

# *Center for the Study of Philanthropy*

## TOPICS IN BLACK AMERICAN PHILANTHROPY SINCE 1785



By

Colin Palmer

CURRICULUM GUIDE # 3  
Spring 1998

Graduate School and University Center  
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*CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF  
PHILANTHROPY*

*COLIN PALMER*

*Topics In Black American  
Philanthropy  
Since 1785*

*CURRICULUM GUIDE #3  
SPRING 1998*

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# INTRODUCTION TO THE MULTICULTURAL PHILANTHROPY CURRICULUM PROJECT

Giving and voluntarism are deeply ingrained traditions in American life. Yet these activities are frequently overlooked in the curricula of the nation's colleges and universities, or mistakenly portrayed as the exclusive province of elites.

To address this, the Center for the Study of Philanthropy at the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York is developing a variety of materials to illuminate the significance of philanthropic activities at every level of society. This series of curriculum guides is one of several resources designed to encourage the development of undergraduate, graduate and extension courses on multicultural philanthropy.

These materials reflect a variety of disciplinary approaches, examining the ways in which eleven different (but not necessarily mutually exclusive) groups—women, Catholics, Protestants, Jews, African Americans, Latinos, Northern Europeans, Southern and Eastern Europeans, Middle-Easterners, South and Southeast Asians, and East Asians—historically used their gifts of time and money to create nonprofit institutions, forge public/private partnerships, promote social and legislative change, build communities, and participate in public policymaking at the local, state and federal levels.

Each curriculum guide considers a variety of factors including: 1) the traditions of charity and mutual aid that different groups brought with them to the United States; 2) the ways in which these practices were adapted to the American social and political context; and 3) the role of philanthropy (i.e., the giving of time, money and/or valuables for public benefit) in enabling each group to claim a public role within the American democratic system.

Identification of the relevant literature has been another important goal. Each guide includes an annotated bibliography and additional bibliographic citations, which ultimately will also be available as part of a regularly-updated, comprehensive, on-line database on international philanthropy. Additional information on the on-line bibliography can be obtained by visiting the Center's website at: [www.philanthropy.org](http://www.philanthropy.org).

The curriculum guides and annotated bibliography, together with the other components of the initiative—volunteer guides, video/television programming, faculty seminars, and a Distinguished Lecturer series—reflect the Center's ongoing commitment to enhancing public understanding of the role that philanthropy has historically played within the multicultural mosaic of American society.

Churches throughout the United States have long served African-American communities as important centers of voluntary activity, education, leadership training, as well as social and political activism.

Photograph of *congregation gathering outside a church on Sunday in Little Rock, Arkansas (1935)* [photo by *Shabn*].

*Courtesy of* Photographs and Prints Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.



A political and social activist, *Ella Baker (1903-1986)* based her long and tireless struggle for human rights and human dignity on the principle of grassroots involvement in the fight for social justice.

*Portrait courtesy of* Photographs and Prints Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

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**Topics in  
Black  
Philanthropy**

**Introduction**

**Part I.**

**T**he institution of slavery lasted for approximately two and a half centuries in the American colonies and the republic that they created. As chattel, black slaves were excluded from the civil society constructed by whites. Free blacks were also denied the basic rights of citizenship and had to develop a variety of institutions to meet their needs. In 1785 they established the first of many mutual aid societies. Known as the Free African Society, it defined its functions as providing support for the sick and assistance to orphans and widows.

These, and the myriad self-help societies, organizations, and programs that blacks launched over time should be seen as exercises in philanthropy. That which constitutes a philanthropic act must be contextualized and should be seen as reflecting the desire of a people to improve the common weal. Lacking access to vast amounts of capital, blacks who were in a position to do so placed their time, energy, and paltry resources in the service of others. Free blacks who organized the Underground Railroad and participated in the abolitionist movement were engaged in acts of philanthropy. Similarly, the various civil rights organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were, in a sense, expressions of black philanthropy.

The course seeks to analyze the various ways in which blacks have attempted to help themselves since the formation of the Free African Society. Its approach is topical and the emphasis is on the organizations and individuals who played significant roles in improving the black condition. The ideology that legitimized these philanthropic exercises is analyzed and so are the efforts to “redeem” Africa and Africans. Women played central roles in these organizations and so did countless numbers of working-class individuals. Not all of their efforts met with success, but an examination of their variegated activities reveals the struggles of a people to create and realize themselves.



## **The Opposition to Slavery**

**T**he resistance to slavery took a variety of forms. From the introduction of the institution in the seventeenth century, individuals attempted to claim their freedom by escaping to remote and inaccessible areas or in some instances to crowded cities where they could find sanctuaries. The abolition of slavery in the North during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries increased the incidence of flight. Slaves in the border and southern states could, with some luck, make their way to freedom in Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, and elsewhere. There are no reliable estimates as to the number of persons who successfully resisted slavery in this manner, but several thousand persons may have done so during the nineteenth century.

Escape from the South was a dangerous exercise and the fugitives faced enormous obstacles. Most were unfamiliar with the terrain and were ignorant of the direction to the northern sanctuaries. Chased by dogs and patrols and often lacking food, many persons abandoned the attempt or were recaptured.

There were, on the other hand, those slaves who received the assistance of sympathetic blacks or whites along the way. The Quakers played an important role in this regard and so did a vast number of blacks such as Harriet Tubman and William Still. These persons formed an Underground Railroad, a secret organization of abolitionists and foes of slavery who provided shelter, food, and protection for slaves fleeing to the North. These persons broke the laws and jeopardized their own lives in rendering assistance to escapees. Other humanitarians, black and white, also rescued slaves who were recaptured and were in the process of being returned to their owners. These donations of time and energy in the cause of social justice and freedom should be considered acts of philanthropy.

Similarly, free blacks in the North participated actively in the abolitionist movement. Beginning in the 1770s, whites formed organizations designed to promote an end to slavery but they excluded blacks from membership until the 1830s. Thereafter, blacks either formed their own organizations

## **TOPIC 1**

## Discussion Topics

- *What were the principal arguments that were used to oppose slavery?*
- *What strategies and tactics did the abolitionist movement employ?*
- *What roles did women play in the struggle against slavery?*
- *What organizations played prominent roles in the abolitionist crusade and what were their sources of support?*
- *To what extent was the abolitionist movement a success? What criteria should be employed to measure success or failure?*

or joined those established by whites. The most articulate and distinguished abolitionists included Frederick Douglass, Henry Highland Garnet, and Sojourner Truth.

Students should be exposed in this unit to the roles that individual blacks and black organizations played in the struggle against slavery. They should be able to evaluate the successes and failures of these endeavors. They should also be familiar with the institutions that blacks created and the difficulties they confronted.

**SUGGESTED READINGS**

Benjamin Quarles, Black Abolitionists (New York, 1969).

William S. McFeely, Frederick Douglass (New York, 1991).

Shirley J. Yee, Black Women Abolitionists: A Study in Activism, 1828-1860 (Knoxville, 1992).

C. Peter Ripley, et al., Race, Slavery and Emancipation, 3 vols, (Chapel Hill, 1985-1991).

Wilbur H. Silbert, The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom (New York, 1898).

Larry Gara, The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad (Lexington, 1961).

Nell Irvin Painter, Sojourner Truth: A Life, A Symbol (New York, 1996).

## **The Origins of Self Help**

**B**lacks who were free before 1863 occupied an intermediate place between slavery and freedom. They lacked the basic rights of citizenship and in the Dred Scott decision rendered in 1857, the Supreme Court held that blacks could never become citizens of the United States. Free blacks were denied the franchise in most states by 1860, frequently attended segregated schools, and were excluded from many public services. Under the circumstances, free blacks had to create the institutions that would meet their needs. Founded in 1785 in Philadelphia, the Free African Society was the first of many organizations that appeared before the abolition of slavery.

These organizations were both religious and secular in their emphases. The first black denomination — the African Methodist Episcopal Church — was chartered in 1816. Five years later, the African Methodist Zion Church acquired full denominational status. The nineteenth century saw a proliferation of secular organizations. Taken together, these mutual aid organizations performed social welfare functions for members in economic distress, disabled by sickness, too old to work, or orphaned. Some established schools, advocated wages and better working conditions for their members in the larger society and even supported mission stations in Africa. The African Benevolent Society of Wilmington, North Carolina, made loans to its members, and so did the Brown Fellowship Society of Charleston. On the other hand, the Baltimore Society for the Relief in Case of Seizure offered assistance to members who were threatened with being sold into slavery.

The black denominations and independent congregations also provided a number of social welfare services for their members and others. An examination of these humanitarian efforts should reveal the myriad ways in which early black organizations served to improve the black condition in difficult times.

## **TOPIC 2**

Discussion Topics

- *In what ways did free blacks seek to improve the condition of their brethren before emancipation?*
- *What kinds of secular and religious organizations did they establish?*
- *What societal obstacles did they confront and how did they react?*
- *Did their efforts result in any improvement in the black condition?*

**SUGGESTED READINGS**

- Ira Berlin, Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South (New York, 1975).
- Leon Litwack, North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860 (Chicago, 1961).
- Leonard P. Curry, The Free Black in Urban America, 1800-1850 (Chicago, 1981).
- James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community and Protest among Free Blacks, 1700-1860 (New York, 1997).
- James T. Campbell, Songs of Zion: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and South Africa (New York, 1995).
- Jane H. Pease and William H. Pease, They Who Would be Free: Blacks Search for Freedom, 1830-1861 (New York, 1974).

## **Constructing Freedom: Black Philanthropy in the Aftermath of Slavery**

**T**he end of slavery in the 1860s constituted an important watershed in the history of black America. Numbering about four million, the newly freed wrestled with the meanings of freedom, responded to the challenges of their new legal condition, and fought for their birthrights. On the other hand, whites in the South attempted to maintain their supremacy and sought to introduce a modified form of slavery. They passed a variety of restrictive legislation directed at blacks and some resorted to extra-legal violence to uphold white supremacy.

Despite these storms that buffeted the freedpersons, they had to make the best of their possibilities. In the aftermath of freedom, some organized conventions to politicize their brethren and promote the acquisition of their civil rights. Others established fraternal and benevolent societies, built schools, formed debating clubs and other organizations to meet their diverse needs. The Christian denominations stood at the core of this organizational energy. Not only did they provide building space for some of these activities, but clergymen frequently provided leadership for them.

## **TOPIC 3**

Discussion Topics

- *What new organizations did blacks create in the aftermath of slavery and for what purposes?*
- *What roles did the churches play in aiding the transition from slavery to freedom?*
- *In what ways did the newly freed seek to enhance their access to education?*
- *What did emancipation change in the lives and opportunities of African Americans?*

**SUGGESTED READINGS**

- Leon Litwack, Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery (New York, 1979).
- Eric Foner, Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877 (New York, 1988).
- James D. Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935 (Chapel Hill, 1988).
- Howard Rabinowitz, ed., Southern Black Leaders of the Reconstruction Era (Urbana, IL, 1982).
- William E. Montgomery, Under Their Own Vine and Fig Tree: The African American Church in the South 1865-1900 (Baton Rouge, 1993).

## **African “Redemption” as Philanthropy**

## **TOPIC 4**

**D**uring the nineteenth century, Western Christians had at least two images of Africa and her peoples. In the first place, Africa was perceived as a land inhabited by heathens who posed a challenge to Christians to fulfill their proselytizing mission. The second image was rooted in the expectation that Africans would cleanse Christianity of its imperfections and produce a purer faith. Many were grounded in this belief by a passage in Psalms 68: “Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God.” The commonly used nomenclature “Ethiopia” was a synonym for all of Africa and the belief in the prophecy was called “Ethiopianism.”

Black Christians, in particular, interpreted the prophecy to mean that Africa and Africans had a sacred destiny. They believed that the Christianization and “redemption” of Africa constituted their special responsibility. In 1878, the AME became the first black denomination to establish African missions. The AME-Zion followed suit in 1880 and the Baptists three years later. By 1900, about 113 blacks had served as missionaries in Africa, primarily under the auspices of these denominations. Women comprised almost one third of these evangelists.

Support for these African missions strained the budgets of the denominations and congregations involved. The black denominations were never wealthy and the missions competed with domestic needs for the scarce resources available. Still, many congregations made heroic sacrifices to support these ventures. They financed the construction of schools in many African societies and paid the tuition of promising students who attended American universities.

Although the principal thrust of Ethiopianism was religious, its claims rested on very negative assumptions about the African peoples. Students should be exposed to the pernicious assumptions that often undergirded black American efforts on behalf of Africans. As Americans and Westerners, blacks were exposed to — and accepted — many of the prevailing images of Africa. It should be emphasized that the

## Discussion Topics

- *How did black Americans perceive Africa and Africans during the nineteenth century?*
- *In what ways did African Americans seek to “redeem” in Africa? To what extent were their activities fueled by negative perceptions of the African continent?*
- *What roles did the churches play in this effort and with what results?*
- *To what extent is it fair to suggest that in aiding the Africans, black Americans were also advancing the struggle for justice at home?*

Christianization and “redemption” of Africa were not all inspired by the impulse of Ethiopianism. Some black Americans believed that a transformation of Africa’s image would lead to a lessening of their own disabilities.

## SUGGESTED READINGS

- George M. Fredrickson, Black Liberation: A Comparative History of Black Ideologies in the United States and South Africa (New York, 1995).
- J. Mutero Chirenje, Ethiopianism and Afro-Americans in Southern Africa, 1883-1916 (Baton Rouge, 1987).
- Edward S. Redkey, Black Exodus: Black Nationalist and Back-to-Africa Movements, 1890-1910 (New Haven, 1969).
- Walter L. Williams, Black Americans and the Evangelization of Africa, 1877-1900 (Madison, 1982).



## **The Ideology of Uplift**

**T**he black elite that emerged after emancipation actively sought integration into and acceptance by the larger society. To advance that process, they constituted themselves as a relatively closed group and distanced themselves from the masses of their black brethren. Seeing themselves as comprising the “talented tenth” of the black race, they formed exclusive social clubs, embraced a white aesthetic, and worshiped primarily in the elite Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Congregational churches.

This old black elite — in contrast to the new generation that would emerge in the twentieth century — could not totally escape from its heritage however. Keenly aware of their privileged status in contrast to other blacks, many of its members assumed the burden of fostering racial uplift. They thought that it was their right and duty to provide direction for the masses of their dispossessed brethren. Recognizing that most blacks had not benefitted from the economic changes that industrialization brought, they sought to get their faltering brethren to change their behavior in order to participate more fully in the nation’s progress. Blacks had to be patriotic, work hard, help themselves, avoid alcohol, save their money, and improve their economic condition. Under the circumstances, the advocates of racial uplift worked to address and correct the perceived moral deficiencies of the dispossessed so that the entire race would not be disparaged by the actions of some. Advocates of racial uplift, to be sure, did not speak with one voice. But they included such prominent persons as Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, Mary Church Terrell, and Frances Ellen Watkins Harper.

