
BLACK/AFRICANA STUDIES, THEN AND NOW: RECONSTRUCTING A CENTURY OF
INTELLECTUAL INQUIRY AND POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT, 1915–2015

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BLACK/AFRICANA STUDIES, THEN AND NOW: RECONSTRUCTING A CENTURY OF INTELLECTUAL INQUIRY AND POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT, 1915–2015

James B. Stewart

This essay examines the developments, beginning around 1915, that produced what can be described as a “proto-Africana Studies Movement” and explores its relationship to the modern Black/Africana Studies Movement.¹ The earlier enterprise encompassed publication of path-breaking historical and social science monographs, creation of important periodicals, support for identity-affirming artistic and literary expression, and the founding of long-standing professional societies and advocacy organizations. In many respects, the founders of contemporary Black/Africana Studies sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously, resurrected the substance of this earlier project. Parallels and contrasts between the two movements are explored. This inquiry is intended to generate a more nuanced understanding of the antecedents of modern Black/Africana Studies and to provide useful guidance for ongoing efforts to advance this intellectual and scholarly enterprise.

PATHWAY TO A NEW PARADIGM

The founding of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) by Carter G. Woodson, G. C. Hall, J. E. Stamps, W. B. Hartgrove, and A. L. Jackson in 1915, the year often identified as a high point in the Great Migration, marks an especially critical milestone in the developmental history of Black/Africana Studies. The esteemed historian Charles Wesley has noted that Woodson’s interest in “founding a new organization to educate blacks about Negro achievement and to promote Negro history” was spurred by the publication that year of his monograph, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*.² The 1915 Exposition of Negro Progress, held in Chicago, provided the setting for advancing this idea. Woodson held discussions about forming such an entity at the Wabash

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Avenue YMCA with several fellow exposition attendees, including historian Monroe Nathan Work, compiler of *The Negro Yearbook*.³ Following the exposition a decision was made to discard the working title, "The Historical Alliance," and adopt the name "Association for the Study of Negro Life and History." The ASNLH was officially organized on 9 September 1915 and incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia on 3 October 1915.⁴ The designated purposes of ASNLH were "collection of sociological and historical data on the Negro, the study of peoples of African blood, the publishing of books in this field, and the promotion of harmony between the races by acquainting the one with the other." George C. Hall was named ASNLH chairman, Jesse E. Moorland was designated as custodian of funds, and Woodson became editor of *The Journal of Negro History*.⁵

Although the exposition may account for the timing of Woodson's effort to operationalize the proposed body, it is important to recall that he had joined the American Negro Academy (ANA) in 1914. The bibliophile Arturo Schomburg joined the organization that same year, three years after he and journalist John Edward Bruce, "Bruce Grit," co-founded in New York City, the Negro Society for Historical Research, an entity with goals very similar to those of ASNLH. The American Negro Academy was founded in Washington, DC, in 1897 by Rev. Alexander Crummell, and its membership consisted of distinguished African American men spanning the fields of law, medicine, literature, religion, and community activism. The organization's goals included to "lead and protect their people" and to be a "weapon to secure equality and destroy racism." These goals were pursued primarily through publications and regular discussions examining various aspects of the circumstances facing African Americans. W. E. B. Du Bois was elected ANA president after Crummell's death in 1908. In many respects, the ANA's agenda prefigured Woodson's ASNLH initiatives, including publication of several significant scholarly works.⁶

The Bethel Historical and Literary Society, founded in Washington, DC, in 1881 by African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Bishop, Daniel Payne, was another important precursor to the ASNLH. The group's large number of constituents included many members of the Metropolitan AME Church, where meetings were held regularly until 1913. Presentations by well-known writers and researchers were followed by open discussions. Woodson was a regular participant in these events.⁷

Woodson, along with several other ANA members, was instrumental in establishing the American Negro Book Collectors Exchange in 1915. Organized by Arturo Schomburg and publisher and ANA member John Cromwell, the exchange was intended to serve as a clearinghouse for literature written by people of African descent. The organization planned to contact book collectors in Africa, the West

Indies, South America, and Europe to acquire works written by black authors, and to compile a list of authors and their works.⁸

Nineteen-fifteen was also the year Du Bois published *The Negro*, which historian Kenneth Goings has characterized as the “first general history of ‘The Negro.’”⁹ Du Bois’s volume utilized a very different approach than his predecessor George Washington Williams in presenting information about African and African American history. Historian George Shepperson observes, “The attraction of much of Du Bois’s pioneering work in *The Negro* is that he showed that . . . just as a knowledge of African history and its problems is necessary for the understanding of what has happened to [people] of African descent overseas, the African past itself cannot be fully understood without a recognition of the mark which the African diaspora has made on mainland Africa.”¹⁰ In a similar vein, historians W. Burghardt Turner and Joyce Moore Turner maintained that *The Negro* “not only recorded history, it made history and had a tremendous impact upon Afro-American and African scholars in particular.”¹¹ Goings declares that “many of the ideas expressed [in the book] would prove seminal to later scholars such as Cheikh Anta Diop, Basil Davidson, and even Martin Bernal . . . [because Du Bois] had written an Afrocentric work where the history of Africa is seen through an African, not European, perspective.”¹²

The production of this historical treatise was both preceded by, and undertaken concurrently with, Du Bois’s production of major sociological inquiries. *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (1899) has been characterized by historian Herbert Aptheker as an “empirical, detailed study of urban life” that foregrounds “the consequence of social environment upon human behavior” that constitutes “an exceptional piece of seminal work in the history of sociology.”¹³ Aptheker describes the study as “an exhaustive examination of every aspect of [black] life: history, demography, family, migrations, education, occupations, health, organized life (especially the churches), criminals and prisons, pauperism, alcoholism, housing, amusements, class differentiations, contact between white and black, extent of voting and political activity.”¹⁴

Du Bois also served as editor of the annual reports of the Atlanta University conferences from 1898 until 1913, initially intended to examine the circumstances facing African Americans in the urban South. Du Bois’s involvement led him to propose a century-long research program in 1904, in which ten topics, would be studied in succession, one annually, for ten cycles. This proposed methodology can be described as a macro-level research project that Du Bois believed would produce “a continuous record on the condition and development of a group of 10 to 20 millions of men [and women]—a body of sociological material unsurpassed in human annals.”¹⁵ The proposed project can be seen as a creative effort to reconcile tensions between historical and sociological methods of inquiry.

