Scholars or Sharecroppers?

A Critical Race historical exploration of HBCU Black male professors

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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DEDICATION

The gratitude, respect, and love I hold for the beautiful spirits in my life is boundless.

Almighty Creator, I glorify You for my life,
for the unlimited grace and blessings bestowed upon me.
Ancestors, I sincerely thank you for modelling strength and tenacity.

For my dearly departed,
Walter, Hattie, Frank, and Lucy, grandparents
William and Ruby, parents
Penny, sister and Monte, brother
This work is in your honour.

Tiffany R. Holloman, my wife, I cherish our life together.
You have fulfilled my dream of deeply knowing you and
feeling safe enough to fully share myself.
You made this work possible.
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ABSTRACT

My research explored historical and contemporary labour constraints of the little-known Black male faculty of the Historically Black Colleges and Universities of the United States during the Progressive Era. I uncovered relationships between the *de jure* and *de facto* racialised management policies created by US government representatives, business owners, religious leaders, and higher education administrators. These policies constrained the political, economic, and social evolution of Black working-class men and first generation African American scholars, seemingly to reaffirm white supremacy during the Progressive Era. Arguing that the insidious Black Inferiority complex justified the constraints, I present evidence of preclusion of the HBCU male professors from the influential disciplinary canons, classrooms, and professional associations. Critical Race Theory was utilized to reveal the historical hegemonic challenges the Black scholars faced, as well as the strategies they employed to negotiate the Academy and enrich the nation.

Keywords
Critical Race Theory; Critical Race Education History; Black resistance; Black inferiority; Black male scholars; Higher education; Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs); Labour studies; Professional associations; Race management; Black working-class; and *Workplace discrimination; African American Male Theory; Black men*

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SECTION ONE—FRONT MATTERS

Our country may be likened to a new house. We lack many things,
but we possess the most precious of all—liberty.
James Monroe (1758-1831), Founding Father of the United States, US President, plantation, and slave owner

Mother to Son
Well, son, I'll tell you:
Life for me ain't been no crystal stair.
It's had tacks in it,
And splinters,
And boards torn up,
And places with no carpet on the floor—
Bare.
But all the time
I'se been a-climbin' on,
And reachin' landin's,
And turnin' corners,
And sometimes goin' in the dark
Where there ain't been no light.
So boy, don't you turn back.
Don't you set down on the steps
'Cause you finds it's kinder hard.
Don't you fall now—
For I'se still goin', honey,
I'se still climbin',
And life for me ain't been no crystal stair.
James Mercer Langston Hughes (1901-1967), Harlem Renaissance writer and social activist

Without the labour of millions of Black men, the United States (US) as we know it would not exist. Within US history, the Black males are central to the political, economic, and social structures—a pivot from which all decisions about expansions were formed. The very existence of the Black male—whether the reality or the product of social construction—influenced broad national agendas and everyday decisions in each state of the union for centuries. Whilst it is reasonable to assert that the Black male labourer is one of the most examined

subjects in the history of the United States, the Black male professor may be one of the least. In the following vignette, two of these Black men representing the intersections of race and socioeconomic class are Mr. Walter Aytch, a sharecropper, and Dr. John Hope Franklin, an academic.

Chapter 1—Introduction

A tale of two men

Walter Aytch, the sharecropper (1905-1967)

In the sepia-toned, undated image, Walter Aytch, my grandfather, back straight, head high, hand firmly on the hood of a shiny automobile next to him, peers at the nameless photographer. My context memories of this photograph belong primarily to my mother, Ruby Mae. She would gaze adoringly at the picture and her voice always, always imparted a reverence for the man upon whom she focused.

During my youth, I learned that Walter Aytch was a sharecropper, a farmer who toiled on land that never belonged to him. Even as a child, I felt this was somehow wrong. I could not understand why granddaddy could not purchase land as my parents had done. I felt anger rising when I was told that granddaddy received payment for his work just once a year; disgustingly, sometimes the landowner—a mean white man—would try to cheat Walter of his full earnings. The one-off annual payment meant my mother and her four brothers could only expect one pair of shoes during the year—shoes that could not be tried in the

stores due to racist clerks—and they had to be worn whether too tight, too wide or too long. Though shocked that this man in the photograph was so uneducated that his tenancy contracts were signed with an ‘x’, my admiration grew when I learned of his refusal of credit in the landowner’s store. Granddaddy knew the ‘generous’ credit would result in an unsustainable annual payment after the harvest and would tighten the tentacled grip of his employer on the lives of his family.

My sister Dee heard another story from our mother. Miraculously, the landowner agreed to sell my granddaddy the land upon which he lived and farmed. After years of ‘scrimping and saving’ as my mother used to say, Walter accumulated the funds for the purchase. When the landowner died, his son and heir, a recent North Carolina State University graduate, refused to honour his father’s agreement or my grandfather’s discipline. I can only imagine how he felt about this betrayal.

Mr. Walter Aytch was determined that his daughter would have the university education he had neither the time nor resources to use toward his own. Ruby attended the one-room Black school in her area. She and her brothers trudged to school carrying the bacon or cheese biscuits she helped her mother bake every morning, and sometimes taking along farm products for payment to the one teacher. Unlike my school with distinct classes for each year and clear demarcations between levels for primary and secondary students, all ages of

Black children studied together with their instructor developing separate plans for each level. The rural students used the one-room facility until they graduated from the secondary programme.

According to my mother, no misbehaviour in school or disrespect for the teacher went unpunished. Her father, a demanding patriarch who believed in strict gender roles, expected excellent grades from her no matter how early she arose to care for the farm animals, tend the fields, assist with housework, or monitor her brothers. Ruby was sixteen when she graduated from the school and began her university studies at one of the Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) in our state, North Carolina. My mother said she never knew where her father found the five dollars, equivalent of forty-eight cents today, he sent to her monthly for incidentals, but she understood the magnitude of his sacrifice. The insistence upon and investment in her education was THE hope of future respect, status, opportunity, security, and stability.

Untrusting of the white physicians due to years of unethical experimentation on Black people[1] or unreliable medical treatment at the hands of white physicians, my grandfather died of cardiovascular and renal failure because he did not believe he could survive with one kidney. Despite years of profit gleaned from

[1] People of colour have been subjected to medical horrors, such as, gynaecological surgeries on slave women without available anaesthesia, forced sterilisations of people of colour, and lack of consent for participation in experiments. For more on the subject, read *Medical apartheid: The dark history of medical experimentation on Black Americans from colonial times to the present* by Harriet A. Washington.

my grandfather's knowledge, skills, and aptitude in farming, the landowner expelled my grandmother from his rental property as soon as my grandfather passed, days before his sixty-second birthday. Yet, Walter lived to see his dreams fulfilled in my mother; she and her HBCU alumni husband owned the land upon which they lived and worked respectable state jobs as teachers in the still segregated high school.

Forty-four years later, as she lay dying, delirious with pain, my Ruby, the nurturing wife and mother, esteemed teacher, beloved community activist, and faithful church leader known for her inherited work ethic, called for her father—her wept, honoured, and sung hero.

Dr. John Hope Franklin, a world-class scholar (1915-2009)

The *John Hope Franklin* name search produced over five hundred images after an internet search. Global users can observe his growth from a young boy to an esteemed elder, with only the metal frame glasses he wore appearing to change throughout the years.

Dr. Franklin's parents of Franklin, both HBCU graduates, named their son after John Hope, the first African-descent president of two HBCUs at the turn of the twentieth century. Franklin was born in Oklahoma to Charles, a lawyer, and Mollie, a primary school teacher. Despite their professions, however, the family income needed supplement to maintain their household. Confined to only Black

clientele, Charles faced rejection from his community members as they rightly believed a Black lawyer—and their cases—would be unfavourably judged. Franklin, before he understood the context of his father's career, admitted that he was embarrassed by his father's seeming failure as head of the household. Whilst his mother, like other Black instructors, was unable to earn as much as the lowest paid white teachers, Franklin was more generous in his thoughts and feelings concerning domestic duties she performed for supplemental income. Whatever their financial and social struggles, Charles and Mollie maintained their focus on education for their children. Though they certainly knew that life as Black people was "no crystal stair", the Franklins instilled in their children the meaning, purpose, and benefit of education—hope, respect, status, opportunity, security, stability for self, family, and the Black community.

John Hope Franklin wanted to be a historian. Fuelled by his love of the discipline, determination, work ethic, and relationships with nurturing supporters, he fulfilled his dream. His precarious financial status and numerous part-time jobs during his university years did not deter him from graduating at each level with honours. Armed with formidable academic knowledge, skills and aptitude, Franklin began his career with frustration in realising that his aspirations would constantly be tested by racism. Yet, as he said in his autobiography, he refused to give ignorance power over his life.

When Dr. Franklin died in North Carolina in March 2009, at age ninety-four, he had earned the Presidential Medal of Freedom, one of the highest honours for US civilians. An internet search of his death produces over sixty-seven million results.

Forethoughts

John Hope Franklin was born ten years after and approximately twelve hundred miles (1931 kilometres) away from Walter Aytch; forty-two years separated their deaths in world-renowned North Carolina hospitals located twenty-seven miles apart. Though some of their experiences overlapped, their lives diverged wildly. Walter was known to his family, friends, and members of a tiny rural community. Franklin was called 'the global scholar' who lectured or spoke about US history and African Americans on six of the seven continents. Few remember the work Walter performed in the soil of rural North Carolina. Another internet search of Franklin produced nearly ninety-three million results of interdisciplinary centres, historical associations, books, fellowships, quotes, biographies, videos, encyclopaedic entries, governmental webcasts, and television interviews affiliated with the scholar. More still, museums feature exhibits on Franklin. An elementary school and a phalaenopsis orchid bear his name.

The historical reliance on the Black male labour, like that of Walter and John Hope, has been a source of contention amongst the political, economic, and social leaders, resulting in the deliberate formation and implementation of

policies that have, over four hundred years, constrained his vocational development and creativity, crystallized into tenets of social relations that continue to restrict the Black man from reaping rewards for his contributions to America. Within the United States, these ideas converge within the institution of the Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). Despite the centrality of Black men—labourers and professionals—in the fabric of the United States, the absence of the HBCU Black male professors from the Academy and the disciplinary canons is an indicator that their existence and scholarship in society has been devalued. This study interrogated the educational system and labour market to reveal why the lives of Walter and John were so different. Most importantly, my research emphasised not just the challenges faced by the scholars but the successful strategies they employed to secure their entrance into the Academy.

Considerations

Research questions

In a post-racial US, the presence of Black professionals is proof that the government officials, corporate managers, and university administrators have successfully addressed racial discrimination with effective policies that allow access to the resources necessary for social mobility. Whilst the number of Black professionals certainly increased, statistics show that the percentage of this group has barely grown past three percent of the labour market since the mid-twentieth century.

I observed the stalled statuses of Black professionals, specifically Black male professors and wondered what about the constraints on their careers. The development of the Theory of Plantation Economy by Lloyd Best and Kari Levitt caused me to wonder if the plantation characteristics or landowner management strategies were found within the US Academy. In his study of the employment opportunities of Black working-class men after emancipation, Douglas A. Blackmon found that state officials and corporate leaders colluded to keep the men legally enslaved through laws. Francille Rusan Wilson and Aldon Morris interrogated the careers Black scholars during the Progressive Era, finding systemic discrimination in the Academy. Finally, my personal experiences in the US labour market and education system, as well as information gleaned from the literature review led me to draft the following questions:

In what ways did the early HBCU Black male professors compare to the Black male sharecroppers of the nineteenth century?

Were the historical patterns of Black labour management used on US plantations utilised in labour management at Historically Black Colleges and Universities?

In what ways have past or present labour management patterns impacted the careers of HBCU Black male professors?

In what ways have the Black male professors met the challenges within the Academy?

Study purpose

The search for possible patterns and explanations for the enduring issues of underrepresentation and marginalisation of HBCU Black male professors in the United States university system was the primary goal of this exploratory study.

Study significance

While much has been said about Black men, in comparison, little of what they have to say about their ideas regarding manhood, work, education, society, and existences is widely available. Despite the centrality of Black men to the fabric of the United States, the absence of their voices is an indicator that their paramount place in society is not highly valued and has been marginalised. In fact, the reliance on the Black male labour has been a source of contention that has resulted in the deliberate formation and implementation of policies that have, over four hundred years, constrained his vocational development and creativity, crystallizing into tenets of social relations that continue to restrict the Black man from reaping rewards for his contributions to America. Within the United States, these ideas converge within the institution of the Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs).

The significance of this exploratory study is to provide information for future research projects, specifically, suggestions for the recruitment of HBCU Black male professors; the utilisation of Critical Race Theory in historical studies; and

intersectionality of the professional- and working-class Black community members.

Delimitations

Originally, only native-born African American men who work(ed) as sharecroppers and HBCU university professors were the focus of this research. The Black male professors must have received at least one qualification from an HBCU, as well as, been employed in the faculty of one of the institutions. Using the term *race* as defined by the US Census Bureau (see Appendix), residents may report their identification with one or more social groups, such as, *Alaska Native*, *Asian*, *Black or African American* or *White* (Anon, 2017a, p.1); any resident, including those who have immigrated to the US, can use these labels. Although Black people are typically portrayed as a homogeneous group with nearly identical rational, cognitive, and behavioural processes, researchers have found that immigrants and their children often do not 'inherit the scars and handicaps of a long history of racial exclusion and discrimination' as do native Blacks [of the US] (Waters et al., 2014, p.382). Moreover, Africans and immigrants of African descent exhibit differences in ethnic identity construction, cultural understandings of racism, and interactions with members of the dominant US culture (Okonofua, 2013, pp.2–7).

Limitations

Several factors limit the generalizability of the exploratory research findings. Early on it was apparent that the federal government agency which collects, analyses, and disseminates data about the US educational institutions biannually, possessed few public studies about the HBCUs, early Black professionals, and Black professors. Unfortunately, many HBCU library archives were not digitised or available online. While W. E. B. DuBois and John Hope Franklin wrote autobiographies about their experiences as students and professors at the early HBCUs, the diaries and memoirs of generations of Black professors seemed to be missing from their body of works. Likewise, a lack of documentation of the thoughts and experience of contemporary Black male professors of the HBCUs was absent. Sadly, only one of the current HBCU professors contacted agreed to participate in the research. Therefore, the study relied on secondary data to explore the lives of the Black male professors.

Researcher assumptions

Questions about the authenticity of qualifications have been asked since they have been granted. Whilst recent US scandals have highlighted the long-term belief that admission to the university and the granting of degrees may be purchased[2], I assumed that both the historical and contemporary Black male

[2] In the spring of 2019, US federal court of Massachusetts indicted parents, university admission personnel and other actors for racketeering. The case involved a financial scheme that illegally facilitated the admission of wealthy students into 'prestigious' universities, https://int.nyt.com/data/documenthelper/656-college-admissions-and-testing/a01f87291e255a5f7c80/optimized/full.pdf#page=1.

professors examined in this study have lawfully and ethically met the minimum requirements for their qualifications and for their positions in their respective universities.

Continuing narratives and discussions

In Section One, the preceding stories of Walter Aytch and John Hope Franklin were just two of the many dominant and counter narratives that were examined in this research. Before presentation of those narratives, Chapter Two presents the theoretical frameworks, Critical Race Theory and Critical Race Education History, used in the study. Chapter Three discusses the methodology used in data collection and analysis.

Section Two comprises the Chapter Four examination of Black men at the intersections of race, gender, and class in early America, focusing on his place in the educational system and labour market. The chapter also addresses how the concepts of work, racial identity and manhood were intimately intertwined for the white settlers and the Africans brought to the New World; the origins of the Black inferiority myth; the plantation economy and its modification into the tenancy or sharecropping system after the emancipation of slaves; and the patterns of racial management in the North and the South. The momentous Progressive Era establishment of the HBCUs in the US education system; the advent of the modern professionals; and the exclusionary practices used against the emerging Black professional class were scrutinised in Chapter Five. Chapter

Six focuses on the continuing legacy of racist Progressive Era policies on the twenty-first century socioeconomic, academic, and labour statuses of Black working-class and professional men. The current state of the US higher education system was examined alongside the investigation how the twenty-first century faculty changes, the university presses, and the symbiotic relationship with professional associations impacts the careers of Black male professors. Additionally, the debates surrounding the continuing importance of and issues within the HBCUs, the 'ceilings of concrete' and attacks on achievement faced by Black male professors in the Academy; and their social activist strategies were investigated.

In Section Three, in Chapter Seven, interpretations of findings from the previous section are presented using the Critical Race Theory lens. Lastly, in the Chapter Eight conclusion, the thesis is summarised and possible strategies for the expansion of Black male professor scholarship in the global university community and disciplinary canons are contemplated. Finally, suggestions for the use of this research and for future research projects focusing on Black HBCU professors are made.

Chapter 2—Theoretical Framework

If I had a thousand tongues and each tongue were a thousand thunderbolts and each thunderbolt had a thousand voices, I would use them all today to help you understand a loyal and misrepresented and misjudged people.
Joseph C. Price (1854-1893), son of a slave, orator, civil rights activist, prohibitionist, preacher, founder, and president of Livingston College in North Carolina, 1890

The literature review for my doctoral research proposal revealed that racialised political, economic, and social systems governed the historical management of Black labour and education. Regardless of the socioeconomic status, residency location, qualifications, etc., Black men have been victims of discrimination and exclusion. Within the newly formed Black professional class, the discordant narratives about meritocracy, liberty, freedom, and social mobility were sources of both inspiration and frustration in their careers. Critical Race Theory (CRT) provided the framework to centre the experiences of the Black male professors.

Using Critical Race Theory, this research examined the historical and contemporary structures, institutions, and the perspectives that influenced the academic and professional careers of the HBCU Black male professors. In addition, their experiences with racism within the Academy and the broader society, along with the ways in which they constructed ideas about manhood, actively resisted hegemonic structures that constrained their scholarship, and furthered the cause of social justice were likened to the experiences of contemporary Black professors.

Critical Race Theory (CRT), the theoretical framework, was chosen to guide the interdisciplinary literature review, methodology, and discussion in this research, as well as posit a perspective for the marginalized status of the HBCU Black male professors within the American university system. In addition, a summary of the tenets, critiques, and applications of the perspective is provided.

In his article about the history of Critical Theory, Robert J. Antonio stated that the paradigm is 'immune to brief summary' (Antonio, 1983, p.326). The same statement applied to this theoretical chapter. The following is a succinct discussion of the very broad, deep, and complex intellectual lineage and the justification of Critical Race Theory as a relevant framework for this research.

Western philosophy as a dominant narrative

Philosophy is the modern discipline that encourages the active investigation of life, the whole of knowledge. Modern academics have categorised philosophies based on geographic region and similarity of thought. A few of the main thought traditions are *Western*, *Eastern*, and *African*. Although the Asian and African civilizations have long histories of formalized pedagogy, the Western tradition of thought has dominated the world in the last millennium. This domination was the consequence of imperialism and colonisation.

The Europeans expanded their presence around the world, inundating Indigenous populations with their belief systems through violence, religion, and

education. Within the hierarchy of cultures, the Europeans asserted that they were superior, the most advanced form of human beings. According to their beliefs, the Europeans assumed responsibility for the lesser beings across the globe. The type of responsible action required in the social interaction varied according to the purposes of the contact. The political representatives of Europe believed it was their duty to assume control of the state systems of the Indigenous populations as the lesser beings were not capable enough to properly govern themselves. The European entrepreneurs surmised that they were best situated to manage the astronomical resources available in the lesser nations for the betterment of mankind. Socially and religiously, Europeans valued their fortunate status; it was their duty to introduce the lesser beings to their superior religions, languages, manners, and dress. Most importantly, the Europeans—'the self-appointed heirs of all reason . . . producers of all knowledge . . . only holders of truth'—needed the Indigenous to acknowledge the authoritative place of Western society and their diminished statuses in the hierarchy of the civilizations (Ramose, 2002, p.2) . As such, the intellectual traditions of continental Asia, South America, and Africa were suppressed, marginalised, negated, and erased.

Undoubtedly, the Europeans have been quite effective in stamping their philosophical ways of thought on the global political, economic, and social structures. Without doubt, all the advances of the Western world were achieved directly and indirectly through foundational contributions from the so-called

lesser people—mathematics, astronomy, agriculture, the arts, economics, engineering, weapons, literature, and more. Yet, within the Western tradition, those foundations and the contributors were given little credit. In fact, their erasure is a predominant feature of Western thought. The world, it seems to Westerners, began in Europe and all great things are the result of the Western tradition.

The impact of the laws, regulations, and policies born from the Western philosophy is incalculable to the generations of non-Europeans. Scholars of colour from alternate schools of thought have discussed the near complete denigration and annihilation of their cultures. They have lamented the loss of identities, traditions, purposefulness, wisdom, and community due to the impression of European culture. They expressed anger of the Western rejection of their people despite the efforts to adopt a new culture. Little wonder the scholars of colour reclaimed and rejoiced in their ancestral lives.

Modern thoughts of Black scholars

Black scholars have fought to preserve the ancient philosophical traditions, first by arguing that the African ways of thinking about the world are as important as Western thought. Mogobe B. Ramose, a South African philosopher and activist, submitted that 'to deny the existence of African philosophy for the sake of maintaining the existing standards in [European] education is to undermine the very nature of education and science' (Ramose, 2002, p.6). He argued that

philosophy must accede all forms of knowledge are relevant and valuable. Denial of the existence and legitimacy of other traditions of thought indicated an 'antiphilosophical dogmatic attitude that runs contrary to the very nature of the discipline as traditionally conceived' (Ramose, 2002, p.7).

When Ramose wrote those words, he was among the myriad of scholars who have sought to advance African philosophy and, since the nineteenth century, Black thought in the United States. Several prolific Black scholars of the Progressive Era have written about their statuses in the broader American society and in the American education system; articulated their impressions of the necessity for Black higher education; and encouraged activism as the primary role of Black intellectuals. *The Souls of Black Folk*, written in 1903 by W. E. B. DuBois and considered just one of his seminal works, addressed the effect of racism on the Black community, introduced the revolutionary concept of *double consciousness* and impressed the importance of higher education for Blacks. Though published in 1933, Carter G. Woodson, recognised as the Father of Black History, presented strong criticisms in his book based on his experiences with segregated Black schools early in the century, *The Miseducation of the Negro.* He argued that Black teachers failed to challenge and overcome the racist ideology of Black inferiority through accurate historical research and scholarship, believing that their failure to do so actually assisted the Western education system in marginalising the Black thought and the Black community. Woodson was assured

that proper education in the Black history of accomplishments would counter the Black inferiority myth for students.

Black professors of the mid to late twentieth century ushered in a new emphasis on African thought in the Academy. As part of the Civil Rights victories, people of colour demanded more representation and inclusion in university curriculum (Ferreira, 2010, pp.72–75). From this time, several professors have formally delineated their philosophical understandings of race, racism, and Black identity in the attempts to explain the place of and issues surrounding Black men. By no means is this a complete list of theories by Black scholars. The aim here is to briefly present three of the theories and the critiques.

Chekh Anka Diop, a Senegalese anthropologist, chemist, and Egyptologist, critiqued the Eurocentric[3] bias in academia and questioned the notion of 'race'. Still, in contrast to the Western claims that ancient Egyptians were not original Africans, Diop argued, in a highly controversial and disregarded 1973 thesis, that forensic melanin testing might verify the genetic heritage of the Egyptians. In addition, Diop employed anthropological methodologies to compare ancient African civilizations, finding support for his thesis that Egyptians were Black. He believed the verification was necessary as Western scholars disbelieved that

[3] Eurocentrism refers to the tendency to perceive Western or European civilisation above the cultures of non-Western people. This tendency manifests throughout the social dimensions of the West and in the social, political, and economic relations of the 'global south'. Critics of eurocentrism claim that eurocentrism results in the marginalisation of non-Westerners and the loss of cultural identity.

Black Africans were capable of advanced civilization (Okafor, 1991). Despite the controversy, Diop is commended for the centralisation of Africa in his research that has inspired his scholastic successors.

Diop's focus on Africa was not conceptualised as *Afrocentric,* as the term is defined by Molefi Kete Asante. Asante expanded the discussion of Eurocentric bias, African culture marginalisation, and Black identity in his 1988 book, *Afrocentricity: The theory of social change*. He defined Afrocentricity as 'a philosophical paradigm that emphasizes the centrality and agency of the African person . . . a [Black] perspective on facts, events, texts, personalities, historical records, and behavioral situations' (Asante, 2010, p.35). Asante specified that the concept of the *African* included all on the continent and all of African descent in the diaspora, particularly for the African Americans who suffered 'psychological dislocation' from their ancestral roots (Asante, 1992, p.8). Part of the social change is the challenge by Asante to scholars to consider centrality in each part of the research process:

> I cannot accept any ideological position that discusses Africans as "the other," whether capitalized or not. In fact, I believe that constructions such as "the Black Atlantic," "double consciousness," and "The Other" promote a Eurocentric supremacy and misstate the *agency*, that is, the evolving ownership of action or the subject role, of Africans. The Eurocentric writer, whether black or white, seeks to undermine African agency by artificially constructing, even in a postmodern way, the elements of Africanity. Alterity is an attack on centricity; it seeks to relocate the centeredness of the African way away from Africa (Asante, 1997, p.177).

By using this paradigm, Asante believes that African people, Black researchers, their traditions, values, thinking, feelings, ambitions, and lives are validated and as important as any other ways of being.

Among the critics of Afrocentricity is Stephen Ferguson, a professor and expert of Black philosophy. Whilst he supports the rejection of Eurocentrism, Ferguson also questions the focus of Afrocentricity. He says the framework is based on an idealized perception of ancient Africa that 'arrests the dialectical character of black culture by focusing exclusively on classical African civilization and positing a black intellectual culture which is ahistorical, static and monotypical' (Ferguson, 2011, p.45). Along the same lines, Victor Oguejiofor Okafor cautioned scholars that while erroneous western renderings of Africa should be contested, they must remember to be critical and fair as 'everything written by a European about Africa or Africans is not Eurocentric; conversely, it does not mean that everything written by an African person about Africa or Africans is Afrocentric' (Okafor, 1991, p.262).

Linda James Meyers, an emeritus professor of psychology and culture, developed *Oneness*—a "model of human functioning [that] offers a transdisciplinary focus that builds on insights from the wisdom tradition of African deep thought and converges with modern physics and Eastern philosophies"(MHA, 2020). James Myers synthesises the African conceptions of 'infinite consciousness' of selfhood

with the mathematical concept of holonomy[4], emphasising how one might realise the power of wholeness, connection with others, and movement within spaces. Oneness relates with the African concept of 'doubling' oneself or the utilization of the infinite power to accomplish whatever is necessary in a moment (James Myers, 1987, p.77). This sense of wholeness helps to counters the double consciousness and psychological dislocation that plague the identities and well-being of African Americans.

Wholeness, connection with others, and infinite power are themes in the tenets of the African American Male Theory (AAMT). Developed by brothers, Lawson Bush V and Edward C. Bush, they aimed to fill the gap in theory to analyse the experiences of Black men and boys. The six tenets emphasised research based on ecological systems theory which 'allows for more fluid interaction and juxtaposition of abstract and concrete concepts, environments, time periods, and other phenomena' (Bush V and Bush, 2013, p.6). The tenets highlight the uniqueness of Black males of African descent; the continuity of African culture in the experiences of African American males; the resiliency of Black males, in opposition to the 'deficit paradigms, thinking, and practice'; the impacts of race, class, and sex in the lives of Black males; and the focus of social justice in the research of African Americans (Bush V and Bush, 2013, pp.10–12). Whilst Bush and Bush asserted that AAMT is 'robustly equipped' to analyse the 'deleterious'

[4] The Mathematical Association of America provides a brief description of holonomy, https://www.maa.org/meetings/calendar-events/the-idea-of-holonomy.

structures and institutions in the lives of Black men, equally, they encourage researchers to 'move away from damage-centered and reactive approaches' and delve into the 'healthy and thriving' lives of African American men and boys (Bush V and Bush, 2013, p.12).