The antisocial behavior that the black elite condemned and the habits they denounced were the inevitable consequences of the marginalization of blacks in society, the absence of equal opportunities, and the impact of unrelenting racial assaults. The problems that bedeviled black society did not reflect the shortcomings of a people; they were the consequences of a group of human beings who were set apart from their fellow citizens and made to feel like pariahs in the land of their birth.

## **TOPIC 5**

Discussion Topics

- *How do historians explain the ideology of uplift?*
- *What assumptions undergirded the ideology of uplift?*
- *What organizations did the proponents of uplift establish to further their cause?*
- *What roles did elite women play in this effort and with what success?*

**SUGGESTED READINGS**

- Kevin Gaines, Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics and Culture in the Twentieth Century (Chapel Hill, 1996).
- Willard B. Gatewood, Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880-1920 (Bloomington, 1990).
- Anna Julia Cooper, A Voice from the South (New York, 1988).
- W.E.B. Du Bois, The Philadelphia Negro (New York, 1967).
- Louis Harlan, Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader (New York, 1972).
- Louis Harlan, Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1910-1915 (New York, 1983).

## **Uplift in Practice: The National Association of Colored Women's Clubs of America (NACW)**

**E**lite women were particularly active in the cause of racial uplift. Mary Church Terrell noted that: "Self preservation demands that [Black Women] go among the lowly, illiterate and even the vicious, to whom they are bound by ties of race and sex...to reclaim them." In many respects, the cause that the women embraced was akin to a missionary effort but one that had a secular garb.

Drawing upon a long tradition of black women's involvement in voluntary associations, a handful of elite women founded the National Colored Women's League in Washington, DC in 1892. Its ranks included such notables as Mary Church Terrell, Anna J. Cooper, Charlotte Grimké, and Helen A. Cook. The new association aimed to promote, among other goals, "educational and improvement of Colored Women and the promotion of their interests." In 1896 a coalition of groups formed the National Association of Colored Womens Clubs of America (NACW), an organization that was destined to play a significant role in enhancing the interests of black women. The NACW declared its intention to "secure and enforce civil and political rights for ourselves and our group. To obtain for our colored women the opportunity of reaching the highest standard in all fields of endeavor."

In the early years, elite women dominated the leadership of the organization but they were replaced by representatives of the middle class by around 1910. In order to effect its goals, the NACW's members established kindergartens, nurseries, and schools that emphasized home economics. By 1914, the NACW was said to have a membership of 40,000, distributed in all regions of the nation. Despite the paternalism that permeated the NACW's attitude towards the poor, it served a useful function for those whom it reached. On another level, the NACW provided its members with a socially positive outlet for their energies, fostered a solidarity among women that transcended class differences, and allowed them to acquire a deeper sense of the possibilities of their gender and race.

## **TOPIC 6**

## Discussion Topics

- *What were the principal organizations women established and what were their objectives?*
- *What was the nature of the relationship between elite and non-elite women? To what extent did they collaborate in the cause of racial uplift?*
- *How would you measure the impact of these organizations on the black condition?*
- *How did the strategies employed by women change over time?*

## SUGGESTED READINGS

- Cynthia Neverdon Morton, Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925 (Knoxville, 1989).
- Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920 (Cambridge, 1993).
- Hazel V. Carby, Reconstructing Womanhood: The Emergence of the Afro-American Woman Novelist (New York, 1987).
- Beverly Jones, Quest for Equality: The Life and Writings of Mary Church Terrell (Brooklyn, 1990).
- Dorothy Salem, To Better our World: Black Women in Organized Reform, 1890-1920 (Brooklyn, 1990).

## **Women and Philanthropy**

**T**he NACW was not the only organizational voice of black women during the twentieth century. In fact, it stood on the shoulders of countless numbers of religious and secular societies. A significant proportion of these women were Baptists, but others belonged to the various Christian denominations. Educated at such schools as Spelman in Georgia, most of these women joined the teaching profession or entered other service-related occupations.

Throughout the twentieth century, black women were particularly energetic in raising funds for local needs. They sponsored dinners, bazaars, bake sales, and so on. Some of these funds went to support kindergartens, nurseries, and the purchase of clothes and supplies for needy children. In those black communities, particularly in the South where the white authorities refused to build schools, black women and men raised funds and filled the breach. In 1901, W.E.B. Du Bois reported that there were 151 church-sponsored and 161 non-sectarian black schools in the nation.

Women also assumed many of the fundraising burdens for the construction of hospitals and health-care related facilities, including birth control clinics. They were also in the forefront of efforts to establish old people's homes, orphanages, and homes for the protection of young women. Some black women spokespersons, particularly after 1910, joined white women in the struggle to obtain the suffrage.

Women provided much of the energy that the churches and the secular organizations manifested on behalf of their brethren. The mainline churches, for the most part, and the Nation of Islam denied leadership roles to women, but the Holiness and Pentecostal churches were more flexible. In spite of the sexism that they faced, women created spaces for themselves in those institutions.

## **TOPIC 7**

## Discussion Topics

- *How would you evaluate the roles and activities of women in philanthropic organizations versus those of men?*
- *Did women bring specific styles to their work?*
- *Were there basic differences in their nature and approach between organizations that were secular and those that were religious in orientation?*
- *Did white women and black men collaborate in any way to improve the black condition? Did they belong to similar organizations and what causes did they embrace?*

## SUGGESTED READINGS

- Stephanie J. Shaw, What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do: Black Professional Women Workers During the Jim Crow Era (Chicago, 1996).
- Paula Giddings, When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America (New York, 1984).
- Jacqueline Jones, Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to the Present (New York, 1986).
- Darlene Clark Hine and Kathleen Thompson, A Shining Thread of Hope: The History of Black Women in America (New York, 1998).
- Darlene Clark Hine, Wilma King, Linda Reid, eds. "We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible": A Reader in Black Women's History (New York, 1995).

## **The American Negro Academy**

**W**hen the American Negro Academy (ANA) was founded in 1897 in Washington, Alexander Crummell observed that “scholars and thinkers” had a responsibility to shape “the opinions and habits of the crude masses.” To him, scholars were both “reformers” and “philanthropists.” In its constitution, the ANA committed itself: “a. To promote the publication of scholarly work; b. To aid youths of genius in the attainment of the higher culture, at home and abroad;... d. To aid, by publications, the dissemination of the truth and the vindication of the Negro race from vicious assaults...”

Although its membership remained small until its demise in 1931, the ANA boasted many of the most distinguished black Americans on its rolls. They included W.E.B. Du Bois, James Weldon Johnson, Alain Locke, Carter G. Woodson and Kelly Miller. The organization encouraged black scholarship, addressed issues of concern to blacks, and published twenty-two occasional papers on black life and culture. The historian of the ANA has asserted that these papers demonstrated how black intellectuals attempted “to defend their people...and challenge ideas, habits, attitudes, and legal proscriptions that seemed to be locking their race permanently into an inferior caste” (Moss, p. 2).

As an organizational expression of black intellectuals putting their talents in the service of the “race” to which they belonged, the ANA was not particularly successful. Its membership remained small and it lacked the requisite funds to achieve its grand objectives. Some potential members questioned its seemingly timid intellectual positions. Still, the ANA played an important role in illuminating various aspects of the black condition. Overall, however, its impact on the nation’s social policy was almost negligible.

## **TOPIC 8**

Discussion Topics

- *Why was the American Negro Academy founded?*
- *How would you assess the significance of the evolution of black American intellectual life?*
- *What factors explain the demise of the American Negro Academy?*
- *Did the American Negro Academy have any influence on the creation of similar scholarly organizations over time?*

**SUGGESTED READINGS**

- Alfred A. Moss, Jr., The American Negro Academy: Voice of the Talented Tenth (Baton Rouge, 1981).
- Wilson Moses, Alexander Crummell: A Study of Civilization and Discontent (New York, 1989).
- August Meier, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915 (Ann Arbor, 1968).
- David Levering Lewis, W.E.B. Du Bois: The Biography of a Race (New York, 1993).

NB. Alfred Moss' study contains a list of the occasional papers published by the ANA and these should be consulted by students.



## **Garveyism as an Exercise in Philanthropy**

**I**n 1914, Marcus Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in Jamaica. Influenced by Booker T. Washington's philosophy of self help, Garvey formed the UNIA "to promote the spirit of race pride and love; reclaim the fallen of the race, administer to and assist the needy, assist in civilizing the backward tribes of Africa and establish universities, colleges and secondary schools for the further education and culture of the boys and girls of the race." These goals reflected a desire to raise the racial consciousness of the peoples of African descent and a commitment to improve the condition of the dispossessed.

Garvey came to the United States in 1916 and soon established branches of the UNIA. In 1924 he claimed, with some exaggeration, that the UNIA had six million members worldwide. In addition to the racial appeal of the organization, many embraced the UNIA's commitment to improve the material conditions of Africa's children everywhere. As members of a "Mighty Race," Garvey urged blacks to transform their condition through their own efforts and to construct "a tradition of success."

In order to promote its version of black economic nationalism, the UNIA opened restaurants, founded a newspaper and established a shipping line. Drawing upon a long tradition of black nationalist sentiment to "redeem" Africa, Garvey wanted some blacks to go to Africa to assist in the development of the continent. The financial problems that befell the organization prevented the accomplishment of that dream, even in a limited fashion. Although Garvey was eventually deported, many of the UNIA branches survived, at least for a while. But the ideas that gave it life could not be destroyed and would help animate other leaders and movements worldwide. The UNIA gave to its members an abiding belief in their possibilities, made them proud of their race and ancestry, and promised them a future that they would create, shape, and control.

## **TOPIC 9**

Discussion Topics

- *How would you explain the rise of Garveyism and its expansion?*
- *What programs did the Universal Negro Improvement Association promote and why?*
- *In what ways could the Universal Negro Improvement Association be characterized as a black nationalist organization?*
- *What did the UNIA achieve?*

**SUGGESTED READINGS**

- E.U. Essien-Udom, Black Nationalism (Chicago, 1962).
- Theodore Vincent, Black Power and the Garvey Movement (Berkeley, 1975).
- Tony Martin, Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the UNIA (Westport, 1976).
- Robert A. Hill, ed., The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, 11 vols. (Berkeley, 1983- ).
- Randall Burkett, Garveyism as a Religious Movement: The Institutionalization of a Black Civil Religion (Metuchen, NJ, 1978).
- Judith Stein, The World of Marcus Garvey: Race and Class in Modern Society (Baton Rouge, 1986).

## **The Nation of Islam**

**B**lack nationalism as an ideology has its roots in the late eighteenth century. There were many articulate proponents in the nineteenth century, including David Walker, Martin Delany, and Henry McNeal Turner. Not until the advent of Marcus Garvey, however, did black nationalists create a viable organization to implement their views. This is not to suggest that the Universal Negro Improvement Association was the first black nationalist organization. Rather, it was the one that drew the most support and was most pugnacious in its articulation of a shared black identity.

The Nation of Islam, in many respects, stood on the shoulders of the UNIA and a plethora of earlier nationalist organizations. Founded by Farad Muhammad in Detroit in the early 1930s and expanded by Elijah Poole — later Elijah Muhammad — the Nation of Islam appealed to poor, urban residents. It denounced white supremacy, embraced a black deity and promoted a gospel of black self help. The Nation urged blacks to become self sufficient by pooling their resources. This was similar in many respects to the economic nationalism associated with the Garvey movement. As the years wore on, the Nation of Islam came to own a wide range of economic enterprises, including restaurants, supermarkets, retail stores, cleaners, and so on. It built schools and even established two short-lived universities.

The Nation of Islam — despite its internal difficulties and conflicts — has continued to exert an enormous appeal among the urban youth. It has waged a sustained struggle against the use of drugs, created a prison mission, denounced the violence endemic in the inner cities, and introduced an expanding array of social welfare programs.

## **TOPIC 10**

Discussion Topics

- *How did the Nation of Islam seek to improve the black condition?*
- *What were the sources of its support?*
- *In what ways could the Nation of Islam be described as a black nationalist organization?*
- *What did the Nation of Islam possess in common with the Universal Negro Improvement Association?*
- *What factors explain the survival of the Nation of Islam?*

**SUGGESTED READINGS**

- Mattias Gardell, In the Name of Elijah Muhammad: Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam (Durham, 1996).
- George Breitman, The Last Year of Malcolm X (New York, 1967).
- C. Eric Lincoln, The Black Muslims in America (Boston, 1973).
- Malcolm X, The Autobiography of Malcolm X as Told to Alex Haley (New York, 1965).
- Bruce Perry, Malcolm: The Life of a Man who changed Black America (Barrytown, New York, 1991).
- Claude Andrew Clegg III, An Original Man: The Life and Times of Elijah Muhammad (New York, 1997).

## **Father Divine and the Peace Movement**

## **TOPIC 11**

**F**rom time to time, individuals arose in black America and packaged a religio-secular message that appealed to substantial numbers of people. The best known of these personages was Father Divine, who was born as George Baker in Georgia, probably in 1880. By the 1930s, Divine had become an important religious leader in Harlem, with considerable influence nationwide. His brand of Christianity was not confined to the redemption of souls and the preparation for an afterlife. Nor was it essentially otherworldly. As Divine noted:

I would not give five cents for a God who could not help me here on earth, for such a God is not a God at hand. He is only an imagination. It is a false delusion, trying to make you think you had just as well go ahead and suffer and be enslaved and be lynched and everything else here, and after a while you are going to heaven someplace. If God cannot prepare heaven here for you, you are not going anywhere.

Under the circumstances, Divine attempted to create a heaven on earth for his followers. To give organizational expression to his objectives he established the Peace Mission. Its membership was predominantly working class and black, but whites and members of the middle class were attracted as well. Under the aegis of the Peace Mission, Divine created a vast number of businesses, a development that was particularly appealing to former Garveyites. The Peace Mission's economic empire included grocery stores, restaurants, rental properties, and barber shops.

Divine attracted as many as two million followers at the peak of his popularity. The Peace Mission, however, did not long survive Divine's death in 1965. For his followers, the movement's importance resided not only in its religious, economic and political emphases. "Father has freed us from within," Mary Love, a devoted follower confessed in 1964.

Discussion Topics

- *What was Father Divine's Peace Mission intended to achieve?*
- *What was the nature of the ideology that it espoused and what was the source of its appeal?*
- *How would you evaluate its success or failure given its objectives?*

**SUGGESTED READINGS**

Robert Weisbrot, Father Divine and the Struggle for Racial Equality (Urbana, 1983).

Robert Allerton Parker, The Incredible Messiah: The Deification of Father Divine (Boston, 1937).

Jill Watts, God, Harlem U.S.A.: The Father Divine Story (Berkeley, 1992).

C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya, The Black Church in the African American Experience (Durham, 1990).