It was abundantly clear during the first and second decades of the 20th century that additional efforts would be required to marshal the power of social science to attack the societal forces reproducing the disempowerment of African Americans. The long tradition of African American women organizing to pursue collective advancement was formalized and institutionalized in 1896 with the establishment of the umbrella organization, the National Association of Colored Women (NACW). Under the auspices of the NACW, black women's clubs across the country began to coordinate efforts in fundraising, civil rights activism, and voter education.¹⁶ This tradition was taken up by the National Urban League, which emerged in 1911 as the result of the merger of three existing social welfare organizations. Ruth Standish Baldwin and George Edmund Haynes, among others, founded in September 1910 in New York City the Committee on Urban Conditions among Negroes. This body merged with the Committee for the Improvement of Industrial Conditions among Negroes in New York, founded in 1906, and the National League for the Protection of Colored Women, founded in 1905. The new organization was named the National League on Urban Conditions among Negroes. The activities undertaken by the Urban League included counseling black migrants from the South and training black social workers, as well as researching problems confronting African Americans in employment, recreation, housing, health and sanitation, and education. By the end of World War I the league was operating in thirty cities.¹⁷

In 1910 George Haynes became the first African American to receive a Ph.D. in economics from Columbia University, and both he and Du Bois were charter members of the NAACP and the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity. Haynes served as Director of Education for the Urban League from 1910 to 1918. Concurrent with these activities, he organized the Social Science Department at Fisk University between 1910 and 1918.¹⁸ Haynes's dissertation, *The Negro at Work in New York City: A Study in Social Progress*, published in 1912, followed in the tradition of W. E. B. Du Bois's *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899) and *The Atlanta University Studies* in the use of the case study method, and heavy reliance upon interviews to generate data and form interpretations.¹⁹

SOCIAL SCIENCE AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Many of the scholars involved in pioneering historical and social science research recognized that the systemic oppression facing African Americans required an aggressive political response. The Niagara Movement, founded in 1905 and spearheaded by Du Bois and *Boston Guardian* publisher Monroe Trotter, was one component of this counter assault. Staunchly opposing the accommodationist strategy of Booker T. Washington, the movement's "Declaration of

Principles” declared: “We refuse to allow the impression to remain that the Negro-American assents to inferiority, is submissive under oppression, and apologetic before insults.” The members organized to protest racial segregation in travel and education and worked to secure voting rights and civic equality through branches in thirty-four states by 1906. Annual meetings were held until 1908 and the body repeatedly demanded equal economic and educational opportunity, as well as the vote for both African American men and women. Following the deadly race riot in Springfield, Illinois, in 1908, several leading white social reformers, including Oswald Garrison Villard, Joel Spingarn, and Mary White Ovington, called for creation of a more powerful organization to combat lynching and racial violence. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) emerged in 1909 from this initiative, and many participants in Niagara Movement, including Du Bois, were among the founding members.²⁰

Du Bois’s increasing involvement with the NAACP fueled his growing skepticism regarding the value of social science research unconnected to political advocacy. This shifting perspective even led him to question the usefulness of the *Atlanta University Studies* and to declare, “The studies which I had been conducting at Atlanta I saw as fatally handicapped because they represented so small a part of the total sum of occurrences, were so far removed in time and space as to lose the hot reality of real life, and because the continuous, kaleidoscopic change of conditions made their story old . . . before it was analyzed and told.”²¹ Du Bois’s concern with confronting immediate challenges was echoed by Ida B. Wells-Barnett, who used her keynote address at the first NAACP annual conference in 1909 to lambast the increase in lynching of African American men and women.²²

Ironically, despite Du Bois’s growing lack of confidence in the usefulness of social science research for combatting institutional racism, the title of the position he assumed with the NAACP in 1910 was “Director of Publicity and Research” and included the editorship of *The Crisis*, the official monthly publication of the NAACP. *The Crisis* became an outlet for dissemination of research findings as much as a general source of information on African American life, race relations, and a vehicle for social advocacy. In the inaugural issue Du Bois declared that *The Crisis* was intended to “set forth those facts and arguments which show the danger of race prejudice. . . .”²³ Elaborating, Du Bois explained that *The Crisis* would espouse three principles: “rights irrespective of race and color . . . the highest ideals of American democracy . . . and reasonable but earnest attempts to gain these rights and realize these ideals.”²⁴ The interdisciplinary nature of *The Crisis* was signaled by the statement that the periodical “provides a forum for black writers, scholars and artists to present their works and where black issues can be examined with editorial freedom.”²⁵ Most notably, the second issue included a column entitled “Talks about Women.”²⁶ Until replaced by a column labeled “Women’s

Club” in 1911, white women authored most of the “Talks about Women” columns.

The “hot reality of life” and the “continuous change of conditions” to which Du Bois referred intensified as the second decade of the 20th century unfolded. A combination of developments would redirect the trajectory of African American life, including the Great Migration, World War I, and the ascendancy of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Other prominent scholars also felt compelled to alter their priorities to address the ramifications of these social upheavals. One of the primary reasons for the demise of the ANA in 1924 was the extensive involvement of many of its members in organizations directly confronting the problems of the day, especially the NAACP and the Urban League. Haynes took a leave of absence from his position in the Social Science Department at Fisk University in 1918 to assume the responsibilities of Director of the Office of Negro Economics in the U.S. Department of Labor. In this role Haynes was charged with advising “the Secretary and the directors and chiefs of the several bureaus and divisions of the department on matters relating to Negro wage earners, and to outline and promote plans for greater cooperation between Negro wage earners, white employers, and white workers in agriculture and industry.”²⁷ The office was created in response to concerns that the large-scale migration of black southerners to the North during and after World War I could become a potentially incendiary ingredient in race relations within the context of the increased competition for jobs.

