they were the parties who determined the scope and length of the annual celebration. It was an occasion for planters to demonstrate their wealth, kindness and concern for their slaves.[15] The wealthiest planters gave the most elaborate and generous celebrations; smaller planters were not in a financial position to provide large feasts or several days off from work.[16] However, those who were able to provide feasts and parties for their slaves took pride in the size and grand nature of their observances.

In addition to the leisure and festivities allowed at Christmas, planters demonstrated their benevolence toward as well as their control of their laborers. While the celebration of Christmas on the plantation was established by tradition, the planters were active in shaping the meaning of the celebration for the slaves they owned. Conventional wisdom among slave owners asserted that Christmas celebrations could be used as a management tool; it was considered a small sacrifice to give all slaves a day off from work for celebration, rather than to deal with slovenly work throughout the year.[17] Their subjects were to understand, however, that such observances were "a mere gratuity, to be bestowed or withheld at the pleasure of the master."[18] The reward of Christmas celebrations, just like the administration of public punishment, was part of the ritual of dependence and dominance that defined social relationships on the plantation.[19]

There were several dimensions to southern Christmas celebrations and what they meant for slaves. Most notable was the fact that during Christmas, the normally well-regulated boundaries of physical space on the bondsman Solomon Northup, in his autobiography, recalled that it was the only time that slaves were "allowed a little restricted liberty."[20] Slaves visited, feasted and danced at the main house, an area that was usually off limits to all but house servants. Occasionally, masters went into the slave quarters to attend the festivities there. One of the most important of these holiday privileges, and surely one of the most appreciated by slaves, was the ability to leave the plantation. Blacks were given passes and "permitted to go where they please within a limited distance." During the holidays many masters allowed their slaves to visit neighboring plantations to attend social gatherings and visit family members.[21]

Food played a major role in the holiday festivities. Narratives from this era, whether written by blacks and whites, go into great detail over the amount and variety of food available. At least one white narrator attempted to downplay Christmas feast as nothing out of the ordinary, noting that the slaves' excitement for food was "[n]ot that they [were] not well fed ordinarily."[22] Despite this editorial, complaints of planters in regards to their slaves' habit of stealing hogs and chickens for their own consumption throughout the year provide enough evidence to refute that claim. In reality, the holiday offered a welcome modification from their usual fare. In contrast to their normal rations of corn, pork, and molasses, slaves were treated to sweet dishes prepared for the Christmas celebration, puddings, cakes, gingerbreads, and candy. An abundance and variety of meat was also served; in contrast to their usual allotment of salty, fatty pork, during the holidays slaves were treated to prime cuts of pork, beef, mutton, duck and chicken. One of the more notable treats frequently singled out for comment was the distribution of flour, which the slaves

bution of flour, which the slaves nicknamed "Billy Seldom" as opposed to their usually daily communion with "Johnny Constant"—their usual ration of corn meal.[23]

A remarkable part of the food celebration was not only what type of food was provided but moreover who prepared and served it. The memories of antebellum southerners, both black and white, are full of notations of whites serving as hosts to their slaves. Whites prepared and often distributed the food and drink to reinforce their authority on a day free from the regular rhythms of labor discipline. Rebecca Cameron recalled that her grandfather served eggnog to each of his slaves, speaking to them each by name. Most often white women on the plantation prepared the holiday foods and distributed them to the slaves.[24]

In addition to the holiday feast, Christmas was one of the few days that slaves were allowed to consume alcohol. Sometimes it took the form of holiday eggnog; other times masters distributed whiskey or fruit wine to slaves. Spirits certainly contributed to the festive atmosphere, and "there were drunkards to be found both among the white folks and among the slaves."[25] Pierpont, a Boston native who observed a Christmas celebration on a South Carolina plantation, vividly recalled the distribution of alcohol to slaves: "Their drink (rum, sugar, & water) was prepared in large tubs of two or three pails full, and carried about them so that each one might drink his fill of the intoxicating and Lethean draught."[26] Some masters used intoxication to make a point to their slaves. In addition to encouraging jubilation, alcohol could also be used to manipulate. Francis Fedric recalled the following anecdote about his former master:

> He supplied them plentifully with new whiskey, which kept them in a continual state of the most beastly intoxication. He often absolutely forced them to drink more, when they had told him they had had enough. He would then call them together, and say, "Now, you slaves, don't you see what bad use you have been making of your liberty? Don't you think you had better have a master, to look after you, and make you work, and keep you from such a brutal state, which is a disgrace to you, and would ultimately be an injury to the community at large?" Some of the slaves, in that whining, cringing manner, which is one of the baneful effects of slavery, would reply, "Yees, Massa; if we go on in dis way, no good at all.[27]

While incidents like these are frequently noted, they seldom note that whites participated in the drinking ritual as well. Northerners visiting in the South over the holiday frequently remarked on the consumption of alcohol by all, men and women, young and old, black and white. In an alcohol-induced state of joviality, normal restrictions on self-expression and social contact were relaxed. Alcohol became an equalizer that provided for a brief period of drunken egalitarianism.[28]

Giving gifts was also a part of the southern Christmas ritual. Part of the gift giving ritual lay in the power of the master to give; he had the wealth and income to be able to give gifts to his slaves.[29] Frequently, the gifts that planters gave were necessities for the slaves, such as their yearly allotment of clothing. Ironically, what was passed off as a gift by the planter in fact was a routine expense.[30] The giving of gifts served as another covert form of control. Within the realm of

Christmas, a role reversal occurred between master and slave. On this occasion, it was the master who answered the whim of the servant. Whites gave to slaves a minuscule gesture of acknowledgement and appreciation. On occasion blacks presented their owners with presents, like eggs or other such products of their own labor. This act of reciprocation may have been another attempt on the part of the slaves to equalize the exchange.[31]

There is some evidence that slaves also pressured their masters to give them gifts. The Christmas tradition on the southern plantation built on a tradition of expectation on the part of the slave. They anticipated receiving tokens from their owners; if denied gifts, slaves would act out their disappointment. Plantation mistresses acknowledged that ill temperament or sullenness among slaves could be cured by gift-giving. Letitia Burwell, commenting on her childhood memories of plantation life, recalled that "[i]f any of the older servants became displeased with us, we were miserable until we had restored the old smile by presenting some choice bit of sweetmeat to the offended one."[32] However, some planters complained that their slaves wanted too much. Even slaveowners who considered bypassing the holiday ultimately conceded, recognizing that their slave would not cooperate.[33]

While the holiday recognized the birth of Jesus, the religious aspect of Christmas was subordinate to the secular rituals that characterized the traditional holiday celebration on the plantation. In their recollections of the holiday, whites and blacks were more likely to mention St. Nicholas than Jesus. One observer remarked "the thought of Santa Claus among enlightened people never could produce such a feeling as that which animated the breasts of these poor, ignorant slaves."[34] "Most they knew about Christmas," he continued, "was that it meant a good time for everybody."[35] However, just like on other occasions in the year, slaves held their own religious services in observance of Christmas. Upon sunrise, worshippers would begin exuberant shouting to welcome the coming day "shoutin' Christmas" or "sun shoutin."[36] When given the opportunity, blacks celebrated the spiritual aspect of Christmas in their own manner.[37]

It was not unusual for slaves to conduct marriages during the Christmas holidays in the Old South. It is important to note that blacks were not always totally free in their choice of a mate; some masters discouraged or would not allow the marriage of their slaves to blacks on other plantations.[38] Still, when slaves did marry, whites noted with a characteristic combination of humor and disdain the spectacle of blacks preparing for their ceremonies. Eliza Ripley later recalled one of her family's slaves preparing for her ceremony: "Nancy was black as a crow and had rather a starling look in that dazzling white satin dress and the pure white flowers pinned to her kinks."[39] The fact that blacks would choose to wed at Christmas, because of the permissiveness surrounding the holiday, meant that family members and friends from neighboring plantations could be present to witness the occasion. In this way, blacks were able to build up the base of the secular ritual of Christmas, appropriate it, and amend to it to address their needs, desires, and wishes. Even though these unions were not recognized by the law, blacks sought to solemnize unions between women and men in a way that gave meaning to their humanity.

Nearly all accounts of Christmas celebrations among slaves on the plantation mention dancing. It was the main form of entertainment during the holidays. Sometimes it took the form of impromptu frolicking or a more formal "slave ball" in the slave

quarters or the main house. Blacks would commence their movement at the main house, entering a space usually off limits to them. One white matron noted her surprise that jubilation did not cease with "the presence of whites."[40] Dance competitions were also a major event at Christmas time. Whites and blacks alike recalled the contest and flirtation involved on such occasions. Caroline Gilman recorded in detail a dance on a plantation in the 1830s:

> A woman, standing in the center of a circle, commenced with a kind of shuffle, in which her body moved round and round, while her feet seemed scarcely to stir from their position. She held a handkerchief before her, which she occasionally twisted round her waist, head, or arms, but mostly stretched out in front as if to ward off assaults. After a few minutes an old black man leaped into the circle, and knelt before her with gestures of entreaty; the lady turned her back and danced off in an opposite direction. Hector started up and began dancing after her, holding out his arms if he would embrace her, but still keeping at a respectful distance; again he ventured to solicit her hand, but the coy damsel still refused. At this crisis Jim spring forward, and his petitions, commenced in the same manner, were more kindly listened to. Hector rushed from the scene, clinching his fist and striking his forehead...and the damsel spread her handkerchief before her face as if to hide the blushes. The favoured suiter gave her a salute, and a brisker measure succeeded, in which, one by one, many others joined, until it ended in a kind of contra-dance, and this lasted five hours. [41]

Solomon Northup recalled a dance ritual from his days as a slave, involving "Miss Lively and Mr. Sam":

> It was well known that Sam cherished an ardent passion for Lively, as also did one of Marshall's and another of Carey's boys; for Lively was lively indeed, and a heartbreaking coquette withal.[42]

On this occasion she selected Sam as her dance partner, and

> his legs flew like drumsticks down the outside and up the middle, by the side of his bewitching partner. The whole company cheered them vociferously, and excited with the applause, they continued 'tearing down' after all the others had become exhausted and halted a moment to recover. But Sam's superhuman exertions overcame him finally, leaving Lively alone, yet whirling like a top.[43]

Two others tried to tame the dancing dame but to no avail, as "amidst hurrahs and shouts, fully sustaining her well-earned reputation of being the 'fastest gal' on the bayou." Such contests would continue "until broad daylight."[44]

These accounts give a description of physical motion, yet they attest to a deeper aspect of human nature. Dance was not only a form of release, but it also offered blacks an opportu-

nity to display their talents, both as dancers and musicians. Winners basked in attention, adoration and praise. Their families and communities celebrated and encouraged them. However, the importance of dance was not a new phenomenon. In African cultural traditions, dancing accompanied or accentuated nearly every aspect of life, birth, marriage, harvest, and death.[45] The style of dancing attributed to slaves was also unique. It combined upright European posture with the intensity and athleticism of African movement.[46] And as opposed to other times of the year, whites sat on the sidelines and blacks arranged and carried out the entertainment for the day. The importance of such performance was noted by Roger Abrahams,

> Recognizing the time and place in which performance, contention, and risk taking were encouraged, [blacks] took advantage of the opportunity to express themselves in their own style. They found occasions in which they could present themselves both as subservient to the master of the plantation and yet they themselves were 'masters of ceremonies.'[47]

Slave dance, in this way, represented a combination of the religiosity, festivity, and creative expression, derived from various African cultures, which celebrated a common communal aesthetic among slaves.