As the European colonizers consumed vast natural resources and land across the world, they also extirpated the differing cultures they found. Thankfully, many Indigenous people were able to preserve significant parts of their civilizations. African Americans, in contrast, suffered from the loss of identity, spirituality, connection, and strength as their African ancestors were purposely separated, forbidden to speak native languages, and required to practice Christianity. The theoretical immersion in African philosophy amongst Black scholars was and remains vital to regaining control of their narratives, history, and lives.

When I think of Black male scholars, I referred to the Black men who, for eons, have used their intellectual power to observe, analyse, and document their thoughts about the world in which they lived. Their sacred work and imagination facilitated the birth and growth of vast civilizations that continue to influence the social structures in existence today. This study, in relation, considered a short but important time for the Black men of the US—the Progressive Era. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw a bloom in Black men engaging critically with their existence in the US. Black pioneers created labour unions; sociological schools of thought; political parties; and even colleges and

universities. Proving that intellect was not only bestowed upon whites, according to prevailing notions, Black scholars ushered in a sense of pride for the 'Negro' man.

Birth of Critical Theory

Oppressive political, economic, and social structures were also observed by Europeans. German philosophers Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, and Herbert Marcuse founded the critical school of thought at the University of Frankfurt am Main (renamed Goethe Universität). Funded by Marxist Felix Weil and established in 1923, the Frankfurt School served as the theoretical epicentre for intellectuals who believed that social theory should be 'a critical enterprise aimed at the emancipation of society and individuals from harmful social structures'[5]. As the title suggests, critique, an interrogation of *what* and *why* of human action, is the essence of Critical Theory (Budd, 2012, p.396). Pointedly, the critical scholars imagined that this form of social inquiry would investigate situations that constrain 'human freedom' through transdisciplinary studies of the interrelated dimensions of society, psychology, and culture (Bohman, 2005), as well as, bare the 'ideological justification' of the historical forces that restrain freedom (Dash, 2005). Once this knowledge is obtained, critical theorists are then prompted to actions of their own that facilitate emancipation for the oppressed.

[5] For additional information on the Frankfurt School, visit the Institute of Social Research website at http://www.ifs.uni-frankfurt.de/.

John M. Budd summarised the transformation of Critical Theory into three phases. In phase one, the founders developed dialectical analysis, situated 'knowledge within the realm of possible experience', and centralised historical examination. Budd explained that for the founders, historical analysis supplied an indispensable comprehension of contemporary society (Budd, 2012, p.175). In phase two, Frankfurt protégé, Jürgen Habermas, built upon historical analysis of political and social action when he emphasised the focus on 'communication and language as the analytical and normative bases for [inquiry]' (Budd, 2012, p.175). Scholars in the third phase 'particularized' the work of the founders and Habermas when they situated human actors and their historical development, as well as, strengthened the ideology connection and ethical analysis (Budd, 2012, p.175).

Robert J. Antonio studied the fifty years of Critical Theory history between its Frankfurt School founding to the rising interest in the United States. He proposed that the political and cultural dynamism in US society (civil rights movements, Vietnam war protests, and identity wars), along with significant paradigmatic shifts among US sociologists (functionalist disintegration and 'empiricist consensus of Post-war American sociology'), led to increasing relevance of Critical Theory 'conflict orientation' and 'anti-positivist thrust'. Regardless of the interest and accumulating legitimacy, critical scholars were marginalised in sociological journals (Antonio, 1983, p.325).

Antonio presented several possible reasons for the marginalisation of Critical Theory in sociology—a 'deliberately obscure', abstract vocabulary; a discourse fashioned by 'intellectual traditions foreign to both conventional sociology and western empiricism'; lack of clear definition of core techniques and propositions; and 'a stunning range of methods, theories, and substantive analyses' (Antonio, 1983, p.326).

Critical Race Theory and its foundations

Though Tara J. Yosso (2005) broadly traces the intellectual history of Critical Race Theory (CRT) through Critical Legal Studies (CLS), Ethnic Studies, Cultural Nationalism, Internal Colonialism, Marxism, Neo-Marxism, and Feminist Study, Crit[6] scholars clearly built upon Black Thought and Critical Theory.

The CRT founders were legal scholars who observed in their studies that the reality of American law countered its idyllic perception of rendering justice. The scholars were frustrated because CLS stunted their ability to 'analyze racial injustice' (Yosso, 2005: 72) or offer true social transformation because the failure of the theory to challenge the objective and impartial nature of the law; to acknowledge the arbitrary manner in which the law is applied; or to validate the lived experiences of oppressed people (McCoy, 2015: 3-4; Yosso, 2005). With these failures, the scholars stated that CLS actually upheld the continuing reproduction of legal oppression.

[6] Crit is the informal name used to identify the Critical Race Theory scholar.

Critical Race Theory emerged from a group that Kimberle Crenshaw, a legal scholar and CRT 'founder', described as 'intellectual nomads—[legal] folks who were attracted to both liberal antidiscrimination and Critical Legal Theory discourses . . .' (Crenshaw, 2011). Based on their personal and professional experiences, the group was also keenly aware of the retraction by the mid-1970s of civil rights advances (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012) and were dissatisfied with the failure of mainstream theoretical approaches to a acknowledge the breadth and depth of racism in American law and society (Rollock and Gillborn, 2011).

In a primer by Jean Stefancic and Richard Delgado, two of the early writers of CRT, the authors pay homage to the intellectual lineage of the 'CRT movement' which includes the work of critical legal, radical feminist and Chicano movement scholars, as well as, philosophers and social theorists, such as, Sojourner Truth, W. E. B. DuBois, and Antonio Gramsci, highlighting 'the relationship between power and the construction of social roles . . . unseen, largely invisible collection of patterns and habits that make up patriarchy and other types of domination' (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012). Throughout the years, scholars from Latino/a, Asian American, and queer communities have expanded CRT to address their specific interests, such as, immigration policy and Indigenous land claims (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012).

Tenets of CRT

Dr. R. Nicole Johnson-Ahorlu, vice-president of the Center for Policing Equity, has used CRT in her role as social activist. She argues that neither CRT nor its tenets form a formal methodology, however, the tenets guide the researcher to make research design choices that 'honor' the theory (Johnson-Ahorlu, 2017, p.731). The following basic tenets of Critical Race Theory are summarized by CRT researchers, Nicola Rollock and David Gillborn (except where noted) as:

1. Centrality of racism—racism is embedded into society, so much so that it appears to be 'normal' or 'natural' to people in the society. Either explicit or implicit, racism becomes evident in the 'outcome of processes and relations irrespective of intent' (Rollock and Gillborn, 2011, pp.2–3);

2. Whiteness as property—refers to the conscious or unconscious ways in which white privilege—the dominant control of resources and ideas—is created and reproduced throughout society (Harris, 1993; Rollock and Gillborn, 2011, p.3)

3. Voices of people of colour—counter-storytelling allows people of colour the opportunity to provide alternative, non-fictional explanations of societal phenomenon, challenging the majoritarian stories that 'present the experience of the dominant group as normative and as universal (Love, 2004).

4. Interest convergence—this concept is based on the belief that white people will disturb the power and social dynamics to 'help' the subordinated groups when and only when they perceive the receipt of substantial economic benefit (Hiraldo, 2010, p.55);

5. Liberalism critique—here, the scholars question legal neutrality, colour-blindness, and meritocracy when racism is embedded in every facet of US life. CRT scholars believe that liberalism allows for the perception of seemingly progressive policies whilst protecting the privilege of dominant group members (Hiraldo, 2010, p.56);

6. Intersectionality—recognizes that racism exists and operates in conjunction with other forms of injustice, such as, sexism and classism. This concept allows a broader perspective of the issues surrounding and intertwined with race (Rollock and Gillborn, 2011);

7. Social justice—CRT social justice equates to praxis. The scholars are charged with ‘meaningful expansion of the theory beyond the boundaries of the intelligentsia’ (Lawson Mack, 1995, p.354), working alongside community leaders, government officials, educators, etc. to enact positive change in the lives of people of colour.

Major goal of CRT

Critical Race Theory seeks to answer the questions pertaining to the underlying reality of dominant narrative; the motivations for political, economic, and social policies; and the beneficiaries of the policies. CRT seeks to reveal the embedded racism within structures and identify the challenges to the oppression.

Critiques of CRT

Given its goal of challenging the status quo and sometimes even the best intentions of liberals, not surprisingly, CRT has critics. Randall Kennedy questioned the founding premises of CRT, when he 'stated bluntly, [Derrick Bell, Richard Delgado, and Mari Matsuda] fail[ed] to support persuasively their claims on racial exclusion or their claims that legal academic scholars of color produce a racially distinctive brand of valuable scholarship' (Kennedy, 1989). According to legal scholar Eleanor Brown, critics such as Daniel Fabar and Suzanna Sherry, have presented ‘disappointing’ responses to the scholarship, ‘attack[ing] form rather than substance’ (Brown, 1995).

CRT scholars have also noted shortcomings in the approach. Kevin Hylton, an equality and diversity in sport professor, has commented on counter-

storytelling, noting that 'even with their cloaks of validity and reliability stories are socially constructed and can represent limited versions of reality for subjugated people and their everyday experiences, especially where oppressive social arrangements remain unchallenged' (Hylton, 2012).

Eleanor Marie Brown has also critiqued CRT scholars and the handling of their white allies, arguing that 'insiders' and 'outsiders' fail to communicate and connect to each other in meaningful ways. Brown asserts that as a 'transformative' theory, 'Critical Race Theory has a responsibility to communicate with the larger academy, particularly with "mainstream" civil rights liberals, who also view themselves as involved in a broader project of eliminating discrimination' (Brown, 1995, p.516). Scholars are reminded that the *social justice* tenet of CRT encourages an inclusive experience for researchers, their colleagues, and community members; 'mainstream' liberals are welcome to learn and share freely with the CRT scholars. In the twenty-five years since Brown wrote this article, CRT has transformed social sciences across the globe. This transformation or evolution is discussed in the next section.

As the critics have indicated, CRT has limitations and room for scholarly development. As in this study, the racial exclusion claims of CRT can be supported through data triangulation, as Monageng Mogalakwe defines as 'the use of multiple data sources to investigate the same phenomenon' (Mogalakwe,

2009, p.55). As for Hylton's critique of counterstorytelling, psychologists have informed us that human thought is coloured by a variety of factors and complete objectivity is unachievable; it is unreasonable to expect one narrative or one theory to explain the whole of varied human societies, so the goal of CRT is not to generalise the narratives. In a contemplative look at the conditions from which Critical Race Theory was conceived and a critical eye trained on the current racial climate, one must understand that CRT was born from a desire to centralise the experiences and voices of people of colour in a world dominated by Western thought, particularly in the United States.

Although the lack of structure featured in Critical Race Theory may be difficult for some academics to navigate, the framework allows researchers the freedom to investigate the wily concept and reality of racism. Crenshaw asserts that a key characteristic of CRT is—and always has been—its fluidity. She goes on to say:

> CRT is not so much an intellectual unit filled with natural stuff—theories, themes, practices, and the like—but one that is dynamically constituted by a series of contestations and convergences pertaining to the ways that racial power is understood and articulated in the post-civil rights era. In the same way that Kendall Thomas reasoned that race was better thought of as a verb rather than a noun, I want to suggest that shifting the frame of CRT toward a dynamic rather than static reference would be a productive means by which we can link CRT's past to the contemporary moment (Crenshaw, 2011).

Evolution and applications of CRT

For scholars, Critical Race Theory provides a platform from which they customise research for their communities. For Bryan Brayboy, a professor who specialises in

Native American culture, the original 'black-white' binary of CRT meant that other ethnic minority groups were absent from the discourse (Brayboy, 2005, p.429). In response, he noted that Latino Critical Race Theory (LatCrit) scholars addressed specific issues, such as, immigration, culture, and language, whilst AsianCrits interrogated the embedded racism in the model minority myth. In addition to the original tenets of CRT, Brayboy expands them to include the problems of colonisation, imperialism, assimilation and tribal autonomy (Brayboy, 2005, p.429).

Critical Race Educational History

University of California Los Angeles scholars—Jose M. Aguilar-Hernández (2013), LLuliana Alonso (Santos et al., 2017)(2015), Michaela J. López Mares-Tamayo (2014), and Ryan E. Santos (2016)—observed a multitude of inequities in the educational institutions, policies, and practices that impact people of color, in particular, the Chicana/o communities. After extensive and 'fruitful' discussions between Daniel Solórzano and Aguilar- Hernández, the colleagues extended the Critical Race Educational History (CREH), defined concepts and developed methodology for the framework as a way to '[underscore] the importance of history in establishing generational links between People of Color who presently endeavor for justice and our predecessors with whom we share this journey' (Santos et al., 2017, pp.1, 3). The colleagues found inspiration in the foundational work by Gloria Ladson-Billings and William F. Tate (1995) in CRT Education. As an extension of the CRT, the CREH theorists adopted tenets that

centralised race and racism and recognised its intersectionality; debunked the dominant ideology; embraced experiential knowledge; committed to social justice; and utilized interdisciplinary perspectives (Solórzano, 1998, pp.122–123). During nearly a decade of interrogation, the colleagues distinguished three primary principles of CREH—*intentionality*, *collaborative process embodiment*, and *multiple voices space creation* (Santos et al., 2017, pp.1–2).

With the intentionality principle, the colleagues cited the Ladson-Billings and Tate's assertion that racial theorising had not been 'systematically employed' in educational inequality analysis (Ladson-Billings and Tate IV, 1995, p.50). However, in the twenty-five years since that statement, CRT in education has been widely used in research, as was discussed by Ladson-Billings (2005); Maria C. Ledesma and Dolores Calderón (2015); and Payne Hiraldo (2010) in their reviews of the framework in theorising race. Still, the intentionality principle is valuable as it guides the CREH scholar to consider and apply CRT in education tenets throughout the entire process of research, including design and analysis of oppression (Santos et al., 2017, p.3).

In the *collaborative process embodiment*, counter-narratives are integral tools to challenge dominant ideologies about the educational system; the CREH scholars stressed the importance of the collaborative process with 'knowledge-holders and producers', for example, archivists, former students, and community organisation staffers. In their research, the colleagues built relationships with the

collaborators by collecting historical data and disseminating 'resultant narrative via curriculum development' (Santos et al., 2017, p.3).

For the third principle, *multiple voice space creation*, the colleagues identified in their projects, researchers first need to understand their limitations. Scholars debate the ability of researchers to 'give voice' to study participants. However, they can fashion responsive spaces which activate personal and community memories of historical experiences in education, 'both oppressive and empowering'. Based on their data collection processes, the CREH colleagues employed photographs, yearbooks, maps, census data, and personal artifacts to assist them in weaving 'vivid tapestr[ies] of counterstorytelling' (Santos et al., 2017, p.3).

Summary

Critical Race Theory was an appropriate choice for this research. The CRT lineage includes an epistemological and ontological legacy of Black Thought and Critical Theory. Whilst the varied frameworks discussed may help to construct identity, bolster confidence, illicit pride, provide spiritual and practical guides for modern Black researchers, this study begged for paradigms to investigate the historical and contemporary Black male professors of the HBCUs. The dynamic, flexible nature of CRT is appealing and necessary, especially in this historical study.

Chapter 3—Methodology

This study was the historic exploration of the academic and professional experiences of the HBCU Black male professors. Because of the strategies employed to render the Black male contributions to the professions, specifically the Academy, invisible, this study required and utilised a multidisciplinary approach—sociology, psychology, economics, education, labour studies, politics, and history—grounded in the Critical Race Theory framework to unearth data about the Progressive Era and contemporary management of the diverse workforce; expansion of the university system; the rise of professionalism; the evolution of the concepts of US manhood, whiteness, and scholarship; the intersections of race, class, and gender; as well as, the place of the Black man in the US world of work and Academy.

Re(design) of research

Initially, my research design included the interview of current HBCU Black male professors. Despite three attempts to recruit participants through emails, telephone calls, or through gatekeepers (professional associations, alumni associations), I was only able to enlist the cooperation of one professor. My supervisors then approved my idea for redesign—target he first wave of professors in the early HBCUs of the Progressive Era. Later I learned that this redesign would present quite unique challenges.

Contexts of the research

Overlap of timeframes is typical in the chronology of historical eons and eras. As such, the period widely recognized as the Progressive Era spans two of the McRel *Compendium of Academic Standards*[7] demarcations on the United States history timeline adopted by the US Department of Education and the US Library of Congress[8], which list *The development of the industrial United States* as the period between 1870-1900 and *The emergence of modern America* as 1890-1930 (Anon, 2020c). For this research, I merged the two timelines so that my historical examinations ranged from 1870 to 1930. This merger allowed for the coverage of the period after emancipation, the establishment of HBCUs, and the birth of the Black professional class, thereby expanding the number of resources from which to glean historical data.

Collection of data

John Scott (1990) contended that scholars can use documentary investigation as an effective research tool to gain deeper understandings about society. Although the objective of social research is the description and explanation of agent actions, as well as, the structures crafted by the agents, Scott reminded us that evidence is inferred behaviour and observations.

[7] The consultants and researchers of McRel International offer services to a variety of educational institutions. The company was charged with developing the national standards for the knowledge, skills and aptitude of primary and secondary schools in the US at the turn of the twenty-first century, http://www2.mcrel.org/compendium/docs/history.asp.

[8] United States Library of Congress (LOC) is the largest physical and digital library in the world. According to its website (https://www.loc.gov/), the LOC staff represent the 'research arm' of federal bicameral legislature, the US Congress.

Points important for the historical study in this project, Scott explained the researcher access to this evidence and the relationship with the 'observed'. According to Scott, access exists on two levels, the *proximate* (direct) or *mediate* (indirect). On the proximate level, the relationship between the researcher and the observed is 'contemporaneous and co-present', allowing the researcher to actively survey human enterprise with the senses (Scott, 1990, p.2). At the mediate level, the relationship changes as the observer and the observed occupy different space and time. This requires the researcher to explore the 'material traces', such as, documents and artefacts, in order to infer the historical agent behaviour (Scott, 1990, pp.2–3).

Although Scott posited that general social research principles should be applied in the investigation, documentary sources, by their natures, require special techniques to handle them; the evidence quality improves rigour of the resulting data construction. Further, Scott definesda document as an artefact when it contains intentional messages and text as the expression or central feature of a document. When the quality and reliability has been determined, the documents and text can be examined for meaning in a scientific manner. To this end, Scott suggested a set of four criteria can be used to assess the quality of documents—*authenticity, credibility, representativeness*, and *meaning* (Scott, 1990, p.6; Siler-Holloman, 2014b, p.4).

The selection of authentic, credible, and representative sources for this study proved to be both frustrating and fascinating. Originally, primary data was to be collected from semi-structured interviews of Black male professors of the HBCUs and triangulated with the secondary data contained in artefacts, documents, and records. As predicted by John Creswell, the research plans are usually modified, as mine did dramatically when only one professor agreed to participate (Creswell, 2007).

Technique of relative dating

When I joined a 2008 guided museum tour of the Dead Sea Scrolls exhibit of ancient Jewish manuscripts, a staff archeologist explained to my group that several scientific processes were utilized in the approximate dating of ancient artefacts. In the case of the scrolls, archeologists used *relative dating techniques* during their research. Although he compared several methods in his article, Mark Blackham provided a generally-recognized definition for relative dating—the reconstruction of 'a sequence of past events for either a single site or a group of sites by associating individual deposits with a specific artifact or a group of artifacts' (Blackham, 1988, p.167).

When I began to search for documentation regarding the Black HBCU male professors, I discovered a dearth of information quite soon. Remembering the museum tour, I took clues from archeology to expand my search for narratives about *any* Black male professional in the late nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries, looking into the disciplines of political science, accounting, library science, and, particularly, medicine. My hope was that the general data would lead me to specific historical artefacts about Black male professors. Therefore, I searched for artefacts, such as, professional association documents, government reports, newspapers, or university archives, that would provide clues to the academic and career experiences of the Black male professionals across several disciplines.

Sources of documents

Because the American economy depended on the physical labour of millions of Black men, women, and children, quantitative studies dating from the seventeenth century are seemingly inexhaustible. Still, a literature review of the labour and scholarship of the Black male professors of the HBCUs was quite a challenge. As I have noted previously, the situation of the historical Black sharecropper, the early HBCU Black male professors and their descendant colleagues required a multidisciplinary approach, proving necessary to gather, review, and analyse a wide variety of sources.

The historical works entailed explorations of the division of Black labour according to the geographic locations of the Black population and the primary industries—agrarian in the south and industrial northern region of the US. As the United States government agencies, such as, the Census Bureau, the Department of Education and the National Archives have preserved documents

relating to the labour and education of Black citizens, I downloaded those texts relevant to the study. As the research into the formation of the nation and the dynamic Progressive Era continued, university libraries in the UK and US were accessed to obtain both physical and digital copies of scholarly journals and books. Some university archival staff digitised seminal works of the labour studies canon and these documents, widely available to the public, were also examined.

Essays regarding the 'nature' or culture of Black Africans or African Americans, as well as studies framed by what is now considered scientific racist theory were inspected. Several voluntary agency and university websites offered access to digitised copies of early American newspapers, magazines, journals, and almanacs.

What was more difficult to obtain were sources wherein the Progressive Era Black male labourer was not a commodity to be measured, but a human subject with thought and voice. When the literature review started January 2015, the nineteenth century sharecropper complaint letters written to the Freedman's Bureau were held by the *Ancestry.com* Corporation and only available through an institutional subscription[9]. Since that time, the parts of the database have been released to the public, though in the hundreds of thousands of scanned

[9] The Freedman's Bureau database is controlled by The Generations Network (TGN), a corporation owned by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormons). According to

images, not one official complaint letter by a sharecropper was found at the time. Using keywords 'African American', 'colored', and 'Black', three stories of sharecroppers stored within the Library of Congress were found to support the studies of the plantation economy.[10]

The Black male professors of the Progressive Era have been similarly difficult to research. Despite nearly two centuries of existence of the HBCUs and a government institute dedicated to the schools, a dearth of information exists about the professors who work in these schools. Much of the research has focused on the HBCU students or administration of the schools in the areas of enrolment, qualifications earned, accreditation, and administrative concerns. To date, no specific studies of the Black professoriate of the Progressive Era have been found during this course of research.

In the US, a major resource for education research since 1867 is a division of the Department of Education, the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). NCES researchers collect data on universities three times a year and publish the

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the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) 2008 agreement with TGN, the church owns the digitised images and materials held by NARA and will 'donate' the digitised copies to NARA (NARA, 2008). The Archive also has active agreements with Google and Amazon (http://www.archives.gov/digitization/pdf/tgn-agreement.pdf).
Interestingly, this researcher could find no studies regarding the ethical considerations inherent in a church/state relationship or the problematic ownership of digitised government material by corporations. In Hannah Little's (University of Glasgow) treatment of the subject, the Latter-day Saints acquisition of English National Archive and Scottish church records was examined (http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_102866_en.pdf).

[10] For *American life histories: Manuscripts from the Federal Writers' Project, 1936 to 1940*, visit the US Library of Congress website at https://www.loc.gov/collections/federal-writers-project/about-this-collection/.

filtered results in a variety of mediums for public use. Contrary to what one might reasonably expect, detailed data about minority faculty seems to be missing from the most accessible reports and charts on the NCES website. The mammoth 1993 publication, *120 years of American Education: a statistical portrait*, contained no specific data about the early Black HBCU professors. Curiously, throughout the hundred and fifty years of its existence, I found only two major HBCU-specific reports, in 1985 and 2004, generated by the NCES staff in one of the NCES 'periodic' reports—the 1985 *Traditionally black institutions of higher education, 1860 to 1982*—was the earliest data presented on Black faculty was gathered the Fall of 1981 that was readily available for this research.

In addition to the lack of statistical information, the design and navigation of the NCES' Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) can frustrate experienced researchers, as when I received a thirty-four-step instruction from an NCES staffer to simply generate demographic reports by race, ethnicity and sex. Marybeth Gasman, a leading HBCU expert, who works, ironically, at a PWI, noted in a report that her team and she were not surprised by disparities found in NCES data of HBCUs, nor are these challenges limited to government agencies.

Similar difficulties with reviewing professional association records and university archives have been noted by scholars studying race and ethnicity. For example, I contacted the American Association of University Presses officers and several of the members listed on the association website; no one answered my questions

about the lack of HBCU representation nor lack of demographic records of the 'race' of the authors who submitted or were published. This information would have been enlightening for the rate of Black professor publication.

Since the 1970s, researchers of Black male professors overwhelmingly examine scholar employment in PWI institutions, their levels of satisfaction in the PWI environment or their specific challenges within those white spaces, such as, the racial and gender discrimination; tenure issues; and differential workloads. As for the contemporary Black professors of the HBCUs, researchers have generally employed quantitative methodologies to gather and analyse data relating to job satisfaction or salaries.

Analysis of data

Since thematic analysis has been difficult to define or explain how to conduct it, Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke presented their recommendations to other researchers in their article. In their presentation, Braun and Clarke wanted to 'strike a balance between demarcating thematic analysis clearly . . . and ensuring [the flexibility inherent in the analysis] . . . so that it does not become limited and constrained, and lose one of its key advantages' (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.5). They made plain that thematic analysis congruous with essentialist and constructionist perspectives, its goal is the identification, analysation, and reporting of patterns within the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006, pp.5, 12).

Positionality of researcher

When I hear the word “professor”, I envision the Black men who taught, scolded, and encouraged me. I am among the limited students in the United States who have had the privilege several Black male professors during my tutelage. Over eighty percent of primary and secondary teachers are white; just three percent of over a million faculty are Black men. One third of those Black men are employed by Historically Black Colleges and Universities. The HBCUs and the Black male professors who nurtured me are fundamental parts of my personal and academic lives.

From an early age, HBCU alumni—my parents, neighbours, teachers, and counsellors, advised me to consider their former universities, each, of course, better than the rest. When other children were told fairy tales, I sat in laps to peruse college yearbooks. I listened as they reminisced about sneaking in after curfew hours, pledging in fraternal organisations, struggling through advanced mathematics courses, and forming heartfelt relationships with faculty and staff. To the alumni, the HBCUs provided homes away from their birthplaces. For my protection, security, and growth, they wanted me to join the extended family. I had other goals. I wanted to join the military and travel the world. When my parents refused to support my desires, I, in turn, refused the HBCUs and broke their hearts.

At the predominately white institution I attended, I experienced none of the heart-warming interpersonal relationships; I only remember the names of three classmates and have spoken to just one since withdrawing from the university after the first year. Whereas the alumni spoke fondly of their closeness with their professors, I fail to recall any of mine distinctly. I participated in few of the school activities and even fewer class discussions. I doubt that I stand out in the memories of more than five people on that campus.

I grew up in a Southern state with billboards that read “Klu Klux Klan territory”, yet the first time I was called nigger, I was on the PWI campus. I distinctly remember the beautiful spring evening. Freshly showered and scented, I walked lazily to the cafeteria by myself. I was startled by a loud car honk, mumbled yells, and the distinct word “nigger”! Splashes of beer and pieces of bottle hit my clean jeans after it was thrown by one of the red-faced occupants. Stunned, I became furious as the startle turned to anger. I found irony in the fact that I was invisible in classes and failed to capture any attention until it became time to harass a Black girl.

I struggled with anger, isolation, and loneliness, yet I was unable to discuss these feelings with my parents due to my grandiose position against HBCUs. Trust in the PWI counsellors was non-existent. I gradually began to understand the meanings behind the alumni advice and stories. They knew that the HBCUs were places of respite for Black people who pursued higher education. They knew the

campuses were full of faculty and staff who considered their positions as part of their mission to uplift Black community members. They wanted me to be learn the skills necessary to sustain my life; to develop into a contributing citizen; to understand the importance of serving my community; and to bask in the love that they received at the HBCUs.