World War I posed an even more serious dilemma for champions of racial justice in the United States. The central question was how to respond to this global crisis in the face of the continuing disenfranchisement, white violence and terrorism, and discrimination plaguing African Americans. Du Bois made the case for confronting Germany in 1915 in his famous essay “The African Roots of War.”²⁸ There, Du Bois linked the causes of World War I to the African continent and the exploitation of African people. Following the U.S. entrance into the war, Du Bois announced his support for American intervention in order to pursue global racial equality. In July 1918 he urged African Americans to “close ranks” with whites in support of the war effort: “Let us, while this war lasts, forget our special grievances and close our ranks shoulder to shoulder with our own white fellow citizens and the allied nations that are fighting for democracy. We make no ordinary sacrifice, but we make it gladly and willingly with eyes lifted to the hills.”²⁹

Du Bois’s pro-war position was problematic during a time when African Americans continued to be regularly victimized by racial terrorism. Shortly after the United States entered the war in Europe in April 1917, more than one hundred deaths and millions of dollars in property damage were carried out by white mobs on African American residents in East St. Louis, Illinois. Another 1917 riot in Houston led to the court-martial of 156 African American servicemen. Despite

these pogroms, approximately 370,000 African Americans served in the military, most of whom were assigned to segregated labor and support units.³⁰ The high profile conflagrations in East St. Louis and Houston fueled opposition to the war effort among some prominent black spokespersons. *The Messenger*, a magazine founded in 1917 by labor activist A. Philip Randolph and economist Chandler Owen, became an important vehicle for expressing this opposition. *The Messenger* rejected U.S. participation in World War I and encouraged armed self-defense against white lynch mobs.³¹

NEW NEGRO INTELLECTUALS AND ACTIVISTS

Marcus Garvey's arrival in the United States in 1916 created a different type of challenge for the proto-Africana Studies Movement. The quest for full citizenship had always been a stated and unstated goal of those involved in research and institution-building. Garvey's call for self-determination for people of African descent and for Africans in the Diaspora to return to Africa, as well as his emphasis on ostentatious representations of black nationalism and pride, were uncomfortable for the champions of integration in the NAACP and the organized labor movement. Jamaican-born Garvey established the headquarters of the Universal Negro Improvement Association in New York City in 1917, and by the early 1920s there were 700 branches operating in thirty-eight states. The Garvey movement gained momentum after the "Red Summer of 1919" when race riots erupted in over twenty cities, including Chicago, Washington, DC, and Elaine, Arkansas.³² At a 1920 Harlem meeting of the UNIA and the Black Star Line, the shipping line founded to engage in commercial activities and provide transport for African-descended peoples to return to Africa, Garvey issued the "Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World" that clearly articulated the group's separatist ideology.³³

Despite disagreements over the merits of African Americans' involvement in World War I, in the early 1920s *The Crisis* and *The Messenger* forcefully attacked Garvey over questions of the finances for the Black Star Line. The struggle between Garvey and his opponents escalated from an intra-racial dispute to a formal call for the federal government to expand its investigation of Garvey. The "Friends of Negro Freedom" initiated a "Garvey Must Go" campaign, which gained traction after Garvey met with a Ku Klux Klan leader in 1922. On 15 January 1923, the Friends sent a petition to Attorney General Harry Daugherty urging continuation of the government's prosecution of Garvey on charges of mail fraud, and requesting an investigation of acts of violence allegedly committed by members of the UNIA.³⁴

Fallout from the Great Migration, World War I, and the Garvey movement had little direct impact on Woodson, who focused doggedly on operationalizing the

mission of the ASNLH. However, what Woodson shared in common with the integrationists in the NAACP, the black socialists in the labor movement, and the nationalists in the UNIA was the ideological position that “New Negroes” would take charge of their own destiny and challenge the beliefs and practices of white racists and oppressors.³⁵ Historian Darlene Clark Hine has characterized “Woodson’s Negro History Movement” as encompassing three tiers. The base consisted of “the ASNLH members, who paid annual dues, organized the special annual celebration for Negro History Week and attended the ASNLH conventions.”³⁶ The second tier encompassed professional historians who worked with Woodson in conducting and publishing scholarly research, and Woodson himself serving in the role of administrator of the various entities constituted the third tier. Commenting in 1925 on the organization’s impact, Woodson reported, “The Association has rendered a distinct service in functioning as a free reference bureau for information respecting the Negro. . . . An important by-product of the effort is the collection of valuable materials in the form of old manuscripts and rare books on the early history of the Negro in this country and the past of the race in Africa.”³⁷

Soon after the formation of the ASNLH and the publication of *The Negro*, Woodson introduced *The Journal of Negro History (JNH)*, which should be considered the first “professional” journal of the proto-Africana Studies Movement. Woodson had begun advertising and soliciting subscriptions via *The Crisis* in 1915. The lead article in the inaugural issue, January 1916, was Woodson’s “The Negroes of Cincinnati Prior to the Civil War.” Two other articles addressed African traditions, and the issue also contained several book reviews, including Mary Church Terrell’s review of Woodson’s *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*.³⁸ Extending his publication efforts, Woodson established the Associated Publishers in 1921, an independent publishing house, mainly because mainstream commercial publishers believed that there was no commercial market for scholarly and popular books by and about African Americans. Monographs by Woodson published by the Associated Publishers in the 1920s included *The History of the Negro Church* (1921), *The Negro in Our History* (1922), *Negro Makers of History* (1928), and *African Myths, Together with Proverbs* (1928).³⁹

During a brief stint as a member of Howard University’s faculty in 1919 and 1920, Woodson obtained approval from the board of trustees to offer coursework focusing on “Negro history,” extending the efforts of Charles Wesley who had previously developed such courses.⁴⁰ During that decade more African American courses, faculty, and administrators on black college campuses were among the goals sought by students organizing boycotts and demonstrations. Raymond Wolters in *The New Negro on Campus* (1975) found that the protests “in the 1920s led to the forced resignations of several [white] presidents of black colleges and

to unrest among black students and alumni throughout the United States.”⁴¹ Du Bois was deeply involved in instigating protests at Fisk University in 1924 that led to the resignation of President Fayette McKenzie. The reforms instituted by his successor, Thomas Elsa Jones, included “courses in black history and literature,” “an annual conference for the most prominent scholars of black America,” and an “impressive collection of Negro art and artifacts.”⁴² Wolters notes that Jones also “encouraged the development of a social science department which, under the direction of Charles S. Johnson, in the 1930s, became one of the nation’s foremost centers of research on race relations.”⁴³

After leaving Howard in 1920 Woodson concentrated his efforts exclusively on advancing the ASNLH’s research mission. Securing financial support for envisioned projects constituted a major challenge, and Woodson used his personal resources while also soliciting grants from major foundations. Interestingly, Woodson steadfastly refused to affiliate the ASNLH with any historically black college or university to help stabilize the organization. Although Woodson was occasionally successful in obtaining funds from outside sources, biographer Jacqueline Goggin points out that “after 1933 no white foundation made substantial contributions to the association, and Woodson was forced to depend almost totally on the black community for the financial support necessary to continue his campaign to promote Negro history.”⁴⁴