## **In Search of Civil Rights: The Organizations**

## **TOPIC 12**

**T**he twentieth century has been characterized by sustained campaigns by black citizens for their constitutional rights. Founded in 1910, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) led the legal challenges to discriminatory treatment and to segregation. Composed of blacks and whites, the organization subscribed to the belief that successful assaults on the legal foundations of racism would lead to an improvement in the black condition and the creation of a just social order. During its long struggle, the NAACP won notable victories such as Guinn v. United States (1915) that invalidated the grandfather clause in Oklahoma, Buchanan v. Warley (1917) that disallowed residential segregation, Smith v. Allwright (1944) that voided the all-white primaries and Brown v. Board of Education (1954) that ended the doctrine of separate but equal.

The preparation of the legal challenges to the practice of racial segregation and discrimination required resources, time, and a cadre of committed attorneys and other support staff. The organization obtained financial support from sympathetic foundations as well as from its local branches. These branches, located in every state, attracted blacks as well as whites, chiefly members of the middle class.

In addition to its legal challenges, the NAACP campaigned, unsuccessfully, to get a law passed outlawing lynching. It defended the Scottsboro boys and sponsored "Don't buy where you can't work" campaigns in several northern cities. The NAACP, to be sure, was not the only national organization to embrace the cause of civil rights. In 1943, for example, the Congress of Racial Equality inaugurated the "sit in" strategy whereby blacks occupied public places, such as restaurants, from which they had been excluded on racial grounds. During the 1950s and later, such organizations as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee played crucial roles in the civil rights movement.

## Discussion Topics

- *Why did the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Congress of Race Equality, and the National Urban League play such important roles in the struggles for racial equality?*
- *What issues did these organizations embrace and what strategies did they employ?*
- *In what ways would you consider them to be philanthropic organizations?*
- *How would you evaluate their roles in the history of black America?*

## SUGGESTED READINGS

- Clayborne Carson, In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s (Cambridge, MA, 1981).
- Genna Rae McNeil, Groundwork: Charles Hamilton Houston and the Struggle for Civil Rights (Philadelphia, 1983).
- August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, CORE: A Study of the Civil Rights Movement (New York, 1973).
- Mark V. Tushnet, Making Civil Rights Law: Thurgood Marshall and the Supreme Court, 1936-1961 (New York, 1994).
- Mark Tushnet, The NAACP's Legal Strategy against Segregated Education, 1925-1950 (Chapel Hill, 1988).
- Robert Zangrando, The NAACP Crusade against Lynching, 1909-1950 (Philadelphia, 1980).



## **Philanthropy at the Grassroots**

**A**lthough black America has never been short of organizations committed to improving the black condition, their numbers increased dramatically after about 1950. Many of these organizations were created to advance the cause of civil rights but others responded to a variety of local needs. This motion at the bottom reflected a heightened political and social consciousness among blacks as well as the structural changes that had occurred and were still occurring in black America.

The civil rights movement of the 1950s and the 1960s spawned several organizations and attracted thousands of persons to the cause of social justice. Throughout the South and in other regions as well, many churches opened their doors to civil rights workers, providing them with shelter, protection, and food. Countless numbers of black citizens — and whites too — offered help to those who sought to make the nation honor its founding promise. Students and women, in particular, played important roles in this exercise in direct action.

The civil rights movement effectively ended in 1965 but social protest took other forms. The Black Panther Party for Self Defense was organized in the late 1960s. Among its goals, it urged full employment, self determination for blacks and fundamental changes in societal arrangements. The party sponsored social welfare programs in selected black communities, providing food and milk for children. The Rev. Jesse Jackson also founded the People United to Save Humanity (PUSH) to address the deepening problems in the nation's black ghettos. These, and other newly created organizations, existed alongside the NAACP and CORE although each had its own constituency.

## **TOPIC 13**

## Discussion Topics

- *What organizations were formed in the 1950s and the 1960s to challenge segregation and how did they differ from those that existed prior to 1950?*
- *What strategies did these organizations employ? What were the similarities and differences between them?*
- *How would you evaluate the roles of women and students in these organizations?*
- *What factors explain their success or failure, bearing in mind their objectives?*

## SUGGESTED READINGS

- Aldon D. Morris, The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change (New York, 1984).
- Robert J. Norrell, Reaping the Whirlwind: The Civil Rights Movement in Tuskegee (New York, 1985).
- Vickie L. Crawford, et al., Women in the Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1965 (New York, 1990).
- David Garrow, Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (New York, 1986).
- Taylor Branch, Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954-63 (New York, 1988).



**TOPIC 14****Philanthropy in the Aftermath of the Civil Rights Movement**

In the aftermath of the legislative successes of the Civil Rights movement, many individuals believed that the struggle by African Americans for their civil rights had been completed. Some were also convinced that the acquisition of civil rights would lead, inevitably, to the creation of a just society and one where economic inequities would be substantially reduced if not eliminated. The social disturbances that recurred after 1965 produced a reconsideration of these positions and a demand that the federal government should take the lead in creating programs that would rescue many of the nation's citizens from a life of economic misery. President Lyndon Johnson responded with his Great Society and launched a "war" on poverty.

Black citizens also continued their efforts to improve the condition of their brethren, donating their time, skills and resources. The methods that they employed were diverse and with them came the inevitable tensions and disharmony. The Black Panthers, the Nation of Islam, The National Urban League and a host of other local and national organizations shared the same general objectives but not necessarily the same means. Their divergent strategies deserve critical analysis.

**SUGGESTED READINGS**

Orlando Patterson, The Ordeal of Integration: Progress and Resentment in America's "Racial" Crisis (Washington, 1997).

William L. Van Deburg, Black Camelot: African American Culture Heroes in their Times, 1960-1980 (Chicago, 1997).

Charles T. Banner-Haley, The Fruits of Integration: Black Middle Class Ideology and Culture, 1960-1990 (Jackson, 1994).

Gerald Jaynes and Robin M. Williams, Jr., eds., A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society (Washington, D.C., 1989).

**Discussion Topics**

- *How have the styles and nature of black philanthropy changed in the post civil-rights era?*

- *What new societal challenges do philanthropic organizations confront and how have they responded?*

- *What is the future of black philanthropy?*



**Placing  
Philanthropy  
in the Context  
of the larger  
African-  
American  
Experience**

**Part II.**

**History of African Americans Since 1863**

Some instructors might wish to place the history of black American philanthropy within the context of a more general history of African Americans. If this is the preferred approach, the instructor will need to focus on the complete and diverse ways in which black life evolved over time, showing that philanthropy constitutes only one part of a larger set of experiences. I have some suggestions about how such a course might be constructed. It focuses on the experiences of blacks since the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. It explores the ways in which a people constructed themselves, the struggles they waged, the institutions they created and so on.

**Books that may be considered for such a course include:**

Colin Palmer, Passageways: An Interpretative History of Black America Vol. 1, 1619-1863; Vol. 2, 1863-1965 (Fort Worth, 1998).

Kevin Gaines, Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics and Culture in the Twentieth Century (Chapel Hill, 1996).

Cheryl Wall, Women of the Harlem Renaissance (Bloomington, 1995).

William L. Van Deburg, ed., Modern Black Nationalism From Marcus Garvey to Louis Farrakhan (New York, 1997).

Jack M. Bloom, Class, Race, and the American Civil Rights Movement (Bloomington, 1987).

Darlene Clark Hine and Kathleen Thompson, A Shining Thread of Hope: The History of Black Women in America (New York, 1998).

**Course Content****Week 1: Black life under Slavery**

- (a) The nature of slavery
- (b) The development of slave life, religion, family, culture, etc.
- (c) Slave resistance

Reading: Colin Palmer, Passageways, Vol. 1

**Week 2: The Free Black Population under Slavery**

- (a) The development of a free population before 1863
- (b) Free blacks and the institutions they created
- (c) The opposition to slavery
- (d) The origins and nature of self help

Reading: Colin Palmer, Passageways, Vol. 1

**Week 3: Constructing Freedom after 1863**

- (a) Slavery and its demise
- (b) The construction of freedom: black energy, white resistance
- (c) The creation of black organizations
- (d) Black mobility
- (e) Black philanthropy in the aftermath of slavery

Reading: Colin Palmer, Passageways, Vol. 2 (especially chapters 1 and 2)

**Week 4: Debating and Shaping the Future: Dubois, Washington, Turner et al.**

- (a) Competing ideologies: ideas from above and below on, Nationalism, Socialism, integrationism, assimilationism
- (b) Constructing the organizations for survival: secular, religious, economic, educational
- (c) Looking outwards: African "Redemption" as philanthropy

Reading: Colin Palmer, Passageways, Vol. 2 (Chapter 3).

**Course  
Content**

### **Week 5: Uplifting the Race (I)**

- (a) The ideology of uplift and its meanings: Washington, Crummell, Mary Church Terrell, et al.
- (b) The black condition at the end of the 19th century: economic, political, social circumstances
- (c) Uplift in Practice: The National Association of Colored Women, et al.

Reading: Kevin Gaines, Uplifting the Race.

### **Week 6: Uplifting the Race (II)**

- (a) The church and social welfare
- (b) Washington and the National Business League
- (c) The Urban League and the NAACP
- (d) The role of gender: women and philanthropy

Reading: Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920, (Cambridge, 1993).

### **Week 7: The Social and Intellectual Life of Black America after 1890.**

- (a) Literary and cultural production after 1890: major figures and their work
- (b) The creation of the learned Societies, e.g. The American Negro Academy, The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, etc.
- (c) The Harlem Renaissance

### **Week 8: Self Help Again: The Nationalist Organizations**

- (a) The construction of Blackness
- (b) Black Nationalism as an ideology
- (c) Garveyism as an exercise in philanthropy



**Week 9: A People in Motion: Abandoning the South**

- (a) Migration after 1916
- (b) Creating the institutions of survival: Urban and rural; The Nation of Islam and others
- (c) Weathering the storms of the Depression
- (d) Social, intellectual and economic life after Garvey and the Harlem Renaissance
- (e) Father Divine and the Peace Movement

**Week 10: Forcing Change after WWI**

- (a) Riots and violence since 1917
- (b) Non-violent resistance: Marches, boycotts, etc.
- (c) In search of Civil Rights: The NAACP and its legal challenges

**Week 11: Claiming Civil Rights**

- (a) Internal changes in black America since 1915
- (b) Heightening political consciousness and its expressions, political activity
- (c) Brown v. the Board of Education
- (d) The Civil Rights Movement
- (e) Successes and failures, 1955-1965

**Week 12: Continuity and Change since 1965 (I)**

- (a) Changes and continuities in political life
- (b) Changes and continuities in economic status
- (c) Conservatism as an emerging ideology in black America
- (d) Philanthropy at the grassroots level: Nation of Islam, black Panthers, black churches, local organizations
- (e) Modern feminism

**Week 13: Continuity and Change since 1965 (II)**

- (a) Race, class, gender, and their manifestations in black America
- (b) Cultural and intellectual life since 1965
- (c) Contesting racism; fighting for change in the political and legal arenas
- (d) The changing nature of philanthropy in the 1980s and 1990s

## **Week 14: The Contemporary Black Condition: Achievements and Challenges**

- (a) Looking backward, 150 years of change
- (b) Looking forward

### **SUGGESTED READINGS**

*A note regarding the Bibliography:* I have only suggested readings in a few instances. The instructor may assign readings as appropriate. Works that contain primary sources that may assist undergraduates in understanding some of the issues that are discussed include:

William L. Van Deburg, ed., Modern Black Nationalism From Marcus Garvey to Louis Farrakhan (New York, 1997).

Wilson Moses, ed., Classical Black Nationalism: From the American Revolution to Marcus Garvey (New York, 1996).

Robert Hill, ed., The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers (11 volumes) (Berkeley, 1983- ).

Cary D. Wintz, ed., African American Political Thought 1890-1930 (New York, 1996).

Beverly Guy-Sheftall, ed., Words of Fire: An Anthology of African American Feminist Thought (New York, 1995).

August Meier, Elliott Rudwick, and Frances L. Broderick, eds., Black Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century 2nd ed., (New York, 1971).

John H. Bracy, Jr., August Meier, Elliott Rudwick, eds., Black Nationalism in America (Indianapolis, 1970).

C. Peter Ripley, ed., Witness for Freedom: African American Voices on Race, Slavery and Emancipation (Chapel Hill, 1993).



## Literature Overview

### Part III.

#### A. SELF HELP IN THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

by James Sweet and Kacy Wiggins

**I**t seems that many people in the United States, from scholars to politicians, have assumed that blacks have done little in the way of helping their own people and that black communities have been unresponsive when other black Americans faced social or financial difficulties. To the contrary, a long tradition of black self help in the United States dates back to the seventeenth century and continues to this day. Despite resistance from the larger society, blacks have built formal and informal institutions to protect themselves from the hostility of whites and to sustain themselves when excluded from the benefits of freedom and equality.

Historically, blacks of all economic strata have contributed time, money and goods to uplift the race. Since these contributions often went to institutions that were all but invisible to those outside the various black communities (like the black church), scholars have neglected them. This research aims to erode the myth that African Americans remained apathetic to the needs of their communities or unable to respond to these needs. A closer look at the literature reveals, to the contrary, a deep commitment to self help and racial uplift that distinctly differs from white philanthropic efforts, a commitment which thrived despite often limited resources and which lies at the heart of the African American philanthropic tradition.

The existence of a separate "African American" category in this bibliography and curriculum guide, as well as in scholarship in general, suggests that the experience of black Americans differed fundamentally from other groups. As such, any examination of philanthropy in American black communities demands that we center it in the experiences of black Americans themselves. This requires that we step away from the traditional interpretation shaped by the Eurocentric perspective that has guided historical scholarship and popular literature. Having said this, shifting our

focus to the experiences of African Americans raises questions about how we define philanthropy and how we should define it in the case of this particular group.

First, we will spend little time on the voluminous literature that covers white philanthropic efforts on behalf of African Americans. Although whites played vital roles in the abolition movement and the creation of organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the civil rights movement, these contributions do not necessarily speak to the philanthropic efforts of blacks themselves. At the same time, we must not overlook these contributions. If, in our attempts to focus on the lives of African Americans, we overly narrow our scope, we will miss the context which both enabled and handicapped African Americans' attempts to help themselves. Regrettably, few works concentrate primarily on gifts of money and time contributed by black Americans. Despite this focus, every book or article that deals with the experiences of black Americans somehow touches on philanthropy — broadly conceived. This brings us to our second area of difficulty.