I am not alone in this realisation nor the only student to receive these benefits. In her study of the HBCU experience, Sandra Edmonds Crewe reminds the reader:

> HBCUs have historically used their resources to improve the quality of life for African-Americans and other under marginalized groups. While the doors have always been open to all regardless of race, ethnicity, or gender, for HBCUs, the emphasis of the teaching, research, and practice is grounded in the philosophy of "racial uplift" that dates back to the progressive era (Crewe, 2017, pp.360–361).

Although I am indebted and loyal to the HBCUs, the faculty, and staff, I know that these institutions suffer from internal issues collectively and individually. As a CRT researcher, I am tasked with discovering, analysing, and disseminating as much of the 'reality' of the professors and universities as I am able. I have criticised the homophobia within the HBCUs in an earlier study, noting the ironic heritage of civil rights activism and the continued ostracism of the queer student community (Siler-Holloman, 2014a). Then and now, I am aware that my critical research may be used to misrepresent the HBCUs; to further marginalise the faculty; or be perceived by HBCU stakeholders as in-group betrayal (O'Brien et

al., 2012, p.1227). However, morally, and ethically, it is my responsibility to be honest about my standpoints and research processes.

Summary

Critical Race Theory allowed me to flexibility to use methodologies which supported multidisciplinary research. I was able to utilise a variety of artefacts to explore the HBCU Black male professors.

SECTION TWO—PAST and PRESENT

In this research I sought to find connections between the working and professional class Black men. I knew from family history and prior research that the sharecroppers and other working-class men were an oppressed group of labourers. Dominant societal members wielded the powers of social, economic, and political institutions to manipulate Black men for optimal agricultural benefit. To account for the low numbers of Black faculty in US universities at the turn of the century, I wanted to know if the Black male professors encountered the same or similar patterns of constraint in the Academy. In addition, I was curious to what, if any, strategies the Black males employed in negotiating the Academy.

During the US Progressive Era, two significant ideologies guided labour relations and social policies—meritocracy and Black Inferiority. Meritocracy, generally defined as the hard work, sacrifice, and dedication that leads to social mobility (prestige, power, and wealth), is problematic for the Black community; no matter the work ethic of Black men, they still did not reap the rewards their white neighbours received. The leaders of the white community used the myth of Black inferiority as the main reason for the exclusion or limitation of the Black professionals from industry and the Academy. Despite the challenges, working and professional class Black men formed their own associations to provide financial assistance to their community members and career support to their colleagues.

Chapter 4—Short comparison of racialised manhood and work

> *The planter, the farmer, the mechanic, and the labourer . . . form the great body of the people of the United States, they are the bone and sinew of the country men who love liberty and desire nothing but equal rights and equal laws.*
> Andrew Jackson (1767-1845), President of the United States, lawyer, founder of the state of Tennessee, supporter of Native American removal from their lands, plantation owner and slave master.

The quotations at the beginning of the following sections present what CRT scholars can identify as majoritarian stories or dominant culture ideologies. Here, Andrew Jackson, known as 'the people's president', spoke of recognising the value of the 'common man' to the nation, linking their work to the value liberty. However, he was also the president who signed the Indian Removal Act in 1830 that authorised the relocation of Native Americans from their ancestral homelands in favour of white expansion (Feller, 2019). Jackson also opposed the abolitionist movement members who opposed slavery of Black men, women, and children. In fact, the president was the master of Hermitage, a plantation in the state of Tennessee and upwards to one hundred fifty slaves (Anon, 2020b). Applying the CRT tenet of counter-storytelling to Jackson's quote allows for the incongruency of his narrative to be revealed—the 'common man' was clearly of European descent and liberty applied to these men alone.

In reviewing the literature on Black male professors of the HBCUs, I found distinct patterns of historical and contemporary relations between Black men and white Americans within the broad social dimensions of politics, religion,

education, and economics, that mirrored the inconsistency and incongruency displayed in Jackson's quote. These patterns persisted no matter the era, geographic region, economic status, educational level, occupational status, religious adoption, or political orientation of the Black men. Ever present were ideas about American masculinity, the evolution in the construction of American manhood, the ways that manhood is equated with vocation, and the impact of these ideas on members of society. Just as prominent are the social relations involving epistemology and ontology, specifically who can create knowledge, what knowledge is valuable, who can contribute to the body of knowledge, and who can access knowledge.

Examples of manhood construction throughout Africa

> *The religion of the Negroes . . . has no doctrine, no ritual, no temples . . . no prophet has ever arisen among them to bestow upon them a systematic and coherent belief. Government among the Negroes is in the rudest form of despotism . . . among no people is human life held so cheap . . . No Negro people has even had the capacity to build up an empire or a monarchy of any extent and durability, such as Egyptians, Numidians, and even Nubians . . .*
> John Crawford, Scottish physician, Orientalist, Social Darwinist, and author
> *On the physical and mental characteristics of the Negro*, 1866

Early African and white American men were explored in this section, specifically, how their career opportunities and choices are interconnected to ideas of manhood and masculinity. Additionally, the similarities between white manhood and African manhood were examined—perceived responsibilities of men; political and economic activities; importance of labour; and fraternal organisations. The evolution of white manhood and the linkage to the changing

concept to the oppressive image of the Black slave was discussed. Finally, the image of the Black man in the white mind and the relation of this image to the Black professional in the late nineteenth century was addressed.

For the Black men brought to and born in the colony that would become the United States, the investigation of the construction of manhood begins in Africa[11]. In their book, *Black kingdoms, Black peoples*, Anthony Atmore and Gillian Stacey focus on the differences and similarities of the varied cultures in the West African region of the continent, impressing upon the reader the thoughtful and deliberate way the Black peoples conducted their lives. Most notable from their study are themes relevant for this study—family responsibility, community service, sophisticated training, and work as manhood.

Sacred work of African males

In western Africa, Atmore and Stacey found that the basic unit of social and political power was the village, governed by assemblies and councils. Though matriarchal social organisation existed throughout Africa, patriarchy reigned in most of the cultures explored by the authors. In these societies, the lineage

[11] I am aware that the term 'African' can be controversial as it is incorrectly groups people of the continent together in one identity, failing to account for the nuances of kinship and state. Here, I use 'Africa' as the point of origin for the forced (through slavery) and voluntary diaspora of Black people to the United States; 'African' is used to describe a person born on the continent. As much as the literature allows, I have tried to include detailed demographic information. Please note that African Americans are often unable to identify the origin of our Black ancestors due to racist US policies that severed our sacred connections. As such, 'Africa' for me is at once a geographic location and an emblem for the sense of loss and longing I feel. I use the terms 'Africa' and 'African' with reverence.

elders possessed 'considerable moral authority', yet, the councils, comprised of the male household heads, were democratic bodies that required consensus in decision-making. The chief responsibilities of the elders included advising community members in the village public development, war strategies, formal and personal disputes, as well as, preside over spiritual affairs (Atmore and Stacey, 1979).

The responsibilities of the men extended from the political to the domestic sphere. As the head of his household, the Ibo man assumed responsibility for and expected unquestioned authority over his wives and children. In return for this deference, his family could expect his protection, rely on his financial security, trust in his wisdom, and bask in his attention (Atmore and Stacey, 1979b).

With such responsibility, work was a significant dimension of the lives of the men. The authors observed that the men in the villages held deep beliefs in the importance of both spiritual and physical worlds, their labours, and the meaning of their toil:

> Religion and craft were indivisible, as much for the common people and their political leaders as for the craftsmen. They sought to capture the vital forces of life in their work, to become themselves instruments of the spirits. Although the skills of individual craftsmen were recognized and valued, their products were not designed to express a single personality or attitude. Their achievements were the achievements of the community, their art imbued with magic' (Atmore & Stacey, 1979, p. 103).

Of all the West African craftsmen, the blacksmiths may have been the most highly regarded and valued because his products were needed for other

professions such as, farming and hunting. In addition, the blacksmiths fashioned artefacts for religious ceremonies. Because of the belief that the artefacts the blacksmiths produced were charged with spiritual power, the craftsmen were revered. In fact, one group, the Dogon, held the myth that a blacksmith 'was responsible for bringing man's earliest ancestors to earth, as well as animals, seeds and the beginnings of technology' (Atmore & Stacey, 1979, p. 95).

Secret societies of West Africa

The knowledges, skills and aptitudes regarding spiritual evolution, career growth, domestic and personal responsibilities are disseminated through secret societies, such as those social groups established by the Ibo, Mende, and Temne. The male members of the societies were responsible for and guided the 'military training . . . general education, political and economic affairs, sexual conduct and medical and social services' of the communities (Atmore & Stacey, 1979, p. 83). Admission into the societies required payment of fees and initiation rite completion. Once accepted as an initiate, boys were ushered into manhood through training in all areas in life that secure the health, safety, and well-being of the village, such as, traditions, politics, agriculture, engineering, and fishing (Atmore & Stacey, 1979, p. 83).

Though the members of the secret societies focused on their villages, the men also ventured further from their immediate domains to connect with other kinsmen:

> Secret societies were of very great importance to the peoples of the Western Guinea forests, dominating the lives and livelihoods of several otherwise different peoples. They imparted a sense of comradeship that transcended all barriers of family, clan, ethnic group, and religion. Like the institutions of a more centralized state, they established social, political, and artistic rules which extended beyond the horizons of the forest villages. They also provided a means of concerted action by many different peoples' (Atmore & Stacey, 1979, p. 85).

The first African men who landed as slaves in colonial America were grounded in traditions that guided the directions and meanings of their work. The African boys and men were inculcated with the traditional values that defined their manhood—responsibility, democracy, cooperation, and loyalty.

Rotunda's ideas on white manhood

E. Anthony Rotunda chose to focus his research on the construction of manhood for the white men of the Northern region of the United States. In saying that these white men exerted the most influence on the direction of the US during the Progressive Era, Rotunda may seem to provide another example of the continuing perception of the white male supremacy (Rotunda, 1993, ix). However, the author argues that his focus only on white manhood is deserved because 'gender ranks with race, region, class, and ethnic background as one of the great cleavages that divide society, and that the values, behavior, and life opportunities of people on one side of this cleavage are distinctly different from those of people on the other side' (Rotunda, 1993, p. x). In acknowledging the divergences, Rotunda's work indirectly situated the Black working and

professional class men on the opposite side of the ‘cleavage’.

White manhood in the colonial US

Rotunda presented the idea that the concept of *manhood* is a social construction with a distinct history. Noting that 'manhood is learned, used, reinforces, and reshaped by individuals in the course of life' (Rotunda, 1993, p. 7), the author traced the development of US manhood from the early colonial period to the nineteenth century. He highlighted the changes in what white men believed were their conflicting responsibilities, opportunities, and 'passions' in the home, at work, in the local community and for the emerging nation.

Although the author noted that the words *manhood* and *masculinity* were not often used by the early colonialists, the men had distinct conceptions of their roles. Influenced heavily by the religious belief that white men were endowed by God with the physical and mental strength to lead on earth, the spheres of the domestic, economic, and political intersected as the men solemnly and submissively performed their roles according to strict community guidelines. Termed by Rotunda as *communal manhood*, social obligations required that the men to govern their households, 'the basic unit of the [community] political system', according to their heavenly duties to 'preserve the political order, provide a model of government, sustain piety, ensure productive activity, and maintain the economic support of one's dependents', which included servants, as well as, wives and children (Rotunda, 1993, p. 12). Within these communities,

the concept of paternalism was highly valued and it was part of the Christian duty for the man to 'cultivate a high regard among his fellows while minimizing conflict', treating dependents with kindness and restraint (Rotunda, 1993, p. 13).

Rotunda noted conflicting expectations of men in the early colonies. As the head of the household and important member of the political community, men were required to be assertive as well as exercise restraint; ambitious in conquering the new land as well as submissive to superiors. In the century since the first settlements and on the brink of the revolutionary break from England, men began to value the passions of independence and 'lust for power' in themselves. Whereas the terms manhood and masculinity were seldom part of the early colonial vernacular, by the late eighteenth century, the words were increasingly used to represent the ideological evolution from the communal concerns to individual passions (Rotunda, 1993, pp.14–16).

Throughout the colonial era, Rotunda remarked that the conception of what a man is and what he does is contrasted with boyhood. For the America man, boyhood represented a time of irresponsibility, frivolity, aimlessness, enthusiasm, as well as a lack of self-control and proper judgment. Both informal and formal institutions provided the frameworks in which boys transitioned into men.

Formally, universities moulded the minds of the boys through higher education.

However, Rotunda attributed the informal arenas of life with the substantial contribution to the passage into manhood. Boys learned self-discipline and workplace skills through 'demanding life experiences--as sailors, cowboys . . . wandering laborers, and . . . soldiers' (citation). The author also mentions 'self-created' institutions, such as, debating clubs and young men's associations, that provided boys avenues for 'the harnessing of passions and the habits of self-command' (Rotunda, 1993, p. 21).

US Colonial identity and work

The evolution from communal to the individual man also influenced the way men viewed their occupations. For the communal man, work outside the home, whilst important, was perceived as an equal component of his duties to dependents, community, and nation. By the nineteenth century, 'a man's work [took] on a separate meaning and [provided] the chief substance of his social identity' (Rotunda, 1993, p. 167).

Since now the identity of a man was aligned with societal ideas of manhood, the choice of career was very important. Jobs were 'sex-typed' according to assignments made by society). The law, politics, and military were examples of 'masculine' profession because they entailed, in varying degrees, 'aggression, deceit, competition'. 'Feminine' vocations included work in the arts or teaching for these required 'an understanding of human feeling used to cultivate and ennoble the human spirit', activities and sensibilities typically associated with

women (Rotunda, 1993, p. 170).

Regardless of the choice of career, men faced many challenges to achieving desired success. These challenges were expected and considered 'education' (Rotunda, 1993, p.181). As such, real men were expected to overcome these hindrances. Persistence was valued over talent (Rotunda, 1993, p. 175). Since the very identity of a man was tied to his profession and despite persistent effort to achieve success at work, the white man typically lived with the equally persistent fears of failure. Failure was equated with shamefully poor character, laziness, or depraved behaviour (Rotunda, 1993, p. 179), and men who failed dealt with the 'contempt, misery and disgrace' of their circumstances (Rotunda, 1993, p. 180):

> As the nineteenth century opened, the United States was becoming a nation where no formal barriers prevented white men from achieving positions of wealth, power, or prestige. [Then], a man could determine his place in society through his own efforts. Of course positions of high standing were limited in number . . . still, a man could thrill at the prospect of improving his own position and becoming the master of his own social fate through personal energy and determination (Rotunda, 1993, p.168)

The quest to master social fates played in the work arena. In his chapter on workplace culture, Rotunda warned the reader not to confuse the individualistic perspective of men with 'solitary action'. On the contrary, the growing marketplace represented a domain controlled entirely by white men in ‘numbers, power, and cultural influence’. In this social world, the men were rarely alone; usually after working hours, they established and maintained relationships with other businessmen in hotels, taverns, private clubs and

fraternal lodges (Rotunda, 1993, pp. 195–203). Women were generally excluded from these social gatherings where the men shared the 'lewd' stories and jokes that reinforced their manhood. The meetings were not limited to the clubs; the men frequently joined each other for sporting events, such as, hunting adventures, boxing matches, and horse races.

Regardless of the venue, the social alliances built during these meetings are of supreme significance in the career of men. Historians have noted that during these social events, 'many of the most important transactions [on Wall Street] were completed long before the papers were drawn' (Flint in Rotunda, 1993: 199). Rotunda reported that 'the world of men was serious business. There was money to be made or lost . . . the status and reputation of a whole family and not just an individual man was at stake. There was power to be gained for its own sake and for the sake of setting public policy or commercial strategy' (Rotunda, 1993, pp.204–205).

Atmore, Stacey, and Rotunda have shown in their works that Black men from the African continent and white men from Europe held similar views of manhood. Both groups of men delineated the line wherein boys crossed to men; the line was work. Extensive training was required for both groups. The value of a man to was tied to the quality of his work ethic and products. By their own social construction, men shouldered the responsibility for the viability of his person, family, and community. Their work—the concept and physical exertion—was

believed to be connected to higher, more spiritual planes of existence, therefore, sacred.

In the colony, Rotunda's research revealed evidence that for white men, as agents of God's authority on earth, manhood represented divine obligation and opportunity. As the concept of manhood evolved from the communal to the individual priorities, from the home, work, and national spheres, a common majoritarian story about manhood was created and reinforced through time--he was *white* and he held authority over all women, children, and people of colour. When the choice of and success in a career became the predominant factor in the construction of white manhood, the men felt compelled to adopt strategies to isolate their sphere of work, protect their professions, and marginalise women and minorities to reduce or eliminate, if possible, any competition to their livelihoods and masculinity. To accomplish this task another insidious dominant narrative was constructed alongside white manhood—Black inferiority.

Origins of the Black inferiority myth in the American colony

> *The religion of the Negroes . . . has no doctrine, no ritual, no temples . . . no prophet has ever arisen among them to bestow upon them a systematic and coherent belief. Government among the Negroes is in the rudest form of despotism . . . among no people is human life held so cheap . . . No Negro people has even had the capacity to build up an empire or a monarchy of any extent and durability, such as Egyptians, Numidians, and even Nubians . . .*
> John Crawford, Scottish physician, Orientalist, Social Darwinist, and author
> *On the physical and mental characteristics of the Negro*, 1866

Difference amongst human beings is a fact. For centuries humans have been observing, noting, theorizing, and judging these differences. Our progenitors attributed the variations to hereditary factors. The initial 2001 results of the Human Genome Project[12] indicated humans share as much biological similarity with others as with members of their own 'groups'(citation). If we are so alike, then how is racial difference explained in the United States?

Early Western concepts of inferiority

David J. Galton examined the forebearers of modern eugenic ideology who arose from the ancient Greece. Plato, the philosopher of enormous influence and founder of the first Western world higher institution, the Academy, commented in his circa 380 BC dialogue, *Republic*, on the honourable act of procreation as a civic duty to secure the quality of the elite class and health of the state. He proposes a careful selection of mating partners and community rearing of children. Conversely, Plato discussed limiting the 'inferior' citizens' rights to marriage and childbirth in order to inhibit degeneration of the population (Plato, n.d., Book V; Galton, 1998, pp.264–265). Aristotle opposed the temporary mating relations of men and women as suggested by Plato, yet fully supported idea of state population regulation. Aristotle proposed monogamous marriages, strict prenatal care, abortion, infanticide for children with physical abnormalities as effective regulation strategies (Galton, 1998, p.265). Within the Spartan

[12] As the title suggests, the Human Genome Project is an international project to investigate the human genome and provide this information for medical, biotechnical and life sciences researchers, https://www.genome.gov/.

constitution, eugenic legislation addressed the need to fortify the military troops with strongest male citizens. Likewise, the leaders of Crete utilized gender segregation to control the birth rate. Lycurgus, a politician serving both Sparta and Crete, promoted homosexual relations to curb birth rate and protect state resources (Galton, 1998, p.266).

Development of racial hierarchies

Whilst early eugenic thought emphasized a hierarchy of physiological health, strength, and ability, Edward B. Reuter noted that 'racial differences have perhaps nowhere escaped observation and comment' (Reuter, 1945, p.453). Boris Barth explored the premodern concepts of race and the racialized evolution of the 'other' in European societies, concluding that 'racism was clearly a phenomenon of the modern age' (Barth, 2010, p.1). Barth claims that historians typically agree that in the ancient world, xenophobia, not skin colour prejudice, was an 'anthropological constant' present in nearly all cultures (Barth, 2010, p.2). He gives examples of the ancient Greeks and Romans who considered their cultures noble and any 'alien as barbarian': Middle Age (fifth to fifteenth centuries) Europeans judged others by their religious practices (Barth, 2010, p.2). According to Barth, whilst Black Africans were frequently introduced into early modern (fifteenth to eighteenth centuries) European society as slaves, racialized slavery was non-existent. The Europeans were 'ambivalent' towards Black Africans, with aristocrats treating them as 'exotic accessor[ies]' from the lower socioeconomic class. Some Blacks, for instance, the Ghanaian-born philosophy

professor Anton Wilhelm Amo, rose to prominent positions within Europe (Barth, 2010, p.2).

Although researchers contest the exact sequence of events of when and how attitudes towards Blacks changed, in his study, Barth posited that the initial ambivalence changed to racial 'concepts' due to three factors—the indoctrination of *limpieza de sangre* or blood purity ideology; the creation of colonial societies in the New Worlds; as well as, the European development of the transatlantic slave trade[13] (Barth, 2010, p.2). Scholars who have researched different aspects of Barth's claim have uncovered evidence to support the significance of the three factors to modern race theory.

Although Rachel Burk and other researchers of fifteenth century Spain differ slightly in the results of their research into the relationship between Spanish society and the emerging concept of race, she does determine that the blood purity ideology, as 'material and metaphor', becomes the basis of a discourse transformation:

> [*Limpieza de sangre*] represents a critical transition in European thought, from conceiving of divisions between what had been "peoples" or "nations" as multivariable (based on geography, culture, common history, beliefs, and caste as well as bodies) to a taxonomic system based explicitly and essentially on biology and thus reducing difference to a single, immutable term (Burk, 2010, vi)

[13] Oxford University Press provides a bibliography of foundational texts on the subject, https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195399301/obo-9780195399301-0101.xml.

As had others before her, Burk found that an influx of Muslims, the continuing presence of Jews, civil war, and the plague all added to the economic and social instability of Spain. As a result of these stressors, 'old' Catholic stakeholders from every level of society collaborated to institute the blood purity statutes. The laws required formal investigations into the lineages of citizens to obtain public and private sector employment, as well as enter marriage contracts. These measures were necessary to preserve their Spanish traditions, protect their Catholic identity, and eliminate their fears of financial competition from the 'others' (Burk, 2010, pp.10, 16–17).

White attitudes towards Blacks during the Atlantic slave trade

In his ground-breaking book, *White Over Black*, Winthrop D. Jordan began his historical examination of the Englishmen prior to meeting Africans, 'in the days when [they] painted themselves blue and were otherwise notorious savages' (Jordan, 1968, ix). He traces the development of English attitudes towards the Blacks on the African continent in 1500s to attitudes toward the Black slaves in US during the early nineteenth century.

In those two hundred and sixty-two years, Jordan discovered that the ethnocentric attitudes toward Africans were first influenced by the differences the English encountered in complexion, behaviour, and religion. According to sixteenth century definitions, the polar English conceptualisation of the colours of white (purity) and black (evil) determined the perception held by the '[fair]-

skinned' English that the dark Africans were base, dangerous, ugly and devilish. The English logically attributed the darker complexion to the equatorial clime; however, they used a more religious explanation for their social assignment of Africans—the Blacks were biblical descendants of Ham[14] who were cursed as punishment and forever relegated to the servant class. As for their religion, Africans were dismissed as heathens for their 'idol' worship. Because of their custom of polygamous marriages, the English thought the African males to be 'lecherous' 'Satyr-apes', comparing their sexual habits to those of the beasts they encountered on the continent. Based on these observations and 'traditions' from an extreme stance, the English basically condemn the appearance, social mores, values, religion and behaviour of the Africans (Jordan, 1968, pp.3–43).

Whilst the New World colonists were planning their fight for independence and liberty from Britain in the mid-1700s, Jordan found that European-Americans were simultaneously implementing policies to tame the 'brutish' blacks and decrease the chance of any slave rebellions through legal actions and religious education (Jordan, 1968, pp.44–56).

The condemnation of Black people, combined with the fears associated with endurance in an unfamiliar environment and the great need for the economic contribution of cash crops to ensure survival, provided the justification for the

[14] For more information on the use of biblical references in racism, read *Black Excellence and the Curse of Ham: Debating Race and Slavery in the Islamic tradition* by Haroon Bashir (2019).

enslavement of the Africans and their descendants in the New World. A consistent theme is found throughout his book; Jordan frequently points to the many facets of the 'tangled' debate between European-Americans and their consciences—*how can slavery be justified in a free society?*

Critical Race Theory offers insight into the debate with the *centrality of racism* and *whiteness as property* tenets. As illustrated in the preceding subsection quote by Crawford, the justification of slavery lay in the construction of the dominant narrative about the underdevelopment of political, economic, and social infrastructures on the African continent. The narrative of Black inferiority necessarily centralised racism in the political, economic, and social dimensions of colonial society. As the young colony depended heavily on slavery in the agrarian economy, this *whiteness as property* narrative placed white men and their 'civilised' culture at the top of the hierarchy, thereby, protecting the economic resources of the white community.

Progressive Era and *Slavery by another name*

> *Our country may be likened to a new house. We lack many things, but we possess the most precious of all—liberty.*
> James Monroe (1758-1831), Founding Father of the United States, US President, plantation and slave owner

At the end of the 1800s, America was struggling to regain its social, economic, and political equilibrium after a bitter Civil War. After the surrender of the Confederate army, the southerners sizzled, bitter over the loss of their

livelihoods, property, honour, and slaves. Leaders and citizens wrangled for power in politics, economics, and social arenas, resulting in the assassinations of three presidents and the attempted impeachment of another[15]. Once fierce enemies, the US citizens in the southern and northern regions of the nation soon realized the necessity in combining their energies to focus on the reconstruction of the nation (Siler-Holloman, 2013; Rothbard, 2017). Whatever their current concerns about the state of the nation, the leaders grasped that a hundred years after the American colonies declared independence, Britain was still a major influence in the US economic and political policy.

In the first chapter of his book, *Branches without Roots*, Gerald David Jaynes offered greater insight into the dire financial straits of the United States and business leaders. British and fellow European investors, deeply concerned about their financial interests and the unstable US government after the Civil War, demanded assurances that their investments were protected and that dividends would be paid. As such, the investors required the cash-strapped planters to make specie payments in the form of cotton (Jaynes, 1986, p.11). Although the Thirteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution formally abolished slavery in 1865, the crushing weight of national debt and the absolute fear of financial bankruptcy compelled the political leaders, Northern businessmen and

[15] The presidents assassinated during the Progressive Era were Abraham Lincoln (1865), James Garfield (1881), and William McKinley (1901); Lincoln's successor, Andrew Johnson, was impeached in 1868.

Southern planters to collude with one another in guaranteeing a cheap and plentiful workforce to cultivate and harvest the valuable export.

Jaynes discovered in his research examples of politicians and planters who were willing to offer the Freedmen the chance to navigate the free market economy. Based on the 1776 work, *The Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith, radical politicians had long believed, as did Smith, that the institution of slavery was counterproductive to a thriving, highly productive market (Jaynes, 1986, pp.7, 61). However, the Northern businessmen, government representatives, and Southern planters *needed* the labour of blacks for their very survival. Despite the higher moral beliefs in the inherent rights of life, liberty, happiness, and property ownership, even the Northern supporters of the black community succumbed to the desperation caused by the thought of losing their own properties, happiness, liberty, and lives if the cash crop was not available for the specie payments. In short, Jaynes wrote that:

> The economic independence for black freedmen was seen as a poor gamble whose stakes encompassed the entirety of West Atlantic civilization . . . Such examination reveals that the federal government was willing to push agrarian reform only up to a point, and that the issues that defined this boundary were a national propensity to accept the thesis of black inferiority and the extreme fiscal conservatism of a ruling political party facing a large public debt (Jaynes, 1986, p.15).