In addition to generating an impressive body of historical and social science research, the proto-Africana Studies Movement also energized a complementary wave of creative production. Du Bois characterized the establishment of Negro History Week by Woodson and ASNLH in 1926 as the “greatest single accomplishment to arise from the artistic movement of blacks during the 1920s.”⁴⁵ In her biography of Woodson, Jacqueline Goggin advances the view that Woodson, impressed by Garvey’s success in building a large constituency, “hoped that an annual celebration of black achievements and contributions would do the same for his cause and subsequently generate funds for association programs and publications.”⁴⁶ Of course, the artistic component of the proto-Africana Studies Movement had much deeper roots. Du Bois’s elaborate historical pageant “Star of Ethiopia” explored the history of African peoples from ancient times to the early 20th century, and was performed by the Krigwa Players of the Negro Theater Company in New York (1913), Washington, DC (1915), and Philadelphia (1916).⁴⁷ In many respects, Du Bois’s classic, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), provided a model that informed the multifaceted fare of *The Crisis* magazine. Several New Negro Renaissance luminaries received their first national exposure in the magazine and many works contained overtly political messages. As an example, a 1917 poem by James Weldon Johnson entitled “To America” directly addressed white racism.⁴⁸ Johnson became Executive Secretary of the NAACP in 1920 and

remained in that position until 1930. Langston Hughes's classic poem, "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," was published in *The Crisis* in 1921.⁴⁹

Other periodicals joined *The Crisis* in publishing New Negro political and artistic content. *Opportunity: A Journal of Negro Life* began publication in 1923 under the editorship of Charles S. Johnson, and included studies conducted by the Urban League in co-operation with Fisk University.⁵⁰ But the journal also sponsored literary contests, whose 1925 winners included Zora Neale Hurston, Langston Hughes, and Countee Cullen.⁵¹ *The Messenger*, which focused primarily on generating support for the organized labor movement, also promoted the New Negro artists' movement and published articles about African American art, folk culture, theater, and works by popular writers such as Langston Hughes and Georgia Douglas Johnson.⁵²

One of the critical values that infused the black creative expression that blossomed in the 1920s was the idea that African Americans' art must reflect African American culture, and its aesthetic values must be defined according to indigenous concepts of beauty. Du Bois emerged as an early proponent of the idea of a distinctive "black aesthetic," arguing in 1925 that the "criteria for Negro art" should be defined by African Americans. Therefore, African American autobiographies, poetry, novels, paintings, sculpture, music, and plays should emerge organically from the collective experience of African-descended people. With regard to the wide-ranging controversy over whether the purpose of "Negro art" should be "propaganda" or "art for art's sake," Du Bois sided with the Garveyites and declared, "I stand in utter shamelessness and say that whatever art I have for writing has been used always for propaganda, for gaining the right of black folk to love and enjoy."⁵³

By the early 1930s Du Bois had moved closer to Garvey's views regarding the need for black self-determination. In *Crisis* articles published in 1933 and 1934 he championed "voluntary determined co-operative effort."⁵⁴ In September 1933 he wrote of the need for "a new plan," which should emanate from an understanding that "[African Americans'] advance in the last quarter century has been in racially segregated institutions and efforts, and not in effective entrance into American national life."⁵⁵ This effort at in-group cooperation resembled Garvey's brand of black nationalism and greatly disturbed his NAACP colleagues. Du Bois was forced to resign from his editorship of *Crisis* magazine in 1934 in the wake of controversy about his growing support for self-help and cooperative initiatives.

By the early 1930s the proto-Africana Studies Movement had evolved into an organic, but loosely connected, and highly gendered network comprised of individuals, organizations, and publication outlets collectively committed to two intersecting projects. One involved the production and dissemination of information cutting across what would be contemporarily characterized as scholarly "disci-

plines,” chronicling and celebrating the history and current circumstances of African Americans. This effort reflected Du Bois’s dictum that “scientific work must be subdivided, but conclusions that affect the whole subject must be based on study of the whole.”⁵⁶ A second project entailed undertaking direct action intended to elevate the political and social status of African Americans through various organizations and institutions. Although notable successes in executing both projects were achieved, sustained gains were hampered by funding limitations, and the need to solicit financial support from outside sources, creating the risk of external control and dependency. The Great Depression exposed this vulnerability as a drastic reduction in external support seriously affecting the intellectual movement. Important components of the movement did survive, however, and others evolved into new forms, providing a bridge between the early 20th-century movement and the advanced Black/Africana Studies Movement that burst onto the scene in the late 1960s.

PASSING THE TORCH

Although some of the momentum created by the proto-Africana Studies Movement was lost due to the Depression, several initiatives survived that would eventually influence the contours of the modern Black/Africana Studies Movement. For example, the activities and reach of Woodson and the ASNLH continued to expand throughout the 1930s, 1940s, and the 1950s. Malik Simba notes that the ASNLH steadily grew, “establishing branches in every major northern city and dozens of cities and small towns across the South.”⁵⁷ Carter G. Woodson had trained a cadre of historians to carry on his work, including William Brewer, Lorenzo Greene, and Charles Wesley.⁵⁸

The growth of the ASNLH was catalyzed by a dramatic change in women’s roles within the organization. Women played a vital role, for example, in establishing and maintaining branches. Historian Deborah Gray White observed, “[I]n their capacity as clubwomen, teachers, reformers, community activists, and professional librarians,” African American women “made the ASNLH’s first Negro History Week possible by heading the ASNLH branches that took black history into school districts and libraries.”⁵⁹ The ascension of Mary McCleod Bethune to the ASNLH presidency in 1936 was particularly significant. Bethune had become one of the first two women elected to the ASNLH Executive Council the previous year. She served as President for an unprecedented sixteen years, until 1952; and in 1938 she was instrumental in the creation of the more popularly oriented *Negro History Bulletin*.⁶⁰

Efforts of African American intellectuals at Howard University successfully extended the interdisciplinary dimension of the proto-Africana Studies

Movement. Historian Zachery Williams argued that “from 1926 to 1970, Howard University . . . represented the center of black intellectual life, and its scholars in various ways were heirs to the legacy of W. E. B. Du Bois’s ‘talented tenth.’”⁶¹ The scholars in this collective included Sterling Brown, Charles Drew, E. Franklin Frazier, Alain Locke, Rayford Logan, Charles H. Thompson, and James Nabrit. Williams explained that this group originated a policy analysis tradition addressing various topics, including the black family, black political organizations, and racial segregation.