As with dance, music became a method of release for blacks. Musicians held special positions during these celebrations as well. They, like the dancers, were the center of attention. Gilman recalled the "glory of our country Christmas was Diggory as chief fiddler."[48] Rebecca Cameron remembered Uncle Robin, the musician on her grandfather's plantation. She commented that he was

> the head fiddler and a remarkably fine one, too. It was delightful to watch him ascend to the musicians' stand, bowing with great ceremoniousness to the friendly greetings of the neighborhood gentry, from whom he was quite sure of a perfect shower of gold and silver pieces in the pauses of the dance.[49]

The talent of slave musicians placed them in high demand in the area where they lived. It gave them an opportunity to travel and their hosts obliged them with gifts and even money. More than the material gifts, the opportunity to display their skill gave them a feeling of self-worth and bolstered their self-esteem. Solomon Northup, who was a musician, remarked "Alas!, Had it not been for my beloved violin, I scarcely can conceive how I could have endured the long years of bondage."[50]

Sound, whether singing, shouting, or percussion, was an important part of Christmas on the plantation. On many plantations the Christmas day began with noisy outbursts: "My sakes! What a fusillade that is. Bang! Bang! Bang! 'Hurrah for Christmas!' No more sleep."[51] Black children burst dried hog bladders, which served as homemade firecrackers. Caroline Gilman stated that the slaves on her plantation

> commenced to salute with the combination of every noise they could make by the agency of tin and brass, aiding their rude music. One set of people would have been sufficient to drive Morpheus in a panic from our pillows; but, from

> both plantation united, the clamour was prodigious.[52]

Many whites were evidently annoyed by the noise, yet they tolerated it. Blacks took full advantage of the situation, by being boisterous and unrestrained. At this time of the year, without the need to be quiet and meek, blacks were able to invade the atmosphere with their jubilation at the expense of their master's and mistress' sensitivities.[63]

Of the most notable allowances for invasion of sound and space during Christmas in the Old South were the "John Canoe" marches. While these observances usually are associated with blacks in the Caribbean, they were also practice in North America, primarily in the vicinity of North Carolina. Led by costumed figures, dressed in a uniform of various pieces of cloth, and sometimes masks of animal heads or horns, these rowdy processions included a crew of musicians, percussionists, and a throng of singers and dancers. The John Canoes danced and sang wildly and were greeted by whites and blacks alike. In return for they antics, they expected money; it could be viewed as a tip for the entertainment they provided. Also whites would pay the marchers to take their noisy pageant elsewhere.[54] Harriet Jacobs noted that when the "Johnkannaus" made their rounds,

> [n]ot a door is left unvisited where there is the least chance of obtaining a penny or a glass of ruin. It is seldom that any white man or child refuses to give them a trifle. If he does, they regale his ears with the following song: Poor, mass, so dey say/Down in de heel, so dey say/Got no money, so dey say/Not one shillin, so dey say/ God A'mighty bress you, so dey say.[55]

Aside from the expectation of payment, blacks openly taunted whites who refused or were unable to give them money. Even more surprising is the fact that whites permitted such behavior. These celebrations offered a social release which manifested in a "cordial and sportive, if at times somewhat tense, egalitarianism."[56] Such incidents suggest that blacks and whites recognized that within the space and time of Christmas celebrations, such inversions of the social order were tolerated.[57]

In all its vestiges, Christmas on the plantation offered blacks an opportunity to indulge, however temporarily, their aspirations for freedom. For some slaves, however, the privileges and rituals of Christmas gave them a chance to make their dreams a reality, for example, as a cover for their escape. John Andrew Jackson used the background of the festivities and the relaxed regulation by the patrollers during the holidays to make his escape. While making his escape, Jackson recalled that he "met many white person, and was hailed, 'you nigger, how far are you going?' To which I would answer, 'To the next plantation, mas're;' but I took good care not to stop at the next plantation."[58] Two other well-known southern escapees, William and Ellen Craft, began their flight north under the distraction of the Christmas holidays; both obtained holiday passes from their owners before setting their plans in motion.[59]

Overall, Christmas on the southern plantation was more than an exercise in power, paternalism, and benevolence on the part of whites. To only examine the holiday from their perspective only gives a portion of the picture. Closer examination offers an opportunity to witness African American survival at work. Christmas was a time of celebration when real-

ity as the slaves usually knew it was turned on its head; instead of the daily ration of toil and poor food, it was a time when slaves enjoyed relaxation, feasting, and a short-lived and well-regulated independence, but independence nonetheless. Within a narrow sliver of time and space, blacks took advantage of an opportunity to express themselves, to love and celebrate each other, and assert and celebrate their humanity. Moreover, it was a psychological release; while they did not have complete control over their daily lives, Christmas offered an opportunity to celebrate and define their own culture and self-worth.[60]

Notes

1. U. B. Phillips, American Negro Slavery (New York: Appleton and company, 1918); Kenneth Stampp, The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Antebellum South (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956); Stanley Elkins, Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959).

2. Eugene D. Genovese, Roll, Jordon, Roll: The World the Slaves Made (New York, Pantheon Books, 1974), 236-237.

3. Douglas R. Egerton, Gabriel's Rebellion: The Virginia Slave Conspiracies of 1800 and 1802 (chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 53—59.

4. Ibid., 566-569; James Walvin, "Slaves, Free-time and the Question of Leisure," Slavery and Abolition 15, no. 1 (April 1995): 5.

5. John Blassingame, The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 105-107.

6. Frederick Douglass, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass: His Early Life as a Slave, His Escape from Bondage, and His Complete History to the Present Time* (Hartford, CN: Park Publishing Co., 1881), 143.

7. The formal properties of a secular ritual include repetition; action and acting; special behavior of stylization; order; evocative presentation style; and a collective dimension that gives the event a social meaning. Sally F. Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff, "Secular Ritual: Forms and Meanings", in, edited by the same, *Secular Ritual* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1977), 5. Italics added for emphasis.

8. Ibid., 7.

9. Charles Joyner, *Shared Traditions: Southern History and Folk Culture* (Urbana: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 97.

10. Douglass, 144—145.

11. Norrece T. Jones, Jr., *Born a Child of Freedom, Yet a Slave: Mechanisms of Control and Strategies of Resistance in Antebellum South Carolina* (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1990), 68-70; Orville V.Burton, *In My Father's House Are Many Mansions: Family and Community in Edgefield, South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 157-158; Peter Kolchin, *American Slavery, 1619-1977* (New York:Hill and Wang, 1993) 115-116.

12. Douglass, 144.

13. Genovese, 577-579.

14. Penne L. Restad, *Christmas in America, A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 87—90.

15. The descriptions are not meant to generalize. The use of the term planter is intentional here. Not all slaveholders could afford to give their slaves several days off from work or to provide them with feasts. Neither did all of the slave owners who could afford a traditional Christmas for slaves provide it for their bondsmen. Likewise, neither did all slaves happily participate in Christmas celebrations.

16. Larry Rivers, *Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days to Emancipation* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 159.

17. Holland N. McTyeire, Rev. C. F. Sturgis, and A. T. Holmes, *Duties of Masters to Slaves* (Charleston: Southern Baptist Publication Society, 1851), 20.

18. Ibid., 83.

19. Charles Joyner, *Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 56-57.

20. Solomon Northup, *Twelve Years a Slave: Narrative of Solomon Northup, a Citizen of New York, Kidnapped in Washington City in 1841 and Rescued in 1853* (Auburn, NY: Derby and Miller, 1853), 213.

21. Douglass, 143-144; Northup, 214, 220.

22. James B. Avirett, *The Old Plantation: How We Lived in Great House and Cabin Before the War* (New York: F. Tennyson Neely Co., 1901), 177.

23. Northup, 215; Eliza M. C. M. Ripley, *Social Life in Old New Orleans: Being Recollections of My Girlhood* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1912), 257; Irving E. Lowery, *Life on the Old Plantation in Ante-Bellum Days, or, A Story Based on Facts* (Columbia, SC: The State Co., Printers, 1911), 64; Avirett, 174; Louis Hughes, *Thirty Years a Slave, From Bondage to Freedom* (Milwaukee: South Side Printing Company, 1897), 15.

24. Rebecca Cameron, "Christmas on an old Plantation," *Ladies Home Journal*, (December 1891): 5; Stephen Nissenijaum, *The Battle for Christmas* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 275; Joyner, 101-102.

25. Ripley, 258. Not all masters distributed alcohol to their slaves. Irving Lowery recalled that his master was a Christian and "believed in and practiced the principles of temperance...It was a plantation where sobriety was strictly taught and practiced by the white folks, and consequently, the slaves were greatly benefited." Lowery, 65-66.