Before we begin with the overview of the literature, we must question the usefulness of the term philanthropy (or even "volunteerism" or voluntary action), as typically defined, with regard to African Americans. While the term certainly shows a great deal of elasticity, problems arise when we apply it to the particularities of the African American experiences, especially but not limited to those who lived prior to 1865. One must remember that at the outbreak of the Civil War only 500,000 blacks lived outside the bondage of slavery, compared to four million who did not. And among that free half million, only a few had the capacity to contribute time or money for the public good. The limitations placed on free black communities by discriminatory legislation and social mores made day to day life difficult enough, limiting the voluntary and philanthropic participation of black Americans. Even though we can find numerous examples that fit nicely within the broad conception of philanthropy, including the roles of educators, abolitionists, activists, publishers, among others, we cannot forget that the primary aim of these philanthropists differed greatly because they had the additional burden of asserting their humanity in a nation where being black meant, for the most part, being chattel. The actions of these first black philanthropists laid the institutional foundations of black communities for years to come and these institutions should weigh heavily in any examination of black American philanthropy and voluntary action.

Placing primacy on the commonly accepted and more rigidly defined concept of philanthropy denies the very nature of African American self help efforts. In a period where seven of eight black persons found their humanity denied in the chains of slavery, the word philanthropist

hardly seems adequate or even the right one to describe those free persons fortunate enough to chip away at racial oppression. Indeed, free blacks fought to assert their own humanity as much as they fought for those who remained enslaved. If one defines philanthropy as the giving of gifts of time, money, and/or valuables for public benefit, we cannot deny that the end result of black activism falls within this definition, since racial uplift and the imperative of basic survival led to the creation of benevolent societies, literary societies, and convention movements. We should not, however, ignore the peculiarities of the experiences of blacks. In order to capture the essence of the motivating forces behind African American philanthropy, we must rework the definition of philanthropy to include "the giving of gifts of time or valuables for the uplift of a race." Of course, the more traditional definition given above also applies, but this reworked version makes it more inclusive and more meaningful to the lives, experiences and history of black Americans.

Even after emancipation, black Americans found their freedom limited by Jim Crow laws. This raises additional questions about philanthropy in the black community. Moreover, due to these social limitations we may want to re-evaluate the role of white philanthropists in the black community as well. This will not be the primary focus of this overview but it is often implied in the works here and will surface in this essay from time to time. We cannot expect that all white philanthropists remained untouched by the cultural biases that shaped their times. These biases influenced their desire to help (or not to help) black Americans and put limits on their actions and contributions. For example, we can ask what role white philanthropists played in black education. In this area, we cannot ignore the hands of white philanthropists and industrialists. As historians have shown (see for example, James Anderson's *Education of Blacks in the South*), the success of the industrial education of blacks had as much to do with the contributions of white industrialists and philanthropists as it did with Booker T. Washington's ability to implement them. In sum, a focus on black Americans' attempts at philanthropic and voluntary action has the added benefit of shedding new light on white philanthropists.

The concept of racial uplift grew to prominence before emancipation but remains a constant thread in the experiences of African Americans. We can see it in the nationalism of Marcus Garvey, in the struggle for civil rights and in the continuing struggles between urban blacks and mainstream charities. The reason for the apparent permanence of racial uplift lies in the constant systematic and institutional confinement and exclusion of blacks from the fruits of the wealth and power held by the larger society — a theme which carries across time. As a result, black Americans have had little choice but to address their problems from within their own communities. This, once again, calls into question accepted definitions of philan-

thropy, especially the notion of “gifts for public purpose.” Public purpose holds particular meaning for black Americans because at times it did not coincide with the public purpose of white Americans. This forced black Americans to look within their own communities in their quest for social services. Race has, undoubtedly, shaped black philanthropy and this has served historically as a means to combat racism and white supremacy. As a result, a very distinctive form of philanthropy has remained segregated from the mainstream from the seventeenth century until the present.

We can break down black philanthropy into a set of two overlapping traditions, which were reactions to white racism and at the same time a function of community or institution building, social change and humanitarian aid. For over 350 years, including the emergence of the black abolitionists to the civil rights demonstrators of the 1950s and 1960s, blacks have battled institutional barriers to equality. Humanitarian aid proved integral to their very survival. Blacks faced exclusion from the social, economic, and political power structures since their arrival in 1619. In the years leading up to the civil rights movement, blacks, mostly out of necessity, created their own schools, almshouses, insurance companies, and soup kitchens — often under the auspices of the church. Today, formal black organizations increasingly meet these needs, especially in urban areas. According to the literature, white charitable organizations that chose to give to black urban communities often did so selectively, and often with a patronizing attitude. Unlike other excluded groups that have had to rely on their own community resources, African Americans have remained for the most part unable to achieve parity in the power structure of “mainstream” charitable institutions. Thus, while some of those once-excluded groups now wield some power in the nation’s largest charitable organizations, black Americans have yet to break down the barriers. Moreover, many of these black organizations take a form that does not seem to fit preconceived notions of charitable organizations. Yet they perform similar charitable functions. Some examples include Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), the Nation of Islam and the Black Panther Party. Each organization appeared to those outside of the various communities as anything but charitable. Beneath their seemingly adversarial (or what some often called anti-American) position the uplift tradition has carried on what we could only call philanthropy. This further complicates any effort to understand black philanthropy and its nature in the black communities.

Recognizing the limitations or peculiarities of the term philanthropy as it applies to African Americans, we can now move on to a review of the pertinent literature. When examining the dominant themes of African-American history, one must not ignore the works of churches, benevolent societies, literary societies, emigration movements, convention move-

ments, civil rights organizations, urban emergency funds, lecturers and publishers. Few works of synthesis speak directly to these and other self-help efforts. (For a very brief but provocative synthesis of black self help from the eighteenth century to the present, see Emmett D. Carson, *A Hand Up: Black Philanthropy and Self-Help in America*).<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, in part because the history of black Americans centers on building institutions and community ties, one can find at least one or two examples of this "black philanthropy" in nearly every book written about African Americans in the past fifty years.

Benjamin Quarles's *Black Abolitionists* stands as perhaps the finest synthetic work on the black philanthropic tradition. Although written more than 25 years ago, Quarles' work remains the only thorough overview of black initiatives in the years before 1865. Quarles argues that black abolitionists acted with greater urgency than white abolitionists because free blacks felt a special kinship with their brothers and sisters in bondage. He goes on to suggest that almost all of the organized efforts of free blacks, from emigrationist movements to literary societies, aimed at bringing about the end to slavery. This volume comprehensively treats lecturers, educators, publishers, benevolent societies, conventioners, and those who aided in protecting fugitive slaves. That Quarles' work has endured testifies to its breadth and depth; however, an updated book which asks similar questions is long overdue.<sup>2</sup>

In the nearly 30 years since Quarles's book appeared, historians have written numerous books and articles focusing on specific local free black communities. Gary Nash's *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720-1840* and Letitia Wood Brown's *Free Negroes in the District of Columbia, 1790-1846* stand out as two of the finest examples of these local studies. Nash's book focuses on the formation of the first free black churches and the first benevolent societies. He also does much to demonstrate the fragile relationship that these African Americans had with white philanthropists as well as the limitations racism placed on black philanthropic activity. Brown pays particular attention to the creative ways in which free blacks were able to collect money to purchase slaves. Each of these local histories contains evidence which could supplement and expand on Quarles's work. Unfortunately, the narrow geographic and chronological scope of these studies limits our understanding of the bigger picture. If we examined the recent literature on free blacks with an eye toward creating a synthesis on "black philanthropy," a more nuanced and thorough understanding of black self-help efforts would emerge.<sup>3</sup>

For the post-1865 period, African American philanthropy becomes in some ways even more complex. The "freedom" of nearly four million slaves did



not guarantee their equality. For the next hundred years, individuals and organizations would carry out the fight for basic civil rights. Not only did black Americans expend inordinate amounts of time and energy while attempting to destroy white supremacy, but many of them put their lives at risk. Ostensibly, one could argue that every account of black life in the post-1865 period includes some elements of philanthropy. We will make no attempt, however, to cover even a sizable fraction of these books. This overview focuses on the major movements and figures of the period. Unlike Quarles's work for the pre-emancipation years, no one has attempted to synthesize black philanthropy from 1865 to the present.

Perhaps the greatest gap in the historiography of African Americans lies in the period between 1865 and 1910, although recent work on racial uplift, education, and black women has begun to fill this gap. The majority of these studies seem to fall into one of two categories. On the one hand, we have works that deal with intellectual or political elites, such as George Washington Williams, Booker T. Washington, and W.E.B. Du Bois. On the other, we find chronicles of victimization with vivid descriptions of lynchings, burnings, and other acts of white violence. But we scarcely catch a glimpse of the average person of African descent attempting to forge new passageways in a society that stifled his or her social and cultural movement. Certainly, a few sources give voice to this majority, but historians and other scholars should not assume that intellectuals and the victims of white violence represented the only dimensions of black life. Just as other fields of history and scholarship have moved away from looking at just the extremes of experience or from the top down, so should those who look at the experiences of black Americans.

In *Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite 1880-1920*, Willard B. Gatewood argues that during the years immediately following emancipation, while the black masses struggled to shape their newly found "freedom," a black elite made up of light skinned, educated blacks freed before emancipation asserted their superiority over other black Americans. In effect, they created an aristocratic sub-class within black America. By distancing themselves from the majority of black Americans, this consciously created sub-class retarded the quest for equality and civil rights. This "black aristocracy" felt a sense of noblesse oblige toward poor blacks, so they contributed to almshouses, nurseries, schools and meal programs. But the black elite refused to accept the majority of blacks as social equals. Only when segregation began to reach its zenith around the turn of the century, affecting the prospects of this "talented tenth", did the black elite shift its attentions from "high culture" to race-centered social reform.<sup>4</sup>

Gatewood's analysis leaves open many questions regarding the activities of the black majority during this important period. For some former slaves,

freedom stood as a grim reminder of the destructive dependency fostered by the plantation system. At least on the plantation, the master provided food, clothing and shelter. A market economy largely hostile to free black labor did not guarantee these necessities. It seems safe to suggest that these ex slaves found ways of coming together and sharing whatever they could. (See William L. Pollard's A Study of Black Self Help for several poignant examples of poor blacks donating small amounts to charities between 1890 and 1915.) This spirit of philanthropy may in fact have been the key ingredient in the survival of the black underclass during the period. But we can only sustain these suppositions through further research that looks beyond the top-down approach that has dominated up to this point.<sup>5</sup>

Among the most enigmatic philanthropists in black American history is W.E.B. Du Bois. David Levering Lewis' W.E.B. Du Bois: A Biography of a Race chronicles both the formative years of the Niagara Movement, the NAACP, and the periodical, The Crisis. Du Bois proudly admitted that he was one of the black "elite" described by Willard Gatewood, and some observers accused him of catering to white benefactors. Yet Du Bois led the Niagara Movement's bold challenge to white supremacy in its 1905 "Declaration of Principles." The all-black civil rights organization received its charter in 1906 and stood as a direct challenge to Booker T. Washington's accommodationist "Tuskegee Machine." Du Bois lent his limited wealth and considerable reputation to the first illustrated weekly magazine covering black America, The Moon Illustrated Weekly. He later used this experience when he became the long-time editor of The Crisis. Even though Du Bois was socially and intellectually elitist and found himself indebted to whites, he retained a racially conscious core which in many respects bridged the gap between Booker T. Washington's accommodationism and Marcus Garvey's nationalism that came later.<sup>6</sup>

Before we leave Du Bois and Washington behind, we should not forget that the nature of education for blacks lies at the heart of the debate between them. As James Anderson shows us in The Education of Blacks in the South, white philanthropy limited and shaped the possibilities of black self-help efforts. Booker T. Washington's ideal fit within the uplift tradition. At the same time, the Tuskegee ideal, which sacrificed the development of a liberal college education in favor of a more pragmatic industrial education, attracted the attention and money of white philanthropists and northern industrialists. Anderson clearly raises questions about whether or not accommodation best describes Washington's ideas. On the one hand, the idea of starting from the bottom and training for positions as workers makes a great deal of sense for a people raising themselves from the debasement of slavery and segregation. And accepting money from a white philanthropist toward this end was just as smart. But these ideas ultimately helped to create a subservient black class of industrial workers.<sup>7</sup>

The conflicts between Du Bois and Washington and other developments set the stage in the early twentieth century for the emergence of two streams of African American social thought. Each provided fertile ground for the growth of black philanthropy. Rising at roughly the same time, the separatist eye-for-an-eye nationalists and the integrationist, non-violent civil rights groups agreed that voluntary direct action was necessary in order to bring an end to white racism. While scholars have paid much attention to the bravery and sacrifices of those who engaged in peaceful acts of civil disobedience, they have undervalued many other contributions, such as the effects of the Universal Negro Improvement Association's insurance and burial benefits (see Robert A. Hill, ed., Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers).<sup>8</sup>

In the past twenty years, a voluminous body of work on the civil rights movement has appeared. Again, one could easily find philanthropy in all of them, but we will highlight only the most influential contributions. Aldon D. Morris' The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement provides a fine introduction to the movement's roots. Morris focuses on the black clerical, civic, and civil rights groups operating in the years prior to 1960. He argues that nearly all of these groups owe their existence to the early work of the black church. Robert Weisbrot's Freedom Bound: A History of America's Civil Rights Movement best overall survey of the movement. He traces it from its origins in the 1940s through the Reagan era, chronicling the volunteer efforts of individuals in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the NAACP.<sup>9</sup>

We should also note the two most influential works on the central figure of the movement, Martin Luther King. As his book's title suggests, Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963, Taylor Branch's biography provides a more journalistic description of the events of the period than a chronicle of King the man. Nonetheless, Branch's work, epic in scope, offers the most detailed account of those years. This book includes a discussion of the numerous volunteers who risked their lives organizing, marching, engaging in sit-ins, and riding integrated buses through the South. David J. Garrow's Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference on the other hand, offers a more focused study of King and his movement. Garrow portrays King as an extraordinary yet flawed man who carried the burden of the "messiah" with him everywhere he went. The SCLC depended upon his oratory skills as its main vehicle for raising funds, while it paid him only \$1 per year. The book illustrates King's personal battles well and illuminates his sacrifices in life and death.<sup>10</sup>

The post-Civil Rights era brings us back to the question of black nationalism. Until the 1960s, black philanthropy was limited mostly to the local efforts by churches, mutual aid societies, etc. directed at helping individuals in the immediate community. During the 1960s and 1970s, blacks appear to have moved gradually toward creating their own charitable systems. According to the literature, much of this development arose out of black dissatisfaction with the workplace giving campaigns in which their white employers encouraged them to participate. In almost every case prior to the 1970s, the United Way was the only alternative in workplace charitable campaigns. Black social agencies complained that the United Way did not respond to the needs of black communities. The organization had an insufficient number of blacks on its board of directors. Urban problems were not prioritized. Financial support of black programs was limited. And local black agencies were not granted control over their own programs. In response to this neglect by the United Way, a number of black social agencies emerged which sought to center their efforts in the black community. Although groups like the Brotherhood Crusade of Los Angeles or the United Black Fund of Washington have escaped the attention of most scholars, there are several works which describe the schism between the United Way and black urban communities. The subject is touched on briefly in Dona L. Irvin's The Unsung Heart of Black America: A Middle-Class Church at Mid-Century.<sup>11</sup> But the best analysis of the sources of the conflict is King E. Davis's Fund Raising in the Black Community: History, Feasibility, and Conflict. Davis describes the emergence of black fundraising campaigns in the 1970s and chronicles their conflicts with the United Way. He also examines the fundraising activities (payroll deductions, foundation grants, phone solicitations, social affairs) and volunteer work (educational programs, community centers, economic development) of the black agencies.<sup>12</sup>

Black historical scholarship is not immune to the hyperbole of resistance as the central theme permeating the entire experience of blacks in America. V. P. Franklin's Black Self-Determination: A Cultural History of African American Resistance asserts that from slavery to the present blacks have embraced self-determination and resistance as "core values" in opposition to white supremacy. He argues that mutual aid societies, conventions, etc. were all active forms of resistance. While one might fail to be persuaded by the argument that African Americans were constantly on the barricades, the old victimization paradigms must be replaced by models which are centered around the experiences and actions of African Americans themselves. Scholars therefore must expand their focus and search for those elements of black philanthropy which liberate individuals from the crushing weight of racism and poverty.<sup>13</sup>

Finally, other works on the post civil rights period reveal insights into the effectiveness of the civil rights movement. As William Julius Wilson notes in The Declining Significance of Race: Blacks and Changing American Institutions, the civil rights movement succeeded in producing a growing black middle class. In the process, as this middle class moved from urban neighborhoods, those who remained behind lost valuable resources and a black underclass developed. While this work does not deal with the specific roles that philanthropists and activists play in the post civil rights era, it does illuminate the conditions that set the stage for contemporary and future philanthropic and voluntary action.<sup>14</sup>

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Emmett D. Carson, A Hand Up: Black Philanthropy and Self-Help in America (Washington: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies Press, 1993).