Du Bois assumed the position of chairman of the Department of Sociology at Atlanta University in 1934, after his resignation from the NAACP. During the decade of his tenure at the institution, he attempted to resurrect his idea of a one-hundred-year research program. In 1943 he organized the “First Conference of Negro Land-Grant Colleges” as a possible vehicle for implementation of this project.⁶² In articulating the mission of his new journal, *Phylon*, founded in 1940, Du Bois described the immigration of Africans to America from the 15th through the 19th centuries as “the greatest social event of modern history,” leading, in his view, to the foundation of modern capitalism, the evolution of democracy in the United States, and the basis for “the greatest laboratory test of the science of human action in the world.”⁶³

Both Du Bois and Woodson envisioned the eventual publication of an “encyclopedia” that would present a comprehensive history of peoples of African descent. As noted by historian Jonathan Fenderson, this effort spanned much of the 20th century.⁶⁴ Fenderson chronicles how each scholar’s conception of this project changed over time and also describes their inability to collaborate. More recent efforts to resurrect this project are also critiqued for “ignoring the legacy of Carter G. Woodson and Du Bois’s shift to an Africa-centered project.”⁶⁵ It is useful to note that the ASNLH did produce a ten-volume series entitled *The International Library of Negro Life and History* between 1967 and 1970 designed to “treat in detail the cultural and historical backgrounds of Negro Americans” that can be construed as a limited effort to bring to fruition the idea of an “Encyclopedia Africana.”⁶⁶

Volume one, *The Negro in Music and Art*, published in 1967, includes essays covering a wide range of black creative expression. Several contributions advance positions that seem to prefigure the Black Arts Movement of the 1960s and 1970s. For example, writing in 1934 Romare Bearden asserted, “An intense, eager devotion to present-day life, to study it, to help relieve it—this is the calling of the Negro artist.”⁶⁷ In a similar vein, in 1939 philosopher and cultural theorist Alain Locke declared, “Finally, we must capitalize on our art, for it is, after all, as the most persuasive and incontrovertible type of group propaganda, our best cultural line of defense.”⁶⁸

Introduction to Black Literature in America, the eighth volume, also contains perspectives that presage both the Black Arts Movement and the Black/Africana Studies Movement. In 1968 playwright Lofton Mitchell summarized recommendations from a panel discussion titled “Materials Used by Negro Writers” that called for the formation of “a Negro writer’s organization, . . . a bibliography of works on Africa and African writers and one on American Negro writers, . . . [and] a Negro book publishing business.”⁶⁹ Historian John Henrik Clarke pointed out, “For the last three hundred years Africa and its people have been viewed mainly through European eyes and for European reasons. The entire history of Africa will have to be literally rewritten, challenging and reversing the European concept.”⁷⁰ Clarke forcefully declared, “It is singularly the responsibility of the Negro writer to proclaim and celebrate the fact that his people have in their ancestry rulers who expanded kingdoms into empires and built great and magnificent armies, scholars whose vision of life showed foresight and wisdom, and priests who told of gods that were strong and kind.”⁷¹

NEW STRUCTURES AND FORMATIONS

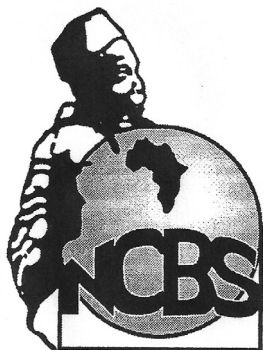
John Henrik Clarke’s comments serve as a useful transition to exploring the similarities and differences between the proto-Africana Studies Movement and Black/Africana Studies Movement since the 1960s. Understandably, discussions of the more recent movement have devoted most attention to the establishment of what has been described as a “beachhead in higher education,” created by a wave of protests initiated by college and university students in the 1960s. Some of the responses of white administrators to these protests mirror the outcomes of the Fisk protests of the 1920s, namely new coursework exploring the experiences of African Americans. The struggle at San Francisco State, which culminated in the establishment of the first formal Black Studies unit, has been appropriately celebrated as a major milestone in the history of the intellectual enterprise. However, historian Ibram Rogers challenges the conventional wisdom that the San Francisco Bay Area constituted the epicenter of the Black Studies Movement. Rogers documents protests advocating for Black Studies dating to 1965 at Tuskegee, Howard, Southern, and Hampton universities.⁷² Irrespective of location, Woodson’s classic work, *Mis-Education of the Negro* (1933), as well as *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965), Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton’s *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation* (1967), and Harold Cruse’s *Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* (1967) were important sources of inspiration for students who fought for the establishment of Black/Africana Studies programs.⁷³

Recent explorations of the role of private foundations in nurturing the expansion of Black Studies have generated some confusion and unfortunate misrepres-

sensation. In *Black Power/White Money*, cultural critic Noliwe Rooks attempts to make the case that efforts by the Ford Foundation had a profound effect on the trajectory of Black/Africana Studies, while discounting the significance of student protests as a major driving force behind the explosion in Black Studies. The Ford Foundation's decision to intervene aggressively to shape the trajectory of Black Studies is said to have originated at the 1968 conference at Yale University.⁷⁴ The Ford Foundation is also foregrounded as a major force behind the development of Black Studies in Fabio Rojas's *From Black Power to Black Studies*.⁷⁵ However, historian Perry Hall convincingly challenged these claims about the significance of the Ford Foundation in the early development of Black Studies. Hall notes that Rooks's interpretation of the role of student protests, "suggests significant misunderstanding, or revision, as to the nature of the multifaceted student movements out of which Black Studies emerged."⁷⁶ He further charges, "[Rooks] evinces limited interest or knowledge regarding the development of the field from the perspective of those actually in the field, nor, at most times, does she appear interested in addressing her message to those of us who have comprised that history."⁷⁷ Hall concluded that the book "certainly is not a history of the Black Studies movement, out of which the field of African American Studies—under various names—has developed."⁷⁸ It was black student activists who organized the Yale conference that spurred the Ford Foundation's initiatives. Moreover, the conference occurred during the same month that African American students at Northwestern University initiated protests demanding the introduction of a Black Studies curriculum.⁷⁹

Hall took Rooks to task appropriately for ignoring the comprehensive exploration of the origin and evolution of Black/Africana Studies contained in the volume by Dolores Aldridge and Carlene Young, *Out of the Revolution: The Development of Africana Studies* (2000).⁸⁰ The contributions are grouped into several sections on "Theoretical and Philosophical Perspectives," "Black Women and Africana Studies," "Social, Psychological, Political, and Economic Dimensions in Africana Studies," "Africana Studies in the Diaspora," and "Humanistic Perspectives in Africana Studies."

While Rooks attributes the prevalence of non-departmental formats to external forces, Aldridge and Young aptly observe that since its creation in 1975 the field's primary professional organization, the National Council for Black Studies (NCBS), has championed departmental status as the preferred mode of unit organization.⁸¹ Indeed, the Ford Foundation has funded several NCBS projects beginning in the late 1980s that have reflected NCBS's goal of promoting departmental formations. Early in its organizational life NCBS adopted the mantra, "Academic Excellence and Social Responsibility," to affirm the commitment of the enterprise to promoting engaged scholarship.