Modification of the plantation economy

Lloyd Best (1968) studied the plantation system that provided economic security to the New World settlements. Later with collaborator, Kari Levitt (1969), the two conceived of the Theory of Plantation Economy. Although the Best model characterised the relationship between the *metropole*, the centre of power which was Britain, and the *hinterland* which were the Caribbean islands, the model has been applied, with timeline modifications to the US plantation system. Trevor Sudama (1979) summarised the five theory characteristics that specify broad hierarchy of the plantation economy system as follows:

1. Metropole power—the sovereign state wrested power from the hinterland; maintained absolute control over all political, economic, and social matters in the area, denying input from hinterland subjects;

2. Labour division—primary production was restricted to the hinterland; final processing or assembly of goods was performed in the metropole. The slave labour allowed the imperialists to significantly reduce labour outlays in the hinterland, thus, increasing the difference between production costs and selling prices;

3. Monetary control—the Metropolitan Exchange Standard established a fixed exchange rate between metropole and hinterland currencies. The metropole currency was always valued higher and this guaranteed that hinterland investments remained in the metropole. Conversely, metropolitan business owners found simplified processes for investing in the hinterlands, allowing for greater control in the colonial affairs;

4. Trade control—all logistical aspects of trade were controlled by metropole agents; and,

5. Preference system—the hinterland production was designed to meet the specific needs of the metropolitan market, thus, causing shortages of necessary goods or exorbitant costs for the final products from the metropole for the hinterland subjects (Best, 1968; Sudama, 1979, p. 66).

Since the purpose of the plantation is the production of export goods, subsistence production was prohibited as all worker labour was required for the plantation. With ‘virtually no distinction between organization and society’, the slaves were denied their civil rights and the property owners were thus ‘furnish[ed with] an ideal framework’ wherein they could maximise profits (Best, 1968, p. 287). Their personal assets also increased when the metropole representatives granted hinterland land titles to ‘favoured’ individuals who then rented the property (Best, 1968, p. 287).

Best highlighted the three phases of the plantation economy as it applies to the Caribbean:

1. Pure plantation economy--from approximately 1600 to 1838 when the British abolished slavery. Best contended that the pure plantation economy and its ‘old labour regime’ came to an end when slavery was abolished in British colonies in 1833. Still, he noted that the 'deeply entrenched' 'institutions, structures, and behaviour patterns of the plantation system . . . [took place] as an adaptation within the bounds of the established framework' (Sudama, 1979, p. 67);

2. Plantation economy modified--1838-1938 (until the beginning of World War II). This entrenchment was found in the *plantation economy modified* phase, along with all the major characteristics of the former. An acute labour shortage due to the emancipation of slaves was the main feature of the current phase and the solution found differentiated this phase from the previous (Sudama, 1994, p. 68); and

3. Plantation economy further modified--1938 onward. The beginning of this phase coincided with the start of World War II and had lasted until the publication of the Best model in the late 1960s. He asserted that during the war, the plantations became 'more self-reliant than during the First World War' due to the focus on basic consumer products. 'Because the institutional framework continued unchanged and taste patterns persisted, the metropolitan-hinterland ties were easy to re-establish' after the wars (Best, 1968, p. 295; Sudama, 1979, p. 68).

Origins of *de facto* slavery

In the United States, during the modified plantation economy phase, the labour shortage after the Civil War and emancipation of slaves was not solved by the recruitment of immigrants from Eastern Europe or China. As the immigrants learned that they could earn more working in the industrial North, they quickly abandoned their posts on the Southern farms (Mandle, 1994, pp. 12-13). Therefore, the planters developed tenancy or sharecropping contracts to ensure a stable workforce.

Jay R. Mandle researched those decisions made during the nineteenth century. In his book, *Not slave, not free: The African American economic experience since the Civil War*, Mandle studied the American South, basing part of his research on the Best plantation economy theory and the economic development of the Black community in the southern region. He posited that the plantation economy and the evolution of its tenancy system were short-term solutions that contributed to not only long-term fiscal, technological and social underdevelopment of the Black labourer but the entire Southern region of the United States. He proposed that the tenancy system, designed by the planters and supported by their political allies, restricted the black property ownership, management capabilities, entrepreneurial opportunities, mobility options, and educational prospects in the attempt to guarantee a low-skilled, low-wage workforce (Mandle, 1994).

To explain causes for the underdevelopment, Mandle began after the US Civil War and emancipation when the planters had to devise a system to restore the workforce for the labour intensive agricultural economy; plantation tenancy was the answer. According to Mandle two forms of this tenancy existed—*sharecropping* and *share tenancy*. With sharecropping, plantation owners provided cultivators with tools and equipment as well as access to land to be cultivated by the cropper and his family. In share tenancy, the tenant provided equipment and perhaps work animals for production' (Mandle, 1994, p.13).

In this system of tenancy, Mandle pointed to numerous similarities with the plantation system that led him to posit, like Best, that the plantation lifestyle was only modified, not abolished, after emancipation. He uses this definition of freedom as a benchmark to determine if the freedmen were still oppressed by the plantation system—*freedom is the ability to negotiate in the free market and make investments that result in financial growth and stability* (Mandle, 1994, pp.21–32). With this definition, he found that the former slaves were not free after emancipation because of the continued constraints exerted by the planter class, such as:

1. Property restriction—the freedmen were initially promised land after the Civil War. The landownership of blacks would have created a new class when the freedmen began to compete with their commercial farms. Although Republican politicians knew that land would help the freedman establish themselves in the economy, they could not divide the planter land as proposed. 'Having deprived the planters of what the Republicans viewed as illegitimate property in persons, northern politicians could not bring themselves to deprive them of what were acknowledged to be legitimate property rights in land' (Mandle, 1994, p.10). Though the

freedmen were eventually offered small plots of 'poor quality' land through the Southern Homestead Act of 1866, very few blacks had the resources to invest in the land. In addition to the cost-prohibitive aspect of landownership for the blacks, racial discrimination further prevented the freedmen, if they were financially able to do so, purchase land where they wanted;

2. Management restriction—in the tenancy relationship, the freedmen had no managerial authority; the planter made all decisions regarding crops, work scheduling, the rental homes, even the behavior of freedmen and their families outside of work. Therefore, the freedmen were not allowed to gain managerial or entrepreneurial experience;
3. Entrepreneurial restriction—the property ownership and managerial restrictions also impeded the free blacks from establishing their own businesses. Many freedmen lacked managerial skills. More likely suffered from lack of patronage; poor southern blacks were in no position, according to Mandle, to frequent a store with no credit[16];

4. Mobility restriction—Mandle describes labour mobility as 'the movement of workers from relatively low productivity work to occupations where productivity is higher 'and ascertains that this mobility provides 'an important source of growth in the national economy' (Mandle, 1994, p.68). After emancipation, the planter elites employed a variety of strategies to keep the blacks in the South when their attempts to recruit labour from Europe and Asia failed:

    a. Northern industrial representatives were impeded from recruiting blacks by statutes that prohibited the practice or excessive fines that made the recruitment cost-prohibitive;

    b. The blacks were bound to the land by tenancy contracts that prevented their mobility. The freedmen could leave the area once all their debts were paid to the planters. However, it was difficult for the sharecroppers to pay off the debts[17] they had accumulated during the year preceding their annual payment. The planters controlled all official bookkeeping and prices (see management restriction), so it was very typical for the sharecropper to *owe* the planter at the end of the year;

    c. The blacks were paid extremely low wages for their labour; and

[16] Though Mandle does not discuss the violence, many black businesses were practically burned to the ground by white residents, such as, in the Wilmington (NC) Insurrection of 1898 and the Tulsa (OK) Race Riot of 1921.

[17] The planters offered credit accounts for food, household supplies, etc., with exorbitant interest rates well over 30%.

5. Education/training restriction—Mandle says that, in addition to a poorly developed educational system in the plantation South, the dependence on manual labour led to a 'technological retardation in the South'[18]. The author also found that from 1880 to 1900, income in the plantation states decreased whilst the rest of the nation experienced growth. Although education was of great interest to the freedmen[19], the time constraints of agricultural work which were determined by the planters. Mandle found that blacks were rarely trained in the newest technologies and this lack of development kept the labourers in the low-skilled professions of the South and, when and if they migrated, in the lowest ranks of the industrial North. As a result, the freemen were not able to neither contribute to agricultural innovation nor implement the newest technologies when available. This, according to Mandle, was a factor in the South's stalled economic development (Mandle, 1994).

Mandle argued that stunted economic development and persistent poverty of the African American community can be directly attributed to the nineteenth century southern plantation economic system. According to the author, the level of economic development in the region was a major factor in the level of income earned by blacks:

> The process of modern economic growth is closely associated with the emergence of productive competencies among the population. Primarily this occurs through formal education and schooling, although skills are enhanced through work as well. If, however, a society limits the capabilities of or options available to a substantial fraction of its population, it is likely that its own level of economic development will be lowered than it otherwise might have been. In turn, of course, this will result in lower levels of income received by the population (Mandle, 1994).

[18] John Hope Franklin (1956) found an 'almost universal aversion to taxation for [free public] education' and an equally strong aversion to 'book learning' among the Southern people as a whole as a reason for the high illiteracy rates in various Southern states ranging from 20-25% compared to the 0.42% in New England states (*The militant south*, 129-131).

[19] See Williams, H A (2005). *Self-taught: African American education in slavery and freedom*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Mandle observed that, generally, the failure to expand the human labour resources of a group or a region results in the constriction of the national economy. The author proposed that an investment in black education and skills 'might, if put to use in the United States economy, not only raise the incomes of African Americans but also result in a higher rate of economic growth for the nation as a whole' (Mandle, 1994, p.3).

Implications of plantation social relations

As a complement to the economic focus of the plantation system, professor of management and labour studies, Sharit Kumar Bhowmik chose to look at the social relations of the plantations, specifically of the Jalpaiguri district in West Bengal, and to present a sociological definition of the plantation. He observed that most researchers examined plantations using a perspective that focused on the economic production relations and the production unit. The author set out to prove, firstly, that social relations of the plantations were as much a part of the features of the system as were the production relations and, secondly, that the society of which the plantation was a part exerted its influence at all times on the plantation unit (Bhowmik, 1980, p. 1524).

Not surprisingly, Bhowmik found that the mainstream definitions of the plantation addressed the products, the production relations, and the production unit of the plantation. The definitions address the scale of the plantations compared to typical farms, the amount and type of labour required to operate

the unit, and the type of management hierarchy employed on the plantations. Generally, the plantations were large agricultural operations that 'normally requires more labour per unit of land', with the explicit purpose of exporting the produce. In the 'vertical hierarchy' of the plantation, the 'skilled supervisors or managers directing production undertaken by unskilled [initially migrant] labourers' (Bhowmik, 1980, p. 1524).

According to the author, mainstream descriptions of the plantations frequently fail to acknowledge two points crucial for understanding the relations of production--the emergence of production relations on a plantation and the influence of the broader social environment on the production relations (Bhowmik, 1980, p. 1524).

Whilst Bhowmik believed that coercion is 'an integral part of the plantation system', he acknowledges that the coercion diminishes over time, hence, it applies more strongly to the initial phase of the system. To maintain their advantage, the planters used wage and political strategies to control intensive labour needs. Four interdependent characteristics of the plantation system are:

1. Coercion--To meet their intensive labour requirements in the plantation system, the owners tend to employ force or intimidation to obtain and keep low or unskilled workers. Frequently, the planters form industry associations that create rules and regulations for their benefit, such as, determining the minimum wages in the area or requiring very restrictive contracts of their employees. The planters have been known to use guards to prevent labourers from leaving the plantations, however, lobbying governmental support was more effective and long-lasting;

2. Political support--The planters garnered support for their plantations and their profits through their political connections. Government representatives have passed laws to protect the planters from labour shortages, such as, the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act or the Puerto Rican order of 1837 imposing mandatory plantation work for the landless labourers;

3. Migrant labour--The labour-intensive plantations usually demanded that planters obtain slaves or recruit labour from outside of the area. As such, most of the initial labourers were immigrants from 'impoverished tribals', desperate for work even at wages lower than the area market. Indentured contracts, and the laws, kept the workers bound to the plantations for four years minimum, reducing the risk of 'acute labour shortage[s]'. When the planters fulfilled their workplace needs with local labour, they ensured that the residents' only employment option was the plantation; and

4. Isolation---Because of land requirements for the plantation unit, these enterprises are typically established in remote areas. Eric Wolf, as cited in the article, 'points out that the establishment of plantations has always destroyed the antecedent cultural norms of the area concerned . . . [and the plantation] is also an instrument of force wielded to create and to maintain a class-structure of workers and owners, connected hierarchically by a staff line or overseers and managers'. This isolation allowed the owners to construct a system of social relations to their sole benefit. 'Isolation and an almost complete absence of legal protection had placed the plantation worker in a position of total dependence'(Bhowmik, 1980, p. 1525).

The characteristics of the social relation system of the plantation protect the interests of plantation owners and their desire for ever-increasing profits, hence, the plantation system may be considered 'successful' in fulfilling its mission. However, the plantation was subjected to any changes that occurred in the broader socio-economic system of which the plantation was a part. With the reality of this fact, Bhowmik found a limitation in the power of coercion over time on the plantation.

Resistance of Black labourers, colonial to Progressive eras

Throughout the nearly three hundred years as slaves and the paradoxical bondage as freedmen, the Black labourers embraced the ideals of liberty and equality. George and Willene Hendrick proposed in their 2005 book, *Why Not Every Man?*, the labourers actively resisted the attempts to prevent their full recognition of their humanity, work ethic, and citizenship.

According to the Webster definition historians the Hendricks quoted, civil disobedience is the "nonviolent opposition to a government policy or law by refusing to comply with it, on the grounds of conscience'. The authors traced the changes in philosophies as they relate to civil disobedience—'from Socrates to Thoreau and Gandhi, and ending with the Montgomery, Alabama, civil rights movement led by D. Martin Luther King, Jr' (Hendrick and Hendrick, 2005). They contended that whilst the slaves, and later the freedpeople, may have not known about the classical philosophies, many of them were presented with several examples of civil disobedience from the Bible scriptures. African Americans often chose to engage in civil disobedience in response to the oppressive slave system and the racist laws that upheld the discriminatory structures (Hendrick and Hendrick, 2005, pp.5–7).

The Southern planters experienced these acts of civil disobedience in a variety of forms. The Hendricks' observation is supported by history scholar Peter Kolchin in his studies on American slavery. He found that the slaves resisted the owners

through direct confrontations, either individual or as a group or by running away from the plantations. However, it was the daily resistances, which Kolchin calls *silent sabotages*—delaying work, working slowly, misunderstanding directives, 'accidentally' breaking equipment, even, stealing—that were 'a persistent irritant' to the owners. While the slaves and freed people may have received some psychological satisfaction from this behaviour, Kolchin argues that it may have reinforced the racist stereotypes of the 'lazy, foolish, and thieving' Black person (Kolchin, 1993).

In contrast to the silent sabotages, the imagined peace of the colonies, then young nation, was occasionally shattered by more violent actions. Whilst lack of or incomplete documentation make the actual number of insurrections (events identified as rebellions of ten or more slaves) difficult to verify, scholars have estimated the number upwards of three hundred or more. during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Scholars have concurred that one—the 1739 Stono Rebellion in South Carolina—was one of the largest, costliest, and, ultimately, most influential in solidifying stricter social relations between whites and slaves and establishing more strategic slave business (Thornton, 1991, p.1101).

When analysing the high degree of engagement between Stono opponents, Thornton deduced that many of the slaves had either been trained by colonialists for militia service or that the participating Africans were former soldiers captured

in war. The author was able to verify through documentation that the leader of the rebellion slaves was a highly educated and military-trained African, named Jemmy, from the region known as Angola[20] (Thornton, 1991, p.1108). The rebellion began on a Sunday morning in September 1739. The insurrectionists previously decided to escape to Florida as the Spanish promised freedom to the British slaves. After one week of battles with the white militia, the rebellion ended and the deceased were counted as twenty-one white residents and forty-four slaves (Vox, 2018; no pagination). The decapitated heads of the rebel leaders were staked on fence posts as warnings to other slaves with similar ideas of self-emancipation.

Scholars have noted that historians frequently failed to include the rebellions in their studies. Despite the dominant culture narratives about the 'docile' Black men, women, and children with 'childish personalities' who appreciated the 'security' of slavery, the white plantation owners and residents remained quite afraid of possible uprisings. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. observed that the Post-Reconstruction school of white, pro-slavery historians 'kicked the slaves again [after centuries of subjugation] for not rising up more frequently to kill their oppressive masters' (Gates Jr., 2013, no pagination). Yet, Gates has little doubt that the early Black male resistances were elided from the canons as not to

[20] For more on the Stono Rebellion and other slave revolts, visit the Library of Congress website, *America's Story* goo.gl/cA4UzZ or the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) website with Henry Louis Gates, Jr., *The African Americans: Many rivers to cross* goo.gl/xVD6dK.

challenge the master narratives of Black males who lack of courage and manliness.

A record of the South Carolina legislative representatives provided an opposing story to the ones of the pro-slavery historians. Several times within the Negro Act of 1740 document, the legislators referred to the rebellions and the strategies used by obviously resourceful and clever Black men. To exert control over the slave activity and preserve safety for the white community, the Act outline new rules of engagement for the slaves.

The first 'rule' of the Negro Act was the formalisation of the status of Black residents in the state—'it has been uniformly held, that color is prima facie evidence, that the party bearing the color of a negro, mulatto or mestizo, is a slave' and all offspring will be slaves, unless proven otherwise (O'Neal, 1848, p.5). Under the brief section of slave rights, the law did allow Blacks the right to be heard in court although they would never be on a jury. The slaves were guaranteed a minimum of nine hours of rest per twenty-four. However, the numerous injunctions forbade Blacks from travel without permits; possession of weapons; rent of properties; dress in clothes of greater value than 'Negro cloth'; and ownership of boats. Black slaves could no longer husband personal farm animals or plots of land for business; become entrepreneurs; or own land. Social activities, such as, meetings or 'wanderings' on Saturday nights, Sundays or holidays, were severely restricted; slave owners were required by law to closely

monitor the gatherings. All persons who taught Black slaves to read or write faced a variety of sanctions by the courts. Any white person had the legal power to stop and interrogate any Black person, anywhere, anytime; refusal might result in the slave's lawful killing. Death was also the punishment for any Black slave, free Black person, or white community member who planned, participated in, or funded in rebellion. Anyone who harboured a fugitive slave might expect the same fate (McCord, 1840, no pagination). The constraint of movement, property ownership, entrepreneurship, gatherings, and education meant that resources necessary for rebellions remained inaccessible or extremely limited. Though formal and legal rules pertaining to Black slaves existed before the Stono Rebellion, a plethora of Black codes were enacted throughout the southern region, into the northern districts, and within the western territories of the US after the example of the South Carolina Negro Act of 1740.

One hundred and twenty-five years after the Negro Act was signed into law, little may have changed for the planters, in terms of Black resistance, with the sharecropping and tenancy systems, as these business models were not necessarily the answer for the planters' desire for easily manageable labour. With the emancipation of slaves, the business relations between Blacks and the former Southern masters dramatically changed, at least initially. Whilst not leaving the South, the labourers would leave a plantation if the owner were physically abusive or offered less than the competitive contracts in the area. Most offensive to the sensibilities to the planters was the decreasing amount of

deference that the Blacks displayed toward their former owners. Additionally, Black labourers would frequently file formal Freedmen's Bureau complaints against the planters for misbehaviour, forcing the bureau agents intervene in labour disputes. Jaynes quoted one 'candid' planter who lamented that 'we've been used to having [the Black labourers] mind us without a word of objection, and we can't bear anything else from them now' (Jaynes, 1986). Clearly, the attempts to constrain black labour were effective, to a degree, but as the constant re-evaluation and modification of policies to control labour show, at no point were the planters as entirely comfortable and secure as when the slavery system was in place.

According to Mandle, the definition of freedom for the Black labourer—the unrestrained opportunity to participate in the free market for fiscal growth and security—was used to determine if the Black professors are truly free to pursue their career aspirations, develop their scholarly talents, and determine how sharecropping constrictions compared to their own.

Societies for the benefit of Black communities

Silent sabotages and rebellions were just two forms of resistance. Beginning in slavery Black community members formalised their actions when they organised beneficial societies. These organisations may have been the precursors to the Black professional associations of the Progressive Era. Walter Weare (1993) writes that Reverends Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, two former slaves who

became respected Black leaders of Philadelphia, established ‘ethnic aid societies and issued a call for self-help, moral improvement, and an elementary plan of sickness and burial insurance’ in 1787 due to the ‘squal[id]’ living conditions of the Black community members and the assignment of Black church goers to the ‘nigger pew’ of the white Methodist Church (Weare, 1993, p.5).

Forty-three years later, Richard Allen, then a bishop, would eventually expand his mission to protect the Black community in the US and into Canada. During five days in September 1830, Allen and several like-minded colleagues met, by invitation, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to formally organise the American Society of Free Persons of Colour, the first of what would later be labelled the National Negro Convention Movement. The delegates elected officers, Allen as president, and determined their responsibilities; specified the parent society agenda; promoted establishment of auxiliary societies; settle dissemination of information; and, most importantly, ordained the organisation constitution (Morel, 1830, iii–iv, 5–8). Although the online version of the conference proceedings lacked several preface pages, along with pages two through four, the remaining document clearly states the matters that precipitated the formation of the Society, such as, their irreconcilable treatment in US society under the US Declaration of Independence that guaranteed life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. For the hope that Canada would be a nation wherein they would ‘have ample opportunity to reap the reward due to industry and perseverance, may be enabled to take their stand as men in serval offices and

situations necessary to promote union, peace, order and tranquillity', the delegates vowed to recruit willing community members and garner every possible resource to purchase Canadian land for Blacks chose to migrate (Morel, 1830, pp.9–11).

Despite the belief of the first national convention delegates that they possessed 'habits, manners, and customs . . . in common with other Americans' (Morel, 1830, p.10), in her extensive study of the Black fraternal societies of the Progressive Era, Betty Kuyk critiqued the 'superficial judgment of similarity' found by early researchers who 'dismissed [the societies] as merely parodying white organizations . . . ' (Kuyk, 1983: 559, 560). Supported by the findings of Carter G. Woodson and W. E. B. Du Bois, Kuyk argued that in their failure to 'describe an amorphous quality of black fraternal orders that makes them unique', the researchers either resorted to 'a cultural compulsion to find [organisational] roots in [their] European heritage' or refused to address the difference (Kuyk, 1983, pp.559, 561). Kuyk posited that the structures of the Black organisations were transplanted in the US by West African slaves, such as the Igbo and Efik, who were sold in Virginia and were the subjects of her research. The goal of her study was the deep analysis of the Black American societies, searching for parallel patterns with African organisations. Though Kuyk noted that beneficial societies were established by the Black community as early as 1815, she purposely chose the Independent Order of St. Luke as it typified the

other Black societies formed by 1866 in Virginia ‘relatively unsullied by American white society’s impact later in the nineteenth century’ (Kuyk, 1983, pp.560–561).

Two distinctive parallels found were the ceremonial and functional structures. Ceremonial structures included fee structure, spiritual symbols usage, as well as initiation and funeral rites. Kuyk found more complexity in the functional aspects of the societies, ‘from legislating to enforcing [community] laws, from conferring status to forming priesthoods . . . [combining] political, social, religious, and psychological functions that operated to stabilize the community’ (Kuyk, 1983: 570). The economic aspect of the functional structure that included the pooling of money for community benefit, was integral to both forms of societies. Commenting on ‘the myth of the ignorant savage, slaves exported to the United States came from an intricately developed interior trade system which used concepts of capital, currency, credit, and debt collections . . . [trading] metal and fabric products of high quality along routes from the Sahara, India, . . . possibly Venice, [and between four to ten centuries] imported European products’ (Kuyk, 1983, p.586). According to these investigations, the cultural transmission of ceremonial and functional structures by the West Africans were integral parts of the distinctive Black American organisations.

According to Hollie (2015), another example of a Black organisation with African roots is one of the most successful beneficial society—the Grand Fountain of the United Order of True Reformers (1881-1910). The original order, the United

Order of True Reformers, was founded in 1873, an extension of the all-white Independent Order of Good Templars, with chapters in Alabama and Kentucky. The focus of the original order was temperance and the provision of sick and death benefits. After denial of membership in the Good Templars due to his race, William Washington Browne, former slave, minister, and Union army Civil War veteran, established the Virginia branch of the Grand Fountain order in 1881 (Hollie, 2015, no pagination).

'In Browne's view, if blacks were forced to live a life segregated from the financial, social, and educational opportunities to which whites had access, [Black people] would do so by creating opportunities for success and advancement within their own community' (Hollie, 2015, no pagination). Browne's 'expanded vision' for the Order and its role in the Black community included an economic development aspect in addition to temperance and welfare assistance. The expanded services included media and mercantile ventures; real estate; retirement home services; prison outreach; and youth educational programs featuring business and life skill courses. Of special note in 1889, the True Reformers established the first Black-owned financial institution to be chartered in the United States. By 1892, the True Reformers touted seven hundred sixty-five (765) chapters that served more than forty thousand (40,000) members nationwide (Hollie, 2015, no pagination).

August Meier reported in his book, *Negro thought in America, 1880-1915*, that members of these societies differed in what they believed would be the most effective ways to address the disparities between Blacks and whites in the US. Along a continuum of strategies, some members strongly reasoned for 'radical' demand of political and legal rights, while others assessed the social environment and suggested more 'accommodating' requests for only the quiet end of discrimination. Before the disillusionment grew among the Black community in the latter years of the nineteenth century, society members believed that the efficacy of the group would prove their value to the white citizens. Even though several leaders focused on the legal fight to gain citizenship status for Blacks.[21] As such, the emphasis of the organisations shifted from 'moral suasion' of whites and 'political action' to unity, racial pride and economic achievement (Meier, 1966, pp.44–45). Joseph C. Price, founder of an HBCU in North Carolina, was not alone in believing that education was the key to Black success. Meier reports that Price's stance was so adamant that the educator, bolstered by unification, pride and dreams of success, published his opinion in the college catalogue that 'only Negroes could actually do the work of educating the race' (Meier, 1966, p.80). Within five years of the 1884-85 publication, the Second Morrill Act would provide the funding to help fulfil Price's wish.

[21] The Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution only abolished slavery; citizenship for Blacks was only gained after the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868, https://www.loc.gov/rr//program/bib/ourdocs/14thamendment.html.

Summary

This chapter began with the examination of the role of men in the originations of the US labour market, the meaning of work, and the identities linked to occupation. The historical research began on the African continent and briefly swept through two hundred years of the New World colony foundation from the 1600s, ending with the emancipation of the slaves in the late 1800s. From the settlement of the colony, both the narratives of meritocracy and Black inferiority were created and utilized in the identity formation of the white citizens of the new land. After the Civil War ended in 1865, these narratives served to unite the white members of the fractured US society and maintain their perceived supremacy of the newly freed Black citizens. Critical Race Theory tenets of *centrality of racism*, *whiteness as property*, and *social justice* applied to the underlying attitudes about Black men and the motivations when creating political and economic policies by the white dominant society members. The chapter also provided examples of how Black men utilised and modified their ancestral traditions to establish the forerunners of labour unions and professional associations that served the working- and professional-class members.

Chapter 5—Early United States Education

Educate and inform the whole mass of the people . . . they are the only sure reliance for the preservation of our liberty.
Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, (1743-1826), Founding Father and principal author of the United States Declaration of Independence, US President, plantation, and slave owner.

Although Al-Ahar University, located in Egypt and established in 970 AD, is recognized as the oldest university in the world, Michael David Cohen asserts that the institution of the university is 'an invention of thirteenth-century Europe' (Cohen, 2012, p.3), thereby implying that the institution was the provenance of the Western scholars. In this chapter, examples are presented of how European and, later, US academics and leaders placed Western thought and pedagogy at the top of an epistemological hierarchy, virtually eliminating contributions from Black scholars in the creation of the US educational system or professional disciplines. The Critical Race Theory tenets of *liberalism critique, interest convergence,* and *whiteness as property* explained the historical responses of white citizens to the increasing need for education in the Black community, the creation of what would become the Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), and the status of graduates of the Black schools in the emerging professional class. As in Chapter Four, the Black professional class—or W. E. B. DuBois' Talented Tenth—defy the *de jure* and *de facto* policies that attempt to constrain their labour by forming their own associations to champion their growth as professionals, as well as uplift the Black community members.