<sup>2</sup>Benjamin Quarles, Black Abolitionists (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969).

<sup>3</sup>Letitia Woods Brown, Free Negroes in the District of Columbia, 1790-1846 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972); Gary B. Nash, Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community 1720-1840 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).

<sup>4</sup>Willard B. Gatewood, Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880-1920 (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990).

<sup>5</sup>William L. Pollard, A Study of Black Self Help (San Francisco: R&E Research Associates, Inc., 1978).

<sup>6</sup>David Levering Lewis, W. E. B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race 1868-1919 (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1993).

<sup>7</sup>James D. Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

<sup>8</sup>Robert A. Hill, ed., The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

<sup>9</sup>Aldon D. Morris, The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement (New York: Free Press, 1984); Robert Weisbrot, Freedom Bound: A History of America's Civil Rights Movement (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1990).

<sup>10</sup>Taylor Branch, Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988); David J. Garrow, Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Leadership Conference (New York: Random House Books, 1986).

<sup>11</sup>See, for example, page 68.

<sup>12</sup>King E. Davis, Fund Raising in the Black Community: History, Feasibility, and Conflict (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1975); Dona L. Irvin, The Unsung Heart of Black America: A Middle-Class Church at Mid-Century (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1992).

<sup>13</sup>V. P. Franklin, Black Self-Determination: A History of African American Resistance (Brooklyn: Lawrence Hill Books, 1992).

<sup>14</sup>William Julius Wilson, The Declining Significance of Race: Blacks and Changing American Institutions (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978).



## Literature Overview

### B. VOLUNTEERISM AND AFRICAN-AMERICAN WOMEN

by Erica Ball

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, African-American women created associations to provide services for their communities. Black women worked through independent secular clubs, and through church auxiliaries. At times they worked within interracial organizations like the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), or in associations or movements with African-American men. They often kept their work within the bounds of ladylike propriety, but they were no strangers to vocal political activism. Though their efforts are only beginning to be examined by historians, we can see that African-American women's philanthropy filled an important need in black communities across the country.

Because the field of African-American women's history is a relatively new area of study, literature addressing African-American women's voluntary associations and community philanthropic efforts is just beginning to appear. At present, no well-defined historical debate has emerged. However, scholars do tend to shape their analysis of black women's philanthropy around two major themes. Some, like Wilson Jeremiah Moses, point to the women's tendency to use their voluntary associations to work on behalf of the African-American population. He describes their organizations as black nationalist endeavors.<sup>1</sup> Others prefer to examine the gender restrictions faced by black women, and the feminist implications of their work.

Throughout the antebellum era the overwhelming majority of the African-American population remained enslaved. But free African-American women donated their time to a number of societies and organizations. As Shirley Yee describes in her study of black women abolitionists, African-American women created benevolent and moral reform associations, literary societies, and church auxiliaries to provide services to their communities. They also organized and participated in a variety of antislavery organizations. Yee argues that by addressing audiences of men and



women, and by writing strongly-worded anti-slavery articles, African-American women occasionally transcended what some believed were the bounds of proper female behavior. When they did so, they faced denunciation by male counterparts who preferred that women confine their activities to the home.<sup>2</sup>

Most of the literature on black women's philanthropy focuses on their clubwork from the 1890s through the first World War. During this time period, which one scholar describes as the nadir of African American history<sup>3</sup>, the number of secular African-American women's associations increased dramatically. By 1896, African-American women had created enough organizations to combine under the auspices of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW). These middle upper-class women considered themselves to be "colored women of education and culture." And they planned to act as "evidence of the moral, mental, and material progress made by people of color" for white America.<sup>4</sup> They used the NACW biennial meetings as an opportunity to meet other clubwomen from across the nation, trade ideas, and present a positive image of African-American women to white Americans. Darlene Clark Hine argues that these activities allowed the women to reclaim their own pride and dignity just as they worked to instill self esteem in the poor and working class women they served.<sup>5</sup>

Much of the clubwomen's volunteer efforts turned on what Kevin Gaines has called racial uplift ideology. He argues that by the 1890s, most elite African-Americans believed that education, racial unity, and self-help programs would be the most effective methods to "uplift" the black population from the degradation of slavery. He finds that some, like Booker T. Washington, hoped to increase job opportunities for African Americans by providing industrial education programs for the rural and working class members of the population. Others, like W.E.B. Dubois, planned to use education to enlarge the black professional class, and provide white Americans with personal examples of the black population's fitness for American citizenship. In addition, according to Gaines, proponents of racial uplift thought agreed that the black population needed to conform to the middle-class gender ideal of separate spheres before African Americans could advance as a race.<sup>6</sup>

Because they worked within the framework of racial uplift ideology, African-American clubwomen did not directly challenge popular conceptions of appropriate gender roles. Instead they focused their efforts on helping the women and children of the African-American population. Through their efforts, the clubwomen provided a number of community services neglected by local and state governments. They organized mothers' meetings, cooking classes, and day care facilities for poor and work-

ing-class women. They created and maintained libraries, public health clinics, orphanages, kindergartens and nursing homes for their towns and neighborhoods. They also created juvenile detention facilities to keep young lawbreakers from being jailed with adult offenders. Stephanie Shaw notes that clubwomen often leased such institutions to their local governments with the stipulation that the women continue to work there, and that the government continue to use the facilities to provide services to the African Americans in the area.<sup>7</sup>

In Righteous Discontent, Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham reminds us that black women's volunteerism was not limited to secular clubwork. For throughout this time period, African-American women continued to be active in their church auxiliaries and societies. In her study of black Baptist women, Higginbotham finds that a number of African-American women raised funds and created community institutions through their church associations. Unlike the middle-class composition of the NACW and its network of clubs, most of the membership of the black Baptist women's associations came from the poor and working classes. Higginbotham argues that their commitment to volunteerism helped to make churches the most important institutions in black communities. At the same time, they allowed the women involved to extend and challenge the boundaries of prevailing gender ideologies.<sup>8</sup>

In the years after 1920, the mass movement of African Americans to northern urban areas, and the movement away from racial uplift thought led younger African-American women to join a variety of new male-led and inter-racial organizations. These women supported groups like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Urban League, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), and Marcus Garvey's black nationalist Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). But others, particularly in the South, continued to participate in their religious and secular women's clubs. As Darlene Clark Hine and Kathleen Thompson point out in their synthesis of black women's history, the skills African-American women learned while working within these organizations prepared them for their important role in the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 60s.<sup>9</sup> Hopefully future scholarship will address these efforts, and further investigate the long and rich tradition of black women's philanthropy in the United States.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Wilson Jeremiah Moses, The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850-1925 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

<sup>2</sup>See Shirley Yee, Black Women Abolitionists: A Study in Activism, 1828-1860 (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1992).

<sup>3</sup>Rayford Logan, The Negro in American Life and Thought, The Nadir 1877-1901 (New York: Dial Press, Inc., 1954), 52.

<sup>4</sup>Elizabeth Lindsay Davis, Lifting As They Climb (Washington D.C.: NACW, 1933), 41.

<sup>5</sup>Darlene Clark Hine, "'We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible': The Philanthropic Work of Black Women," in Hine Sight: Black Women and the Re-construction of American History (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 112; first appeared in: Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power, ed. Kathleen D. McCarthy (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990).

<sup>6</sup>See Kevin Gaines, Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

<sup>7</sup>Stephanie Shaw, "Black Club Women and the Creation of the National Association of Colored Women, in "We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible": A Reader in Black Women's History ed. Darlene Clark Hine, Wilma King, and Linda Reed (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1995), 440.

<sup>8</sup>See Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

<sup>9</sup>Darlene Clark Hine and Kathleen Thompson, A Shining Thread of Hope: The History of Black Women in America (New York: Broadway Books, 1998), 238.

**ANNOTATED  
BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**Part IV.**

by Erica Ball, James Sweet, and Kacy Wiggins

**A. GENERAL**

Berlin, Ira. Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South. New York: Pantheon Books, 1974.

As the title suggests, Berlin argues that free blacks in the South were denied the full freedom which their "free" status might imply. Instead, they were mired between slavery and freedom. Nonetheless, free blacks were able to benefit from the fruits of their own labor and develop social institutions. Berlin contends that churches, schools, and benevolent societies were the source of community strength in the free black communities. Independent churches were created with the aid of black financial contributions as early as 1818 in Charleston. The majority of southern black schooling took place in these churches with little or no cost to the students. Large churches such as the First African Baptist Church in Richmond contributed funds for black meeting houses in smaller towns like Petersburg, Lynchburg, and Staunton. Congregations were also known to take up collections to help free those still in bondage. Benevolent societies sprang up in all of the major cities. Membership dues were collected on a yearly basis from each member. Though only a handful of these societies applied for state charters, they "secretly" were able to provide burial and sickness benefits to their members. They also made excess funds available for loans to create black business opportunities. Finally, some of the societies extended their charity to include aiding fugitive slaves. The Union Travellers Association of Richmond was one such society.

Blackett, R.J.M. Beating Against the Barriers: The Lives of Six Nineteenth-Century Afro-Americans. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989.

The author recounts the lives of: Maryland-born fugitive slave James W. C. Pennington, anti-slavery orator, educator, and church leader; Georgia slaves William and Ellen Craft, who spent nineteen years in exile in England protesting slavery; educator and editor, Robert Campbell, who lived in Jamaica, Central America, the United States, and Nigeria; North Carolina slave John Sella Martin, who escaped to the North and became a preacher, reformist, and anti-slavery lecturer; and William Howard Day, educator, political activist, and newspaper publisher. The selfless and persistent assaults against the “barriers” of white oppression bind all six of these figures. Their volunteer work ranged from anti-slavery lectures, to political advocacy, to educational reform. Blackett suggests that their styles were the “quintessential transforming moral leadership...one that does not aim to master and exploit people to satisfy its own irrational drives, but sets out to help them identify and use their own abilities more fully in the service of themselves and society.”

Branch, Taylor. Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-63. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988.

Branch's thousand-page tome is epic in its sweeping examination of the civil rights era. While not a biography of King or even a chronicle of the movement itself, Branch captures the tumult of the entire nation during the period from 1954 to 1963. Though King is certainly at the center of Branch's analysis, the reader gets an intimate glimpse of some of the lesser known local activists and organizers of the civil rights movement. In seeing the sacrifices of individuals on the ground level, one comes away with a better understanding of the wide range of contributions made by students, church people, workers, etc.

Brown, Letitia Woods. Free Negroes in the District of Columbia, 1790-1846. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Despite periods of racial hostility, Washington's free blacks were able to increase steadily in number and make significant cultural and economic progress. The bulk of this volume is devoted to describing the growth of the free black population of the Federal District. Based on a wide array of public records, Brown examines the three most common paths from slavery to freedom—descent from free mothers, manumission by will, and manumission by deed. In addition to these three avenues, the author

describes individual and collective efforts to free slaves. Numerous examples of free blacks purchasing the freedom of friends and family are provided. A free black Methodist Church in Washington passed around a collection plate in order to collect funds for the purchase of a member who was about to be sold “down South” away from his wife and child. Stage shows were presented by free black singers with the proceeds from the shows going toward the purchase price of certain slaves. And finally, in order to free loved ones, some blacks sought donations via door-to-door solicitations. The final chapter of the book describes the lives of free blacks in the District, including those who were involved in the Negro Convention Movement, the Conventions of the Free People of Color, the American Moral Reform Society, and the emigration movement.

Butler, John Sibley. Entrepreneurship and Self-Help Among Black Americans: A Reconsideration of Race and Economics. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991.

Butler’s volume is primarily an historical examination of black business ventures with case studies of Durham, NC and Tulsa, OK. The author argues for a strong tradition of black entrepreneurship and self-help. Chapter three, entitled “‘To Seek for Ourselves’: Benevolent, Insurance, and Banking Institutions,” provides an interesting examination of the relationship between black churches and educational institutions around the turn of the twentieth century. He argues that most black grammar schools and black colleges were supported primarily by black churches. He also details benevolent societies that provided sickness and death benefits to their members. Butler utilizes illustrative charts and tables which show the extent of black contributions to both schools and benevolent societies.

Carson, Emmett D. A Hand Up: Black Philanthropy and Self-Help in America. Washington: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies Press, 1993.

Carson’s brief analysis examines black philanthropy from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries with particular focus on black charitable efforts in the 1960s and 1970s. Carson effectively argues that black philanthropy consists of three identifiable “strains” — humanitarian aid, self-help, and social aid. He sees the church as the uniting force behind black philanthropic efforts, in large part because it has a congregation as its continuous source of funding. After setting a platform for black philanthropy, Carson sketches the actual efforts of blacks, from early benevolent socie-

ties to urban organizations in the 1970s and 1980s. Carson provides a provocative and insightful introduction to black philanthropy.

Curry, Leonard P. The Free Black in Urban America 1800-1850: The Shadow of a Dream. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Despite examples of economic and social success, nineteenth-century northern free blacks were unable to share fully in the "American Dream." Because they were black, they were denied complete access to the benefits of American society. Those who did succeed did so as a result of their own social and economic initiative. Using an abundance of primary source materials, Curry "spreads [his] research net widely" (xviii) in assessing the condition of free blacks in fifteen cities encompassing all geographical areas of nineteenth-century America. He examines white and black philanthropy in the creation of hospitals, churches, orphanages, and asylums. In addition, he discusses black organizations such as Charleston's Brown Fellowship Society, the African Dorcas Societies of Philadelphia and New York, the School Fund Society of Ohio, New York's Woolman Benevolent Society, and the Philanthropic Society of Pittsburgh.