NCBS Logo

By the mid-1980s Black/Africana Studies had clearly established a permanent and stable presence in higher education. Responses to the first NCBS survey of Black/Africana Studies units documented either growth or stability in faculty hiring, budgets, and curricular offerings. As of 2000 there were approximately fifty degree-granting departments and over two hundred programs housed in units with various titles—Black Studies, Afro or African American Studies, African and African American Studies, Africana Studies, or African Diaspora Studies—in colleges and universities across the United States.⁸² In 2000, “colleges granted 604 undergraduate degrees, 70 master’s degrees, and 7 doctoral degrees” in African American Studies.⁸³ In 2007 there were at least 311 institutions offering certification in Black/Africana Studies.⁸⁴

In contrast to the close relationship between the national ASALH office and its branches, despite its best efforts, NCBS has never had more than a loose relationship with most individual departments and programs, reflected primarily by the participation of faculty and students in annual conferences. And whereas ASALH has been able to maintain a high degree of autonomy, since its inception NCBS has been dependent on an academic host to underwrite administrative activities. Initially NCBS was housed at Indiana University. Subsequently the administrative structure has relocated several times, first to Ohio State University, then to California State University at Dominguez Hills, then to Georgia State University, and most recently to the University of Cincinnati.⁸⁵ This fiscal and operational dependency has constrained the ability of NCBS to undertake major initiatives, a barrier that was less relevant for ASALH. On the occasion of Woodson’s death, Du Bois observed, “No white university ever recognized his work; no white scientific society ever honored him. Perhaps this was his greatest award.”⁸⁶

In interrogating the forces that contributed to the emergence of contemporary Black/Africana Studies, it is important to acknowledge the important role of several organizations based outside the academy. Historian William King describes how the African Heritage Studies Association (AHSA) was founded in 1968 under the leadership of John Henrik Clarke, after initially functioning as a caucus within the African Studies Association. King suggests that one of the major contributions of the AHSA has been “to build an institutional infrastructure to foster communication between the black scholars in the West and African scholars on the Continent.”⁸⁷ Clarke was also instrumental in the creation in 1984 of the Association for the Study of Classical African Civilizations (ASCAC).⁸⁸ The Institute of the Black World (IBW) was founded as an independent think tank in 1969 in Atlanta. The founders, Vincent Harding and Stephen Henderson, were faculty members at local HBCUs. Derrick White has explored the centrality of IBW in the evaluation and early support of Black Studies as an informal clearinghouse for programs emerging throughout the country.⁸⁹ The vanguard role of the AHSA and IBW vis à vis NCBS mirrors that performed by the various organizations that preceded the formation of ASNLH in the early 20th century.

NCBS has never sought to establish a book publishing operation similar to Woodson’s Associated Publishers. In fact, NCBS did not attempt to produce a professional journal until 1992, when *The Afrocentric Scholar* debuted. The journal was reconstituted as the *International Journal of Black Studies* in 1996, but has been unable to sustain a regular publication schedule. As a consequence, NCBS has not been able to exercise the degree of influence on research and outreach achieved by the ASALH through *The Journal of African American History* and the *Black History Bulletin*. The same assessment applies to the Southern Conference on African American Studies, founded in 1979, which publishes *The Griot: The Journal of African American Studies*.⁹⁰ Professional journals self-identifying as Black/Africana Studies publications unaffiliated with professional organizations include *The Black Scholar* (1969), *Journal of Black Studies* (1970), the *Western Journal of Black Studies* (1977), *The Journal of Pan-African Studies* (1987), *The Journal of African American Studies* (1995), and *Souls: A Critical Review of Black Culture and Politics* (1999).⁹¹

Despite its limitations, NCBS has had several notable accomplishments. In addition to hosting annual conferences since 1976, the organization has developed a widely used curriculum model to facilitate structuring majors and minors. It has also facilitated external departmental and program reviews, and offered workshops (supported by the Ford Foundation) for graduate students, junior faculty, and administrators.⁹² One of the most successful initiatives has been the provision of funding for community outreach efforts.⁹³

NCBS owes its existence to the pioneering efforts of Bertha Maxwell (Roddey), the first director of Black Studies at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte.⁹⁴ In many respects Maxwell played the same type of catalytic role in advancing Black Studies as Mary McCleod Bethune performed for the ASNLH during her presidency. As William King explained, Maxwell organized in March 1975 a “Black Studies National Conference for the Southeastern United States.” In contact with major figures—such as Nathan Hare, San Francisco State and *The Black Scholar*; James Turner, Cornell University; and Ewart Guinier, Harvard University—Maxwell indicated “that the main thrust of the conference [was] to stimulate and hopefully organize a national organization to evaluate and accredit black studies programs.”⁹⁵ Follow-up meetings were held on the campus of the Educational Testing Service in July 1975, and at the annual meeting of the ASALH in October 1975. NCBS was formally established at a November 1975 meeting in Boulder, Colorado, and Maxwell became the organization’s first chairperson. In the 1990s NCBS conferred the title of “Queen Mother” on Maxwell Roddey for her pioneering contributions to the enterprise. Subsequently several women have headed NCBS.⁹⁶

The limited impact of NCBS results from several intertwined forces. Black caucuses within several traditional disciplines were established concurrently with the emergence of Black/Africana Studies. The Association of Black Psychologists was formed in 1968, the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, and the Caucus of Black Economists (now the National Economic Association) were established in 1969, and the Association of Black Sociologists was organized in 1970. In the humanities arena, the College Language Association dates back to 1937.⁹⁷ Unlike the scholars in the proto-Africana Studies Movement, these researchers could now choose to identify with their discipline of training, while acknowledging the failure of those disciplines to fully embrace the Africana experience as a legitimate focus of research.⁹⁸ Other academic alternatives such as American Studies programs and departments created additional challenges for the Black/Africana Studies project.