Colonial schools for future leaders

In 1636, eight years after the Puritans landed in an area later named New England, Harvard College was established, indicating the desire of the settlers for higher education. According to Christopher J. Lucas, an expert on higher education in America, the main goals of Harvard College and the eight others that followed over the next hundred years included lessons in classical studies, such as, philosophy, logic, reasoning and in the theological search for 'spiritual truths' to 'raise up a literate and pious clergy', refine and enculturate the students, as well as, prepare 'those destined to positions of responsibility and leadership in society' (Lucas, 1994). However, Lucas found that the enthusiasm for these collegiate religious aspirations were not always appreciated in the English court of King James I & VI, quoting the king's attorney general who noted the primary economic purpose of the colony, "Souls! Damn your souls! Raise tobacco!"[22] (Lucas, 1994).

The frustration of the royal attorney general underscored an old debate within the colonial society regarding the value and direction of higher education—*should universities focus on classical or practical studies? Train thinkers or doers?* The discussion continued well into the late nineteenth century and impacted decisions made regarding the development of the American public education and the inclusion of blacks into the educational system.

[22] Although King James I & VI wrote a treatise entitled *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* in 1604 about the observed harmful effects with its use, the growth of the hugely profitable import business from the colonies may prove that economic interests override personal distastes.

In addition to debates about the societal benefits about which type of curriculum should be taught, regional differences in America could be found regarding the benefit of any education at all. By the 1800s, few White Americans in the South felt the need to support education. According to John Hope Franklin, one of the preeminent historians of African Americans and the Southern region of the United States, 'the planters and others of the upper class could provide for their children's education in a manner convenient to them. The remainder of the white community had little or no need for education; so there was no problem' (Franklin, 1956, p.129). He found in several state of Virginia counties that not only did adults refuse to send their children to school, perhaps most of Southerners felt that education was a ‘reckless waste of time’. Franklin posited that two factors contributed to the disinterest of the general Southern population in public education--an 'almost universal aversion to taxation for education' and lack of 'relevance of education to the life they lived (Franklin, 1956, p.129).

As a result of the Southern attitudes toward education and in contrast to the high literacy rates in the New England states, Franklin linked the 'bitter and tragic consequences' of the disinterest and lack of investment in education for the South to the growth of militancy in the Southern states. ‘A frightening amount of illiteracy at the very time that the balance of power in politics was shifting from the privileged few to the masses' (Franklin, 1956, p.130). True to the warnings of Noah Webster (1758-1843) regarding the threats to society created by the

uneducated, Franklin found that the Southern masses were frequently pawns in the hands of unscrupulous politicians who used emotion instead of reason to sway the public; mob riots after political speeches were not uncommon (Franklin, 1956, pp.131–132). To reduce this the level of ignorance and advance the range of skills amongst the citizens, motivated government, religious, and business leaders collaborated for the expansion of education in the US.

First Morrill Act of 1862

> *All of needful science for the practical avocations of life shall be taught, where neither the higher graces of classical studies nor that military drill our country now so greatly appreciates will be entirely ignored.*
> Justin Smith Morrill, US politician, crafter, and sponsor of the Land Grant College Acts

> *The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act as the destroyer of liberty. Plainly, the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of liberty*.
> Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865), US President and lawyer who reluctantly supported the Thirteenth Amendment to the US Constitution which abolished slavery

As stated previously, the Puritans from England brought with them to the American colonies a desire for higher education. The first universities were established in the New England area. By the nineteenth century, the northern region led the country in literacy rates. True to his roots, Justin Smith Morrill, a US politician from the New England state of Vermont, was a self-educated man who, unable to afford the university education he longed for, sponsored a bill in 1857 that would provide land grants to states for the purpose of establishing the

agricultural and mechanical colleges to serve two purposes—to educate the 'common' man and, through research contributions, bolster the American industrialisation.

Despite his support of education in general, President James Buchanan, Jr. vetoed the bill due to his belief that the individual states were responsible for funding higher education (Lucas, 1994). Five years and another political administration later, Morrill presented the proposed statute again with success. In 1862, President Abraham Lincoln signed the first Morrill Act into law. Because the Southern states wanted to secede from the Federal government, the citizens in those states forfeited their right to receive the grants (USDA, n. d.).

> 'The founding, financing, and development of higher education in the colonies were thoroughly intertwined with the economic and social forces that transformed West and Central Africa through the slave trade and devastated Indigenous nations in the Americas. The academy was a beneficiary and defender of these processes with its college graduates 'exploit[ing] these links for centuries' as professional 'teachers, ministers, lawyers, doctors, politicians, merchants, and planters' (Wilder, 2013: 1-2).

If white Southerners, still smarting decades after the defeat in the Civil War and ignorant of varying perspectives of social issues, failed to find their own benefit from education, this irreverence may have contributed partly to their 'emotive' expressions of resistance in the initial refusal to fund the education of blacks. Indeed, the Black relationship with higher education mirrored or, as Cohen (2012: 6-7) and Craig Steven Wilder (2013) found, reproduced the social hierarchy of both the northern and southern regions; Blacks entered the

Academy as slaves or servants to the white men who dominated the administration, faculty, staff, and student body.

Mohonk Conference on *The Negro Question*

> *Education is a better safeguard of liberty than a standing army.*
> Edward Everett (1794-1865), American politician, pastor, politician, and Harvard University president

Although Morrill legislation was an important part in the establishment of universities for the 'common' man, Blacks were initially prohibited from receiving benefit from the Act by Southern anti-literacy laws. As mentioned before, the laws, such as the South Carolina Negro Act of 1740, which made it illegal for anyone to teach a slave to read or write grew from a series of fatal uprisings headed by educated Black men. Ironically, the attendees of the 1890 Mohonk Conference on *The Negro Question*[23] believed that it would be the education of the freed people that would 'safeguard' the order of the society, as remarked above by Edward Everett.

During the Progressive Era, European-American politicians, philanthropists, Christian missionaries, business leaders, abolitionists and educators, in efforts to fulfil their 'noble cause[s]', advocated for the industrial training of the freed people (Pifer, 1973, no pagination). The owner of the Lake Mohonk Mountain

[23] For additional reading on the famous *Negro Question* debate, see David Theo Goldberg's article, *Liberalism's limits: Carlyle and Mill on "the Negro Question"*, https://doi.org/10.1080/08905490008583508.

House, A. K. Smiley, was a Quaker who strongly believed that it was a Christian duty to protect the minorities of the United States. Between 1883 and 1916, the House served as a conference centre for not only the first convention to discuss 'The Negro Question' but held conferences concerning the Native Americans and international peace.

The conferences about the Native Americans were attended by civic leaders who labelled themselves, 'Friends of the Indians' with the goal of 'eradicat[ing] . . . tribal identities' and assimilating the group into society by training children at special boarding schools (PBS, 2001). The same label could have been applied to the group assembled in New York to address the major issue of their day—what to do with the free Negroes. Among this group, handpicked by Smiley, was Rutherford B. Hayes, the former US president who oversaw the Reconstruction period after the Civil War; General Samuel C. Armstrong, Union Army officer and founder of Hampton Institute, an HBCU; as well as William T. Harris, a famous American educator. Each of the participants seem to have observed the negative effects of slavery on the black community; many had worked closely with the freedmen in a variety of conditions. In his opening address, Smiley shared his goal of the conference with the attendees:

> I trust that everyone who is here agrees with me that it is exceedingly important for the Negroes to be elevated in every direction; that it is necessary that they should be practically educated; that they shall learn to be thrifty and taught industries; that they shall do away with all drinking habits, shall save money, accumulate property, be law-abiding citizens; that the family relations shall be well observed, and thus be a credit to our country. I believe, if they are not so educated,

> that they will become a dangerous element to the community, liable to be thrown at any moment into the hands of demagogues who may use them for bad purposes. I believe that our only safety is to give the Negro a Christian education. This is what we are called together to consider (Barrow, 1890, p.8).

The focus of the Black school curriculum was deemed to be industrial education. It was thought by many white Northerners and Southerners that a liberal education which focuses on logic, grammar, and rhetoric was not appropriate for blacks due to either their 'limited capacities' or would not contribute to their survival. The planned training programmes of Christian education required Black teachers for the estimated six million Black citizens. A testament to the influence and power of the Conference attendees, in less than three months after the Mohonk Conference, President Benjamin Harrison (1833-1901) signed the Second Morrill Act of 1890.

Second Morrill Act of 1890 and HBCUs

Whilst the Second Morrill Act of 1890[24] was primarily intended for the higher education of white citizens, with the inclusion of the southern region and the newest western states, the legislators specified federal funds to states for the advanced education of the Black community. The Act requires state representatives a choice of either policies that allowed Black student admission

[24] For more information on the Morrill Acts, visit the US Library of Congress website, https://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/morrill.html

into PWIs or separate, equitable institutions for the Black community; the southern state representatives opted for the establishment of the HBCUs. All but four of the new Black colleges were established in the South. Because of the geographic legacy of slavery and the efforts to confine the black freedmen to the plantations after emancipation, the majority of the black population lived in the southern region of the United States (Mandle, 1994, p.23). Economics nor historical residency alone did not dictate the placement of the schools. In the late 1800s, the Northern citizens did not relish the thought of a vast migration of blacks to their areas. Even the Northern supporters of the black community wanted to guarantee that the blacks stayed as far south as possible. 'Educate the Negro where he is,' said Rev. A. D. Mayo at the Mohonk Conference (Barrow, 1890, p.47).

Despite the Morrill Act requirement of equal support for both HBCU and PWI institutions, the Black schools suffered from disparate policies regarding the distribution of federal funds. Travis J. Albritton noted that compared to the 'exponential' growth of PWIs at the dawn of the twentieth century, the paltry financial support of the HBCUs resulted in the inhibition of institutional growth and development, as evidenced by the example of Alabama (Albritton, 2012, p.316). Between 1900 and 1916, one Alabama PWI received sixteen times the amount allotted for the comparable HBCU (Jenkins, 1991, p.66; Albritton, 2012, p.316). Albritton argues that racial discrimination 'limited [HBCUs] in their

capacity to provide the necessary resources to educate [Black] students . . . for years to come' (Albritton, 2012, p.316).

HBCUs as resistance sites

Despite the exclusion of Black scholars and community leaders from the Mohonk conference and the like, Black people in the late nineteenth century worked diligently to educate and politicise their community members. According to Travis J. Albritton, activism has been a significant part of the HBCU experience from the beginning of their existence. Although the newly freed slaves 'appreciated' the financial and political support of the Northern white Christian allies, the Black community possessed a deep commitment to education even before the interventions of the missionaries. Like the early colonists, the Black community members associated the opportunity of education with not only economic advancement but with 'resistance, empowerment and social uplift' as the faculty and students 'acquired new skills to use in their fight for equality and justice' (Albritton, 2012, p.313).

Howard University, as recounted by Albritton, was just one site for the expression of new empowerment. When in 1865 the position for university president opened, Black faculty and students actively lobbied for John Mercer Langston, law school dean and university vice-president appointment. Langston was deemed inappropriate for the president's seat by the school's many white supporters; a white male candidate was selected instead (Albritton, 2012, p.315).

Despite the fact that sixty-one years would pass before Dr. Mordecai Wyatt Johnson would be appointed as the first Black president of Howard University, Albritton relates that 'the intense discussion and disagreement that ensued with the selection of subsequent presidents underscores the desire by many Blacks to assert more authority and control over their institutions' (Albritton, 2012, p.315).

Although Dr. Carter G. Woodson reflected on the state of Negro education thirteen years after the Progressive Era, his historical evaluations are extremely valuable as he covers the period from the emancipation of slaves to 1933, particularly the observation of how Black representatives are barred from decision-making processes concerning their education:

> The usual way now is for the Whites to work out their plans behind closed doors, have them approved by a few Negroes serving nominally on a board, and them employ a White or mixed staff to carry out their program. This is not interracial cooperation. It is merely the ancient idea of calling upon the "inferior" to carry out the orders of the "superior".
> Woodson, 1933

US exceptionalism and the modern professional

> "Democracy in America" must always remain a work of engrossing and constantly increasing interest to citizens of the United States as the first philosophic and comprehensive view of our society, institutions, and destiny. No one can rise even from the most cursory perusal without clearer insight and more patriotic appreciation of the blessings of liberty protected by law, nor without encouragement for the stability and perpetuity of the Republic.
> John T. Morgan,
> Confederate States Army general, US senator,
> racial segregationist, US expansionist

When Alexis de Tocqueville published his essays on *Democracy in America* in 1835, he asserted, the United States was posed to become an unprecedented nation with a fantastic mission to accomplish in the world, based on the unique political system which countered monarchy and feudalism. By the late nineteenth century Tocqueville's concept of *American exceptionalism* was already a central feature in the national and individual identities.

The American university system had been effective in fulfilling its part of the mission. Seymour Martin Lipset boasted that the US 'has led the world by far in the proportion of people completing different levels of mass education from early in the nineteenth century, first for elementary and high schools, later for colleges and graduate institutions' and since World War II, almost doubling the rate of tertiary education completion and gross domestic product (GDP) spending on education, reflecting 'well-entrenched' American values (Lipset, 1996: 21-22, 25).

However, this idea of exceptionalism, scholars like John Torpey (2009) have argued, is rife with insidious incongruity, 'the worst as well as the best, depending on which quality is being addressed', emphasizing that 'negative' traits of American society, such as, inequality, oppression, alienation, and intolerance of racial, religious, and political minorities, 'are inherently linked to the norms and behaviour of an open democratic society that appears so admirable' (Lipset, 1996: 13, 18).

The experiences of the emerging class of Black professionals proved an excellent example of the Torpey and Lipset evaluation of American exceptionalism. In the absence of extensive evidence of regarding the birth of the Black professoriate, the experiences of other Black professionals during the Progressive Era were examined. Several researchers have studied the development of American professionalism (Lipartito and Miranti, 1998; Haskell, 2000) and the exclusion of Black male professionals (Nickens, 1985; Savitt, 2003) during this dynamic era. The historical accounts highlighted distinct patterns of the racial discrimination that mirrored those of the Black male working-class labourers, thus, inhibiting the scholarship and careers of Black professionals despite the extensive qualifications earned. Three compelling examples of the treatment of early Black professionals are presented with the American Medical Association (AMA) management of Black physicians, the American Missionary Association ('Association') indoctrination of the Black middle-class members, and the US sociology exclusion of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.

Bias, classism and 'experts'

In his Pulitzer prize-winning book, *The social transformation of American medicine*, Paul Starr explored the historical rise of the 'lowly' doctors into 'a powerful, prestigious, and wealthy' physicians who 'succeeded in shaping the basic organization and financial structure of American medicine' (Starr, 1982, pp.7–8). In what Starr called as a 'convenient fiction', he prefaces his chapter on professional authority consolidation by addressing the assumption that social

hierarchies are self-perpetuating and sustaining structures independent of human agency (Starr, 1982, p.79).

According to Starr, the mid-nineteenth century medical profession was fraught with ‘mutual hostility among practitioners, intense competition, differences in economic interest, and sectarian antagonisms’ which resulted in the inability to ‘[mobilise] its members for collective action or of winning over public opinion’ (Starr, 1982, p.80). One particular, unresolved issue within medical field was the failure of physicians to ‘establish clear boundaries marking off members of the profession from untrained and “irregular” practitioners’, who, as noted by a European physician who visited the US in 1874, could receive a medical diploma after studying for two weeks (Starr, 1982, pp.80–81).

Starr urged the reader to differentiate between two dimensions of social ranking—class (wealth, income or ‘objective access to scarce resources’) and status (‘honor, deference, and prestige’ or ‘favourable or unfavourable social evaluations’), noting that class and status are not mutually necessary (Starr, 1982, p.85). When examining the class of the nineteenth century physicians, Starr found that with the class category, a doctor occupied typically reflected the socioeconomic status of his family and his patients. The education of the physician was ‘a salient though probably secondary criterion of social distinction—those educated in European medical schools obtained legitimacy as opposed to those ‘practitioners’ who were ‘no more than autodidacts’ (Starr,

1982, pp.81–82). To maintain their status and elevate their profession, the elites conspired to eliminate those practitioners in the lowest ranks. Whilst Starr said neither rural nor urban doctors 'could hardly scrape together a respectable living' at the start of the twentieth century; the doctors earned estimated salaries between $750 and $1,000 a year, similar to the income of working class mechanics (Starr, 1982, pp.7, 84–85).

According to Starr, the turn of the century was a time filled with 'status anxieties' for the doctors. Because of the financial insecurity of the profession, physicians of the nineteenth century were prompted to extend their services to veterinary medicine, dentistry, nursing, and mortuary sciences, yet, they were strained in their 'precarious' position to 'maintain a front of propriety and respectability' in public arena (Starr, 1982, p.85).

American Medical Association model of exclusion

The American Medical Association (AMA) is the largest organisation of doctors and medical students in the US. Founded in 1847, the group members established the first national code of medical ethics and have continued to influence medical education, scientific research, and public health policy. In the one hundred seventy-two years of its existence, the AMA has been an object of scorn with critics highlighting the group focus on material gain, protection from malpractice, and discriminatory policies against women and other minorities. To address the discrimination, the AMA members appointed a panel to investigate

the ways in which the association was responsible for the marginalisation of Black physicians. After the publication of the report, the AMA president of 2008, Dr. Ronald M. Davis, formally apologized to African Americans for the AMA's role in the past and present disparities in Black health and Black careers (Davis, 2008, p.2).

The AMA panel members examined primary sources from the AMA archives, the National American Association (NMA), digitally preserved newspapers from the Progressive Era, and MEDLINE 'using keywords race, segregation . . . integration . . . [and] prejudice'. In their analysis, 'expert panel' members 'avoided hypothesizing about historical actors' motivations, emphasizing instead the results of decisions', such as, the closure of HBCU medical schools and the prohibition of Black doctors in white hospitals. In doing this, the authors deftly avoided discussions of the underlying historical reasons for the systemic discrimination—beliefs in what is now classified as scientific racism or eugenics, as well as the desire to eliminate economic completion from Black physicians. Because these beliefs were widely held in the Academy and the broader society, many scholarly and professional documents from the era clearly reveal the motivations for the historical actions (Baker et al., 2008, pp. 306–307).

The panel members pointed to the importance of professional medical organisations by describing medical societies as 'crucibles in which the organized

profession of medicine was formed', the authors explain just how important the associations are to professionals:

> Within them, physicians met and developed relationships with professional colleagues and provided a forum to present papers and learn the latest techniques and treatments. After 1900, hospital admitting privileges became closely linked to medical society membership, as did relationships with state licensing and regulatory bodies. By the 20th century, exclusion from these societies often meant professional isolation, erosion of professional skills, and limitations on sources of income (Baker et al., 2008, p. 307).

The authors upheld the often-cited notion that regional differences regarding slavery resulted in the development of separate medical associations and policies in the US North and South. Although they mention that an African American, David Jones Peck, was awarded a medical degree in 1847 and John Van Surly DeGrasse was accepted into the MA Medical Society in 1854, these two anomalies hardly prove the assertion that the North and South were different in the treatment of Black medical students or doctors (Baker et al., 2008, p. 307).

Racist ideology heavily influenced the scientific community. Within medicine, many 'prominent' physicians, such as Dr. Samuel G. Morton, theorised that Black people were an inherently different species from whites. In the 1850 AMA third annual conference proceedings, the results of Morton's study and measurements of crania found that the skulls of Black people were 'nine cubic inches less than the Teutonic [European]' (AMA, 1850, pp.56–57). When some members of the AMA challenged these theories, such as the abolitionist and

AMA ethical code committee chair, John Bell, 'sectional discord' was highlighted within the medical field (Baker et al., 2008, p. 307).

One of the main sources of discord was the exclusion of Black physicians from the AMA; some association members believed that scientific qualifications should have been the sole criteria for membership and others 'vehemently opposed associating with black physicians, either professionally or socially' (Baker et al., 2008, p.307). Still, the white association members were able to bridge their philosophical and sectional differences for the good of the organisational goals, 'teach [ing the divided nation] charity and forgiveness' after the Civil War (Baker et al., 2008, p. 307).

Due to the exclusion of Black physicians and Black students in the US medical industry, the Black men formed their own medical associations in response to the racism they found within the predominantly white organisations. 'Often, enslaved communities developed their own practitioners and therapies partly as a means of resisting medical abuse and neglect'(Baker et al., 2008, p.307). Black physicians challenged the AMA and the local all-white Medical Society of the District of Columbia members regarding their discriminatory policies. By seeking recognition as delegates at the national AMA meeting, the Black physicians pursued a direct path to AMA membership and 'by petitioning Congress to address racial discrimination within local Medical Society (Baker et al., 2008, pp. 307–308).

The panel members found in their examination of AMA the absence of 'explicit race-based membership criteria', however, they noted that by the dawn of the twentieth century both the association and 'the segregation of organized medicine . . . was nearly complete' (Baker et al., 2008, p. 309). *How was this segregation created and what are the effects?* The authors focus on the several national association policies that contributed to the exclusion of Black physicians—the targeted closure of all but two Black medical colleges and the designation of 'colored' physicians in the AMA *American Medical Directory* that made it 'harder or impossible, to obtain liability insurance and bank loans for their practices (Baker et al., 2008, p. 310). In the attempt to establish a unified national association, the leaders created an effective policy to quell heated debate regarding the admittance of Black physicians into the society—devolution of membership criteria to the local association chapters. With this policy, white supremacist association leaders, particularly but not solely in the southern region of the US, had the political power and professional support to bar Black physicians from membership. The authors summarised their findings:

> Organized medicine emerged from a society deeply divided over slavery, but largely accepting of systemic racial inequities and theories espousing Black inferiority. Emblematic of existing societal values and practices within the profession, medical schools, residency programs, hospital staffs, and professional societies largely excluded African Americans. For more than 100 years [after Reconstruction], many medical associations, including the AMA, actively reinforced or passively accepted this exclusion (Baker et al., 2008, p. 312).

The panel members seemed to reproach the decisions historical AMA leaders and members made in seeking 'professional unity by countenancing racial

exclusion', choosing a 'false national unity, tolerating and even facilitating white American prejudice and racism against African Americans' (Baker et al., 2008, p.312). As a result of the policies, only two-point five percent (2.5%) of physicians and medical students were African Americans in 1910. Near the end of the twentieth century, segregation in hospitals became illegal with the passage of the 1964 US Civil Rights Act, however, it would be four more years before the AMA members passed their own policies to end racial discrimination within the association (Baker et al., 2008, p. 312). In his article, Todd L. Savitt pointed that both Black and white physicians 'lost out' on the benefits of professional relationships due to the discrimination; they were unable to fully utilise the exchange of formal and informal information or establish valuable network relationships with each other (Savitt, 2003, p.235).

Flexner Report—Power formation through symbiotic relationships

Universities, professional associations, and philanthropists were intimate political, economic, and social partners during the turn of the twentieth century. As noted previously, business owners, politicians, and educational leaders created the university system with the appropriation of Federal and private funds; determined the geographic location of the campuses; and dictated the design of the curriculum. During the time of incredible country-wide expansion and professionalism emergence, the stakeholders turned their attention to developing the 'best' universities in the world. The medical discipline was an area, it was observed, that desperately needed robust medical school

curriculum, state-of-the-art medical facilities and technically advanced research laboratories as these elements were considered paramount to the creation of a first-class university system (Flexner, 1910a, vii). A report was commissioned by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (CFAT) in 1908 to appraise the departments of medicine in the US and Canadian universities.

At the centennial of the document in 2010, scholars paused to re-evaluate the monumental Flexner Report. Scottish-born Andrew Carnegie, the well-regarded industrialist and philanthropist, established the Foundation to provide pensions for the national faculty members and to afford resources for educational improvement. In their investigation into the relationships between his wealth accumulation, charitable contributions and social capital, scholars said that Carnegie had 'few rivals' (Harvey et al., 2011, p.425). Before he died in 1919, the steel magnate donated an estimated $350 million or the 2019 equivalent of £4.2 trillion[25] to charities (Anon, 2020a). Whilst the commission of the medical school inquiry reflected only a fraction of the Carnegie works and investments, the Flexner report proved to be influential in the refinement of US higher education.

[25] Three historical inflation conversion tools were utilized to calculate the dollar to pound equivalents—Westegg (https://westegg.com/inflation/infl.cgi), Measuring Worth (https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/exchange/result_exchange.php), and Bank of England (https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator).

The 'failing up' of Abraham Flexner

The American Medical Association conducted its own study of medical schools in 1906, however, to reduce the perception of a biased AMA project, the association recruited Henry S. Pritchett, president of the Foundation, to arrange another study. Because he had 'no expertise' in the medical field, Abraham Flexner was chosen to conduct the evaluation of medical schools in the US and Canada; Pritchett somehow believed the lack of knowledge would allow Flexner greater objectivity[26] (Schindler, 2007, p.2). Additionally, Flexner enjoyed the promised cooperation of the Council on Medical Education of the [American Medical Association], particularly the advice of two of its members, throughout the study' (Wheatley, 1988, pp.47–49; Schindler, 2007, p.2).

Mark D. Hiatt questioned the methodology used by Flexner in his evaluation of one hundred fifty-five medical schools, particularly the logistics involved in such a mammoth study. In his autobiography, Flexner admitted a 'sketchy notion' of medical institutions and no foundational knowledge of medicine, yet, only devoted one month to literature review before embarking on the tour across two countries (Flexner, 1960, pp.5–6; Hiatt, 2000, p.1).

[26] 'Failing up' is a term that has recently been added to the English Urban Dictionary, meaning 'to derive gain in spite of failure that would usually either preclude said gain or have adverse consequences', https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=failing%20up. I point to this phenomenon here because of the incongruent number of risks taken, the allowances given, and the differing qualification levels or experiences required for white and Black men.

According to the calculations he made based on 1909 field notes, Hiatt concludes that Flexner's schedule, eight months (of 16 allotted) of visits, across the Northern continent via trains, was untenable. Additionally, the pace claimed by Flexner allowed for just a day or less of evaluation for each medical department, wherein he was charged with assessing medical school enrolment; faculty training; endowment size and allocation; laboratory facility and faculty quality levels; and school and hospital relationships, even visiting schools on hiatus (Hiatt, 2000, pp.2–3). Despite the assertion that his findings were high quality, Flexner admitted that he had no standardized data collection method, however, the '"[i]nconsistency never bothered [him]"' (Flexner, 1960, pp.6–7; Hiatt, 2000, p.3).

In the introduction of the 1910 report, Prichett assured the reader that the 'accurate and detailed information' in the report had been compared with the data and findings of the American Medical Association and verified by independent observers (Flexner, 1910b, viii).

Impact of Flexner on US higher education

The CFAT representatives were pleased with the Flexner reports. As a result of the reports, the medical schools and associated hospitals deemed inadequate either increased funding and improved facilities or lost support and closed. To justify the changes and placate those most affected, Pritchett beseeched the medical school staff, faculty, and students, as well as, medical professionals, to

develop educational and professional ‘patriotism’, respectively. Pritchett explained that the ascription of patriotism required ‘loyalty of duty’, honesty, ‘intelligent sincerity’, ‘scientific accuracy’, ‘high ideals’ and honour (Flexner, 1910b, xiii).

In another article about project, Hiatt estimated that the Flexner report was responsible for the closure or merger of seven to twenty-two percent of medical schools in North America (Hiatt and Stockton, 2003, p.39). Despite the invoking of patriotic duty and assurances of accuracy, historical and contemporary critics noted discrepancies in the implementation of medical school reform based on the recommendations. Scholars noted the centralisation of medical schools in urban areas as smaller or rural medical schools closed. The tuition increases of larger medical schools proved cost-prohibitive for rural, lower socioeconomic status, and minority students (Page and Baranchuk, 2010, p.74). In the opinion of Flexner, the three schools available for women were unnecessary; all the facilities were closed. Likewise, he recommended that only two of the seven Negro medical schools should remain open because the Black community needed Black physicians, however, Flexner believed the curriculum should concentrate on hygienic training rather than surgery. Hiatt reported that by 1923, only two Black medical schools remained (Hiatt and Stockton, 2003, p.39).