26. Abe C. Ravitz, "John Pierpont and the Slaves' Christmas," Phylon (December 1960): 384-385; Genovese, 578.

27. Francis Fedric, Slave Life in Virginia and Kentucky; or, Fifty Years of Slavery in the Southern States of America (London: Wertheim, Macintosh, and Hunt, 1863), 28; Frederick Douglass also noted such manipulation, "I have known slave-holders resort to cunning tricks, with a view of getting their slaves deplorably drunk." Afterwards, they "went away to our various fields of work, feeling, upon the whole, rather glad to go from that which our masters had artfully deceived us into the belief was freedom, back again to the arms of slavery." 145-146.

28. Frederick Douglass believed that, by encouraging their slaves to drink during the holidays, slaveowners engaged in "cunning tricks" because "[when the slave was drunk the slaveholder had no fear that he would plan an insurrection, no fear that he would escape to the North It was the sober, thoughtful slave who was dangerous." Douglass, Life and Times, 145-146. Nissenbaum, 261-262; Joyner, 102—103.

29. Shauna Bigham and Robert B. May, "The Time O'All Times? Masters, Slaves, and Christmas in the old South," Journal of the Early Republic 18, no. 2 (Spring 1998): 275.

30. Ibid., 273-275; Charles Ball, Fifty Years in Chains, or, The Life of an American Slave (New York: H. Dayton; Indianapolis, IN: Asher and Company, 1859), 201; Avirett, 175; Caroline Howard Oilman, Recollections of a Southern Matron (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1838), 101; Ripley, 258; Lowery, 66.

31. Joyner, 135.

32. Letitia M. Burwell, *A Girl's Life in Virginia Before the War* (New York:Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1895), 5.

33. Bigham, 279—280.

34. Lowery, 67.

35. Ibid., 64.

36. Charlie Tye Smith, *Georgia Narratives*, volume IV, Part 3, 275; Oilman, 102. She notes that as slaves became more religious over the years, Christian slaves did exercise some restrain in their festivities.

37. A comprehensive examination of religion among slaves in the South can be found in Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South* (chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 1999) and Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

38. Northup, 221—222.

39. Ripley, 257.

40. Gilman, 101.

41. Ibid., 102—103.

42. Northup, 218-219.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid. The fury of dance described in this episode illustrates one irony of slave labor: while blacks worked conservatively for their masters, they "exhausted themselves at play." Walvin, 9.

45. Sterling Stuckey points out the African origins of both religious and secular dances as they manifest among blacks in North America in *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 64-73.

46. For a comprehensive look at African retention and African American dance, see Katrina Hazzard-Gordon, Jookin': The Rise of Social Dance Formations in African American Culture (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990)

47. Roger ID. Abrahams, Singing the Master: The Emergence of African American Culture in the Plantation South (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992),

86—87.

48. Gilman, 102.

49. Cameron, 5.

50. Northup, 217.

51. Avirett, 178.

52. Gilman, 101.

53. Joyner, 134-135

54. "John Canoe" (also referred to John Kuner, Jonkonnu, Junkanoo) celebrations manifested primarily in the Bahamas but also occurred in North America. Cultural anthropologists have commented on the similarities between the "John Canoe" processions and the Egun celebrations commons in southern Nigeria. Stuckey, *Slave Culture*, 104-108. On 'John Kunering" in the West Indies, Robert Dirks, *The Black Saturnalia: Conflict and its Ritual Expression on British West Indian Slave Plantations* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1987). Ira IDe A. Reid, "The John Canoe Festival: A New World Africanism," *Phylon* 3 (Fourth Quarter, 1942: 358; Elizabeth Fenn, "'Perfect Equality Seemed to Reign': Slave Society and Jonkonnu," *North Carolina Historical Review 65*, no. 2 (April 1988): 127-153; Greg Seaworthy, *Bertie or, Life in the Old Field*, (Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1851), 217-220; Cameron, 5.

55. Nellie Y. McKay and Frances Smith Foster, eds., *Harriet Jacobs: Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2001), 95.

56. Dirk, *Black Saturnalia*, ix.

57. Fenn, 143.

58. John Andrew Jackson, *The Experience of a Slave in South Carolina* (London: Passmore and Alabaster, 1862), 24.

59. William Craft, *Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom; or, the Escape of William and Ellen Craft from Slavery* (London: William Tweedie, 1860), 32-33.

60. Beverly H. John, "The Construction of Racial Meaning by Blacks and Whites in Plantation Society," in Thomas J. Durant, Jr., and J. David Knottnerus, eds., *Plantation Society and Race Relations: The Origins of Inequality* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1999), 47.

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Why Teachers Teach: Dr. Juliette Phifer Bursterman, North Carolina Migrant and Connecticut's First African American College Professor

Camille Moore Close and Stacey Close

In 1948, when Dr. Juliette Bursterman accepted the invitation of Willimantic State Teachers College (WSTC), currently Eastern Connecticut State University, to join its faculty, she became the first African American college professor to ever be employed by the institution and the state of Connecticut. One obituary even said she was the first African American college professor in New England. Located in Willimantic, Connecticut, Dr. Bursterman went on to serve the college's Education Department for 26 years. In 1958, Bursterman presented at the "Experiences in Cultural Integration Symposium," proceedings of which were published in *Educational Leadership,* a leading journal in education. In "An Experience in Connecticut," a presentation she made, Bursterman described her first year's experiences at the college. In carefully worded remarks, she wrote:

> When I returned to the campus in September to begin my work, most of my colleagues were cordial, but few found it difficult to hide their uneasiness. As the year progressed, I was invited to some of their homes for teas, meals, discussion groups and parties. In faculty meetings my opinions, like those of my white colleagues, were always entertained and often accepted. I have enjoyed all phases of my work although at times the situation demanded great courage.[1]

Later in 1968 after 20 years at WTSC, in a letter to Harold Howe II, Commissioner of Education, she described it as "interesting, somewhat challenging and indeed very informative."[2] Far from being naive, she clearly knew the experience would be challenging. Although discrimination and racism in Connecticut limited the general freedom of many African Americans, Dr. Juliette Phifer Bursterman flourished in the academic environment at Willimantic State Teachers College because of her stellar academic abilities, self-love, acceptance of differences, outspokenness, zest for life, and understanding of the role of educators and students.

At a time when Dr. Bursterman was breaking new grounds in the education field, the public school system of Connecticut still lagged in hiring clearly qualified African American teachers. In 1925 the public school system in Connecticut hired its first public school teacher; however, hiring numbers for African American teachers remained dismal for years. James H. Tipton, an associate professor at WSTC and the author of a full length case study of the race strike in Gary, Indiana, during the 1940's, argues that "Connecticut's towns have occasionally shown a reluctance in hiring Negro teachers...teachers must be active members of their communities, teach Sunday school, visit pupil's homes, and many other things which Negro teachers would find difficult or impossible." In fact, in the decade before she was hired, public school boards and superintendents, went as far as to specifically exclude

"Catholics and Jews on occasion and never even mentioning Negroes," when looking to hire school teachers. Despite this reluctance to hire African Americans, "no Negro public school teacher once hired has been released for unsatisfactory service."[3]

Born shortly after the turn of the twentieth century in Charlotte, North Carolina (January 3, 1903), Juliette Phifer, was orphaned at an early age, but that did not stop her, she was determined to succeed. Bursterman clearly had great passion for her chosen career in education, and this passion to teach led from North Carolina to New York and eventually Connecticut; along the way she made it her quest and life career goal to champion the cause of the disadvantaged youth in the education system. While the disadvantaged youth meant primarily students of color, she was concerned about those with disabilities, both mental and physical, and those sidelined by their social economic status.

In 1928, after completing her public school studies, at the Slater State Normal School, she went on to receive a Bachelor of Science degree from Winston Salem State Teachers College, now Winston Salem State University. Later, in 1933, Bursterman completed an M.A. at the Teachers College of Columbia University. During this same year, she taught school in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. It was at this time, as the Great Depression raged, that Bursterman, who had a strong commitment to human service, used her skills and talents as the State Supervisor of Adult Education for the Federal Emergency Relief Program.

In 1938 she returned to Columbia to complete her professional diploma, and it is here her spirit of activism and dedication to her culture and her people truly developed. Always active, the North Carolina native worked with Columbia's Negro Education Club and was one of its officers. Columbia's African American students created the club to

> promote the interest in and improvement of Negro Education in the United States and to cooperate with the college in the maintenance and furthering of inter racial friendliness.

Signs of what would be important highlights of her career, interracial work, and cultural integration were clearly visible.

As one of the club's key officers, she found herself chosen to present flowers to Eleanor Roosevelt at a National Council of Negro Women Banquet. Like many people in Black America, Bursterman considered Eleanor Roosevelt a true beacon of hope and equality for all. Before the banquet, Bursterman thoughtfully penned the statement she would read for the event. She concluded her remarks:

> Mrs. Roosevelt members of the club have followed you enthusiastically, followed your national inter-racial interests, your fine liberality and genuine humanitarian spirit. In deep appreciation and gratitude we are happy to present these flowers and I am happy also for this opportunity, which I shall esteem and cherish.[4]

After earning a diploma in Supervision and Administration of Elementary Education, Bursterman accepted a position as the principal of Newbold Training School, NC. Although the records available in her collection do not indicate the conditions at Newbold, she displayed her commitment to her culture and race, when she, her staff, and students prepared and coordinated the curriculum celebra-

tion for Negro History Week. The curriculum was later published in a 1940 edition of *The Negro History Bulletin*.

In 1948, she completed her doctoral work (Ed.D.) and dissertation ("Public Education in Haiti Since 1934") at New York University. She earned her degree in an era when it meant that most mainstream awardees were on the road to a life of intellectual, social, and economic success. Frequently, this was not the case for African Americans.

According to William M. Banks in *Black Intellectuals: Race and Responsibility in American Life*, while the lives of black intellectuals were probably better, particularly those on black campuses, than the masses; life was by no means easy outside of campus confines, even for the most accomplished. Banks writes about the experiences of John Hope Franklin, who became one of the world's foremost authorities on African American history, but could not convince the War Department that he could help in writing a history of the war.[5] In *Black Educators in White Colleges* William Moore, Jr. and Lonnie H. Wagstaff also note that the pre-1970s rejection of black intellectuals, inside and outside white academia, was nothing new.[6]

Nevertheless, Bursterman still decided to seek out a teaching post at Willimantic State Teachers College, and approached it with confidence. About her interview, she said "on leaving the interview, I did not entertain the thought that because I was a Negro I might not be favorably received. My approach was true, unbiased and enthusiastic."