Expanded options for researching the experiences of people of African descent exacerbated tensions among African American scholars regarding whether Black/Africana Studies should be organized as stand-alone departments or programs utilizing faculty housed in traditional disciplines. Academic administrators were quick to exploit this schism, in some cases using it to resist calls for departmental status, or in others, to introduce less autonomous structures. Cornell University’s Africana Research Center became the poster child for this type of machination. Prior to 2010, the Africana Studies Research Center (ASRC) reported directly to the Provost. Based on recommendations from a 2005 external committee, in December 2010 it was announced that effective 1 July 2011, the center

would become a department in the College of Arts and Sciences. Despite an outcry from around the country, the revised configuration was implemented, leading historian Robert L. Harris to resign the position of director in protest.⁹⁹

The ascent of public intellectuals anointed by external agencies and commentators as the leading Black/Africana Studies spokespersons has also blunted the impact of NCBS. In a *New York Times Magazine* article (1 April 1990) entitled “Black Studies’ New Star,” Henry Louis Gates, Jr. was characterized “as a one-man industry and an institution builder . . . [w]ith a phone in his Mercedes-Benz, a literary agent in New York, and an impressive network of contacts in the academy, publishing, and the arts, . . . [and who] sometimes seems more like a mogul than a scholar.”¹⁰⁰ Subsequently, Gates’s influence on other Ivy League-based scholars has greatly increased. Unlike the major figures associated with the proto-Africana Studies Movement, these scholars have virtually no relationship to constituency-based organizations such as NCBS or ASALH, hampering efforts to build a sustainable enterprise through professional organizations.¹⁰¹

The embrace of Black/Africana Studies by Ivy League institutions initiated a new front in the battle for its heart and soul, centering on graduate education. In 1988 Temple University in Philadelphia became the first institution offering a self-standing Ph.D. in African American Studies. Molefi Asante, known widely as the foremost advocate of “Afrocentricity,” was the main force behind this path-breaking venture. Subsequently, Ph.D. certification options have proliferated with varying emphases and structures. Institutions offering some form of Ph.D. include University of California, Berkeley (African Diaspora Studies); Emory University (American and African Studies); Harvard University (Interdisciplinary); Northwestern University (African American Studies); University of Massachusetts (African American Studies); University of Southern California (American Studies and Ethnicity); University of Texas (African and African Diaspora Studies—beginning 2015–16); and Yale University (African American Studies in combination with a traditional discipline).¹⁰²

Clearly, the higher education landscape is significantly different since Du Bois, Woodson, and Haynes were pioneering graduates of Ivy League institutions. The future of Black/Africana Studies will be shaped fundamentally by the orientation and training of the next generation of faculty. Temple and the University of Massachusetts are the only units that have any significant interaction with NCBS. Moreover, the elite graduate institutions have exhibited virtually no commitment to the mission of “social responsibility” found in both the proto-Africana Studies Movement and the early Black/Africana Studies programs. Ohio State University’s Department of African American and African Studies remains the exemplar of a department with a solid commitment to community engagement through its outreach center located in the middle of a African American neighbor-

hood.¹⁰³ In addition, the broader scope of inquiry reflected in appellations such as “African Diaspora” and “African World Studies” signal potential diminution of the focus on U.S. African Americans. Cecil Brown notes, for example, that in some institutions the expansion of the curriculum and research focus has “become a code for hiring Blacks from the Caribbean and Africa in place of African Americans,” creating a potential divide “between the African American agenda and the Black immigrants.”¹⁰⁴

EPISTEMOLOGY AND IDEOLOGY

There are complex epistemological questions undergirding tensions associated with the scope of coverage, administrative structure, and relationship to traditional disciplines. The critical question that has confronted scholars since the 1960s is: What exactly is the nature of Black/Africana Studies and to what extent do affiliated theories, research protocols, and instruction differ significantly from counterparts in traditional disciplines? In other words, is there a meaningful distinction between Africana Studies and the study of African and African-descended people?

Participants in the proto-Africana Studies Movement had no need to address these issues and, following their lead, many initial advocates for the establishment of Black/Africana Studies in the 1960s and 1970s paid limited attention to issues of epistemology and ideology. Joseph Russell, the first executive director of NCBS, opined confidently in 1975 that Black Studies “has a respectable body of knowledge and researchable content with the Black humanities and social sciences comprising its core curriculum.”¹⁰⁵ In 1974 Nick Aaron Ford, author of the first Ford Foundation assessment of Black Studies, declared, “The term ‘Black Studies’ refers to educational courses concerned with the study of research in various aspects of the experience, attitudes, and cultural artifacts of people of African origin.”¹⁰⁶ He suggested that “Black Studies are concerned primarily with the history, literature, art, music, religion, cultural patterns, and lifestyles developed in America, by a race of people cut off completely from all contact with the land of their origin.”¹⁰⁷

These formulations provided no guidance regarding whether Black Studies is best conceived of as a stand-alone enterprise or an appendage to traditional disciplines. Ford’s definition appears to prioritize the humanities over social sciences as the locus of Black Studies intellectual activity. This perspective contrasts markedly with a definition offered by cultural theorist Maulana Karenga: “Black Studies, as both an investigative and applied social science, poses the paradigm of theory and practice merging into active self-knowledge which leads to positive social change.”¹⁰⁸ This specification not only foregrounds the role of social scientific investigation, it also advocates a direct linkage between research and efforts

to improve the quality of black life. The declaration that Black Studies is a “social science” implies that it can be distinguished from other social sciences. Karenga makes the case for this distinctiveness using the argument that “Black Studies . . . as an interdisciplinary discipline has seven basic subject areas . . . which . . . are . . . separate disciplines when they are outside the discipline of Black Studies, but inside, they become and are essentially subject areas which contribute to a holistic picture and approach to the Black experience.” In addition, Karenga maintained, “the qualifier Black, attached to each area in an explicit or implicit way, suggests a more specialized and delimited focus which of necessity transforms a broad discipline into a particular subject area.”¹⁰⁹

The limitations of this argument can be illustrated by focusing on the critical role of history within Black/Africana Studies. Emphasizing the centrality of history, Karenga appropriately insists that Black History is “indispensable to the introduction and development of all other subject areas. Black History places them in perspective, establishes their origins and development, and thus aids in critical discussion and understanding of them.”¹¹⁰ However, it is important to interrogate what theory of history is most closely aligned with the aims of Black/Africana Studies practitioners. In-depth examination of Du Bois’s scholarship reveals a sophisticated theory of knowledge positing a complex interconnection among historical, social scientific, and literary modes of inquiry.¹¹¹

Du Bois’s interdisciplinary epistemology provides strong support for contemporary claims that Black/Africana Studies is an interdisciplinary enterprise, although his contribution has not been fully appreciated. For example, there has been inadequate attention to distinctions between the concepts of “interdisciplinary” and “multi-disciplinarity.” Most claims regarding interdisciplinarity simply assume that because Black/Africana Studies examines aspects of life experience that cut across traditional disciplinary boundaries that the resultant narratives are by definition interdisciplinary, when in fact the term “multi-disciplinary” may be a more accurate descriptor.¹¹²