The Flexner report seemingly excluded the classism, sexism, and racism of the Progressive Era. However, in his study about the fates of Black medical schools

after the Flexner report publication, Earl H. Harley recounted several questionable issues which may have led to the closures. One institution employed a director with unverified medical qualifications; another suffered from 'lax entrance requirements, lack of academic rigor, poorly qualified faculty and inadequate physical plants' (Harley, 2006, p.1428). Whilst Harley, and other scholars, realised that the Flexner report did adversely affect the HBCU medical schools, the author believed it was necessary to honestly discuss historical 'failures' within the institutions, learn from them, and apply the lessons to the preservation of the current Black schools (Harley, 2006, p.1428).

American Missionary Association control of Atlanta Black middle class

The American Missionary Association was one of the most influential religious groups in the US. In 1846, the Protestant organisation was formed to spread Christian values and oppose slavery. The Association founded eleven HBCUs and funded the recruitment and salaries of teachers for the southern schools. Strict morality and 'right living' were linked to national economic progress in the nineteenth century (Jewell, 2007a, pp.31–32).

After a victory that ended in the emancipation of slaves, the missionaries redirected their efforts to supporting the freed people with their future in society. Whilst the new mission may be viewed as simple charity, Joseph O. Jewell (2007) found complex motivations for the continued interests in the Black community during his study of the Association strategies in Atlanta, Georgia,

between 1870 and 1900. The mostly northern Association members viewed themselves as the 'embodiment of Christian morality' and were proud of the middle class status they earned through respectable work ethics rather than inheritance (Jewell, 2007a, pp.32–33). In his research, several issues concerning the Black community emerged within the Association. Although the missionaries desired to continue their work, they were deeply concerned about how the elevation of Blacks would impact their lives and livelihoods. Educated and professional Black men and women posed, the missionaries believed, threats to the national stability with their 'outsider' status and to class boundaries by 'outsider' social mobility attempts (Jewell, 2007a, p.30).

In keeping with the progressive goals of political leaders and entrepreneurs during the periods after the Civil War, the nation moved from an agrarian to an industrialised economy. Since the US was structured along racial and class hierarchies, labour relations replicated the social hierarchy through the 'shaping [of] economic opportunities, working conditions, and living standards for groups of racialized actors' (Jewell, 2007a, p.64).

The Association leadership discussed the state of the freed people in the evolving nation during their meetings and in their publications, delineating their version of the 'Negro Problem'. Although the members acknowledge the extremely low rates of literacy due to the Black Codes, groups and individuals of 'sympathetic' whites spoke often of the 'long heredity' of 'cultural backwardness',

degradations, and ignorance of Black community members (Jewell, 2007a, p.51). The Association members agreed that they shouldered significant Christian burdens to assist the Blacks in rising from the mire of their status and help the grieving nation heal. Many of the Association members analysed the magnitude of the tasks and deduced that success required 'generations of time' to enlighten and elevate Blacks due to their propensity towards immoral vices, including 'falsehood, theft and adultery in which the Negroes have been schooled all their lives' (Jewell, 2007a, p.52). Apparently, Jewell discovered, the Association members were concerned that aspects of the Black 'Indigenous' culture would be implanted in the emerging US society (Jewell, 2007a, p.53). As a counter to the threats, education and Anglo-Protestant middle class values among the 'upwardly mobile) Blacks were chosen as tools in the Association scheme (Jewell, 2007a, p.30).

As reported by Jewell, the Black community had their own ideas about education. He stated that upon the arrival of the Association members in Atlanta, almost two hundred students of all ages were enrolled in a school founded by literate former slaves, James Tate and Grandison Daniels. Though Tate and Daniels relinquished their control of the school to the missionaries who promised the investment of human and financial resources, some Blacks, such as the Bethel AME minister Francis J. Peck, critiqued the Association degradation of well-established Black institutions, obtrusion into Black community affairs and domination of school curriculum, preferring self-reliance to outsider control

(Jewell, 2007a, pp.90–91; 97–103). Still, the investments from the Black community and Association proved fruitful. Parents, faculty and administrators relished the high academic performances of the Association Storrs Free School students, who excelled, as posited by Jewell, from 'an education largely unfettered by race' (Jewell, 2007a, p.96).

The educational successes of the Black students were not ignored by the broader Atlanta community. In addition to the stakeholders, the white supremacists in the city monitored the progress of the dedicated efforts of the Black community members and Association to establish educational institutions for their children. Based on the meritocratic rewards earned by white citizens, Blacks laboured with the expectation that their earnest attempts to uplift themselves through education and work would result in generational wealth and security. White supremacists, however, perceived those efforts as threats to their tenuous middle-class statuses and the future opportunities for their offspring (Jewell, 2007b, pp.88–89, 91).

Jewell found that white citizens used political means to avert any further development of Black educational institutions, both private and public. In 1869, concerned white citizens of the Committee on Public Schools petitioned the city council to establish a board of education in the hopes that a centralised body would thwart the plans of unwelcome northern missionaries and Black scholars. The author ascertained that the board members reproduced the unequal racial

boundaries by mandating the 'form, content, and physical setting of the education received by Blacks in comparison to whites' (Jewell, 2007b, pp.91–92). Despite the 1870 Georgia state law requiring funding equality for both Black and white schools, the board resolutions to control Black education encompassed city bond manipulation, state law noncompliance, fund diversion, and missionary teacher employment terminations. These measures resulted in only two schools to serve the numerous Black community children, disparate financing for Black facilities, and discriminatory hiring of white southern females charged with teaching Black students 'proper' racial hierarchies that maintained white superiority (Jewell, 2007b, pp.91–93).

Despite the opposition from the Atlanta Board of Education members, the Board and the Association school administrators worked toward a united goal. Because the nation needed an educated Black population and the Black community insisted on education for uplift, these parallel bodies worked to mould a Black middle class that would support rather than challenge the racial hierarchy in the US. After the Association founded Atlanta University in 1865, the Board forbade the comingling of Black and white students in the classrooms, an attempt to prevent the transfer of white cultural resources or establish close social networks. In addition to the industrial and classical curriculum, the Association administrators insisted on courses on social comportment and religious training three times a day according to the perceived middle-class standards, norms, and traditions. The students were constantly monitored and controlled by university

policies that set dress codes and extracurricular activities to prevent them from 'polluting [dominant] social institutions and furthering social upheaval' (Jewell, 2007b, p.109).

'Uplift' responsibilities of Black Professionals

Whilst the Association and other organisations manipulated Black education and the role of the Black middle class, the emerging Black professional class members fulfilled their own spiritual and practical responsibilities in the communities. The concept of uplift has been examined by many scholars. August Meier conceived of racial uplift as the educational, economic, and political philosophies of leaders of the Black community in his in-depth 1963 study, *Negro thought in America, 1880-1915*. Whilst the uplift definition of Meier is commonly understood and accepted Kevin K. Gaines (2014) extends the understanding of the concept beyond a philosophy to an 'anti-racist argument' by analysing the context of its development (Gaines, 2014, p.1). Building on the historical studies, Gaines argues that the goal to uplift the Black community arose in response to the regression of civil rights of African Americans and the uptick in negative ideology regarding the Black community members during the Progressive Era. As discussed previously, Black citizens found that their efforts to acquire education, economic stability, and political power were stifled by white supremacists who sometimes reverted to extreme violence to maintain their privilege, such as lynching potential voters (Gaines, 2014, p.1). Uplift focused on self-help ideals, entrepreneurship, publishing, educational programmes, civic involvement, and

labour union participation in the effort to improve the living conditions and social status of Blacks (Gaines, 2014, p.4).

Even further, Gaines explored the relationship between the uplift concept and class division within the Black community. He found that those Black community leaders—professionals, intellectuals, and religious guides—who assumed responsibility for the uplift may have reproduced the racist stereotypes they wished to counter:

> 'They referred to themselves as a "better class" of Blacks, and demanded recognition of their respectability, and privileged status as agents of Western progress and civilization . . . usher[ing] in a politics of internal class division that often seemed to internalize dominant notions of Black cultural depravity and backwardness . . .' (Gaines, 2014, p.3).

Into the twentieth century when large numbers of Blacks who ascribed to the uplift philosophy began to protest racial discrimination and defend themselves against mob violence, Gaines noted the Black elites deferred discourse from their roles to the efforts of the works of the Black masses (Gaines, 2014, p.5).

To educate the reader, the author asked that consideration be made for the new Black middle-class members of the Progressive Era and for the Reform movements of the period. The emerging Black middle-class members must be examined within the context of their existence. They were not equal to white middle-class members; the Black elites had little access to advanced education, 'employment commensurate with their training', income equal to white

professionals or acceptance within the broader society. Though these conditions provide no excuse for their reproduction of racist stereotypes, allowance is made for the moral, religious, and education philosophies the Black elites were subjected to in PWIs and in society. Also, for readers who 'express surprise and disappointment', Gaines reminded them that in any movement, 'contradictory politics' are expected and commonplace; movement activists can be both anti-racist and believe in a hierarchy of classes (Gaines, 2014, pp.6–7).

In contrast to the dominant narrative that all Black people think alike, a Black philosopher of renown influence during the early twentieth century, Marcus Garvey, had his own ideas about uplift. He believed that members of the Black community in the US could rise from their constraints by a universal lifting of all Blacks in the diaspora. Confronting the harshness of lynch mob barbarity, unequal pay, inadequate schools, amongst other acts of inhumanity, Garvey and his Garveyites formed the Universal Negro Improvement Association to ensure Blacks everywhere had an equal opportunity to obtain, in all sense of the word, freedom. His pan-Africanism and Black nationalistic themes clashed with many of the 'educated Negroes' who felt that racial uplift could only be obtained alongside whites, not through severe exclusion Garvey planned.

Black scholarship constriction patterns of W. E. B. DuBois

William Edward Burghardt DuBois believed in uplift closer to home, for others and for himself, as the literature revealed the relationship between the

university and industry representatives who colluded to exclude Black men from associations and inhibit their professional development. Craig T. Wilder posited in his 2013 book, *Ebony and ivy*, that the early PWIs did not just mirror society but through the 'scientific' research of eugenicist university presidents and professors, cultivated white supremacy and added influential racist literature to the social science canons (Wilder, 2013). William E. B. DuBois may be one of the best nineteenth century examples of this exclusion.

Scholars today readily acknowledge the ground-breaking contributions that DuBois made to sociological thought in the areas of (Collins and Makowsky, 2005: 182-183) and several universities have established research institutes to continue his scholastic legacy.[27] They agree that ' 'political relations, racial fissures, class differences, national hierarchies, gender biases, and a host of other related imbalances of power, authority, and access to the means of scholarly production, distribution, and recognition' led to the purposeful erasure of DuBois' genius from the sociological canons (Zuckerman, 2004: 2), Aldon Morris provocatively insisted that Du Bois founded the first modern school of sociology in the United States during his tenure at Atlanta University (Morris, 2015: xvii).

[27] For more information on institutes dedicated to DuBois' legacy, visit Harvard University's Hutchens Center, the Bethune-DuBois Institute, the DuBois Bunche Center for Public Policy, and the W. E. B. DuBois Scholars Institute at Princeton University.

Based on the pattern of contemporary segregation in the modern American university system, a deduction was made that the early HBCUs and Black scholars were totally segregated from mainstream academia and society. Morris disputed this notion and gave many examples of Black scholars, such as George Edmund Haynes, who studied at large, 'reputable' PWIs and published books and articles. Mary White Ovington, other white academics and activists were invited to work with Black scholars on research projects and to attend the annual Atlanta University conferences, as did Charles William Eliot, one of Harvard University presidents (Morris, 2015, pp.65, 71–72, 79). Additionally, Black researchers were contracted by Federal government agencies, such as the US Freedman Bureau, to design, conduct and report studies of the Black community name study. Black scholars, such as Monroe Work, Eugene Harris, R. R. Wright Sr., and John Hope, Morris asserted, were well-known and respected in the nineteenth century (Morris, 2015, p.79). In a stunning example of how widely known, Morris rejected the mainstream stories that Max Weber, a researcher considered one of the three founders of sociology, influenced DuBois. Rather, Morris continued the provocation by presenting evidence that Weber was, in fact, an early Social Darwinist who 'associated white blood with racial superiority' until his 'transformation' after exposure to DuBois' work on racial relations in the US (Morris, 2015, pp.154–155).

Similar Academy battles of Black scholars

> 'African Americans have historically existed in oppressive conditions, challenging them to persevere in non-traditional, unorthodox ways, and to fashion cultures of survival. Black history is characterized by constant battles for survival in the face of great adversity and oppression that at times verges on genocide' (Dagboie, 2007: 214).

Like DuBois, Carter G. Woodson was and remains a highly respected Black scholar. Woodson worked to establish Negro History Week (now Black History Month) and countered the dominant narratives about the supposed inferior status of Black people. In his study of Woodson's early twentieth century use of the Black press and public relations techniques to promote Black history, Burnis R. Morris mentioned the ground-breaking accomplishments of Woodson—the founding of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in 1915; publishing of the Journal of Negro History in 1916; and establishing the *Negro History Bulletin* in 1937 (Morris, 2017, xiii–xiv, 10). HBCU alum Lorenzo Johnston Greene, Woodson's protégé and, later, historian in his own right, were two of the foremost scholars of the Black History Movement. Because the dominant narratives either ignored or belittled accomplishments of Blacks throughout history, this movement was the crusade of Woodson 'to unleash Black potential and self-respect . . . through proper education and increased knowledge of [Black] history by all races'(Morris, 2017, xviii).

Woodson and Greene, aside from differences in age, location of birth, and access to economic resources, experienced 'similar battles' in earning their qualifications in the racist Academy despite their achievements. Pero Gaglo

Dagbovie attributes their perseverance to their 'hands-on experience and maturity' and asserts that their ground-breaking scholarship has 'not been superseded to this day . . . [and] remains [the] logical—even mandatory—starting points' for historians today (Dagbovie, 2007: 214).

Dagbovie, a Black professor and dean of an African American studies program of a major PWI, clearly reveals his negative perceptions about the HBCUs when he wrote, '[Woodson and Greene] belonged to a large group of black scholars who earned their doctorates from elite, prestigious universities yet were *relegated* [my emphasis] to teaching at historically black colleges and universities' (Dagbovie, 2007: 214). The author noted the divergent ways in which Woodson and Greene assumed their responsibility to the Black community:

> 'While Woodson was an institution builder (association and journal) and a leader of a movement, like many black intellectuals and scholars of his time, Greene [established] his base of operations . . . into a vital, pre-existing black institution, challenging its administrators and students to fulfil their potential as agents of social change' (Dagbovie, 2007: 215).

Patterns of Black professional discrimination

Like the experiences of DuBois, Woodson, and Greene, Theresa Hammond and Denise W. Streeter (1994) found replication of Black exclusion and discrimination across professions in the Progressive Era, though they focused on Black certified public accountants (CPAs). Black lawyers (Oldfield, 1989; Brophy, 2003), librarians (Jefferson Jr, 2008), and other early professionals faced the following

constraint strategies presented by the authors and corroborated by other scholars:

1. White male domination of the professions. White males established and maintained their power by designing and implementing policies that limited entrance;

2. Discrimination in the Academy. Students of colour were prohibited from admission in significant numbers. When enrolled, Black men were segregated from white students and access to full university resources;.

3. Nearly 'insurmountable' requirements to obtain professional status. Black accounting graduates needed work experience to sit for CPA examinations, yet, Black candidates were rarely hired by white agency managers as trainees, thus preventing them from becoming professionals;

4. Exclusion from professional networks. Membership was closed for Black men in organisations labelled 'private' or 'social' clubs that maintained rights to restrict membership, as stated previously, impeding access to latest processes and technological knowledge;

5. Blocked entrepreneurial ventures. Black professionals were prevented from establishing their own agencies and facilities or the Black organisations were deemed deficient before forced closures;

6. Limitation of practice. The only consumers allowed to receive Black professional services were members of the minority communities; and

7. Rejection from Black consumers. Due to the understanding that the white had access to greater resources, thus power, and because of the internalisation of the Black intellectual inferiority myth, Black community members patronised white specialists at greater rates than Black professionals (Hammond and Streeter, 1994, pp.273–285).

Hammond and Streeter acknowledged that navigation into and through the professional class was difficult for Blacks 'who had the benefit of family wealth, academic excellence, light skin color, and mobility' and they deduced that Blacks

without these financial, academic, physical benefits experienced greater 'daunting obstacles' (Hammond and Streeter, 1994, p.285).

Brothers of Negro associations

To counter the racist exclusion from many local, state, and national societies, Black professionals united in what Darlene Clark Hine (2003) labelled *parallel organizations*. Arising from the physicans who were denied membership in the American Medical Association, the Lone Star State Medical Society (1886) and the North Carolina Medical Association (1887) were incorporated. When in 1895 members of these associations decided that their professional needs would be greatly served with a national organisation that supported Black physicians, the National Medical Association was formed. National organisations were also established by insurance (1921), business (1900), dental (1913), and legal (1912) professionals.

Hine posited that the organisations were enterprises wherein the Black professionals:

> 'identified the Achilles' heel of white supremacy: Segregation provided blacks the chance, indeed, the imperative, to develop a range of distinct institutions that they controlled. Maneuvering through their organizations and institutions, they exploited that fundamental weakness in the "separate but equal" system' (Hine, 2003, p.1279).

Although Hine focused on the work of organisations in eliminating discrimination of medical facilities during World War II, the groundwork for the Civil Rights Movement started in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Summary

Early colonial higher education was designed to train the white leaders of society; Black Codes were crafted to prohibit the education of slaves to protect white society. When social and economic needs of the nation changed, the interests of politicians, academics, religious leaders in the education of Blacks converged with those of Black community members. The dichotomies found in the US reverence for liberty and the oppression of Black labourers was also observed by researchers in the attitudes toward the education of Blacks. The forms of education most desired for the acquisition and expansion of knowledge were deemed unfit for the Black community. Whilst the national leaders insisted that the focus of education was diverted from the classical or liberal studies to the industrial education for economic benefit of Blacks, overt racist beliefs of the inferiority of black intellectual capabilities, the paternalistic assumptions that Blacks needed guidance to direct their educational pursuits, and the segregation of Black students revealed much more about the white American need to maintain control of Black labour.

The CRT *whiteness as property* tenet explicated why white university administrators, religious missionaries, and association affiliates developed tactics

to retain their institutional control, middle-class status, and professional prestige. Undeterred by exclusionary policies and inferiority messages, Black scholars and other professionals disseminated their concerns, desires, and solutions of the issues they faced in their lives, communities, and careers.

Chapter 6—Twenty-first century Black men and the Ivory Tower

This chapter interrogated the twenty-first century legacy of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century policies regarding both the Black working- and professional class men, particularly, the Black professor. The *permanence of racism, liberalism critique,* and *whiteness as property* are two of the CRT tenets that illuminated the continued oppression of the Black community despite federal protections against employment discrimination. The illustrations of constraint were found throughout the professional community despite higher levels of qualifications earned.

As discussed in prior chapters, prior to the Civil War, Black codes, laws written specifically to regulate the behaviour of Africans and Black natives, preventing the education of slaves and their attempts to pursue employment outside of the plantation. Because of the work of political and religious activists throughout the nineteenth century, policies were crafted and implemented to address centuries-old oppression, such as the Reconstruction amendments to the constitution that abolished slavery and involuntary servitude; established citizenship and equal legal protection to former slaves; and protected the voting rights of people of colour[28]. Before appointed as the first Black US Supreme Court justice, attorney Thurgood Marshall and his team of lawyers persuasively argued before the Court in the mid-twentieth century that the states had not fulfilled their pledge to

[28] For more on the Reconstruction Amendments, visit the US Senate website, https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/CivilWarAmendments.htm

provide ‘separate but equal’ education for minority children in their legal challenge *Brown v. Board of Education*. Federal legislation, such as, the Equal Pay Act; the Higher Education Act of 1965; and the Equal Employment Opportunity Act; and the Civil Rights Acts of 1960, 1964, and 1968 expanded the protection of minority rights in the areas of education and employment.

Researchers noted that education and employment are crucial determiners of financial stability and are the keys to fulfilling the goals of society. Indeed, studies have shown that people with advanced qualifications will earn significantly higher incomes over a lifetime than those with no or little education. Despite the formal policies, data presented below shows that nearly two centuries after the emancipation of slaves, the Black community lags other racial and ethnic groups in terms of educational attainment, career advancement, entrepreneurial opportunities, property ownership, as well as geographic and socioeconomic mobility. Although discipline, dedication, and persistence may reward certain groups of citizens, the Black community has discovered that their access to quality education and lucrative careers is still restricted due to bias, prejudice, and discrimination.

Statistics of the contemporary Black community

As of July, 2017, the US population is estimated to be 325,719,178 (US Census Bureau, 2017a); of this number, just over forty-four million US citizens identify as

'Black or African American'[29] (US Census Bureau, 2017b). As of 2003 census data, the Hispanic population, a classification that identifies nationality or heritage, surpassed Blacks as the largest minority group in the US. At the current levels of fertility and immigration, demographers project that people of colour will outnumber non-Hispanic whites by the year 2045.

Although over half (53%) of Hispanics recorded white as their race (US Census Bureau, 2011, p.15), the members of the group face discrimination from those in the dominant group who refuse to accept this identification of whiteness. Craig and Richeson found that white US citizens expect and fear an increase in anti-white discrimination after the demographic shift (Craig and Richeson, 2017, p.16). During the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, Robert Schermerhorn (Schermerhorn, 1964) delineated group relation power in his works on minorities within dominant societies. If the prediction by Schermerhorn holds as it did after the successes of the 1960s, US minorities today and in the future can anticipate the superordinate rebuke or *whitelash* for perceived encroachments by subordinates on white supremacy (Schermerhorn, 1964, pp.244–245). His analysis of group relation power, specifically that that number of group members does not equate to greater access to financial, political or social supremacy, has been validated into the twenty-first century and is likely to remain a relevant prediction for the impending power shift.

[29] The US Census Bureau uses the *1997 Standards for the classification of Federal data on race and ethnicity* (Statistical Policy Directive No. 15), https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/FR-1997-10-30/pdf/97-28653.pdf.

Several books and articles have been written about this potentially paradigm-shifting change in population and its possible relevance to current policymaking at the federal, state, and local levels of government. Scholars predicted continued efforts by politicians to forestall the anticipated threat to the power dynamics. Political observers recognized the galvanization of the white electorate in the election of former-President Donald Trump, an unexperienced Republican candidate who pledged to 'Make America Great Again'. The Trump presidential administration unveiled a race management strategy of immigration control, as analysed by *The Washington Post* researchers, to maintain a white minority by refusing entry of twenty million migrants (Stein and Van Dam, 2018). Democrat Leader Nancy Pelosi released a statement saying that the strategy was "the Trump Administration's unmistakeable campaign to make America white again" (Pelosi, 2018).

Government officials, private business owners and public agencies are keen observers of labour migration, an important factor in the free market economy (Özden et al., 2018). Geographic mobility allows for the fulfilling of labour market needs, 'for stimulating innovation and development, as well as for transferring and upgrading skills'(OCED, 2015, p.3). During the 2015 G20 Summit in Turkey, labour migration was proclaimed as a major priority in global policy agendas. In the US, however, labour market observers were more concerned about the current lack of geographic mobility.

Historically, United States geographic mobility and economic development has varied widely across space and time due to the availability of natural resources, expansion, or technologies. Between 1990 to 2016, US worker interstate mobility decreased by half, from 3.8 percent to less than 2.0 percent (Shambaugh et al., 2017, p.7). The authors posited that the mobility decline is the result of several factors—less economic diversification that quells the worker need to move; occupational licenses and noncompete contracts that hinder worker ability to move across states; and government land-use policies which hamper new housing initiative in areas with high labour needs (Shambaugh et al., 2017, p.7). Whereas the agricultural industry of the southern region, particularly cotton, sustained the growth of the young nation, today, the states located there are some of the poorest in the US. Studies have shown that southern states measure below the national averages for labour production, wages, and union participation.

Aside from several migrations of Blacks[30] from the south to the northern and western regions of the US, longitudinal census data dating from the late nineteenth shows the greatest numbers of African Americans, by percent of population, still reside in the former slave-holding states located in the southern

[30] For more information on the demographic movement to the north and contemporary mass return to the South, read Spencer Crew's work, *The Great Migration of Afro-Americans, 1915-1940*, https://www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/1987/03/art5full.pdf.

region of the nation[31] (US Census Bureau, 2010). The south also has the lowest income of any region in the nation; the median income of $55,709 is $5,427 to $11,808 less than the others (Fontenot et al., 2018, p.2). In addition, of the twenty states with the highest income inequality, southern states[32] take eleven spots. The unemployment rates and low educational performance of Blacks in this area mirror the free-market production levels.

Scholars argue that while cost-prohibitive financial constraints and powerful familial ties have kept the Black populations locked in the south, historically, US political, business and social structures were designed to impede the movement of people (Jaynes, 1986; Mandle, 1994) and constrain their abilities to seek economic opportunities as they arise. As the following will show, even when the Black citizens stay close to traditional homesteads, they fare no better.

Contemporary homeownership status of the Black community

Although researchers observed complex effects of homeownership, such as, psychological distress from mortgage responsibilities (Cairney and Boyle, 2003), property ownership was generally thought to improve status, promote financial stability and create wealth (Rohe and Lindblad, 2013, p.7). Social benefits included an increased likelihood of participation in neighbourhood associations

[31] According to the 2010 US Census, the southern region includes the states of Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, Maryland, South Carolina, Alabama, North Carolina, Delaware, and Virginia, as well as the District of Columbia.

[32] Louisiana, Florida, Georgia, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, North Carolina, Kentucky, and South Carolina are among the states with the highest levels of income inequality.

(Rohe and Stegman, 1994), safer living areas, and better schools for children (Rohe and Lindblad, 2013, p.7). However, scholars noted that homeownership has fallen in the United States.

In their study of current US homeownership, Goodman and Mayer found a decline compared to other developed nations, down to the fifth-lowest of eighteen countries (Goodman and Mayer, 2018, p.33). They cited increased foreclosures of the Great Recession, overwhelming student debt increases, stricter mortgage lending practices and, despite the desire, doubt among the young and renters regarding the ability to ever afford a home (Goodman and Mayer, 2018, pp.41–43).

Still, Brian McCabe found that the benefits of homeownership were especially attractive to the African Americans and Hispanics who long for social mobility (McCabe, 2018). Yet, for the eighteen quarters measured between 2014 and 2018, of all races, Blacks had the lowest rate of homeownership (42.23%), over twenty-one percent lower than the national average of nearly sixty-four percent (63.89%) and thirty percent lower than the white average of seventy-two percent (72.26%) (Callis, 2018, p.9).

Goodman and Mayer questioned whether discrimination alone can account for the disparities because of the “the large amount of resources that policymakers have placed into closing the gap in lending by race of borrower and

neighborhood demographics" (Goodman and Mayer, 2018, p.38). What is certain is that the gap has not closed. Although white and Black household income increased in similar rates during the period 1949-2016, the disparity between household wealth remained 'substantial' according to researchers; the median Black household made and still makes half of what white households earn in income. Black wealth was valued in 2016 at $15,000 (£11,108) and white wealth $140,000 (£103,678) (Kuhn et al., 2018, pp.25–26).