Davis, King E. Fund Raising in the Black Community: History, Feasibility, and Conflict. Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1975.

After a thorough survey chapter on the roots of black fund raising and social work from the 1700s to 1975, Davis turns his attention to the schism which developed between black social agencies and the United Way in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Black social agencies complained that the United Way: 1) did not prioritize black urban problems; 2) did not give local black agencies control over their own programs; 3) had an insufficient number of blacks on its board of directors; and 4) limited its financial support of black programs. Davis describes the emergence of more nationalist black social agencies which sought to center their efforts in the black community. He conducts individual case studies of the Brotherhood Crusade in Los Angeles, the United Black Appeal in Boston, the United Black Fund in Washington, and two black appeals that failed, the Poor People's Partnership in Cleveland and the Urban Emergency Fund in Providence, RI. Davis examines the evolution of each of these non-profit agencies and chronicles their conflicts with the United Way. In addition, he describes their fund-raising techniques (payroll deductions, foundation grants, phone solicitations, social affairs, etc.), volunteer activities (administrative functions, distribution of information, solicitation for funds, etc.), and allocations (economic development, educational programs, community centers, etc.).

Fairclough, Adam. To Redeem the Soul of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King, Jr. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987.

Beginning in 1957, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) became the institutional heart of the Civil Rights Movement. But, Fairclough argues, it defied easy classification. At times it seemed more church than civil rights organization, more a movement than an institution. On the surface, inefficiency and disarray seemed a possible limit to its effectiveness. Yet from its inception to 1965 it successfully fought segregation with a series of non-violent protests. Fairclough details the history of SCLC by examining its evolving structure, membership, and leadership. The apparent lack of a rigid structure, the author concludes, insured its effectiveness for nearly a decade. The absence of rigidity, normally associated with formal organizations, allowed Martin Luther King and the other members to move from one community to another, from one protest to another. Fairclough also notes the SCLC's ability to use non-violence to provoke violent reactions from Southern racists. Combined with its mobility, this made the SCLC's campaign remarkably productive. But by 1965 the scene had changed considerably. The Civil Rights Act and Voting Rights Act, won with the help of pressure applied by the SCLC, were the most apparent differences. Ultimately, its greatest asset became a liability and the SCLC was no longer able to hold its position as the preeminent civil right organization.

Franklin, John Hope. The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1943.

North Carolina's free blacks attempted to create occupational, educational, spiritual, and social opportunities for themselves even though they often encountered individual and legislative hostility from their white neighbors. While many of North Carolina's free blacks merely struggled to maintain their personhood, several stand out for their contributions in improving the conditions of their brethren. After purchasing his own freedom in 1798, John C. Stanly built a small fortune in Craven County as a farmer and barber. From 1805 to 1818, Stanly bought the freedom of at least 23 other slaves. During the early nineteenth century, John Chavis ran a night school for children of color in Raleigh. He was forced to teach his black students at night because his white day students refused to take classes with black children. Often in financial trouble, Chavis sought the aid of white donors on more than one occasion. Franklin suggests that Chavis and other successful free blacks were able to prevail because they gained the respect of influential whites.



Franklin, V.P. Black Self-Determination: A Cultural History of African American Resistance. Brooklyn, NY: Lawrence Hill Books, 1992.

By examining African-American art, music, and religious expressions from slavery to the present, Franklin argues that blacks have embraced self-determination and resistance as “core values” in opposition to white supremacy. He goes on to suggest that black leaders such as Marcus Garvey, A. Philip Randolph, Malcolm X, and Jesse Jackson have been “successful” because they have been able to tap into this cultural value system of the black masses. Franklin describes mutual aid societies as springboards for protest organizations. The author also highlights the back-to-Africa movements, vigilance committees which aided fugitive slaves, the black nationalist press, and the black convention movement. Franklin views all of these movements as active forms of resistance.

Fredrickson, George M. The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914. Hanover, New Hampshire: Wesleyan University Press, 1971.

While it is essential to look to African Americans themselves to understand the role of philanthropy in their lives, it is also important to look at the philanthropic activism of white Americans in black communities. George Fredrickson examines the dominant racial ideologies of white Americans from the nation building period to the start of the first world war. The significance of the author’s insightful revelations are two fold. First, he demonstrates the limitations that these racial ideologies placed on a black population’s attempts to gain social, economic, and political equality by their own efforts. Second, he shows us how these ideologies shaped the ways the white elites chose whether to aid the oppressed black population. The evolution of paternalism from the time of slavery to industrialization seems particularly important to understanding the psyche of these elites. Fredrickson also discusses other ideas that shaped white elites’ responses to the plight of black Americans, including social Darwinism and the related notion of scientific racism. These ideas formed the basis of white philanthropic and charitable activities in black communities. For example, Fredrickson points out the use of paternalistic rhetoric by post-Civil War philanthropists in northern cities.

Gaines, Kevin K. Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics and Culture in the Twentieth Century. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Kevin Gaines begins his examination of black leadership shortly before the twentieth century, focusing specifically on the way black leaders reacted to

and fought against white supremacy. Combining chapters of historical analysis with biographical sketches, the author traces the rise of a new class of black elites and details how they attempted to define themselves in a country where they lacked political and social power. Central to our understanding of this rising class is the concept of "racial uplift," a pervasive self-help ideology that informed most, if not all, of the actions of these black leaders. Racial uplift centered on the belief that white racism would end once black Americans, as a race, progressed socially by their own efforts, proving them worthy of equality. In this light, much of the work of African-American educators, activists, intellectuals, and philanthropists can be seen as a manifestation of this important ideology. Gaines focuses on such leaders as Anna Julia Cooper, and W.E.B. Du Bois. As the author suggests, the black elites' endeavors to better the image and, in turn, the social status of all black Americans fostered among the elite a spirit of service to the lower classes. Gaines does much to place this ideology in its broader context. And by doing so he reveals that the ideology of racial uplift reflected much of the racial ideology of the dominant society. But placing the black elite in the proper context also shows us that they remained dependant on the white political and business elites, a dependence which partially explains the ties between uplift ideology and other racial ideologies. As his narrative unfolds, the author also shows us that "uplift" changed with the times.

Garrow, David J. Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. New York: Random House, 1986.

Garrow's book is a detailed analysis of the role of Martin Luther King, Jr. in the struggle for civil rights. It examines his early influences and traces the evolution of his mission to transform the nation. The book describes the strategies employed by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in the struggle, discusses the obstacles that King confronted, and the various campaigns that he launched. Garrow provides a human portrait of an heroic yet deeply flawed man who made great personal sacrifices in order to take up the "cross" of the civil rights movement. King constantly battled with depression and his familial relationships were strained. He was very isolated and alone as he traveled the country fighting for equality and human rights. King eventually paid the ultimate sacrifice for his dedication to the movement, but the personal toll his work took on him during his life only amplifies his selfless giving to his people and to the nation.

Gatewood, Willard B. Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880-1920.  
Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.

This study focuses on the social milieu of upper-class black America's "old families," those who were light-skinned, educated, and free prior to emancipation. These "old families" viewed themselves as naturally superior to other blacks in "culture, sophistication, and achievement," and effectively created an elite sub-class of black America. In the immediate years following emancipation, some newcomers cracked into the elite ranks (especially mulattoes, former house slaves, and those ex-slaves who were fortunate enough to have obtained an education while still in bondage), but Gatewood suggests that few people from the black masses were able to make significant social or material gains in the wake of emancipation. The black aristocracy did feel a sense of *noblesse oblige* in its dealings with less fortunate blacks. Gatewood describes the efforts of black elites in Charleston, New Orleans, Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. Through their churches and clubs the "black 400" contributed to almshouses, nurseries, schools, and meal programs for poor children. Money was raised through solicitations and organized events such as charity balls. Gatewood seems to suggest that upper-class black clubwomen were more socially conscious than their male counterparts. By the turn of the twentieth century, the National Association of Colored Women and like organizations shifted their attentions from "high culture" to social reform. Clubwomen spoke out in behalf of temperance and were at the forefront of the anti-lynching campaigns. They also raised money for libraries, night schools, orphanages, hospitals, kindergartens, and nursing homes.

Hill, Robert A. "General Introduction." In The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Volume I, ed. Robert A. Hill, xxxv-xc. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983.

Hill's introduction to the Garvey papers provides an historical overview of the meteoric rise and precipitous fall of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association. The introduction probes Garvey's formative years in Jamaica and then describes the evolution of Garvey's philosophy from his arrival in the United States in 1916, to his expulsion in 1927, to the final UNIA conference in Toronto in 1938. Among the prominent influences on Garvey during his early years in Jamaica were mutual improvement associations such as the Jamaica United Brotherhood, the Jamaica Labourer's Cooperative League, the Jamaica Workmen's Mutual Aid and Benevolent Society, and numerous Masonic lodges. The UNIA's governing constitution reflected this influence in article 1, section 3, which called for the organization "to

administer to and assist the needy." Death benefits, loans, and employment information were provided to members. In addition, the UNIA sponsored schools, lectures, debates, and theatrical productions. Money was raised from member dues and gifts from black donors. Garvey refused to accept any charity from white supporters.

Irvin, Dona L. The Unsung Heart of Black America: A Middle-Class Church at Midcentury. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1992.

Irvin, the mother of historian Nell Irvin Painter, describes the far-reaching impact of Oakland, California's Downs Memorial United Methodist Church on the larger African-American community. After a brief history of the church and its place in the Oakland community, Irvin profiles forty Downs people, allowing them to express in their own words their life's accomplishments and the influence of Downs in their successes. During the fifties and early sixties, Irvin remembers the church as a center of community volunteer activity. Voter registration drives, NAACP membership campaigns, and Homework Help tutorial programs were carried out under the umbrella of the church. The member profiles reveal that the spirit of philanthropy fostered by the church was passed on to individuals who today take part in a wide array of social service projects including the NAACP, United Way, Bay Area Black United Fund, literacy programs, AIDS awareness programs, Red Cross, and teen-parent programs.

Johnson, Whittington B. The Promising Years, 1750-1830: The Emergence of Black Labor and Business. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1993.

Johnson argues that the period from 1750-1830 was a time of great economic opportunity for free blacks in America. Prior to 1830, manumission prospects were at their peak, and these freedmen availed themselves of the greater access to trades such as barber, tailor, carpenter, and cabinetmaker. By the 1830s whites perceived free blacks as an economic threat and forced them out of many skilled labor fields. But during the "promising years," free blacks made the most of ample economic opportunities, especially in the South, where there were more skilled labor positions available for free blacks than in the North. The book surveys the secondary literature to provide illuminating examples of free blacks who built economic fortunes and donated money for the purchasing of slave friends and relatives. Others contributed to the building of churches and schools for the black community.

Lee, Martha F. The Nation of Islam: An African Millenarian Movement. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996.

Lee looks at the Nation of Islam and its endeavors as an example of religious millenarianism. In her assessment, the Nation of Islam sought to perfect their world in order to bring about the end of white supremacy. Behind their self-help ideology was a belief that armageddon was at hand. She also presents the Nation as an evolving organization that changed with the social and political environment.

Lewis, David Levering. W.E.B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1993.

As the subtitle indicates, Lewis ranges far beyond the personage of Du Bois and attempts to encompass as much of the African-American experiences as possible. Left in Du Bois's wide wake were many "philanthropic" efforts. In addition to his pioneering publishing contributions, Du Bois was the key figure in organizing the Niagara Movement, the all-black civil rights group that boldly challenged the tenets of white supremacy. Du Bois continued his pursuit for civil rights with his deep involvement in the NAACP. As editor of The Crisis, he gave voice to the country's most visible civil rights organization from its very inception. Lewis also mentions the monetary contributions of white foundations in support of various black activities. Levering's exhaustive study of black America's premier intellectual of the twentieth century only covers the first half of Du Bois's life. The eagerly awaited second volume is due in the next several years.

Lincoln, C. Eric. The Black Muslims in America. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1961; reprint 1994.

This work was the first thorough analysis of the Nation of Islam (NOI) or Black Muslims under the leadership of Elijah Muhammad. Lincoln traces the rise of this religious movement from the remnants of Garvey's Movement and Noble Drew Ali's Moorish Science Temple in New Jersey. Analyzing the NOI as a mass movement, the author shows us that it appealed to those dissatisfied African Americans left untouched by the "black church," the urban and the poor. He also discusses at length the religious mythology that made the core of the NOI's belief, a mythology that demonized white Americans as it raised African Americans and Africans to godlike status. Moreover, this book provides our first look into what has become the organization's defining concept — "self help." Born out of the apparent unwillingness of white Americans to live side by side with black Americans, Elijah Muhammad and the Black Muslims turned to self

reliance. This did not only include “buying black” or black capitalism but pooling resources to provide for the black community. The philanthropic goals proposed by Muhammad and supported by his followers include the creation of schools and a black hospital in Chicago.

Lincoln, C. Eric, and Lawrence H. Mamiya. The Black Church in the African American Experience. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1990.

Lincoln and Mamiya offer a complex study of the “black church,” providing, perhaps for the first time, a historical and sociological examination. Finding the label unclear, they define the black church as any church controlled by a predominantly black clergy and laity, so it includes a number of denominations. By focusing on the church’s changing role in the lives of African Americans over the last two and a half centuries, the authors reveal the importance of what they argue has been the one African American institution to maintain a degree of autonomy in slavery and in freedom. Moreover, they conclude that without a separate church to meet the particular needs of a people faced with the hardships of slavery, de jure or de facto segregation, and racism, many of the institutions used to “uplift the race” could not exist. From these churches came some of the first schools, mutual aid societies, and insurance companies in the black community. Even into the twentieth century, as American life became more secular, these central religious institutions provided the leaders and members of such organizations as the NAACP, and the National Urban League.

Litwack, Leon F. North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Litwack argues that despite racial hostility, northern free blacks were able to engage in activities aimed at improving their social and economic positions. Unlike slaves in the South, northern free blacks could organize, petition, seek employment, accumulate property, and more readily avail themselves of educational opportunities. Litwack describes the formation of independent black churches, benevolent societies, periodicals, and the black convention movement. Blacks donated time and money to the creation of these institutions which sought to better the lives of all peoples of African descent.

Meier, August. Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1964.