Impressed by Bursterman's credentials, the college and state offered her employment. On August 28, 1948, Erwin H. Sasman, acting on behalf of the search committee from the college, sent a telegram offering a position on the faculty to Bursterman. When Bursterman received the telegram at her Englewood, New Jersey residence, the Western Union message noted the teaching offer, accommodations, and the need for a reply to offer via telegram. Sasman's letter also included specifics on her salary, work, and housing. The curriculum coordinator's letter established Bursterman's yearly salary at $4602. Because part of her duties included living and working in a dormitory, the college deducted $373.40 for accommodations.[7] In an October 7, 1948 letter, the State Board of Education confirmed the college offer. The state and school hired Bursterman at the rank of Assistant Professor. She also served as critic teacher for the 5th and 6th grades of the laboratory school. Her appointment included a probationary period of two years.[8]

Her appointment at WTSC did not go unnoticed by the National Urban League. For years, organizations like the National Urban League waged a campaign to aid African Americans in urban areas and to promote equal opportunity. The Urban League clearly saw an important milestone in this case. After learning of Bursterman's appointment, Lester Granger, an official with the National Urban League, sent a letter of praise to Bursterman, a former pupil. On November 4, 1948, Granger wrote:

> I am glad that you have been given this larger opportunity for service, and I know that Willimantic College is to be congratulated on its vision in inviting you to its faculty. I am very proud of my former student.[9]

After the offer, job acceptance, and state confirmation, Bursterman stepped into a state and onto a campus that were a world away in distance from North Carolina, but yet so near in other ways. Willimantic State Teachers College sat nestled in eastern Connecticut in the town of Willimantic. Since 1889, WSTC had trained

Connecticut's young people for careers in the field of teaching. WSTC offered a laboratory environment that intermingled students, professors, and potential teachers. Although small in size, WSTC's faculty held degrees from prestigious places such as Columbia and Yale. Bursterman's degrees would only add to the mix.

Dr. Bursterman's arrival at WSTC did not go totally unnoticed by one state newspaper. On November 28, 1948, New London, Connecticut's edition of *The Sunday Herald* celebrated the momentous occasion. Under the caption "Welcome Professor: Negro on Faculty at State College," the paper noted that

> While Connecticut stood on its head politically this month it almost overlooked another historic event. At Willimantic State Teachers College, a Negro woman is teaching an education class, and being addressed as Professor- Associate – Prof Juliette V. Phifer.

The article goes on to describe the professor's class performance "....with her rating, and a soft and friendly voice, she opened sessions with no fanfare. Students like her, the faculty does too." The piece acknowledges her as the "first Negro invited to teach in this distinguished old New England College."

When Bursterman arrived in Willimantic, a small group of African Americans, less than 100, lived in the area, and centered most of their social and religious life within the walls of the town's Calvary Baptist Church. Back in the early 1900s, Felecia Terry, an African American from Brooklyn, CT, trained to teach at the school. Included among Terry's students were a small number of African American children.

Home to the powerful American Thread Company, Willimantic of the 1940s was a working class town of mostly Irish, Poles, French Canadians, and other white ethnics. The number of African American students at WSTC could easily be counted on one hand. Paul Johnson, a member of the school's maintenance staff, was the only other African American employee at the time that Bursterman accepted her appointment.[10] Even so, Connecticut was one of the few states with an organized and active Inter-Racial Commission, now the Connecticut Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities.

Still, few African Americans attended colleges, universities, and businesses and vocational schools in Connecticut, and fewer still taught at state institutions. In 1947 Hartford's *Chronicle,* a weekly African American paper, reported that an Inter-Racial Commission survey indicated that only over one hundred African Americans attended colleges and universities in Connecticut. According to the commission, there were only "two Negroes in college for every thousand" in Connecticut. According to commission representatives, monetary problems and inadequate school preparation in the south hampered scores of African Americans. Furthermore, Connecticut high school teachers and administrators often discouraged African Americans from entering college because of few job opportunities for educated African American students. In addition, some Connecticut colleges simply refused to accept African American students.[11]

Although graduate and professional schools reported a higher percentage of African American students, the numbers were small. One in every hundred graduate and professional student was an African American. Most of the African American graduate and professional students were natives of the North.[12]

The state's Inter-Racial Commission highlighted even more dismal cases of discrimination against African Americans. Most complaints came out of Hartford. In 1941 a local judge, in an obvious case of mockery to the public accommodations act, fined a restaurant 44¢ for refusing to serve an African American couple. The IRC also received a complaint that African American children were not accepted in the first grade at Charter Oak Terrace School, a school near their homes. Instead, the children had to walk 1-½ miles to Moylan School. Charter Oak's first 30 seats went to children, white children, living closest to the school; other children had to walk to Moylan. IRC initiated bus service for the children.[13]

African American newspapers kept subscribers and purchasers of the papers informed of these acts of inequality and local protests against inequality. After the *New England Bulletin,* formerly Hartford's *Chronicle*, and the city's local NAACP learned that the Middletown, Connecticut schools planned to allow high school students to take a trip to segregated Washington, D.C., the paper and city's leading civil rights group offered stern condemnation and Governor Bowles a gesture of brotherhood. In voicing their opinion on the trip, State Board of Education officials said such trips should not be abandoned "if they are otherwise desirable." According to reports from Middletown, a group of eight African American and white students protested the trip because Washington, D.C. practiced segregation and Middletown African American students would receive Jim Crow accommodations. Nevertheless, the majority of the seniors decided to visit the nation's capital. Ethel Hale, NAACP vice-president and program director at Union Settlement House, roundly criticized the State Board of Education for enabling segregation and racism. The board left the decision of taking a segregated trip up to schools and students.[14]

When pressed at a Hartford NAACP meeting on whether the school board had the power to deny permission for such trips, the board's Paul Collier indicated that the board could do so. However, Collier argued that the board preferred to take the approach of the Inter-Racial Commission and "solve problems by mediation and conference, rather than wielding authority unless absolutely necessary." Collier also suggested that citizens could prevent Jim Crow trips through vigorous public protests. A *New England* Bulletin editorialist decided to encourage citizens to take the suggestion. Ernie Durham, a *Bulletin* writer, took further initiative and encouraged Governor Chester Bowles to speak with the protesting students.[15]

While the small group of students that chose not to visit Washington, DC taught the state an invaluable lesson about notions of segregation and democracy, Hartford's local Goodwill Club taught the harmful legacy of the minstrel show with its "Darky" program. Although the Goodwill Club provided significant social outlet for years, a Parents' Night Program, with the theme of "Darkies," included African Americans and whites. Tragically, both parents and children, white and African American, engaged in "skits" with their faces darkened. Participants considered the event merely one of joyous fun; however, the *Chronicle* considered the event "unwittingly malicious" with the potential to sow "seeds of racial misunderstanding and bigotry." The editor of the *Chronicle* feared that the lessons of this event might have much more harmful effects in the future.[16] A frequent reader of *Crisis*, the NAACP magazine, Bursterman knew well of the harmful impact of such shows.[17]

Earlier in 1946, a positive lesson in education came after Arthur Lyman Johnson, an African American, en-

tered law school at the University of Connecticut. Johnson, a former graduate of Hartford's Weaver High and North Carolina's Johnson C. Smith College, also served in the U.S. Army with "Special Service as a Physical Director at Tuskegee Air Field." An excellent athlete, Johnson held the Greater Hartford High School area broad jump record and starred on the basketball team.[18] Johnson later won huge fame in local union and civil rights work, but also joined the ranks of a vibrant political leadership and activist community. In 1969 Johnson joined Bursterman on the faculty at Eastern Connecticut State College, formerly WSTC. But even with Johnson's acceptance at the law school, Dr. Bursterman still entered a world of limited freedom for African Americans.

When she arrived at WSTC, the African American student population could be counted on one hand. Nevertheless, Bursterman's sojourn at WSTC led to encounters with outstanding African American students. The Powell sisters from Hartford attended the college. Hartford's *Chronicle* noted that the Nutmeg Elks Lodge, no. 67 agreed to contribute funds to aid the two young women in completing their education. The paper considered the move by the Elks, "worthy."[19] Like most African American students elsewhere, Connecticut's Inter-Racial Commission stated that the lack of money often hampered African American education efforts; however, this would not be the case for the Powell sisters.

The Powell sisters excelled academically and seemed to enjoy the social environment of the campus. Both belonged to campus honor societies and won offices in campus social organizations. After completing their studies, the sisters graduated and found careers in education. The college's yearbooks for 1948 and 1949 highlight many of their achievements.[20]

Nevertheless, one of the sisters did encounter what she believed to discrimination. In 1948 Inter-Racial Commission officials intervened on the behalf of an African American honor student at Willimantic State Teachers College, After the African American female student missed two days off from a practice teaching position, Willimantic State Teachers College refused to grant the student's diploma. The student believed that the college refused to grant the diploma because of her race. Frank Simpson, an IRC staff member, intervened and persuaded the college to grant the young woman her diploma. In all likelihood, Doris Powell was the student denied the diploma. Given the yearbook and available information, Doris Powell was the only African American eligible for graduation, at the time of the IRC intervention.[21]

Given the climate within the state, Dr. Bursterman's work was clearly cut out for her. In the classroom, her skills had a profound and lasting impact. For example, in 1949 Michael Phelan, a white student, wrote a letter of thanks for aid Bursterman rendered to him over the summer. During Phelan's studies, Bursterman warned the young teacher that every class had at least one extremely troublesome pupil. Bursterman's warning proved prophetic. When Phelan encountered his difficult student, he used science and Bursterman's teaching tips to reach the student.[22]

It is obvious, that Dr. Bursterman, subscribed to the adage that wisdom is the daughter of experience, and throughout the course of her career shared her many experiences with her students in the hopes of making them better teachers. One of her more favorite experiences occurred early in her career, and she described it as having 'far reaching implications,' in fact, it was probably this account that she shared with Phelan.