A plethora of studies presented evidence of systemic discrimination towards Blacks and other groups of colour in the housing industry—fewer approvals for mortgages, questionable mortgages, higher interest and insurance rates, 'redlining' areas of colour, home appraisals, and decreased home values (Nelson et al., 2016). In a 2017 Brookings Institute report on Black wealth, the researcher found a disturbing lack of investment in viable majority-Black cities (Perry, 2017).

Even when residents negotiate the discriminating industry to purchase homes, owners of colour are particularly vulnerable to environmental conditions that threaten their investments. By evaluating data across a fifteen-year period, Howell and Elliott surprisingly found that over ninety-nine percent of US citizens grappled with natural disaster damages, yet people of colour sustained the greatest financial loses whilst white families and communities accumulated wealth. Additionally, the researchers observed that the amount of Federal aid distributed into a community indicated the likelihood of increased private

reinvestment in an area (Howell and Elliott, 2018). As most of the Black population resides in the region most prone to damaging tropical storms, hurricanes and floods, these costly natural weather events may keep Blacks 'underwater'.

Contemporary educational attainment of Blacks

Like property ownership, the journey to a professional career can be as fulfilling as it is arduous. Promisingly, the percentage of the Black population with undergraduate qualifications or higher has grown from less than five percent in 1940 to nearly twenty-four percent in 2017 (22.1% for Black men and 25.4% for Black women) (US Census Bureau, 2018). For the Black male, the educational 'pipeline' is clogged. Scholars have noted that the academic career of a Black male is riddled with severe issues from preschool to postgraduate levels. The fact that a Black male earns a qualification despite these conditions is almost a miracle.

The physical environment of schools located in the neighbourhoods of people of colour are typically not vibrant, safe, or aesthetically pleasing structures. Researchers and environmental justice activists report that the schools with the highest levels of pollution and other hazards, such as the carcinogenic neurotoxin polychlorinated biphenyl (PCB) (Herrick et al., 2016, p.11), students of colour disproportionately face the greatest risks (Grineski and Collins, 2018, p.585) . The buildings in predominantly Black areas suffer from shoddy construction,

crumbling infrastructures, and minimal maintenance. The maintenance budgets for these schools are often minimally financed by local, state, and federal agencies. In 2013, an environmental agency, the Green Center for Schools, projected that a $542 billion investment over ten years would be necessary to upgrade the schools (Gutter, 2013, p.11).

Most Black males attend schools with few resources, such as, textbooks for every child or the latest technological equipment. The student-teacher ratios are higher for the typical Black student than for the white. The opportunities to attend advanced learning programmes or participate in a variety of extracurricular learning projects are minimal. When programmes are available, students of colour receive fewer referrals to intellectually challenging programmes [See Linda Darling-Hammond (Darling-Hammond, 2001) and Patricia Gándara (2001)].

From the 2017-18 school year, the NCES reported that the majority primary and secondary enrolees are students of colour; however, nearly eighty-five percent of primary and secondary school teachers are white (Taie and Goldring, 2020). In the classroom, Black children, especially Black boys, receive a disproportionate amount of negative attention from the teachers and supporting staff; they are monitored more closely and punished more severely than their classmates (Fenning and Rose, 2007). As Black boys are overestimated in age, perceived to

be more culpable, and *still* associated with ape-like behaviour, they receive less childhood protections (Goff et al., 2014).

The standardized testing scores for Black children are lower than those for white or Asian students. Whilst undoubtedly complex an issue, educational and social scholars wildly debate the reasons for the test results. The intellectual capacities, home environments, guardian involvement, familial structures and social skills of the Black students have been proposed. Others find fault with the systemic racism, disparate funding, and nominal social support of students of colour as the main causes of poor performances.

At the secondary level, the school leaving rates have decreased substantially for Black students, yet the drop-out rate is still higher than the rates for whites, Asians, and Hispanics. Studies have shown that secondary students of colour receive less academic guidance and are frequently dissuaded from attending university (Bryan and Gallant, 2012). If the Black students stay the course for university attendance, they are less likely to receive information about scholarships and grants.

Snapshot of Black male university experiences

Before Black male students reach the university campus, they face another realm of misperceptions and obstacles (Naylor et al., 2015). Whilst the total number of Black males seeking a postsecondary qualification is down from the mid-

twentieth century, despite Affirmative Action policies, few Black students are admitted into PWIs; studies have shown that Black students are treated differentially in the admissions process (Thornhill, 2019).

At predominantly white institutions (PWIs), Black students feel isolated, encounter daily microaggressions and suffer from overt racism (Williams et al., 2020, pp.9–13). The occupation of 'white spaces' is wrought with financial worries, tension, stress and self-doubt. The retention rate of Black students is low despite university diversity efforts (McClain and Perry, 2017, p.3). These efforts have been widely criticised as being inefficient and ineffective. Although Black student organisations promote unity and critique university policies, their campus life is quite challenging. Black postgraduate students have shared stories of uninvolved supervisors, intense critique of research projects, lack of mentorship, and isolation from colleagues (Brown, 2009, p.5).

In line with previous studies Carol Ann Daniel found that the graduate professionalization process, here in Social Work, reproduces the divisive relations of the broader society and inhibits the professional development of students of colour at PWIs. As she observed, survey data was used to identify the senses of alienation and marginalization the graduate students felt; Daniels chose to use the student narratives to expand knowledge of their institutional experiences and interactions. The themes generated from the semi-structured interviews Daniel conducted were *cultural and racial isolation*; *lack of relevance of the*

curriculum to minority issues; *invisibility and distance from program staff*; difficult *interactions with* white *faculty*; lack of adequate *mentoring and support*; importance of peers of colour for support; and little validation of racial issues with white supervisors. When asked for possible solutions, the graduate students suggested that an increase of faculty and students of colour and a truly cross-cultural curriculum would create a richer graduate experience for future students of colour (Daniel, 2007, pp.30–39).

Precarious nature of Black male employment

In terms of labour force participation, rates of Black men have been consistently lower than the rates for all men, with the starkest gaps existing for young Black males aged sixteen to twenty-four (Kuehn, 2013, pp.2–3). These young males have the highest unemployment rates, twice that of white males in the same age group. This trend continues throughout the lifetime of a Black man.

In honour of the Black History Month, the US Bureau of Labor Statistics released a report on the status of the Black workforce. Although the Bureau was established in 1913, staffers did not begin collecting data on the total Black force until 1972. The report led with statistics celebrating the increased Black share of the workforce from ten percent in 1972 to just twelve in 2016 (Toossi and Joyner, 2018, p.1). Deeper into the report, the celebratory tone is tempered by the data that show the growth rate of the Black labour force has slowed from a high of 2.8 percent in 1986 to 1.4 percent in 2006 (Toossi and Joyner, 2018, p.4).

Additionally, the Black labour force participation rate has declined from the highest rate of 65.8 percent in 2000 to 61.6 in 2016, with projections of further decline for Black males (down from peak of 73.6 in 1972 to 64.1 in 2016 to an anticipated 61.1 in 2026); the declines of participation for Black women will slower than the rates for Black men (Toossi and Joyner, 2018, p.7). Compared to other races and ethnic groups, Black men, women, and youth have historically had the highest levels of unemployment. During the 2007-2009 Great Recession, the Black rate was 10.1 percent; the white unemployment rate during the same time was 5.2 percent (Toossi and Joyner, 2018, p.15).

In addition to data on the workforce participation of Black workers, statistics about the types of industry in which they work, their opportunities for career advancement, their income levels, and their union activities are equally valuable in accessing the status of Black men in US society. The US Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that the rate of Black male labour force participation in 2016 was 64.1 percent, a decrease since the peak in 1972 of 73.6%; the BLS projection calls for a further decrease in 2026 to 61.1% (Toossi and Joyner, 2018, p.7). Although the BLS blamed the recession of 2007-2009 for the current decreased rate of participation for Black men, the report does not seem to specify the cause for the decline after 1972 (Toossi and Joyner, 2018, p.7).

For the Black worker, the changes in the labour market are ones that profit the employer and, in many ways, constrain the workers' ability to progress. During

the last twenty years, the private sector business owners and managers have instituted a variety of policies concerning the types of positions and benefits offered to the workforce. Whilst all labour force participants have struggled with the changes, for minority workers, particularly Black men, the impact of the changes is exacerbated.

Precarious positions are those wherein the worker contracts provide little or no security regarding permanency, working hours, workloads, pay rates, work benefits, retirement options, or advancement. Workers with these limiting contracts can be terminated without cause. Frequently unable to make extended plans because they only learn of their work schedules less than a few days before it begins (Mullany et al., 2020, p.2). Due to the variability of their primary job, the workers are unable to secure additional jobs. These types of positions are often filled by the most vulnerable in society—minorities, the poor, the disabled, the elderly and those with few or no qualifications. Often, state politicians have enacted laws which severely restrict the freedom of labour unions to recruit members, oppose working conditions, or, in some cases, even exist. Therefore, the insecure workers have no legal recourses or little political power to oppose their employers' policies.

If the labour unions or industry associations do exist and are active, minorities often find marginalized admission into and involvement in employment associations. Although many associations formally recognize historical

discrimination within their organisations and have established committees to address racial or ethnic marginalisation in their specific industries, the policies proposed by the committee members are infrequently implemented within or without the organisation. Rarely are the minority members elected to fill executive positions or represent their organisations in public.

Researchers Enobong Hannah Branch and Caroline Hanley (2018) have noted interesting developments in precarious employment—whilst the overall level of precarious work decreased over time, the rates of participation by race and gender differed. White male participation in precarious work decreased, yet participation by all other groups since 2015 (Branch and Hanley, 2018, p.207). Given the current labour market trends, it is not surprising that Branch and Hanley found amongst Blacks faced 'persistence of differential returns' on their educational investments (Branch and Hanley, 2018, p.185).

Stagnant social perceptions of Black men

The complex relationship between the Black community, particularly Black men, continues to be a major in US society—for politicians, scholars, and the public—often in very conflicting or misleading ways. Teun van Dijk (1994a; 1994b) and other scholars have delineated the reproduction of negative stereotypes of minorities and racism in Western discourse. A plethora of publications since the sixteenth century regarding the Black men and their roles in US society—as 'bestial' commodities during slavery (Jordan, 1968); as questionable citizens after

emancipation (Bruce, 1891) ; as manipulated labourers in Progressive Era racial management strategies (Roediger and Esch, 2013); and as irresponsible, dysfunctional criminals in the midst of the Civil Rights Movement (Moynihan, 1965). For example, Robert Cherry wrote an article for a popular political think tank, calling the young Black male unemployment rate of as much as forty-five percent 'a national disgrace'(Cherry, 2016). Evoking Moynihan (1965), he cites several studies on the 'devastating' effects of joblessness on the individuals and their families—increased likelihood of criminal activity and imprisonment; family disintegration; female-headed households; child abandonment; and child abuse (Cherry, 2016). One researcher he cited to support his argument has spent the last thirty years of her career offering empirical evidence to counter the myths, such as, the widely accepted ones of dysfunction of minorities and the poor included in Cherry's article.

Researchers note that the misrepresentation in society affects the perceptions of the dominant culture members; whites 'vastly overestimate' the degree of socioeconomic equality for minorities (Kraus et al., 2017, p.6). In all stages of the employment access process, studies have shown that negative bias dictates the responses to minorities—from information-gathering (Giulietti et al., 2017), curriculum vitae submission, interviewing, hiring (Quillian et al., 2017), tracking into low status positions, income setting, and advancement.

University system of the United States

With nearly five thousand degree-granting institutions and nearly thirteen million enrolled students, the United States university system has become one of the largest of its kind in the world (US Census Bureau, 2012; 2013). Despite the methodological and philosophical critiques of the ranking processes[33], the *Academic Ranking of World Universities* and the *World University Rankings* has consistently listed schools in the United States in the top spots in the global rankings (ARWU, 2015; WUR, 2015).

In addition to educating millions of students and adding to the breadth of global knowledge, the universities have a significant impact on the American economy. Though the US Department of Education offers methodological guides for the measurement of university economic impact on their communities, this researcher did not locate a report that estimates the total monetary contribution of universities to the nation.

In response to the public need for accountability (McPherson and Shulenburger, 2006), officers within university systems, such as, the University of California (UC), showed massive monetary contributions to the economy. In 2011, UC reported over $32 billion (£28.1 billion[34]) addition to the gross state product, as

[33] See United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's book, *Rankings and accountability in higher education: Uses and misuses* for several essays on the global university ranking systems.

[34] Great Britain pound conversion from OANDA Corporation currency converter as of 14 October 2015. http://www.oanda.com/currency/converter/

well as, supporting one of every 46 jobs or over two percent of total employment in California (Economic & Planning Systems, 2011). According to the report from Biotechnology Industry Organization, the schools nationwide contributed over $227.7 million to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) from University patent license royalties and employment (Pressman et al., 2015).

Significance of Academy professoriate

The contributions to the national economy are generated by the work of the university faculties. In the autumn of 2016, the US National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) reported that over 1.5 million faculty and instructional staff were employed in the American university system (McFarland and Hussar, 2018, p.184). Of the total faculty at degree-granting postsecondary institutions, fifty-three percent (816,000) were full time and forty-seven percent (733,000) were part-time (McFarland and Hussar, 2018, p.184).

As well as enhancing the lives of individuals, universities offer a multitude of benefits for societies around the world. The university faculty train generations of professional leaders; conduct cutting-edge research in natural, technological, and social sciences; enliven the population with creativity through the humanities and the arts; and lend empirical knowledge for use in social policy decision-making. Whilst admitting that determining causality within complex systems was 'nearly impossible' for researchers, DeClou contended that the relationship between variables—*education* and *happiness*—can be considered in

policy-making (DeClou, 2014, p.5). The conclusions in her report supported the literature review by finding that higher educational attainment positively correlated with increased good health, civic engagement, criminal earnings, and lowered use of public funds (DeClou, 2014, pp.5–8, 19). Morton, citing the results of two UK studies, emphasized the university as a community 'cultural centre' by providing education through free lectures and museums (Morton, 2016). In her farewell to the Princeton University Class of 2006, former president Shirley M. Tilghman optimistically proclaimed that a university education is 'the most effective way . . . of transcending the distinctions—whether of ancestry, wealth, or race—that fragment our society' (Tilghman, 2006) .

Despite the enormous return on investment for the nation, the American Association of University Professors (AAUP)[35], a century old union for faculty, highlighted troubling issues within the university system, such as, perceived attacks on academic freedom; contentious debates regarding copyrights and intellectual property; and the protection of retirement plans. Recently, the troubling proliferation of contingency faculty, the 'insecure, unsupported positions with little job security and few protections for academic freedom', in addition to the continued gender and racial/ethnic disparities in salary and tenure attainment have prompted activist responses from the AAUP members (AAUP 2015).

[35] Founded one hundred years ago, the American Association of University Professors is a voluntary organisation with the mission to provide professional standards and economic security of faculty. http://www.aaup.org/about/mission-1

Unequal opportunities for university faculty

The NCES found that white males held the highest status positions in the universities as professors and associate professors, fifty-five and forty-two percent respectively; white women followed closely, then exceeded white men in the assistant professor, instructor and lecturer positions (McFarland and Hussar, 2018, p.185). From 2013 to 2016, the percentage of total faculty that were Black males fell from three percent to two percent, a gross underrepresentation of the nearly fourteen million Black men, aged eighteen and older in the US (US American Community Survey, 2014). The percentages of full-time Black male faculty in the total university system, according to ranking, remain unchanged during the same time frame—professor (2%), associate (3%), assistant (3%), instructors (3%), and lecturers (2%) (Kena et al., 2016, p.222; McFarland and Hussar, 2018, p.185).

Despite claiming that 'disparities in salary, rank, and tenure among faculty members have been an interest of leaders and policymakers both inside and outside academe', eighteen years lapsed since the NCES staff released a report detailing faculty salaries by race, ethnicity, and gender (Zimbler et al., 2002, iii). The 2002 publication was outdated at its release, using four-year old data from school term beginning Fall, 1998. In the section comparing white and Black salaries, the NCES curiously used institutional base salaries instead of the average faculty salaries reported in other official documents. Though the Asians reported more 'permanent creative works' than the others, the authors found

few differences between Blacks, Asians, Hispanics, and whites in terms of scholarly outputs, such as, the number of books, articles, and presentations produced in the two previous years before data collection or the amount of student interaction. Similarities aside, whites held tenured positions at greater rates than Blacks, Asians, and Hispanics. To explain the disparity, the authors referred to the high level of qualifications held by whites and the length of service at the institution as possible reasons.

However, this logic fails when Asians are compared to whites alone. Though Asians earned more than whites and had similar rates of doctoral qualifications, far more Asians were assistant professors than full professors (Zimbler et al., 2002, pp.23–29). Furthermore, the authors alluded that Black faculty members earned less than Whites because Blacks earned more master's degrees than doctoral qualifications. However, by not separating four- and two-year institution employment or salaries, the impact of the qualification difference is skewed. Two-year schools or community colleges typically only require a master's degree for employment. Without a comparison of salaries of different racial group members with similar qualifications, the reader is without enough data for a detailed analysis.

Social perceptions of the Academy

The debates continue regarding the value of a university education and the type of education that results in greater economic stability for the graduates. The

rising costs of higher education are a deep concern. Adjusted for inflation, the 2018-19 tuition fees for private four-year ($35,830) universities tripled; public four-year ($10,230) and public two-year ($3,660) college tuitions quadrupled since 1971-72 (CollegeBoard, 2018). During the same period, US worker wages stagnated, with the salaries of men, especially minority men, falling due to dwindling labour share of income (wage inequality); an uptick in global labour competition; a slump in union membership (bargaining power); less worker mobility; ebbing labour productivity growth; and declining business formation investments (Shambaugh et al., 2017, pp.1–8).

Although more of the women than men surveyed in 2011 believed that a university education was a valuable tool for personal and professional growth, they still questioned the affordability of college (Wang and Parker, 2011, pp.4–5). When asked about the return value for higher education, forty-two percent of the surveyed public believed the value was 'fair'; seventy-five percent said that 'most' people could not afford college (Fry et al., 2011, pp.9–10) . In the same survey of the general US public and US university presidents, the majority of the two groups agreed on who should shoulder the cost of the college education—the families and students. However, 'a significant minority' of forty-eight percent of the public prefer federal, state, and private contributions (Fry et al., 2011, pp.5, 6, 9). At any rate, all agree that the cost of higher education had significant effects on the nation in the form of students burdened with life-altering debt, unable to buy homes or save for retirement.

In addition to the criticism about the financial cost of a higher education, academics face social costs for providing it. Braidwood and Ausderan (2017) posited that 'academia has become an increasingly common political target, particularly the institution of academic tenure, which many conservative politicians accuse of helping to perpetuate the ideological indoctrination of students' (Braidwood and Ausderan, 2017, p.565). Speaking of this 'indoctrination' in his *New York Times* opinion piece, Mark Bauerlein bemoaned the loss of closeness between the students and the professors, citing his observations and a national student engagement survey that reported a quarter of seniors never discussing their ideas or academic performance with professors (NSSE, 2014, pp.2–3; Bauerlein, 2017). For the author, this lack of interaction meant professors failed to fulfil their duties to be 'moral authori[ties]' (Bauerlein, 2017).

Precisely what morals should be disseminated is the focus of residents and politicians around the nation. Contrary to popular belief about the influence of professors on their students, Braidwood and Ausderan concluded that students are more likely to project their ideologies (or the opposite) onto their instructors depending on the level of esteem they hold for the educator (Braidwood and Ausderan, 2017, p.569). Findings like these did not stop the former conservative US Education Secretary Betsy DeVos from pointedly accusing liberal academics of restricting students' behaviour, coercing their thinking, and silencing their comments (DeVos, 2017, no pagination).

Scholars, in turn, accused Betsy DeVos of being an anti-intellectual in line with her colleagues in former-President Donald Trump's administration. An internet search of 'Trump anti-intellectualism' results in articles and blogs with titles such as, 'American idiot', 'Rise of anti-reason', 'Trump's war on knowledge'. Scholars note that the distrust of intellectuals is a historical phenomenon, as Peters argued in his article about the 1950s McCarthyism[36] and unevidenced treason accusations, surely increased amongst contemporary US residents, allowing for the successful campaign of Trump (Peters, 2018, p.357).

The current harsh critique of scholars informed the formal and informal media outlets and, according to the recipients, caused the physical attacks on professors. Right-leaning politicians and public figures tended to provide the ideological arguments for the attacks on the American professoriate, such as David Horowitz. Described by the Southern Poverty Law Center[37] as an anti-Muslim, anti-Black, and anti-immigrant extremist, the conservative Horowitz penned a 'McCarthyist' book, *The Professors: The 101 Most Dangerous Academics in America*, in which he identified and vilified scholars he considered as threats to the university system, academic freedom, and democracy ((SPLC),

[36] For more on the effects of the McCarthy Era, read *Enemy of the People: Trump's war on the press, the New McCarthyism, and the threat to American Democracy* by Marvin Kalb and *Blacklisted by history: The untold story of Senator Joe McCarthy and his fight against America's enemies* by M. Stanton Evans.

[37] The Southern Poverty Law Center was founded in 1971 by Morris Dees, Esquire, to use legislation and education to fight bigotry and discrimination in the United States, https://www.splcenter.org/.

2018). Most of Horowitz's critiques were reserved for critical scholars, scholars of colour, and scholars who identify as liberals.

Organisations, such as the National Association of Scholars (NAS), argued that conservative scholars have been oppressed by political-correctness, maintain that it is their centre-right voices have been silenced in academia and the safety of student proponents threatened by liberal professors (Ellis, 2017). These conflicts may account for the lack of faith in university professors by members of the conservative Republican political party (Doherty et al., 2017, p.1). Although the members of the NAS are 'concerned' about the universal collegiate issues, such as, censorship, administrative bloat, unaffordable tuitions, and unethical research practices, the influential organisation has been critiqued for the promotion of a core curricula emphasising Western civilization, deemphasizing 'issues of race, gender, class, sexual orientation', and elimination of 'ethnic preferences in admissions and hiring' (Heijes, 2010).

Reproduction of elitism

Whilst many consider universities as just sites of education, replete with the stereotypical 'nutty professors' who are only concerned with experiments, the reality is quite different. Universities are businesses and, as with any industry, organisational culture, status, and power are substantial factors of the units. Doctoral researchers begin their indoctrination into the culture prior to their positions on faculties—upon the start of their postsecondary studies, into their

postgraduate careers, and with mentorship as fledgling faculty members. With job security, tenure, and return on investment as stakes, the faculty members are pressed to adopt the goal of mastering the negotiation of the culture. In this section, the importance and construction of the network is reviewed, as well as the consequences for both the business and the marginalised members of the organisation.

Steven Blader and Ya-Ru Chen investigated the psychological impacts of status and power on individuals. They explained that the concept of hierarchy is comprised of dimensions; their goal was the differentiation of two of these dimensions—status and power so as to examine the impact of both dimensions on social relations (Blader and Chen, 2012, p.1). Status is defined as 'the prestige, respect and esteem that a party has in the eyes of others'; it is an 'index of the social worth . . . ', a process conferred externally through 'evaluations' of others (Blader and Chen, 2012, p.2). In contrast, command of 'critical' resources equaled power, which includes the 'potential to influence via rewards, coercion, expertise, legitimacy, and individual characteristics' (Blader and Chen, 2012, p.2). Blader and Chen agreed with other scholars who posited that power is 'property' of actors, therefore, less dependent on the opinions and appraisement of others (Blader and Chen, 2012, p.2).

Blader and Chen found in the body of literature on the dimensions and justice that power resulted in liberation from pressures of society and its norms;

therefore people tended to 'shift their focus inward and toward their own goals and dispositions' (Blader and Chen, 2012, p.3). As a result, powerful people became 'less attentive and less likely to individuate others'; adopted a 'promotion orientation'; 'set aside relational dynamics that they regard as peripheral to the achievement of their goals' as 'status heightens attention to others' needs and views' (Blader and Chen, 2012, p.3). They hypothesised that status or power would greatly impact procedural justice in social relations. In five controlled experiments whereas participants perceived they held either status or power, the authors found that high-status was 'associated with relatively greater fairness' than high power, supporting their prediction (Blader and Chen, 2012, p.16).

Socioeconomic status of contemporary Black professionals

According to the US Department of Labor, its *Standard Occupational Classification* does not recognize the term *professional* and the manual was not designed 'to rank or group occupations according by education, credentials, earnings or any other similar user-defined indicator of status' (DOL, 2018b, p.22). However, to distinguish professionals from others in the workforce for implementation of the Fair Standards Labor Act (FSLA) of 1938 which established minimum wage and overtime pay for employees, the DOL specified the type of labour, discipline, and education required by those considered professional:

1. Advanced knowledge labour—knowledge attained beyond the secondary level; intellectual work that requires discretion and judgment exercises;

work that does not require routine mental, manual, mechanical or physical work; and work that requires critical thinking;

2. Science or learning labour—employees engaged in science or learning disciplines, such as, law, medicine, and teaching; and

3. Prolonged, advanced, and specialized intellection instruction—employees who have earned appropriate academic degrees and possess necessary prerequisites for admittance into their chosen professions (DOL, 2008, p.2).

Based on these criteria, the DOL determined that among the employed Blacks, thirty-one percent occupy positions in the management, professional and related occupations, compared to the employed Asians (52%), whites (41%), and Hispanics (23%) (DOL, 2018a, p.4). Worryingly, in 2017, within the group of US citizens with at least a bachelor's degree, the Census Bureau staff found increased rates (4.8% up from 4.5%) and numbers of people (3.7% up from 3.3%) in poverty, the only such group that experienced increases from 2016 to 2017 (Fontenot et al., 2018, pp.16–17).

In her study, Natalie Sokoloff questioned the US Census Bureau reporting of the rate of professional white women, Black men and women into the labor market increase between 1960 and 1980; she also questioned the narrative of success, arguing that the low number of minority professionals was 'underemphasized' by Bureau staff and did little to supplant the occupational domination by white men during this period (Sokoloff, 1988, pp.36–37).

Attacks on Black achievement

> [The privileged white race's] most wretched members share a status higher, in certain aspects, than that of the most exalted persons excluded from it.
> Noel Ignatiev

In addition to the generalized repression of academic freedom of university faculties, the political attempts to eliminate their source of employment, the mental stress of autocratic administrations, the emotional insecurity of distrust, the constant battle against the racist ideology of Black incapacity and the silencing of well-intentioned internal criticism by colleagues, the Black scholars must cope with the increasing threat of behaviour that can easily be equated with domestic terrorism against professors. The professors worry about their freedom of speech and their safety. Outspoken academics often receive death threats (Lieberman, 2017).

The beliefs, perceptions, and behaviour of early US citizens, particularly white people, around the notion of work have been researched by E. Anthony Rotundo (1993) and David Roediger. The researchers found that the identity of white professionals and working-class labourers was created through exclusion and in negation to blackness—Black slaves provided the 'physical reality' for measuring whiteness; whiteness was imbued with the]American ideals of work, freedom, and liberty; and Blacks, slave or free, became the antithesis of 'free white labour' in nineteenth century America (Levine and Roediger, 1993, pp.29, 33, 36). Noel Ignatiev found that in the highly competitive job market of the nineteenth

century, envious Irish immigrants, themselves initially belittled as ignorant animals and refused employment upon arrival in the US, rose slightly above their beleaguered station and established their whiteness by aligning themselves with native white citizens and 'ferocious[ly]'replicating the domestic terrorism of white supremacists against Black businesses, churches, schools, homes and free Black labourers who were 'living just like white folks' (Ignatiev, 2009, pp.144–167). In the mid-twentieth century, Gunnar Myrdal discussed the white US citizens with high economic statuses and advanced qualifications who were complicit in the physical or verbal attacks on Blacks (Myrdal, 1944).