During the period which has come to be known as the “nadir” of black American history, Meier argues that rather than relying on politics and agitation, blacks adopted doctrines of self-help, racial solidarity, and economic empowerment in order to advance the race. Though much of the book deals with white philanthropy offered to blacks, chapter 9 deals with several black “Agencies of Propaganda, Protest, and Social Welfare.” Meier states that the church was the principal source of social welfare in the country until after the 1890s. He suggests that the church was supplanted in the twentieth century by secular charities including women’s clubs, benevolent societies, fraternities, and sororities. In terms of explicit racial self-help, Meier points to T. Thomas Fortune’s Afro-American League which, in the spirit of the earlier Convention Movement, served as a forum for blacks to discuss racial problems. Looking at the writings and speeches of notable black intellectuals such as Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois, August Meier questions how changes in the social and political climate affected their thoughts on political activism, protest, economics, and racial solidarity. Meier also outlines how the social climate forced the need for black-owned and operated businesses, which facilitated the formation of a black middle class. It was this group that sought to lift the black masses from their inferior position and developed institutions for black philanthropy.

Morris, Aldon D. The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change. New York: The Free Press, 1984.

As the title suggests, Morris charts the origins and development of the Civil Rights Movement from 1953 to 1963. Relying upon a great deal of sociological theory, Morris concentrates on the inner workings of larger organizations such as the NAACP, CORE, and the SCLC, as well as more localized groups such as the Montgomery Improvement Association, the Inter Civic Council of Tallahassee, and the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. Morris places the black church at the center of his analysis arguing that the SCLC “functioned as the decentralized arm of the mass-based black church.” By looking at the birth of the movement from the “indigenous” perspective, Morris captures the inspirations and operations of mass black movements from the inside out. The author describes the training and discipline that went into organizing direct action protests — sit-ins, boycotts, marches, etc.

Moses, Wilson Jeremiah. The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850-1925. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Like uplift ideology, black nationalism has informed the actions of black leaders from the antebellum period to the early twentieth century, so understanding the roles of the inchoate black elite requires that we take a closer look. Wilson Jeremiah Moses suggests that unlike other variations of nationalism, black nationalism was not based on ties to a specific geographical area, or a shared language but on a loosely defined notion of racial unity. Moreover, he argues that this particular brand of nationalism and racial unity owed its existence to slavery. It was slavery that created a shared experience on which a nationalist ideology could be based. By examining what he sees as the guiding principle of black leaders, Moses takes a step toward understanding the origins of the black tradition of community self help. The author contextualizes these intellectual currents and places them firmly within Western notions of progress and civilization. These two notions guided the actions of many black leaders trying to improve the lives of African Americans through a variety of means. Moses uses chapter-length biographies to illustrate these ideas. His list of leaders includes Alexander Crummell, Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, and W.E.B. Du Bois. He also includes a chapter on the National Federation of Afro-American Women. In addition, Moses discusses the rise of modern Pan Africanist thought during this period, a topic which proves of particular interest to those studying philanthropic efforts of black Americans in Africa. Early Pan Africanist thought, in part, led to attempts to "civilize" Africa by organizations like the African Civilization Society and missionaries from the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He offers a starting point for a closer investigation of African-American missionary endeavors.

Nash, Gary B. Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720-1840. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.

This book traces the formation of the most important center of free black life in antebellum America. In the late eighteenth century, Philadelphia appeared to be moving down a path of racial harmony; however, this spirit was quickly transformed as hundreds of runaway slaves and free blacks from the South sought refuge in the city. Racial antipathy in the nineteenth century led black Philadelphians to carve out their own personal and institutional niches. The first African Methodist Episcopal Church was funded almost entirely by the Rev. Richard Allen. Schools for free black children were opened. And mutual aid societies helped the poor and infirm. Despite the rising tide of racial hostility from whites, the free



black community of Philadelphia created many of the institutional foundations which allowed America's blacks to cope with the passage from slavery to freedom.

Pollard, William L. *A Study of Black Self Help*. San Francisco: R&E Research Associates, Inc., 1978.

Using several archival collections and a wide array of black newspapers and periodicals, Pollard examines black participation in social welfare in the American South from 1890-1915. The study focuses primarily on orphanages, reformatories, old-age homes, and emergency relief efforts in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Pollard provides poignant examples of poor blacks making small donations to these charitable organizations. Others solicited small donations from their co-workers or even door-to-door. Churches sponsored schools, orphanages, and homes for the elderly. Black colleges like Hampton University and Atlanta University encouraged their students and faculty to donate time and money to reformatories, shut-ins, and kindergartens. Pollard also discusses the efforts of black clubwomen with a concentration on local organizations like the Women's Movement Club of Columbia, South Carolina and the Norfolk Women's Club. The black press donated copy space to announcing programs and benefits for charitable purposes. They also pleaded for citizens to provide relief to those less fortunate who were suffering from hunger and homelessness. Pollard especially emphasizes the self-help efforts of the recipients of aid, including one group of orphans who put together their own money-making band and another group of orphans who raised their own crops. Finally, Pollard ends his study with an examination of the 1915 Big Bethel A.M.E. Church charity drive which included a night of contests and entertainment. The Atlanta church raised several hundred dollars and that amount was matched by millionaire philanthropist L. T. Cooper. Proceeds went to various charitable institutions in the Atlanta area.

Powers, Jr., Bernard E. *Black Charlestonians: A Social History, 1822-1885*. Fayetteville, AR: The University of Arkansas Press, 1994.

Powers argues that in order for black Charlestonians to realize the theoretical freedom granted them by Congress in the postbellum years, they had to act in their own behalf by carving out strong economic and social niches. Otherwise, their "freedom" would lack any real substance and would not endure. The book begins by sketching the efforts of Charleston's free blacks prior to the Civil War. The majority of Charleston's free black institutions grew up around a very insular, largely mulatto, elite. These

free blacks created benevolent societies (Brown Fellowship Society), literary societies (Bonneau Literary Society), schools, and churches. Their institutions were funded through private donations of wealthy free blacks. Though most of Charleston's free "brown elite" sought only to perpetuate the economic and social "superiority" of mulattoes over other blacks, some free blacks exhibited a sense of kinship with the slave class. A free black named Creighton liquidated all of his holdings so that he could promote the colonization of blacks to Liberia. Upon emancipating his own slaves, he offered to pay their passage to the new colony. But many of Charleston's free blacks were politically aligned with white slave owners. Free blacks made monetary donations to the Confederate war effort, especially for the care of injured and sick soldiers. After the war, organizations such as the Colored Women's Relief Association supplemented the works of the Freedmen's Bureau by making and disbursing clothing to orphans and to children of destitute freedmen. Other organizations provided burial benefits for the indigent. Also in the immediate postbellum years, numerous schools and churches were created. Black Union soldiers contributed money to help build Shaw Memorial School. Black churches also opened new schools. Finally, freedmen abandoned their masters' churches to create their own independent houses of worship. Many of the churches were funded by the contributions of members, as well as the contributions of other churches. Once a church was on its feet financially, it often felt obligated to aid fledgling congregations. Other church members contributed in a more direct fashion, donating their building skills to erecting the meetinghouses.

Quarles, Benjamin. Black Abolitionists. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969.

Quarles argues that the black abolitionist movements maintained a certain salience which was absent from white abolitionist movements because free blacks felt a special kinship with their brethren in bondage. While whites could empathize with the condition of servitude, many of the black abolitionist leaders were themselves former slaves who recognized first-hand the precariousness of their so-called "freedom." Quarles provides lengthy discussions of benevolent and literary societies, the black convention movement, emigrationists and their opponents, anti-slavery lecturers, and those involved in aiding fugitive slaves. The volume is comprehensive in its chronicling of black philanthropy in the antebellum period. Lecturers (Sojourner Truth, etc.), educators (John B. Vashon, etc.) and conventioners donated significant amounts of their time to the anti-slavery struggle. Others gave sums of money. Though most anti-slavery organizations saw predominantly small donations from free blacks, some like William Whipper, a lumberyard owner from Pennsylvania, gave as much as \$1000 annually. James Forten masked his charitable contributions to the black

press by subscribing to dozens of issues of the same newspaper at the same time. Black financial contributions also funded William Lloyd Garrison's first trip to England in 1833 and supported him upon his return.

Reed, Harry. Platform For Change: The Foundations of the Northern Free Black Community, 1775-1865. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1994.

In contrast to many scholarly works which claim that antebellum northern free blacks were passive, this work asserts that free blacks in the North had individual and collective power in the form of independent churches, organizations, newspapers, conventions, and emigration schemes. Reed devotes a chapter to each of these five "platforms for change." Concentrating on the urban centers of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, Reed claims that free blacks were able to create community consciousness by developing their own institutions. Black men and women donated their time and money in order to ensure the success of these fledgling institutions. Though Reed highlights well-known philanthropists such as Richard Allen and Prince Hall, he also points to lesser known contributors like educational reformers, Jacob Tapisco and Quomony Clarkson. Reed also suggests that anonymous black donors were integral to the beginnings of many free black endeavors including the newspaper, Freedom's Journal.

Ross, Edyth L. Black Heritage in Social Welfare, 1860-1930. Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1978.

This volume is a compilation of numerous documents relating to black social welfare efforts from 1860 to 1930. By drawing from a variety of sources, Ross seeks to dispel the notion that blacks have taken no initiative in their own social welfare. The majority of documents have been culled from published sources, however there are also a fair number which seem to have been drawn from manuscript materials. The documents reiterate the role of the black church as a social welfare and educational institution. They also reveal the roles of individuals and groups in establishing orphanages, aiding migrants, and fighting segregation. In addition to addressing issues specific to black social welfare, Ross's documents show the work of blacks in broader welfare programs such as housing, crime, public health, war relief, and labor unions. The documents are linked by brief narrative descriptions which broadly outline the historical context of each one.

Schweninger, Loren. Black Property Owners in the South, 1790-1915. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1990.

Using manuscript population censuses, tax assessment records, probate court documents, etc., Schweninger demonstrates that antebellum free persons of color in the Deep South were not nearly as poor as some scholars have contended. During the period from 1790 to 1830, the value of property owned by free blacks in the Lower South was far greater than the value of property owned by free blacks in the Upper South. But after 1830, with the exception of those in South Carolina, free black property owners in the Lower South endured economic losses, while those in the Upper South made considerable economic gains. In order to illustrate his findings, Schweninger points to numerous individual examples of black wealth. Among them are John Meachum, a former slave who bought the freedom of his family and others. Meachum also built two schools for blacks. Schools for blacks were also established by black philanthropists in Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans. In addition, Schweninger discusses the contributions of free blacks in the establishment of churches in Baltimore, Norfolk, Petersburg, Richmond, Louisville, St. Louis, and Nashville.

Sterkx, H. E. The Free Negro in Antc-Bellum Louisiana. Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1972.

The free blacks of Louisiana, the majority of whom were an admixture of black and white, were firmly entrenched between these two racial poles: too proud to identify with the slave and dismissed by whites as a racial inferior. Though the free blacks of Louisiana were able to build some of the most successful social and economic institutions in free black America until the early nineteenth century, by the 1850s whites became increasingly rabid in their hatred of all people of color, especially those with any confidence or self-esteem. For many free blacks, the Catholic Church was the center of their social and spiritual life. Jean Baptiste Meullion of St. Landry Parish, who owned significant land holdings and slaves, made generous contributions to his parish over the course of his life. In 1841, the free blacks of New Orleans raised money for the construction of St. Augustine Church. The church would later serve the needs of New Orleans's free and slave populations. Finally, free women of color in New Orleans founded the Congregation of the Sisters of the Holy Family, a religious order whose nuns donated their time to educating young black women. The nuns also gave aid to orphans and the elderly.

Thomas, Lamont D. Rise To Be A People: A Biography of Paul Cuffe.  
Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986.

Utilizing Paul Cuffe's personal papers as well as American and British print media, documents of the American Colonization Society, and other contemporary sources, this volume provides a clear picture of the "African Captain's" business and charitable expansion in the United States and abroad. Cuffe built schools for black children in the United States. He also donated significant funds to the building of a meeting house for the Society of Friends, of which he was a member. Later in life, Cuffe's Pan-African vision inspired him to risk his own wealth in order to establish emigrant communities in Sierra Leone. The American Colonization Society desperately attempted to enlist Cuffe's services in its attempts to deport blacks to Africa, however Cuffe and other free blacks balked at the society's racist intentions. Colonization schemes were not objectionable so long as they were carried out in cooperation with free people of color.

Thomas, Richard W. Life for Us Is What We Make It: Building Black Community in Detroit, 1915-1945. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992.

Thomas's study of black Detroit explores the complex web woven by industrial workers, ministers, politicians, business people, housewives, and organizations in their efforts to build the discrete and prosperous community that emerged by 1945. Thomas's unique concentration on the "community building process" lends itself nicely to questions of philanthropy, and he does not disappoint. After setting the stage with a description of Detroit's industrial landscape and its institutional racism, Thomas devotes over 200 pages to black self-help, protest movements, and unionization efforts. Churches provided time and money in efforts to feed and shelter the poor. They also initiated educational programs. Black hospitals were supported by social clubs which held dances and other programs. Thomas goes on to discuss Detroit chapters of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and the NAACP. He also describes the women's club movement, the Detroit Civic Rights Committee, and the beginnings of black union participation.

Weisbrot, Robert. Freedom Bound: A History of America's Civil Rights Movement. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1990.

Weisbrot's survey of the civil rights movement from its origins to the early 1980s is a fine synthesis of the major movements and their leaders. Weisbrot captures the essence of the sit-ins, freedom rides, marches, voting

rights campaigns, and school integration efforts. He also discusses the more radical efforts of the Nation of Islam and the Black Panthers. The sacrifices of King, Young, Jackson, Malcolm X, as well as anonymous students, marchers, and protestors are all chronicled. While this volume provides little detail, it describes the events of the period with clarity and accuracy.

Winch, Julie. Philadelphia's Black Elite: Activism, Accommodation, and the Struggle for Autonomy, 1787-1848. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988.

Winch argues that the emergence of Philadelphia's free black elite was not tied so much to conventional (white) standards of leadership such as political influence and wealth, but rather to talent and commitment. Philadelphia's black leadership included wealthy members, but it also included individuals who were far from wealthy. The core of free black leadership resided in those who were organized advocates with a strong commitment to social reform. Winch devotes chapters to those organizers who gave their time to emigration and anti-emigration, abolitionist societies, the convention movement, and the American Moral Reform Society. Examples of contributions of both time and money abound. By 1826, the Haitian government had paid for the passage of six thousand American settlers, including a number of Philadelphians. Black Philadelphians lobbied both for and against emigration. The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society raised funds with their annual fair and sent the proceeds to the American Anti-Slavery Society. They also organized petition drives and conventions. The Philadelphia Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society contributed both money and talent to the abolitionist cause. Both of these groups included members who were not in the economic "upper class." Finally, Winch does not ignore the financial contributions of the black elite. The moneys donated to churches, newspapers, and abolitionist societies by wealthy blacks are mentioned.

Zimmerman, Jonathan. "Beyond Double Consciousness: Black Peace Corps Volunteers in Africa, 1961- 1971." Journal of American History 82 (December 1995) : 999- 1028.