She recounted the occurrence in a piece entitled – "A Potential Embarrassing Moment Becomes a Pleasant Memory." It was during a class period while she was demonstrating teaching techniques to some student teachers, one young persistent pupil clamored for her attention, but fearing he might 'unintentionally redirect the trend of a profitable discussion," she ignored him. The student decided to wave his hand frantically, and she finally had to acknowledge him, only to have him blurt out with a big smile, "Miss Phifer, I like a colored teacher." The student went on to recount a conversation he had with his grandfather at breakfast earlier that morning that there is "....a kind teacher who liked to help students learn no matter if she is colored." Bursterman, despite being stunned, responded calmly, "....I like nice little boys whether they are white or colored." For her, the lesson from this experience taught that "youngsters respect people who are kind, impartial and understanding regardless of race or color."

Connecticut's first African American college professor was also known for her "versatility and professional range of interest." She developed a stellar reputation in the area of curriculum and helped to develop the school's graduate program. Dr. Bursterman also devoted considerable time and work in educating disadvantaged people all over the country. When she was not developing graduate courses in comparative education and contemporary problems in American education, she was accepting teaching positions as a visiting professor at both North Carolina A&T and Brooklyn College. In addition, she conducted summer courses at the Winston Salem Teachers College, and in the fall of 1958 led a two-day in-service institute for African American teachers in Norfolk, VA. She was a consultant to several projects, more notably – the Head Start Training Program for teachers and administrators who were to conduct the Child Development Centers at the University of Maryland and Coppin State College (Maryland), in 1965. She also served as a consultant for the NYU Desegregation and Integration Institute for supervisors and curriculum directors the summer of that same year. Her efforts were more and more being focused on educating those left out of the mainstream.

Her concern for the disadvantaged did not stop at the shores of the United States; she was concerned with the world's disadvantaged youth. She taught and worked throughout the Caribbean. Her work in the Caribbean started with her visit in 1944, when she went to the Republic of Haiti as an exchange student. Her doctoral thesis was on the education system in Haiti. Even today, some of her educational recommendations remain valid. In 1953 Bursterman under a grant from the Ford Fund, requested and received a year's leave from WTSC to travel to the Virgin Islands to work with teachers and students in the Caribbean. To accomplish the work, she accepted a position as a visiting professor at Hampton Institute. In 1959 Bursterman worked in Antigua and Puerto Rico. By 1968 Bursterman returned to the Virgin Islands to direct a National Department of Education Association Institute (NDEA) for Disadvantaged Youth at the College of the Virgin Islands.

Bursterman's concern for disadvantaged children did not stop at the shores of the United States or the Caribbean. In 1959 she entertained the idea of teaching in the African nation of Liberia, but there is no indication that the educator went to Liberia. Apparently, in 1959, while in her eleventh year at WTSC, Busterman hosted a tea party for Dr. Doris Banks-Henries a classmate from Columbia University, and her husband, the Honorable Richard Henries, a member of the Liberian ministerial cabinet.

Bursterman must have indicated an interest in teaching in Liberia because a front page article showed her picture in *The Listener*, Liberia's leading newspaper, with the headline "May Teach Here." The article indicated that "Dr. Bursterman is very much interested in Liberia and contemplates entering the education field here."[23]

The article goes on to describe her as an "ardent admirer" of William V. S. Tubman, then president of the Republic of Liberia, because of the accord he gave women of merit. There is little evidence of further contact with her friend – Dr. Henries, but later in 1980, Henries' husband was one of the many casualties in the bloody coup led by Samuel K. Doe, a noted military leader.[24]

Although she began teaching and researching during a period teeming with racism and demeaning stereotypes, Bursterman, according to Jere Knight's words of appreciation at a 1991 ceremony at Pennswood Village, flourished and thrived because of her self-love, acceptance of differences, outspokenness, zest for life, and understanding of the role of educators and students. Bursterman loved, cherished, and promoted her culture. She belonged to Delta Sigma Theta and the NAACP. While both organizations promoted the betterment of African Americans and their children, the Deltas, one of the divine nine African American fraternities and sororities, were known for promoting sisterhood among African American women. Busterman eventually married Louis Courtney Bursterman, a New York realtor from Jamaica. Both maintained a strong connection to the Caribbean.[25]

In the fall of 1968, after returning from her successful six-week training program in the Virgin Islands, Dr. Bursterman was back at work making the case for disadvantaged youths. She participated in an Education in Crisis Series, sponsored by the Graduated Division of Eastern Connecticut State College. The session she moderated was entitled "Teaching the culturally Denied Child Some Conditions for Learning." The panel included Assistant Superintendent Richard Woodward, Hartford Public Schools and Dr. William Kvaraceus, Professor of Education and Sociology at Clark University. At the session, she argued: "our standard of educating children is inadequate for all children and its obvious failures with the culturally denied and the poor are actually the symptoms of a much more sweeping fault." She went on to state, "the culturally denied cannot be defined by race, residence, jobs or behavior alone. The meaning must be broadened to include all those who are blocked in anyway from fulfilling their human potential."

Two of her more innovative work initiatives were the promotion of an exchange program between WSTC and Hampton Institution and teaching at a 1967 Coppin State College Headstart Trainee Program. Thus, African American students from the historically black college received an opportunity to learn and live in New England for a short period. In turn, white students from WSTC could travel to Hampton to study and live for a term. Impressed with Bursterman's work, George Crawford, director of the Headstart Training Program at Coppin State College, wrote a letter of thanks to Bursterman for her work with Headstart. At one point in his letter, Crawford said: "Our participants were very pleased with the wealth of information you brought and they expressed the feeling that they benefited greatly from your discussion."[26] A long legacy of such work would not go unnoticed.

As a result, national organizations sought her out for leadership posts and recognition. For example, she served as treasurer for the American Association of University Women (AAUW). In 1969 Delta Kappa Gamma, an international honor society for

women educators, asked Bursterman to become a member. One of the major efforts of the organization included helping to raise funds for the Martin Luther King, Jr. Scholarship Fund.[27] In addition to this work, Who's Who in Education, 1959-60; Who's Who in American Women, 1961-62; Dictionary of International Biography, 1974; and Personalities of America highlighted her achievements and career.[28]

In 1970 Bursterman joined President Richard Nixon's White House Conference for Children. The aim of the conference was to improve the quality of life for the nation's children. Her work with the conference meshed well with a career of aiding disadvantaged students worldwide.

Unwilling to let the recommendations of the conference die quietly on an administrator's shelf, in 1972 Bursterman broached the issue with Governor Thomas Meskill of Connecticut, which eventually led to her joining with other leaders to promote the Quality of Life Conference. After receiving a letter from Governor Meskill congratulating her on work with the Connecticut State Education Association (CSEA), on November 22, 1972, she wrote back to thank him for his kind words. In addition, Bursterman reminded Meskill that she was the "Negro woman" that talked to the state's chief executive about the ways to establish the White House Conference recommendations.

Bursterman's history of working with children nationwide made her a needed addition to Connecticut's drive to aid children. Bursterman served as the White House representative to Connecticut's April 27, 1974 Quality of Life Conference. Realizing the importance of getting the support of Governor Meskill, Bursterman invited him to attend and address the conference. Unfortunately, Meskill's schedule would not allow for his attendance. He did send a message of greeting, which Bursterman read to those in attendance.[29] While the state held the conference, it had little impact on disadvantaged children, particularly in Connecticut's urban areas. Even so, Bursterman, nearing retirement, continued to wage her lifelong battle to educate and advance the cause of the less fortunate.

When it came to the role of educators and education, she understood that "teachers were put on earth to teach and students to be educated." As a result, she decided to "share herself" with a changing world. Whatever environment she stepped into in life, "she was always a teacher!"[30] For those who knew Bursterman, she encouraged people she met to deal with differences.

Throughout her campus life, she made a number of friends. Many of them remembered her outspoken views, "zest for life," and dependability. She exuded confidence, but still made others comfortable in her presence. Esther Hart, a retired teacher and friend of Bursterman, agreed. For Hart, Bursterman "was a teacher who never left the classroom."[31]

When Bursterman retired from Eastern Connecticut State College, she remained active in church and taught at an elementary school. Bursterman was also a member of the board of deacons at the Riverside Church in New York. She died on September 12, 1991, leaving behind a tremendous legacy. She has been described as "she who has much to teach." In the 1991 appreciation, Jere Knight wrote that Bursterman was "without the surface attributes that sometimes make the white world more at ease.... she was who she was, herself at ease in her black presence, enabling those around to feel more comfortable." Forever a teacher – she held firm for the right of "children to learn, of teachers to teach." And for the world to change, she recognized that she and others needed to share their wisdom.[32] At a time when integration

was foremost on the agenda of African Americans, Dr. Bursterman traveled the South and the world imparting her experiences and sharing her education with young people, in the hopes of creating herself in others.

Notes

1. Bursterman, Juliette, "An Experience in Connecticut," Experiences in Cultural Integration, *Educational Leadership, Vol. 25, No. 8* (1958)

2. Dr. Juliette Bursterman Papers, file folder, ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections. See also inscription of ECSU Clock Tower built in 1998, Willimantic, CT.

3. Tipton, James, H An Experience in Connecticut," Experiences in Cultural Integration, *Educational Leadership, Vol. 25, No. 8* (1958)

4. Dr. Juliette Bursterman Papers, Box 1, file folder, publications and remarks to Eleanor Roosevelt, 1937-38, ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections. See also Dr. Juliette Bursterman Papers, Box 1, file folder, correspondence, "Letter from Dr. Mabel Carney to Clara Burrill (December 13, 1937) and "Letter from Clara B. Bruce to Mabel Carney of Teachers College (December 7, 1938) ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections. This letter discussed the presentation of the flowers and payment for tickets to the banquet for Bursterman, who taught at the Normal School in Fayetteville, and resided locally at the International House and Camilla L. Howard, who taught French at Howard University, and lived locally at 75 St. Nicholas Place. The total price for tickets was $3.00.

5. William M. Banks, *Black Intellectuals: Race and Responsibility in American Life* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996), 113.

6. William Moore, Jr. and Lonnie H. Wagstaff *Black Educators in White Colleges* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1974), 40-41.

7. Dr. Juliette Bursterman Papers, Box 18, "Letter from Erwin H. Sasman, August 28, 1948, file folder, ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections.

8. Dr. Juliette Bursterman Papers, Box 18, "Letter from State Board of Education," October 7, 1948, file folder, ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections.