Tommy J. Curry is a current example of a Black professor at a Texas PWI who received death threats for addressing racism in the US (Kolowich, 2017). For his safety and sanity, Curry accepted a position at the University of Edinburgh. Curry is one of many to experience the attacks. The AAUP sponsored research into the violence against Black professors. In their investigation, Lori Martin, Biko Gray, and Stephen Finley found aggressive bullying directed at Black professors, on and off campus as well as within their departments. The constancy of the negative environments and infringements on academic freedom resulted in racial battle fatigue in the Black faculty. The authors reminded the readers that this bullying issue has been present since the Progressive Era, referencing DuBois' resignation from Atlanta University after his work on racism was endlessly criticised (Martin et al., 2019, p.8).

Health and well-being of Black professionals

The constraints of education and education work to keep the Black community in the lowest socioeconomic status of all groups in the US. How does a world of constraint effect the Black men? As noted above, the physical, emotional, and intellectual consequences of racism have been well documented.

In 1993, Earl Smith and Stephanie Witt (1993) researched Black and white faculty at PWIs. According to their results, Black faculty reported higher levels of stress than their white colleagues due to the inhibition of research and the assignments to community instead of administrative committees. The authors suggested more equal opportunities for Black faculty, including time for scholarship and university decision-making participation, could increase the presence of Black faculty (Smith and Witt, 1993, pp.237–238). Fourteen years later, Claudine Turner and Liz Grauerholz (2017) found similar stressors among the Black male faculty they studied. The men reported microaggressions, trivialization of their work, and tokenism on committees and on campus (Turner and Grauerholz, 2017, pp.216–220).

Microaggressions 'replaced covert forms of racism in higher education' (McCoy and Rodricks, 2015, p.2). The political environment of the universities exacerbated by racial discrimination may deter Black postgraduates from entering the professoriate. Gibbs, McGready, et.al. (2014) surveyed fifteen hundred US citizens and permanent residents with PhDs in biomedical sciences

due to the observed lack of diversity in the biomedical industry. Calling for research about the female and minority decision-making processes, the authors found that well-represented (or white) women and minorities often choose non-research careers instead of academic careers outside of academia (Gibbs Jr et al., 2014, pp.6–8).

The Black male professors Turner and Grauerholtz interviewed spoke of the strategy they employed to stay mentally and physically healthy— a *commitment to the future*. The men shared their desire to counter the negativity they encountered on campus and in society by embracing their important roles as models for young Black students (Turner and Grauerholz, 2017, p.221). The Black male faculty believed that their work was crucial in the fight against racism and their ability to withstand their challenges would positively influence future students.

White House notes on HBCUs

Most Americans have little direct contact with . . . black colleges, have not visited one, and are not sure what they should expect if they did.
Henry N. Drewry and Humphrey Doermann,University educators and authors of *Stand and Prosper: Private Black Colleges and Their Students* (2001)

Currently in the US, one hundred-five HBCUs are in twenty states, the District of Columbia and the US Virgin Islands. These institutions, representing a mix of both private and public schools that offer two- or four-year certificate, diploma,

and degree programmes, serve over three hundred thousand students yearly (US White House, 2010).

The leaders of the White House Initiative on HBCUs (WHI) and the President's Board of Advisors on HBCUs hold an annual symposium for federal and state government, corporation, and philanthropic organisation officials to exchange information with university representatives regarding vital issues, such as, improvement of instruction, retention rates of students, and disparate funding at HBCUs. At the 2014 National HBCUs Week Conference[38], the US Department of Education secretary in the Obama Administration[39], Arne Duncan, discussed crucial two reasons why the HBCUs are valuable components in the American educational system and society—the education of public school students and the uplift of Black males. Relating demographic statistics, Duncan referred to America's 'major milestone 'and 'demographic shift' of minority students assuming the majority numbers in public schools, he emphasized the historical and continuing 'vital importance' of HBCUs in the training of a 'diverse' workforce for the nation's 'high-need [public] schools', saying that 'many more teachers of color and many more male teachers . . . [are] the right thing for all of our students' (Duncan, 2014).

[38] Visit the White House Initiative on HBCUs for information on past conferences, http://sites.ed.gov/whhbcu/hbcu-week-conference/.

[39] The US President Barack Obama administration served the nation from 2009-2017, https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/.

Reminiscent of the concerns of the Mohonk Conference attendees regarding the future of the Black community, Duncan referred to the need for the nation to maintain educational and economic competitiveness in a global market and equated the educational access and attainment with strengthening families, communities, and increasing social mobility (Duncan, 2014). In line with the original purpose outlined at Mohonk, the education secretary asserts that HBCUs are optimal sites for addressing the 'demographic imperative' of educating students of colour. Though he does not specify just how HBCUs will contribute to the part of the community strengthening that involves 'responding to the needs of boys and men of color and building upon their tremendous strengths', Duncan does admit, 'for far too long, our country, our communities, and our colleges have done a poor job . . .' in this area (Duncan, 2014).

External perception issues of HBCUs

The vague criticisms of Duncan prevailed among the public. Ignoring the incommensurate investments in HBCUs as the cause of dissimilar success rates, the US public has, from their beginning, perceived the schools as the most inferior institutions in the American university system. Although American colleges and universities of all types struggle with severe problems including financial insolvency in silence, the staff and faculty of the HBCUs must fight the negative stereotypes reproduced in widely reported media reports. In an annual analysis of US Department of Education (DOE) documents[40] from mostly PWIs,

[40] Inexplicably, the Forbes magazine staff eliminated public universities from the analysis.

Forbes magazine staff concluded that one-third of its nine hundred sample cases were financially unstable (Schifrin, 2016). Similarly, Doug Lederman of *Inside Higher Ed* reports that 2016-2017 DOE statistics reveal a nearly six percent drop in colleges and universities allowed to award federal financial aid due to factors such as mismanagement (Lederman, 2017). Yet in a 2006 report of recent trends at HBCUS, a report from the American Association of University Professors acknowledged the 'disproportionate attention' to and sanctions by the accreditation agencies to the HBCUs (Gasman et al., 2006). Additionally, a study of historical HBCU media representations revealed a tendency of journalists to be ill-informed about the schools, use outdated statistics, cite decades-old biased analysis, ignore the nuances between institutions, compare them to dissimilar institutions, and present the HBCUs as lacking in solid leadership, academic rigour, qualified leaders or scholarly faculty (Gasman and Bowman III, 2011).

Typically, when authors report the funding awarded to HBCUs, they tend to contextualise the institutions outside the total economic picture of the US university system. For instance, according to Fryer and Greenstone, HBCUs received an average of $2.65 billion per year between 1999 and 2001, an amount they generated using an inflation calculator to determine the value of the funding in 2005 dollars (Fryer and Greenstone, 2007, p.1). However, the authors did not explain that the $1.325 billion allotted to the 103 institutions in 2000-2001 was only 0.48% of the entire amount paid to postsecondary schools that school year. The authors argued that the HBCUs 'successes are in no small part

due to their substantial financial support from federal, state, and to a lesser degree, local governments', noting that the majority of HBCU revenues (61%-73%) came from public funds (Fryer and Greenstone, 2007, p.1). What Fryer and Greenstone failed to mention in their study is that the NCES statistics reveal that all public degree-granting institutions depend heavily on the federal, state, and local funds which constitute fifty percent or more of the university budgets (NCES, 2009-2010). Using data from the National Association of College and University Business Officers and the National Science Foundation, Weigley and Hess (2013) found in their investigation of the top university recipients of federal research and development funds that ten PWIs received twenty percent of the $40 billion distributed (Weigley and Hess, 2013).

During debates about the feasibility of the HBCUs, rarely are their contributions to the economy mentioned. In 2006, the NCES estimated that 'the total [2001] economic impact of the nation's HBCUs was $10.2 billion . . . [noting] that in terms of output (revenues), the nation's HBCUs would rank 232nd on the Forbes Fortune 500 list of the United States' largest companies' (NCES, 2006).

In summarizing the 'educational justification' arguments used to determine if the HBCU institutions are still viable in the twenty-first century, Fryer and Greenstone summarized the 'historical anecdotes' of opponents:

> It is possible that HBCUs are inferior to [PWIs] in preparing Blacks for post-college life. If students are taking less challenging courses from less distinguished faculty, have access to poor resources, or are not investing in the social skills

> necessary to interact with diverse sets of people, then graduates will perform poorly in the labor market and have inferior non-labor market outcomes. In this scenario, the case for supporting HBCUs with public resources appears weak (Fryer and Greenstone, 2007, p.2).

In fairness, Duncan notes that throughout the American university system, not just in HBCUs, arriving students need additional academic support to prepare them for the college experience. To improve the institutions, he proposes that HBCUs need increased endowment capitalisation, competitive faculty salaries, and campus infrastructure repairs. (Duncan, 2014).

White leaders of the HBCUs

In keeping with the predominant idea of Black inferiority, the white benefactors of the HBCUs doubted that Black academics were intellectually capable of neither properly managing the schools, raising the necessary funds from white citizens, nor protecting the financial investments made into the schools (Woodson, 1933, p.29; JBHE, 1997, p.93).

Few in the public are aware that most of the early administrative leaders of the HBCUs were white funders, white board members and white presidents who controlled every aspect of the campuses well into the twentieth century (JBHE, 1997) and remain highly influential in the management of the schools today.

A common debate amongst the public is the segregation of HBCUs. As noted previously, the white political, business, philanthropic, and education leaders

wanted the schools to primarily train Black teachers to educate Black pupils. Despite the focus on a singular population, the HBCUs have been open to all persons from around the nation and world. White students and their families choose not to attend HBCUs; it is the public that is self-segregating.

Academic freedom constraints of HBCU faculty

For John L. Hudgins, the historic constraint of Black faculty translates into contemporary attitudes toward research in HBCUs today. In his literature review, Hudgins recounted the historical prominence of sociology at HBCUs and lists the Black scholars that made significant contributions to the discipline while employed at these institutions. With such an impressive legacy, the author ponders 'the current invisibility of HBCU sociologists' (Hudgins, 1994, p.887). Expectations for the HBCU Sociology departments were high when the schools were first formed. Hudgins cites W. E. B. DuBois (1898) belief that the research conducted in the colleges would lead to 'the first effective step toward the solving of the Negro question'.

Hudgins summarised Jones' (1974) finding that paternalistic white presidents adopted policies that forbid Black faculty research and focused the professors' energies solely on teaching (Hudgins, 1994, p.887). Historically, white, paternalistic administrators generally discouraged or disallowed their Black faculty members from conducting sociological research ‘lest it ferment jealousies, discontent, and restiveness among the [white researchers]’,

preferring that their faculty use teaching to uplift the Black race (Jones, 1974, p.128; Hudgins, 1994, p.887).

Hudgins posits that these policies and attitudes account for the heavy teaching loads that the HBCU faculty carry. Additionally, the professors are charged with fulfilling the HBCUs primary missions to nurture students through intensive mentoring, which 'severely minimize[s] time and energy or effort available or scholarly productivity' (Hudgins, 1994, p.887).

Administrative issues on HBCU campuses

Contemporary research on HBCU administrators found that the presidents are keenly aware of and committed to their responsibilities to the students, faculty and the legacy of the institutions in the Black community (Smith, 2017, p.49), whilst, defending their 'distinct' leadership practices as necessary in the complex environments of the HBCUs (Minor, 2005; Gasman, 2009).

As in PWI campus administrations, HBCUs suffer from instances of autocracy in faculty micromanagement; demeaning and dehumanizing faculty policies; arbitrary faculty contract terminations; refusals to honour tenure; and the reproduction of white supremacy on campus exist, as Woodson predicted would continue without proper intervention (Woodson, 1933) and Ann Jones, a white HBCU professor, recorded in her book, *Uncle Tom's Campus* (Jones, 1973).

Recent American University Professors (AAUP)[41] investigations revealed academic freedom violations where leaders barred faculty from communicating with the media and shared governance violations; a president silenced faculty during staff meetings and verbally reprimanded employees in front of their colleagues (AAUP, 2017). In 2017, Morehouse College faculty accused the university president of university board composition manipulation, power struggles, and conflict of interests (Anon, 2017b).

With academic freedom and scholastic support, studies have shown that the fiscal focus on short-term funding results in 'much less emphasis . . . on the kind of scholarly research and publications that could enhance the institution's long-term ability to attract research funding (Debro, 1991; Hudgins, 1994: 888). According to Hudgins and Jones (1974), disparate state government funding and private endowments, in favour of PWIs, has always affected the budgetary allocations of the HBCUs. The administrators often select 'income-producing' expenditures instead of investing in the funds in the Black faculty research activities (Hudgins, 1994, p.888).

Regardless of the type of administration, internal criticism, or public challenges to abuses of power are rarely appreciated by the staff or faculty members; Darrin

[41] The AAUP has been a professional organisation of university professors since 1915. The organisation missions include the defence of academic freedom and promotion of shared governance, https://www.aaup.org/about-aaup.

Hutchinson (1999) examined the motivations behind the suppression of internal criticism in progressive social movements and oppressed communities, such as, the HBCUs. According to Hutchinson, the distinct practices used to stifle internal criticism or dissenting views within an organisation can be attributed to the fact that some of the movement or group members accept oppressive ideology; that criticism may 'exacerbate the negative construction of oppressed individuals by the larger society'; or that group members may not understand how denial of internal discrimination undermines group relations and decreases the effectiveness of the group (Hutchinson, 1999, p.195).

Political representatives and PWI administrators have questioned the continuing relevance and funding of the HBCUs. Mergers with PWIs or closures of HBCUs have been proposed and supported by the public (Kim, 2011, p.505). Typically, when authors report the funding awarded to HBCUs, they tend to contextualise the institutions within the total economic picture of the US university system. For instance, according to Fryer and Greenstone (2010), between 1999 and 2001, HBCUs received an average of $2.65 billion annually. However, the authors did not explain that the $1.325 billion for the 103 institutions in 2000-01 was only 0.48% of the entire amount paid to postsecondary schools that year. The authors argued that the HBCU 'successes are in no small part due to their substantial financial support from federal, state, and to a lesser degree, local governments', noting that the majority of HBCU revenues (61%-73%) came from public funds (Fryer and Greenstone, 2010). What Fryer and Greenstone (2010) failed to

mention in their study is that the NCES statistics reveal that all public degree-granting institutions depend heavily on the federal, state, and local funds that constitute fifty percent or more of the university budgets (NCES, 2009-10). Using data from the National Association of College and University Business Officers and the National Science Foundation, Weigley and Hess (2013) found in their investigation of the top university recipients of federal research and development funds that ten PWIs received twenty percent of the $40 billion distributed (Weigley and Hess, 2013).

'Far too often,' says Duncan, HBCUs need increased endowment capitalisation, competitive faculty salaries, and campus infrastructure repairs. He notes that throughout the American university system, not just in HBCUs, arriving students need additional academic support to prepare them for the college experience (Duncan, 2014).

Relevance strategies of HBCU administrators

Despite the Academy and public perceptions that HBCUs are 'problem' institutions, the goal of remaining relevant in the twenty-first century is a priority for the proponents of the schools (Harper, 2007, p.116) the university leaders actively develop strategies for the schools to remain relevant in the twenty-first century.

Recent social unrest in the American society have led college students to seek the ‘safe spaces’ of the HBCU campuses. Graduates from the institutions report high levels of satisfaction with their career preparation and well-being. HBCUs are perceived by alumni to be ‘nurturing’ environments (Drewry and Doermann, 2003, pp.7–8).

HBCUs as homes for Black male professors

In stark contrast to their numbers and positions within PWIs, the Black male professors of the HBCUs hold a prominent status. In 2017, Black men comprised fifty percent of HBCU male instructional staff with faculty status in the HBCUs (IPEDS, 2017). Of the 3,763 Black male faculty, forty-seven percent were tenured; nineteen percent were on the tenure track; and thirty-four percent were either not on a tenure track or were employed where no tenure system was available.

Scholarly contributions of Black HBCU faculty

Eligible Title IV degree-granting institutions reported approximately 1.1 billion items in physical library collections (books and media) and about 521 million items in electronic library collections (digital/electronic books, databases, and digital electronic media) (table 4) (NCES, 2014: 4). Within these collections, Hudgins observed the current invisibility of HBCU sociologists (Hudgins, 1994, p.887), specifically from predominantly white professional associations and from the sociological journals, *Social Forces* and *American Sociological Review*.

Hudgins posited internal and external forces in US sociology may cause the segmentation of HBCU institutions from mainstream US sociology. He found evidence of this after examining the journal publications over a ten-year period; only 0.16% and 0.34%, respectively, of the articles were authored by HBCU faculty. Further proof was extracted from two predominantly Black scholarly journals, *The Journal of Black Studies* and *Phylon* (a defunct journal established by W. E. B DuBois at an HBCU). HBCU faculty representation rates increased to 1.17% and 4%, respectively (Hudgins, 1994, p.888).

Aldon Morris, author of *A scholar denied*, provided a perspective on this issue. He attributed the exclusion of Black scholars from the disciplinary canons to racism, arguing that the educated men, such as his research subject, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, defied the dominate notions of Black intellectual mediocrity (Morris, 2015). These and other constraints hampered efforts to research the Black professors.

Scholars, such as Ibram Rogers, have also suggested the Black male professors may be missing from research due to their own actions. In his review of George Henderson's book, *Race and the university: A memoir*, Rogers noted that Black professors were 'crucial advocates of the Black Campus Movement' of the 1960s, however, 'few [of the professors] have left their records'(Rogers, 2012). Ronald Jackson speculated that whilst Black men have studied and commented on gender they have not united as scholars of Black masculinity (Jackson II, 1997,

pp.746–747). Consequently, information about the Black female scholars is more plentiful.

In contrast to the Black male professors, Jackson says female scholars may have been, arguably, the primary subjects of Black professoriate studies. He suggests that the substantial amount of research on Black female scholars may be attributed to the discursive works of Black feminists beginning in the late 1970s (Jackson II, 1997, pp.746–747); a few of the foundational thinkers include Audre Lorde, Demita Frazier, Chirlane McCray, as well as, professors Akasha Gloria Hull, Margo Okazawa-Rey, Beverly Smith and her twin sister, Barbara Smith. This group of colleagues formed the Combahee River Collective (CRC) and crafted a manifesto, the *CRC Statement*, which clarified their identity politics at the intersections of race, gender, class, and sexuality. Additionally, the Smith sisters and Lorde formed the publishing group, *Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press* in 1980 specifically for women of colour, whose voices were ignored during the Civil Rights and Feminist movements. According to Smith, their publications of Black female scholars heightened mainstream interest and research into the Black feminist scholars.

Associations for contemporary Black scholars

Expanding DuBois' oft-cited 'color-line' quote regarding the importance of race in the modern era (Du Bois, 1903), Jackson believes that identity will be the 'single most influential problem' of the twenty-first century and that 'the most

illuminating research and scholarship will in some way explore how humans define themselves and their relationships to others' (Jackson, 2000, p.61). In response to the social and career oppression experienced by Black professionals, they continue to expand the professional association networks.

In his 2008 doctoral research, Sitharaman found that HBCU had a higher rate of union membership, however, that membership did not translate into higher rates of pay; the HBCU union members earned six percent less than non-unionized faculty. The explanation may be explained by the 'historical pattern of paying lower wages and the South's traditional hostility to unionization' as cited by Goodman (in Jackson & Clark, 1987), says the author (Sitharaman 2008:144).

Hudgins studied the Black HBCU sociologists and hypothesised that his colleagues had 'very little involvement and influence in the formal organization and direction of Sociology' (Hudgins, 1994, p.886). Focusing on one regional professional association in his study, Hudgins sought to determine the levels of participation of HBCU scholars in the annual meetings of the SSS; the levels of publication by HBCU sociologists in the *Social Forces* journal associated with SSS; the structural factors related to these outcomes within the professional organization of the discipline; and the internal circumstances and dynamics associated with HBCUs that relate to these outcomes. Using the ten-year period timeframe, 1979-1989, Hudgins examined the HBCU sociologists' rates as presenters, panel members or organisers in early meeting during periods 1936-

1954 and 1989-1991. Limiting the sample to only articles authored by HBCU professors, he also calculated publications rates in academic journals.

Interestingly, at the time of its founding in 1935, HBCU sociologists exhibited 'significant participation and influence' from the founding of the SSS in Knoxville, Tennessee, until the 1950s. During this time, the Black sociologists held ten percent of the executive offices (1936-1984) and were active committee members. The author attributes the decreased participation black students and faculty increased association with Predominately White Institutions (PWIs) after desegregation of schools in the United States.

Summary

As demonstrated in the chapter, the liberal policies enacted by the US government have failed to achieve established goals. Whilst some blame was placed upon the Black community members, the CRT tenets pointed to the *centrality of racism* as the primary factor in the continuing oppression of the Blacks in the labour market. For the Black professors, the patterns of constraint found in the post-Civil War sharecropping and in the development of the US educational system were and remain replicated in the careers of the Black professors. For the Black scholars, the university workplace reflected and reproduced the hostile environment of the broader society. However, the professional association membership and community networks provided respites

for the professors. They felt able to fulfil their missions to uplift their colleagues and the many students they were charged with educating.

SECTION THREE—FINAL MATTERS

Chapter 7—Discussion

In this chapter, the research questions have been revisited and findings discussed, using Critical Race Theory as a lens to identify the patterns discovered and provide interpretations.

Revisit of research questions

In what ways did the early HBCU Black male professors compare to the Black male sharecroppers of the nineteenth century?

These *de facto* and *de jure* policies were investments in whiteness, a commodity, a property. In the evidence I presented, both the sharecroppers, like Walter Aytch, and Black professionals were subjected to similar restrictions in property ownership, management positions, entrepreneurial opportunities, mobility freedoms and scholastic explorations, as delineated by Mandle (1994).

For the early Black professors, management positions on the HBCU campuses were reserved for white administrators; decades would pass before Black academics would be trusted to serve in management capacities. If we equate entrepreneurial opportunities with creative ideas or projects for the budding institutions, the Black professors found that their contributions were dismissed regularly. When property ownership is viewed as shared governance, Black professors were locked out of decision-making on their campuses as well as in their departments and classrooms. White administrators wanted their Black

faculty to focus on educating students, not conducting research. As a result of these measures, the findings indicate that similar racialised management strategies existed for both sharecroppers and Black male professors.

Were the historical patterns of Black labour management used on US plantations utilised in labour management at Historically Black Colleges and Universities?

Using the Bhowmik (1980) four plantation characteristics—coercion, political support, migrant labour, and isolation, I showed that these elements were present at the early HBCUs. The coercion relied on the formation of planter associations which would craft rules and regulations for the benefit of the planters; this was accomplished by professional associations established by Academy faculty and staff. The formation of the Atlanta Board of Education to control faculty, funding, and curriculum of the predominantly Black Atlanta University. The political support for the Morrill Act of 1890 included religious, business, political, and Academy leaders who determined the placement of the Black schools and the curriculum. Though the Black faculty members were not migrants, they were bound by contracts and, like migrants, their only employment options were the HBCUs. Finally, the Black faculty were isolated from the broader Academy by dominant narratives of inferiority, exclusion from scholarly activities, such as conferences, and prohibited from conducting research.

In what ways have past or present labour management patterns impacted the careers of HBCU Black male professors?

The cumulative effects of the discriminatory policies of the Progressive Era have substantially decreased the possible impact of the HBCU Black male professors, or for that matter all Black faculty, in the US Academy.

The dominant narratives of inferiority continue to facilitate the underrepresentation of Black men in the Academy. The deliberate exclusion of Black professionals from the resources—social networks, associations—has prevented their full growth as professionals and their ability to contribute knowledge, skills, and aptitudes in service of the nation. Due to either the erasure or exclusion of the discipline canons, generations of students are unaware of the scholarship of the Black professors. The marginalisation, microaggressions, bullying, and attacks in the Academy serve to preclude potential Black graduates from pursuing the professoriate or makes it nearly impossible for the Black professors to participate as desired on the campuses. These management measures have resulted in the sustained low rates of Black employment (approximately three percent) for nearly fifty years.

In what ways have the Black male professors met the challenges within the Academy?

Throughout the history of the Black male professors of the HBCUs, this study has shown that they have continuously challenged those hegemonic notions and structures in the United States. To the generations of students who follow them, the professors have served as models of strength and perseverance. Despite the

many perils on the academic journey, they have overcome disparate funding, inadequate facilities, and discrimination. When excluded from the Academy, the Black professors formed their own organisations to support their colleagues. The Black professors created incubators inside the HBCUs to nurture the Civil Rights revolution. Finally, they have countered the negative images of the Black man with intelligence, grace, and fortitude.

Chapter 8—Conclusion

Using Critical Race Theory as a framework and a lens, I conducted this exploratory story into the lives of HBCU professors. Although I was unable to fully investigate the contemporary professors, the redesign of the project lead to a focus on the historical, emerging class of Black professionals and professors of the Progressive Era. I found that the lives and careers of the Black professors mirrored those of the nineteenth century sharecroppers; similar racialised political, economic, and social strategies were implemented by white supremacists to varying degrees. The impacts of these strategies stretched into the twenty-first century. Today, the power of the Academy remains with the dominant society members who now control a multibillion-dollar industry. Black male professors of the HBCUs may remain marginalised in the canons, however, they have also remained in the hearts of the thousands of students they educated.

This historical exploratory study addressed the dearth of research about the intersectionality of race, class, and gender in the case of the HBCU Black male professors. Researchers tend to focus on the 'problematic' working-class man; professional Black men are views as examples of opportunity and growth in a post-racial US society. My research argued that a fuller view of the structures that constrain and support the Black male status is possible when both working- and professional-class men are explored together.

The difficulties I encountered recruiting HBCU Black male professors from abroad (I reside in the UK) may serve to help future researchers. I suggest that researchers never assume, as I did as an HBCU alumna, that an 'insider' status will be recognised. I do believe the current situation of COVID-19 prohibitions and an increase of online communications will perhaps make recruitment from abroad easier, however, I plan to complete this study as originally planned by visiting the campuses to establish face-to-face rapport before recruiting for participation.

I truly enjoyed this study and look forward to its continuation. I hope that my research may encourage Black professors to formally discuss their experiences in the Academy; generate interest in Black undergraduates to pursue advanced degrees and choose careers in the social sciences or humanities; prompt professors and students to continue the HBCU legacy of social activism; provide information to novice educators of colour as how to successfully negotiate environments within the Academy; and, for HBCU administrators and academic counsellors, guide the design of policies that will increase the retention rate of Black undergraduates.

No Surprise

It is no surprise that the names Walter Aytch and John Hope Franklin, Jr. are not recognised by the readers of this thesis.
The surprise of this research is not the embeddedness of racism in American society.
The surprise is not that racism exists in the American university system.
The surprise is not how utterly frustrated I was to find that giant scholars had already delineated the 'Negro Problem' nearly two centuries ago.
Nay, the revelation, for me, is in how the Black slave, working class and professional men continued to strive for advancement.
I am awed with just how powerful and effective these social actors were reproducing their strength, hope, and love for each generation.
Racism is a monolith and I wonder how long we will have to chip away before it is broken down to grain of sands.
I do know that as long as it exists,
Black men will work toward that goal, *mind and hand*.

Preface excerpt from
Black Reconstruction: An essay toward a history of the part which Black folk played in the attempt to reconstruct democracy in America, 1860-1880

It would be only fair to the reader to say frankly in advance that the attitude of any person toward this story will be distinctly influenced by his theories of the Negro race. If he believes that the Negro in America and in general is an average and ordinary human being, who under given environment develops like other human beings, then he will read this story and judge it by the facts adduced. If, however, he regards the Negro as a distinctly inferior creation, who can never successfully take part in modern civilization and whose emancipation and enfranchisement were gestures against nature, then he will need something more than the sort of facts that I have set down. But this latter person, I am not trying to convince. I am simply pointing out these two points of view, so obvious to Americans, and then without further ado, I am assuming the truth of the first. In fine, I am going to tell this story as though Negroes were ordinary human beings, realizing that this attitude will from the first seriously curtail my audience.

W E B DuBois, December 1934

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