In 1961, President Kennedy began, by executive order, the Peace Corps as an independent government agency. More than one thousand African Americans volunteered during its first decade. Jonathan Zimmerman looks at the experience of many of these black volunteers and examines, among other things, how it affected their race consciousness. Relying on interviews with 38 of these black volunteers and available printed manu-

scripts, the article reveals that these African American recruits often sought to volunteer in Africa to make a connection with the land of their ancestry. To their surprise, they returned from their experience identifying with America more than ever before. Once in Africa they realized that Africans were not just their siblings separated from them for centuries but members of a variety of cultures, which differed from their own more than their own did from that of white Americans. Moreover, rather than buying into the rising black power movement these volunteers often adopted a broader view of humanity as a unified whole. But this is just one side of the story. Zimmerman also focuses on the Peace Corps's efforts to recruit African Americans and train them, tasks which proved difficult at best. The leaders within the Corps, echoing the sentiments of activists in the civil rights movement, sought to make recruiting and training colorblind. But they seldom lived up to these ideals. Racial tension between recruits and the Corps's inability to meet the demands of African American volunteers for more particularistic training only made the leadership's goals harder to achieve. Thus, Zimmerman presents an example of the unique problems faced by some black volunteers in predominantly white organizations.

**ANNOTATED  
BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**B. WOMEN**

Brown, Elsa Barkley. "Womanist Consciousness: Maggie Lena Walker and the Independent order of Saint Luke." *Signs* 14 (Spring 1989): 610-33. Also reprinted in *Black Women in America, Social Science Perspectives*, ed. by Micheline R. Malson, Elisabeth Mudimbe-Boyi, Jean F. O'Barr, and Mary Wyer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Brown argues that African-American feminists have historically seen feminism and race consciousness inseparably through their "womanist" approach to feminism. In this article she uses history of the community work and writings of Maggie Lena Walker to demonstrate this womanist consciousness in action. She describes Walker's leadership position in the "Independent Order of Saint Luke," a mutual aid society benefitting the black community of Richmond Virginia. Brown discusses Walker's participation in numerous other philanthropic organizations designed to expand opportunities for black women in particular. She also addresses Walker's attempts to combat discrimination and increase economic opportunities for the African-American men and women of her community.

Gaines, Kevin. *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

[See: chapters entitled "The Woman and the Labor Questions in Racial Uplift Ideology" and "The Everyday Struggles and Contradictions of Uplift Ideology in the Life and Writings of Alice Dunbar-Nelson"]

In two chapters of this recent study, Kevin Gaines spends two chapters examining the rhetoric and activities of two prominent reform-minded African-American women: Anna Julia Cooper and Alice Dunbar-Nelson. Gaines analyzes some of the published and unpublished writings of Cooper and Dunbar-Nelson, provides biographical information, and discusses some of their activities. Gaines places the women's commitments to



bourgeois values and class distinctions squarely within the tradition of racial uplift ideology, and believes that the women's feminist tendencies merely added additional complexity to their philosophy of racial uplift. Gaines argues that the women's writings and activities on behalf of African-American women reflected an ongoing debate between the African-American women and men active in racial uplift programs.

Giddings, Paula. In Search of Sisterhood: Delta Sigma Theta and the Challenge of the Black Sorority Movement. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1988.

Giddings offers an account of the establishment and growth of the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority. Giddings focuses on the internal development of the organization, its expansion across the country, and its many benefits to its membership. Giddings argues that the sorority offered a sense of community to the members of chapters at Southern black institutions, but also offered a range of services (such as housing and dining facilities) often unavailable to the African-American women alienated on the predominantly white college campuses of the North and midwestern United States. Though Giddings says little about the sorority's community service activities, she does briefly address the Delta's national library project, which for twenty years raised funds to finance traveling book-baskets and book-mobiles, and establish libraries for African Americans living in the rural south.

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

In this volume, Giddings traces the history of black women in America from slavery to the early 1980s. She focuses on the various organizations and institutions that African-American women created to combat racism and sexism over the years. The vast majority of information in the book concerns the black women's club movement at the turn of the century, and black women's work in the civil rights campaigns of the 1960's. Giddings also includes substantial biographical information on the leaders of several societies and organizations.

Gordon, Linda. "Don't Wait for Deliverers': Black Women's Welfare Thought." In Pitied But Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare, 1890-1935, ch. 5. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994.

In "Don't Wait for Deliverers," Linda Gordon analyzes the welfare activities of African-American women in the early twentieth-century. Gordon discusses the ways in which black women pooled their time and resources to provide the much needed services and institutions that the state refused to supply for black communities. Gordon addresses black women's national organizations, but also describes the nature of their local community efforts. She argues that black women's welfare activity took three primary forms: mutual aid or fraternal societies, church groups, and women's clubs. Gordon finds that like their white counterparts, reform-minded African-American women adhered to the maternalist interpretations of gender common for that time. Gordon notes that the women active in these organizations remained committed to the ideal of racial uplift and did not separate this agenda from any of their reform activities.

Harley, Sharon. "For the Good of Family and Race: Gender, Work, and Domestic Roles in the Black Community, 1880-1930." Signs, 15: 2 (Winter, 1990); reprinted in Black Women in America, Social Science Perspectives, ed. by Micheline R. Malson, Elisabeth Mudimbe-Boyi, Jean F. O'Barr, and Mary Wyer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

In this article, Harley demonstrates that despite the prevailing community attitude that frowned on married women's employment in the public sphere, large numbers of African-American women worked outside their homes in low-status positions as domestics and laundresses. Harley argues that many black women reformers recognized the importance of black working-class women's contributions to their family's income, and lobbied to improve work opportunities for black women. Harley also finds that working-class black women measured their self-worth not by their low occupational status, but rather through their ability to provide unpaid labor for their families, communities, and churches.

Higginbotham, Evelyn Brooks. Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.

By focusing on women's roles in the National Black Baptist Convention, Higginbotham demonstrates the signal importance of black women in

making the church the most important institution in community self-help efforts. Through their fundraising, black church women enabled the church to build schools, provide clothing, food, and shelter for poor people, and build orphanages and homes for the elderly. The author shows that the women's club movement owed its existence to the organizational groundwork laid by the women's church societies. In addition to fundraising, women played active roles in teaching, taking care of the sick and dying, and conducting mothers' training courses. Despite protest from within the black church by males and in the larger society by racist whites, black women persisted in their efforts to become a force in the shaping of church social policy.

Hine, Darlene Clark, "'We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible': The Philanthropic Work of Black Women." In Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power, ed. Kathleen D. McCarthy. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990.

In this article, Darlene Clark Hine documents the major philanthropic activities of several prominent black women reformers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Hine describes the work of women such as Ada Harris, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Nannie H. Burroughs, and Jane Edna Hunter. She also includes information on prominent NACW clubwomen Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, Mary Church Terrell, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Fannie Barrier Williams, Marry B. Talbert, and Anna Julia Cooper. Throughout, Hine argues that black women's philanthropy most often took the form of small-scale localized volunteer efforts. She also argues that their activities represented an effort to reclaim their own pride and dignity along with the self esteem of the women they helped to serve.

Hine, Darlene Clark, and Kathleen Thompson. A Shining Thread of Hope: The History of Black Women in America. New York: Broadway Books, 1998.

Hine and Thompson create a synthesis of African-American women's history from the seventeenth century to the present. Much of the book discusses black women's voluntary efforts to work for social and political change. The authors describe a variety of black women's organizations from antebellum antislavery societies, to black women's work within religious institutions, to turn-of-the-century women's clubs, to the Women's Political Council that sparked the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955. Hine and Thompson argue that throughout their history in the United States, black women volunteered their time to serve the communities in which they lived. They also argue that the organizing and

fundraising skills they learned in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century organizations prepared them for their crucial role in the Civil Rights movements of the 1950s and 1960s.

Jones, Adrienne Lash. Jane Edna Hunter: A Case Study of Black Leadership, 1910-1950. Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, Inc., 1990.

Adrienne Lash Jones constructs a biography of Jane Edna Hunter, an African-American woman who emerged as a leader of the Cleveland, Ohio black community during the first half of the twentieth century. Jones discusses the origins of the Cleveland black community, and the massive growth of Cleveland's black population in the years 1900-1920. Jones then describes Hunter's role within the Working Girls' Home Association, the organization's ties to the white women of the Cleveland YWCA, and the establishment of the Phillis Wheatley Association's homes for working-class African-American women. Throughout, Jones provides detailed information on Hunter's roles in the local black women's organizations of Cleveland, along with larger organizations like NACW and YWCA.

Jones, Beverly Washington. Quest for Equality: The Life and Writings of Mary Church Terrell, 1863-1954. Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, Inc. 1990.

In Quest for Equality, Beverly Washington Jones traces the life, philanthropic and civil rights activities of Mary Church Terrell. Jones presents Terrell as an example of the "New Woman" of her time, one who moved into the public sphere to work for the advancement of the men and women of her race. In this biographical account, she includes information on Terrell's role in club work and the formation of the National Association for Colored Women, her role as spokeswoman for the African-American populace, her efforts to increase interracial understanding, her suffrage activities, her role in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The volume also includes a number of Terrell's most important speeches and articles.

Jones, Jacqueline. Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work and the Family from Slavery to the Present. New York: Random House, 1984.

In this book, Jacqueline Jones describes the work and family life of African Americans throughout the history of the United States. Though she

mentions club work, civil rights activities and other philanthropic activities on occasion, Jones generally focuses on working-class black women's attempts to resist racism and maintain some control over their activities in the workforce and their unpaid labor within their households.

Moses, Wilson Jeremiah. "Black Bourgeois Feminism versus Peasant Values: Origins and Purposes of the National Federation of Afro-American Women." In The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850-1925. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Wilson Jeremiah Moses provides readers with a summary of the inception of the National Association of Colored Women. He includes biographical data on leaders such as Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, Mary Church Terrell, and Margaret Murray Washington. Moses argues that the upper- and middle-class women of the NACW felt little kinship with the poor and working-class African-American women they sought to help. Still he believes that their rhetoric illustrated a genuine concern for poor African-Americans, while their voluntary activities indicated a nationalist commitment to black pride and self-sufficiency.

Neverdon-Morton. Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989.

This book is an overview of the types of activities and organizations in which turn-of-the-century black women participated in the name of racial uplift. Neverdon-Morton begins with a detailed discussion of the history, leadership, philosophy, and curricula of several black colleges that provided training for reform-minded African-American women. She then compares this setting with the status and working conditions of the majority of southern African-American women. Neverdon-Morton thoroughly examines black women's attempts to increase educational opportunities in southern African-American communities. She continues with chapters describing the organization of women's clubs, settlement houses, orphanages, and health campaigns in the communities of Hampton, Tuskegee, Atlanta, Nashville, and Baltimore. She also discusses the establishment of the National Association of Colored Women and its involvement with other national organizations of the time.

Salem, Dorothy. To Better Our World: Black Women in Organized Reform, 1890-1920. Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, Inc., 1990.

In To Better Our World, Dorothy Salem discusses black women's roles in the most prominent African-American organizations during the turn-of-the-century. She traces the founding and establishment of the National Association of Colored Women, discusses black women's role in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and examines their association with the Young Women's Christian Association. She also compares black women's experiences within African-American women's organizations with the experiences that stemmed from interracial cooperation with white men and women. While providing a great deal of information on black women's roles in prominent national organizations, Salem also includes examples of their localized, community endeavors. Throughout, Salem argues that African-American women emerged as leaders at the local and national levels, and provided invaluable service to the black population.

Shaw, Stephanie. What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do: Black Professional Women Workers during the Jim Crow Era. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

In this book, Stephanie Shaw analyzes the lives of African-American professional women from the 1870s through the 1950s. Shaw argues that African-American professional women's activities as teachers, nurses and librarians in large reflected their commitment to racial uplift ideology. She discusses black women's internalization of community consciousness and racial uplift beliefs as young women, and then goes on to address the nature of the professional work on behalf of their communities. In chapter six, Shaw addresses black women's unpaid activities in the public sphere. Here, she analyzes the ways in which African-American professional women moved beyond their professional duties to further serve community interests, create institutions, develop leadership roles for themselves within their communities, and challenge government and social policies at the national, state and local levels.

Thompson, Mildred I. Ida B. Wells-Barnett: An Exploratory Study of an American Black Woman, 1893-1930. Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, Inc., 1990.

In this volume, Thompson documents the life and work of activist Ida B. Wells-Barnett. She explores Wells's early history as a young teacher, and her beginnings as a journalist. She details her anti-lynching crusade in the

United States and abroad. Thompson also discusses Wells-Barnett's work within the black women's club movement, and her suffrage activities. She argues that Wells-Barnett was a unique figure of her time who embraced poor and working-class men and women along with the middle-class reform women of her circle. Thompson also includes a number of Wells-Barnett's speeches and articles in the book.

Winch, Julie. "You Have Talents — Only Cultivate Them":

Philadelphia's Black Female Literary Societies and the Abolitionist Crusade." In The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America, ed. Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne, 101-118. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Far from being elite circles which gathered to discuss the latest novels or write maudlin poetry, the black female literary societies of Philadelphia were egalitarian organizations which sought to create social reform for all people of color. The less educated members of the Female Literary Association, the Female Minervian Association, and the Edgeworth Literary Association were tutored by their more learned sisters. Though the women of these organizations did not reject their "traditional" female roles as gentle, forgiving, and maternal, they broadened the "domestic sphere" to include such important topics as emigration, education, and abolition. Their poems and essays on these topics appeared in periodicals like the Liberator and the Colored American. In addition to their literary contributions, the associations raised money to help feed, clothe, and shelter the thousands of fugitive slaves who sought refuge in the city each year.

Yee, Shirley J. Black Women Abolitionists: A Study in Activism, 1828-1860. Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1992.

Yee describes the precarious position of black females in their struggles to gain racial and gender equality in the nineteenth century. Caught between the sexism of the antislavery movement and the racism of the women's movement, black women carved their own niches as activists, organizers, and community builders. Yee explains the roles of women in churches and schools. She also describes the roles of women in benevolent and moral reform societies. Black women were integral in collecting and distributing aid to widows and orphans. They also stressed the importance of stopping prostitution and opposed the excessive use of alcohol. By engaging in activities which were an extension of the domestic sphere, black women were adhering to expectations of womanhood and helping their community. But many women stepped outside the boundaries of "respectability" by delivering public addresses, organizing antislavery societies, and sub-

mitting essays to antislavery journals and newspapers. In doing so, they sometimes incurred the wrath of their male counterparts who thought a woman's place was in the home.





**ADDITIONAL  
CITATIONS**

**Part V.**

Collected by Erica Ball, James Sweet, and Kacy Wiggins

**A. GENERAL**

Adeleke, Tunde. "Primacy of 'Condition': The Moral Suasion Debate among African Americans in the 1830s." Journal of American and Canadian Studies 12 (1994): 25-46.

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