9. "Letter from Lester Granger (November 4, 1948) to Juliette Phifer," in Dr. Juliette Bursterman Papers, box, 1, file folder, correspondence, ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections.

10. Dr. Juliette Bursterman Papers, file folder, ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections.

11. "The Negro in Conn. Colleges," Hartford Chronicle, February 8, 1947.

12. "The Negro in Conn. Colleges," Hartford Chronicle, February 8, 1947.

13. Minutes of the Inter-Racial Commission, February 27, 1946, March 5, 1947, June 22, 1948, and October 6, 1948, Records of the Connecticut Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities, Connecticut Historical Society. See also "Civil Rights Commission to Observe 20th Year," Hartford Courant, October 23. 1963.

14. "They Couldn't See Democracy at Work in Washington, D.C.; They Saw It at Work Here," New England Bulletin, May 7, 1949, "NAACP Exec Blasts Jim Crow," New England Bulletin, May

14, 1949, and [Editorial], "Passing the Buck," New England Bulletin, May 14, 1949.

15. "They Couldn't See Democracy at Work in Washington, D.C.; They Saw It at Work Here," New England Bulletin, May 7, 1949, "NAACP Exec Blasts Jim Crow," New England Bulletin, May 14, 1949, and [Editorial], "Passing the Buck," New England Bulletin, May 14, 1949.

16. [Editorial], "Undemocratic Education," Hartford Chronicle, April 12, 1947.

17. Dr. Juliette Phifer Bursterman Papers, Box 18-20, Eastern Connecticut State University, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections. Bursterman held membership in the NAACP and read Crisis Magazine, the NAACP's magazine.

18. "Johnson Enters U.C. Law School," Hartford Chronicle, October 5, 1946.

19. "Elks to Assist Students," Hartford Chronicle, April 26, 1947.

20. 1948 and 1949 Yearbooks for WSTC, ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections, .Minutes of the Inter-Racial Commission, February 27, 1946, March 5, 1947, June 22, 1948, and October 6, 1948, Records of the Connecticut Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities, Connecticut Historical Society. See also "Civil Rights Commission to Observe 20th Year," Hartford Courant, October 23. 1963.

21. 1948 and 1949 Yearbooks for WSTC, ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections, .Minutes of the Inter-Racial Commission, February 27, 1946, March 5, 1947, June 22, 1948, and October 6, 1948, Records of the Connecticut Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities, Connecticut Historical Society. See also "Civil Rights Commission to Observe 20th Year," Hartford Courant, October 23. 1963.

22. Dr. Juliette Bursterman Papers, Box 18, "Letter from Michael Phelan," 1949, file folder, ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections.

23. "May Teach Hear Listener," The Listener, 1959, Dr. Juliette Bursterman Papers, ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections and See Emmanuel Dolor, *Democracy Versus Dictatorship: The Quest for Freedom and Justice in Africa's Oldest Republic-Liberia* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America), 1996.

24. "May Teach Hear Listener," The Listener, 1959, Dr. Juliette Bursterman Papers, ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections and See Emmanuel Dolor, *Democracy Versus Dictatorship: The Quest for Freedom and Justice in Africa's Oldest Republic-Liberia* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America), 1996.

25. Dr. Juliette Bursterman Papers, Box 1, file folder, awards, membership, certificates, and pamphlets, ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections. See also Dr. Juliette Bursterman Papers, Box 18, "Juliette Bursterman: An Appreciation," September 1991 at Rosewood Village file Obituary Service, folder, ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections and Dr. Juliette Bursterman Papers, Box 18, *New London Day,* January 18, 1992, "Personal: Obituary Services, file folder, ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections.

26. Dr. Juliette Bursterman Papers, "Letter from George Crawford, Director of the Headstart Trainee Program, to Juliette Bursterman, June 27, 1967," Box 1, file folder, correspondence, ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections.

27. Dr. Juliette Bursterman Papers, Box 1, file folder, awards, membership, certificates, and pamphlets, ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections. See also Dr. Juliette Bursterman Papers, Box 18, "Juliette Bursterman: An Appreciation," September 1991 at Rosewood Village file Obituary Service,

folder, ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections and Dr. Juliette Bursterman Papers, Box 18, *New London Day,* January 18, 1992, "Personal: Obituary Services, file folder, ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections.

28. Dr. Juliette Bursterman Papers, Box 18, "Juliette Bursterman: An Appreciation," September 1991 at Rosewood Village file Obituary Service, folder, ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections and Dr. Juliette Bursterman Papers, Box 18, *New London Day,* January 18, 1992, "Personal: Obituary Services, file folder, ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections.

29. Dr. Juliette Bursterman Papers, Box 1, folder, correspondence, "Letter from Governor Meskill to Juliette Bursterman (November 17, 1972," "Letter to Governor Meskill from Juliette Bursterman (November 22, 1972)," "Letter from Governor Meskill to Juliette Bursterman (February 16, 1973)," "Letter to Governor Meskill from Juliette Bursterman (January 14, 1974)," "Letter from Governor Meskill to Juliette Bursterman (January 29, 1974)," "Letter to Governor Meskill from Juliette Bursterman (February 6, 1974)," "Letter from Gov. Meskill to Peggy Roch (Chairperson, Quality of Life for Connecticut Children), (March 13, 1974)," and "Greetings from Governor Meskill," ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special

30. Dr. Juliette Bursterman Papers, Box 18, "Juliette Bursterman: An Appreciation," September 1991 at Rosewood Village file Obituary Service, folder, ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections and Dr. Juliette Bursterman Papers, Box 18, *New London Day,* January 18, 1992, "Personal: Obituary Services, file folder, ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections.

31. Dr. Juliette Bursterman Papers, Box 18, "Juliette Bursterman: An Appreciation," September 1991 at Rosewood Village file Obituary Service, and Philadelphia Inquirer, "Statement of Esther Hart on Busterman," folder, ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections.

32. Dr. Juliette Bursterman Papers, Box 18, "Juliette Bursterman: An Appreciation," September 1991 at Rosewood Village file Obituary Service, and Philadelphia Inquirer, "Statement of Esther Hart on Busterman," folder, ECSU, J. Eugene Smith Library, Archives and Special Collections.

BOOK REVIEWS

Jeff Abernathy, ***To Hell and Back: Race and Betrayal in the Southern Novel***
Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2003.
Reviewer: Rita Saylors

In *To Hell and Back: Race and Betrayal in the Southern Novel*, Jeff Abernathy analyzes the treatment of race in selected Southern fiction, devoting the most attention to the prototypic novel, *Huckleberry Finn*. Early in the book, Abernathy acknowledges that the term race is a social construct, not a biological term, yet he does not dismiss the power of social categories, inherently abstract, to wreak concrete, real havoc and death. Abernathy then pulls apart a major theme running through a number of these novels by white writers—and through American culture—that are long familiar to readers: the moral growth experienced by a white character's encounter with a black guide, teacher, or mentor. This growth is usually disavowed ultimately, Abernathy shows, in the white character's return by the end of the novel to the earlier confines of white culture. The crucial critical question, then, concerns the extent to which white writers—Mark Twain, William Faulkner, Elizabeth Spencer, Carson McCullers, Harper Lee, Sarah Flanigan, and Kaye Gibbons—are conscious or unconscious, ironic or not, in theft portrayal of the failures of their characters to incorporate the wisdom of their experiences into a new identity. Abernathy posits that characters fail to do so because "the black world posited here [in these novels] is one lashed to an essentializing ideology that can allow that world or the characters who rise from it no autonomy" (126). In other words, these Southern white writers themselves treat black culture in an "essentializing" way.

Abernathy then turns to a reading of three black novels—*Native Son, Invisible Man,* and *Meridian*—that widens the scope to Southerners as well as to those dislocated from the South. These novels show the "terror with which African Americans enter into such a union" (134) as that between Huck and Jim. If Jim had been given a voice, Abernathy posits, he would have been wary of Huck all along. In discussing the three novels, Abernathy argues convincingly that they repudiate the essentialist notion of "blackness [as] a sort of art, an enticement because of the transformative if transitory growth it provides" (147). These novels thus stand as a critique and a repudiation of any legitimate "moral growth" found in *Huckleberry Finn* and other Southern novels.

Finally, Abernathy analyzes recent Southern white fiction by Padgett Powell, Ellen Douglas, and W. Glasgow Phillips. If these writers can go beyond the limits of earlier writers in the treatment of race, it is in part because "The work of African American writers like Richard Wright and Ralph Ellison has so thoroughly deconstructed the failed vision of racial liberalism to be found in Twain" (185). Abernathy's readings are detailed and his analyses sound, mainly on theoretical ground already plowed by others, especially African American critics. Yet his book contributes to the growing body of criticism concerning the intersections of fiction, culture, and history.

Perhaps the strongest evidence for Abernathy's thesis concerning limits of writers' treatment of race involves his own, likely unconscious, use of "we" throughout the book in a way that seems to address only the white part of his audience. While his thesis seems accurate that the Southern novels analyzed "express directly national ambivalence over race" (3), does this "national ambivalence" include blacks as well? Surely, black and white reactions are not the same, and are not "ambivalent" in the same way, even if the word applies to both. And is not the word "both" itself a construct, assuming lines and distinctions that are not biologically valid? It may be as

difficult for the critic as for the writer or for any human being to go beyond the limits of racial constructs. Therein exists our national tragedy and our national challenge.

Stewart Burns, ***To the Mountaintop: Martin Luther King Jr.'s Sacred Mission to Save America, 1955-1968.*** New York: Harper San Francisco, 2004.
Reviewer: Rhett S. Jones

The publisher, seeking to demonstrate that Stewart Burns' book offers something new, claims that it focuses on the spiritual dimension of the man. It does not. It would be more correct to say that the book reveals the complexity of the man and his people's battle for racial justice. Burns draws on his considerable insight into black American psyche and politics in carefully tracing the workings of the movement. To be sure, the struggle had a spiritual dimension, but it was intertwined with social, cultural, and historical dimensions. Cross cutting all these was the great ugly scar of racism, self-inflicted by Americans and running so deep that spirituality alone, no matter how powerful could not heal it.

In its early pages, the book skips around in time and place, creating a confusing non-narrative that only those familiar with the chronology of the movement can disentangle. But Burns---who worked for many years with the King Papers at Stanford—-soon settles down and begins to sort out the complexities of man, movement, and the varied meanings of the movement to its proponents and opponents. Burns is at his very best in spelling out the workings of social (not spiritual) relations as he details the importance of Pullman porters who provided Afro-American communities with alternative sources of information to that in the Euro-American media, and the failure of a (mostly) male black ministry to provide leadership roles for black women. Black women were literally on the firing line in the movement but were often shuttled off-stage when the television lights came on. Burns deftly situates black organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Black Panther Party, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the Urban League within black American society, while at the same time clearly presenting their changing relations with one another. Burns shows how the organizational was linked to the personal among black Americans as he demonstrates why King's associates so rarely publicly attacked him. It was not that every black person knew every other black person, but rather that every black person understood how individual blacks ought to publicly relate to black organizations.

If Burns knows his way around Afro-America, he also understands Euro-America. Without sitting in judgement, he explains why the Kennedy brothers failed King, just as he shows how Billy Graham (recently revealed as an Anti-Semite) opposed the movement, and he reveals many hidden attacks on King by the then Department of Dirty Tricks, the FBI. These were, to be sure, very different kinds of white folk with very different motives, but they were all driven by their racism and resultant fear of blacks. These and a number of other complex issues are examined by Burns who draws on primary sources, published works, oral histories, and King's own statements, both public and private. In sum, while *To the Mountaintop* is not the defini-

tive statement on the role of spirituality in King's work its publisher claims, anyone interested in the movement will learn a good deal about the nuts and bolts of this transforming struggle. Along the way, Burns reminds readers of the considerable work that has been done on race. A reading of his "Endnotes" alone reveals the massive amount of research devoted to race in the United States. Euro-Americans have not been willing to do much about racism, but they certainly have been willing to study it.

Frank Lambert. ***James Habersham: Loyalty, Politics, and Commerce in Colonial Georgia.*** Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2005.
Reviewer: Jimmy McJamerson

Professor Frank Lambert's study of James Habersham is a detailed account of a rags-to-riches story set in the backdrop of colonial, slave-holding Georgia during the era leading up to the American Revolutionary War. What the author has skillfully crafted is a description of the factors that helped to shape the life of Habersham in eighteenth century England prior to his coming to the New World. The author then examines Habersham's struggles to overcome hardships as a colonist in English America. In particular, Dr. Lambert analyzes the interworking of a Georgian merchant, who mastered the art of networking to raise himself and his family to positions of wealth and influence. As a result of his mastery, Habersham's annual income placed him within England's landed gentry"(126). Also, the author notes, 'His estate was sufficient to provide a legacy for his three sons that secured their positions among Georgia's leading men" (126)

Although set in the eighteenth century, this book should be required reading for today's youth, especially those who may believe that life owes them something and those who are struggling to find their way. Lambert, in recreating the past of this Loyalist/Royalist, has given a blueprint for achievement. In doing so, he meticulously describes the social, political, religious and social structure of eighteenth century England and then devotes the remainder of the book to recreating the inner working of Habersham's colonial Georgia. Each chapter is presented in the same style of writing, as he becomes engulfed in details, and if the reader is not careful, he or she will lose the essence of the book.

As a seasoned politician, James Habersham, a wise sage, seems to have known advantages of having families on both sides of a powerful issue. This is one point the author fails to consider in his evaluation of this cunning, politically astute man who rose to wealth and influence in colonial Georgia. Lambert is correct: the Habersham story deserves to be told.

The key to Habersham's success was based on networking and his mastery of it. The book clearly demonstrates the power of family connections that are necessary for becoming successful. The author traces James Habersham's life from his birth in Beverley, England to his position as a merchant apprentice in London with his uncle Joseph Habersham, a prosperous grocer/wholesaler of foodstuffs. Habersham later became a missionary and schoolmaster in colonial Georgia. After failing as a missionary and schoolmaster of an orphanage in Georgia, he became a merchant and was on the road to success. While in London, his uncle made sure he was equipped with

the tools he believed were necessary for success: (1) moral training, (2) mastery of one's "native language" and (3) mastery of business correspondence and record keeping. The mastery of those tools equipped Habersham for success in the New World.

It was from the position of a merchant in Georgia and with his connection in the mother country, England, that James Habersham would parlay his connections, business sense and networking ability into a position of influence. According to Lambert, a basic philosophy was practiced: "Habersham warned Joe [his son who was in England] that although good associates were indispensable to a merchants success, bad ones could lead to his downfall" (19) . As a result of his own efforts, he rose to become one of the wealthiest men in the colony—a successful merchant, planter, slaveholder, secretary of Georgia, president of the Council, and, for over a year, acting governor of the colony in the early 1770's.

Dr. Lambert skillfully discusses the foundation of the Georgian economic system, which came to be based on slavery and the role Habersham played in getting this institution established in the colony. Habersham believed that rice could be successfully grown in the colony. But the "key was labor" (78). After writing several letters of appeal, he was able to convince the trustees of the colony that slavery would be very profitable. With his business sense and now a new labor source, this would propel the Habershams to be members of the apex of Georgian society.

According to Lambert, Habersham and others who remained loyal to George III and the British Empire, during the struggle for American independence, have been overlooked in the rush to tell the story of the colonists who fought to separate from England. Believing that this story deserves to be told, the author describes an overlooked segment of American history. More needs to be written about these men of wealth and character.

R. Drew Smith, ed. ***Long March Ahead: African American Churches and Public Policy in Post-Civil Rights America.***
Reviewer: Ronald Dorris

Standard questions that govern critique of a text are: what is the author trying to do; is it worth doing; and how well is the task accomplished? Such questions loom largely when it comes to a critique of *Long March Ahead*, edited by R. Drew Smith. He informs that the edited volume is the second of two published by Duke University Press, and features research developed as part of the Public Influences of African America Churches Project (PIAAC). According to Smith in the Preface, "The aim of this research initiative, which is based at the Leadership Center at Morehouse College, is to examine the relation of African American churches to American political life in the twentieth century, the period since the civil rights movement" (ix). Smith is Director of the PIAAC project and Scholar-in-Residence at the Leadership Center at Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia. The text he has edited reads as though he is directing a long march ahead instead of aligning a point of view based on editorial skill. Yet all is not hopeless.

To study where *Long March Ahead* falls short is to learn how it can be upheld. The work comprises 239 pages, inclusive of a table of contents, preface, introduc-

tion, nine essays each preceded by a number to give the impression of successive chapters, two appendices, a list of contributors, and an index. In rapid succession minus delineation, Smith moves from director of the project, to writer of the introduction, to author of the first chapter. Given each rapid role move, the line that demarcates which hat Smith is wearing is blurred. As project director/writer/editor, what does Smith introduce? The eight-page introduction is designed like an overloaded chapter, six and one-half pages of text, and one and one-half pages of notes. The six pages of text incorporate the introduction proper and three subheadings, amounting to overkill for such a short collective text. The three subheadings are titled Tensions between Religious and Political Imperatives; Organizational Obstacles to Black Church Public Policy Activism; and Policy Substance within African American Church Activism. Hence tensions, obstacles, and policy are intertwined non-stop.

At the end of the introduction proper, Smith states his purpose about what focus governs the entire text. "Various internal and external factors have constrained public policy involvements by African American churches, but two that are especially important and discussed in one way or another in each of the essays highlight tensions between religious imperatives and political activism and deficits in the organizational capacity of African American churches" (2). In analytical writing, purpose borders on statement-of-the-obvious, and intent dictates what will be proved or disproved. Smith's work is clear on purpose, but cloudy on intent. Simply he pulls off the coin toss in his attempt to shape the entire text by authoring the first essay. One is eager to see if at some point Smith's purpose will reciprocate intent.

Smith's chapter, "Assessing the Public Policy Practices of African American Churches," comprises nineteen pages inclusive of a two-paragraph conclusion, nine tables, and one and one half pages of notes. This essay/chapter is apportioned into a text proper and three sub-sections, Policy Priorities (6 pages), African American Churches and Advocacy Organizations (3 pages), and channels of Policy Activism (4 pages, one constituting a complete chart). This chapter is not evenly divided in terms of layout, and is imbalanced in terms of transnational (local, national and international) perspective. The chapter better could have been served by evenly dividing it into sections with focus on the local, national and international perspective. Local and international development is addressed first, and then the spotlight is placed on national developments. The text better might have been served were local and national developments addressed first. Correspondingly, Smith's international lens on foreign policy matters, which feature Africa, should have been reinforced with more than two paragraphs.

The title of a sound work should incorporate an inherent thesis. One should be able to look at a title of an analytical work and be able to surmise what will be proved or disproved by having an idea upfront what will be complemented in the overall text. Essay/chapter four adheres to this criteria. Appropriately, it is titled "Contestant, Advocate, Implementer: Social Services and the Policy Roles of African American Churches." Chapter four should have been placed ahead of any other chapter in the text. It is clear and concise. Michael Leo Owens opens this piece by stating that "The potential for the African American faith sector to play an expanded role in social services has increased. The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1966 (PRWORA) is the cause" (73). Owens then moves to identify what he engages.

> This essay identifies how the African American faith sector has responded to welfare reform and charitable choice. It clarifies how change in public policy present the African American faith sector with political choices for involving itself in public policymaking as it relates to the interest, needs, and values of the poor. In doing so, it outlines the policy

roles that members of the African American faith sector have assumed to serve best the needs of the poor in an era of devolved and decentralized public policy formation and implementation (74).

When Owens issues his opening statement under the first subheading in his essay/chapter, the overall purpose of the entire edited text by R. Drew Smith acquires a platform for clarity. Owens introduces the concept of *charitable choice* and links this concept to one key term, *devolution*, which enables a reader to tie together the entire work edited by Smith. Owens states: "The national government transferred considerable public functions to subnational levels of the federalist system. The general public, however, regardless of race or ethnicity, knows little about that transfer and how it changes the current policy context in which federal benefits are distributed to citizens" (74).

Owens' focus on charitable choice clears a pathway for the other chapters to make sense in relation to the overall edited volume. The volume and Smith's statement of its purpose, as well as his position as editor, would have taken on more substance from the beginning had the Owens essay/chapter followed the Introduction. A sense of continuity would have been maintained had essay/chapter three followed the Owens piece instead of being placed before it. In essay/chapter three, Megan E. McLaughlin addresses "The Role of African American Churches in Crafting the 1996 Welfare Reform Policy." Her purpose is clear: "to explore the role of African American churches in the evolution of PRWAORA with four major assumptions guiding this analysis" (52). Given the succeeding Owens essay/chapter, McLaughlin's purpose likewise establishes a direct link to charitable choice as a concept that can serve to govern position in *Long March Ahead* overall.

McLaughlin focuses on what she identifies as three sections that mediate between our specific individuality as economic producers and consumers and our abstract collectivity as a sovereign people: the state, the market and the civil society. After an introduction proper, McLaughlin provides an important overview of PRWORA, which is central to an understanding of the entire volume edited by Smith. McLaughlin informs that "Since the 1980s, the concept of civil society has gained currency, and people on all points of the political spectrum—left, right, and center—have found it appealing" (53). Next we are provided with a reason for this sense of appeal. "A role for civil society and faith communities, in particular, was defined in Section 104 of PRWORA. The charitable choice provision encourages states to engage faith-based organizations to provide welfare services using federal dollars" (53). Last but not least, McLaughlin shows the impact of charitable choice as governmental strategy to maintain social control. "Of course, the charitable choice provision should be viewed in the context of PRWORA. PRWORA radically changed the safety net program that had been in existence since 1935" (54).

Both Owens in essay/chapter four and McLaughlin in essay/chapter three, provide the framework to understand that the other essay/chapters are case studies that fit into the overall scheme of the far-reaching impact of charitable choice on the public in general, and on the government's coercion of the involvement of African American churches in particular. Hence after the volume's Introduction, essay/chapter four should have followed, succeeded by essay/chapter three. Next in the line-up should have been essay/chapter one, "Assessing the Public Policy Practices of African American Churches."

Given positioning of essay/chapter one at the beginning of the edited volume, the larger context for this assessment is not clear, especially since text is so cluttered. Here R. Drew Smith's role as director/editor/author clashes. Essay/chapter one, written by Smith, comprises nineteen pages inclusive of a two-paragraph conclusion. The text also incorporates nine tables, and one and one-half pages of notes. The ar-

rangement is unevenly divided into four sub-sections: a two and one-half page introduction proper; Policy Priorities; African American Churches and Advocacy Organizations; and Channels of Policy Activism. This essay/chapter would be more effective were it clearly focused on the concept of charitable choice, and then evenly divided on how this concept impacts local, national and international affective domain as the African American church voluntarily or involuntarily is drawn into the fray.

With better essay/chapter arrangement, the overall purpose of *Long March Ahead* as an edited volume would be much clearer. A more wholesome arrangement not only would show each essay/chapter as a case study in its own right, but also show the importance of each case study as a complementary unit for the text, relative to impact of charitable choice on the government's maintenance of social control and the coercion of African American churches in participation of this policy. Thus the remaining work in the edited volume would take on the immediacy of broad insight relative to the additional essay/chapter titles: "Service Provider or Policymaker? Black Churches and the Health of African Americans"; "African American Churches and Reproductive Health Rights"; "African American Clergy and Urban School Reform"; "End of a Miracle? Crime, Faith, and Partnership in Boston in the 1990s"; and "African American Churches and the Evolution of Antiapartheid Activism."

Long March Ahead is an invaluable study. Each party involved in this project should receive a high mark for initiative. Whereas focus and clarity in the volume is lacking relative to effective editorial arrangement, scholarship that enlightens and informs would not be overshadowed had the text been arranged for an angle of consistency and an overarching thesis to assume center stage.

Thad Sitton and James H. Conrad. **Freedom Colonies: Independent Black Texans in the Time of Jim Crow** Austin: University of Texas Press.
Reviewer: Ambrous Jacobs

During the period 1865 to 1910 African Americans acquired some fifteen million acres of land. Sitton and Conrad do an excellent job of explaining how large numbers of African Americans were able to become land owners throughout the American South after the Civil War. This development is surprising for two reasons. First, ironically, African Americans were acquiring land during the very period that many small white farmers were losing their land and either migrating to the cities and towns or becoming landless workers (renters) on the land of others. This must have caused a great deal of resentment. Second, this acquisition took place during a period when increasingly discriminatory policies, Black Codes and Jim Crow policies in general, were being implemented throughout the American South. This phenomenon - the acquisition of land by African Americans - was most pronounced in Texas. According to the authors, over thirty percent of the African American population of Texas owned their own land by 1930.

How was this possible? Sitton and Conrad argue that it was possible in part because recently emancipated (and very 'land-hungry') African Americans chose land that most whites did not want. Often this land had been abandoned by its white owners. Blacks would initially squat on this abandoned land, develop it, and gradually acquire title to it. Moreover, they tended to settle land as far as possible from

the centers of white power, the county seat in most Texas counties. The authors note, however, that the land that African Americans came into possession of was not always marginal. There were a number of instances where former slave masters (or other white patrons) assisted former slaves acquire land. This was most often the case when the former slaves were blood relatives of the former master. Generally, however, most blacks acquired land that most whites did not want. This is not surprising because all too often during this period it was all a black person's life was worth to have something (anything) that whites wanted. "In Jim Crow times, the more a black man owned, the more he had to worry about." Finally, many couples worked together and save for years to buy their own farmland. Accustomed to working for others, these early settlers took possession of often very marginal land and, now working for themselves and their children, made it productive.

Why did so many black Texans acquire land? And why did the white polity permit this development? This book does a superb job of explaining the motives of these black landowners. First, black landowners and potential land owners wanted to be as independent of whites as possible. This meant that they would have to have land to produce enough to satisfy many, if not most of their material needs. The land was used not only to support farm families but to build independent communities. There was a general recognition that land was necessary but not sufficient to build a community. Each settlement needed and wanted a church as well as a school. The church provided a moral compass for the community. Men headed these churches; women ran them. Blacks built their own schools to educate their children so that their children could read labor contracts, tax documents, and, most important of all, title deeds to the land. Theirs was a very practical need for education to acquire and maintain possession of land. In other words, education had an instrumental value. The authors observe that many of these communities later proved very resistant to school integration because they rightly feared the loss of control of their own schools. "When the school dies, the community dies."

The inhabitants of these communities did all that they could to reduce their dependence on and even their contacts with whites. "Relatively secure in their isolated, all-black communities, people felt free to do as they pleased without reference to Jim Crow rules and customs." The authors write that "Especially in the decades before 1900, blacks in freedmen's settlements kept to themselves, ran their own subsistence farms, made do with what they had, limited their interactions with whites, and helped each other out." How? First, community work occasions benefited the members of these communities and provided opportunities to socialize. Second, individual acts of support created reciprocal obligations that "collectively formed the community's only source of social support." Finally, as a consequence of these networks of community support, when disaster befell any family, this family could depend on its neighbors for support. The work does not address what effect the implementation of social security and other New Deal welfare programs beginning in the 1930s had on these institutions of community support.

The authors do not adequately explore the second question: Why did the white polity permit this development? Nor do the authors explain why this development was more prevalent in Texas than in other southern states. Texas, as did all Southern states, instituted many laws, Black Codes, to insure that the labor of blacks was readily available to white employers during this period. Given that there was such a need for labor, why were blacks allowed to set up such communities? After all black folk working on their own land, were black folk not working on the land of whites. Of course, given that roughly thirty percent of black Texans worked their own land in Texas, seventy percent of black Texans did not own land. It might have been the case that this seventy percent provided a sufficient labor supply for politically powerful white employers. The authors do point out that after 1910 increasing restric-

tions were imposed on the acquisition of land by African Americans. Whites became less inclined to sell land to African Americans. Confined to a fixed amount of often very marginal land with an ever increasing population, the children of the 'founders' often found it necessary to work part time or full time for whites.

What comes out clearly in this book is the amount of sheer hard work and creativity employed by these communities to maintain an independent existence as much and as long as possible. These communities can be seen as the means by which an exit strategy from a very racist political system could be employed. Although blacks at these settlements often valued their land above all else and held onto it until the bitter end, the percentage of land held by African Americans fell over 90 percent during the eighty year period from 1910 to 1990, from roughly fifteen million acres to just over a million acres. The automobile and the development of better road networks made many of these farms less isolated and, therefore, more valuable. Racial chicanery was one another reason for this reduction. Perhaps the most important reason was general economic change. After all, small white landowners continued to lose their land, - their 'family farms' - during this same period. Of course, white racism and the relative powerlessness of black landowners made it easier to deprive blacks of their land. Needless to say that the discovery of rich oil deposits beneath many of these black farms in East Texas did little to facilitate continued land ownership by African Americans.

Slavery notwithstanding, the American myth is based on the notion that hard work will eventually result in material success. This book well documents that over an extended period of time, many African Americans throughout the South, but especially in Texas, engaged in backbreaking labor to acquire, develop, and maintain farms. Despite their efforts, most lost these farms in a relatively short period of time. It is ironic that at roughly the same time that the Soviet Union was busily destroying its own landowning farmers or peasants, the Kulaks, the American capitalist system implemented policies that resulted in the virtual destruction of many independent black peasant communities in the American South. Worthy of study would be the effect that this massive lose of land—so painstakingly acquired over decades—had on the attitudes of contemporary African Americans towards work, debt, and property ownership.

Although the authors devote a great deal of space to discussions about cooperation and conflict between these "Freedom Colonies" and the white communities that surrounded them, there is no discussion of the relationships between the inhabitants of these colonies and landless African Americans. This is a serious lacunae because such a discussion would better situate the inhabitants of these erstwhile "Freedom Colonies" in the struggle of all African Americans for simple justice.

Nonetheless, this is an impressively well researched, highly informative, generally well organized, and extremely well written book. Sitton and Conrad quote one of these landowners, LeeDell Bunton:

> We're just saying that we should never forget. For those who own property now, they should try to hold onto it, so that 100 years from now their great-grandchildren can tell their children, 'This is where our beginnings were after slavery.' I think that means something.

So do I.

S. C. A. A. S. I.

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