PHILOSOPHY AND THEORY

Scholarship adapted from the philosophy of science can facilitate examination of the appropriateness of characterizing Black/Africana Studies as a “discipline.” Several conclusions have been derived from these explorations. First, Black/Africana Studies satisfies the criteria set forth by Thomas Kuhn for qualification as a “discipline.” Kuhn originally proposed the use of the term “research paradigm” to characterize the specific application of the scientific method within an area of inquiry and subsequently opted for the term “disciplinary matrix.” Disciplinary matrices are comprised of four components: a metaphysical compo-

nent; values shared by practitioners; symbolic generalizations, observational language, and research methods; and exemplars (concrete examples of the application of the theoretical and empirical framework).¹¹³

With regard to values, much attention has been focused on the role of the construct of “Afrocentricity,” as articulated by Molefi Asante.¹¹⁴ There remains a tendency to equate “Afrocentricity” as a value underlying research and instruction, with “Afrocentrism,” an ideology not necessarily grounded by theoretical constructs or empirical evidence. Asante’s formulations illustrate the linkage between “values” and the other components of a disciplinary matrix. Asante links the construct of Afrocentricity to a theory of inquiry characterized as “Africalogy.” Africalogy is defined as “the Afrocentric study of African concepts, issues, and behaviors” and is claimed to constitute “a separate and distinct field of study from the composite sum of its initial founding disciplines.”¹¹⁵ Both Karenga and Asante look to ancient African civilizations to derive foundational concepts and values. Although some variant of “Afrocentric” values resonates with many Black/Africana Studies scholars, some, such as Perry Hall, have taken issue with some of the specific formulations set forth by Asante.¹¹⁶ In addition, in previous years a Marxist-grounded alternative to Afrocentricity was suggested as an alternative set of foundational values, but over time Afrocentricity, broadly defined, has come to dominate the disciplinary matrix.¹¹⁷

The emphasis on establishing the foundations of Black/Africana Studies in systematic exploration of African history offers an opportunity to embrace the efforts of some Africanists. Lisa Aubrey declares, “For African Americans in African Studies, the tendency is strong to define Africa as the continent and the diaspora together, inextricably linking Africans by continent of origin, color, and condition.”¹¹⁸ Aubrey believes that “some African Americans and continental Africans are revisiting proposals for merging African Studies with African American/Black Studies, a difficult endeavor, as African American Studies programs generally are plagued with problems.”¹¹⁹

Progress in establishing the third element of the Black/Africana Studies disciplinary matrix—symbolic generalizations, observational language, and research methods—has been especially hampered by uncertainties regarding whether the enterprise is a discipline or a collection of traditional disciplines. Presumably, a discipline uses a unique terminology and some distinctive research methods. In the early 1970s a group of black social scientists called for the creation of a “Black social science.”¹²⁰ Specific terminology would reject sanitized descriptors, bring oppressive relationships into sharp relief, and reinforce political commitments to undertake social science-based research to counter racism and discrimination and improve the life circumstances of people of African descent. This movement quickly lost momentum, and recent efforts to explicate a research methodology

have largely focused on the adaptation of methods based in traditional disciplines. Serie McDougal's comprehensive discussion of research methods in Black/Africana Studies demonstrates the compatibility of the adaptive approach with Afrocentric values.¹²¹ Exemplars have been offered primarily in introductory texts, encyclopedias, handbooks, and special issues in scholarly journals. This growing inventory of sources has not quelled disagreement about what constitutes bona fide examples of Black/Africana Studies scholarship.¹²²

Although philosophy of science-grounded assessments have proven useful, alone they are insufficient to fully describe the Black/Africana Studies enterprise. One of the limitations of such analyses is how to characterize and incorporate new subject areas. For example, as Africana Women's Studies has emerged as a major subject area, it has further complicated efforts to disentangle issues of disciplinarity versus interdisciplinarity. There are two prevailing approaches within Africana Women's Studies, broadly defined. One school of thought foregrounds cultural nationalist ideology and emphasizes the need for partnership between Africana men and women in pursuit of anti-racist political objectives.¹²³ A competing approach prioritizes feminism and tends to be more connected to traditional academic disciplines than its counterpart and, more specifically, is clustered in the areas of literary criticism and creative writing.¹²⁴ Black women historians have tended to avoid associating themselves with either position, focusing instead on excavating the critical role of black women in shaping the trajectory of African and African American life.¹²⁵

Efforts to introduce post-modernist theories into Black/Africana Studies posed a very different challenge. The summer 2014 issue of *The Black Scholar* featured examples of this approach, which rejects "cultural nationalist" and Afrocentric representations within Black/Africana Studies.¹²⁶ Some scholars have embraced the construct of "the Black Atlantic" as an alternative framework to guide inquiry. The Black Atlantic foregrounds the construct of "hybridity," challenging the idea that individuals can be identified with a single cultural reference group. Proponents also call for reducing the emphasis on the experiences of people of African descent in the United States.¹²⁷ This approach involves "tak[ing] the Atlantic as one single, complex unit of analysis and us[ing] it to produce an explicitly transnational and intercultural perspective."¹²⁸ At first glance, this effort might seem to suggest a reasonable expansion of the scope of inquiry. However, the underlying assumptions would actually disrupt some of the basic values and theoretical formulations that have guided the development of Black Studies, and create what Kuhn would describe as a "revolution."¹²⁹ Proponents not only advocate a reduced focus on African Americans, they also propose diminishing the role of Africa. In effect, this approach would de-historicize an enterprise grounded in historical inquiry from its origins in the work of early 20th-century contributors to the proto-Africana Studies Movement.

Some scholars who self-identify with Black/Africana Studies (primarily literary critics) have embraced deconstruction, popularized by Jacques Derrida, as a methodological intervention that challenges the dominant paradigm.¹³⁰ Deconstruction is essentially a theory of literary criticism that questions traditional assumptions about certainty, identity, and truth. Derrida claimed that all textual interpretations have equal validity, challenging the existence of a master historical narrative chronicling a shared collective experience among people of African descent. The denial of the existence of a master historical narrative would constitute a revolutionary departure, rather than a refinement of the prevailing Black/Africana Studies disciplinary matrix.

Post-modernist challenges highlight the general problem faced by philosophy of science frameworks in interrogating the role of the humanities within Black/Africana Studies. Both Karenga and Asante advocate forcefully for the importance of humanities-based inquiry within Black/Africana Studies.¹³¹ The Black Arts Movement (1964–1976) had a profound influence on the humanistic content of Black/Africana Studies. Defining and refining a “Black Aesthetic” was central to the proponents of the Black Arts Movement, hailing back to the efforts of the proto-Africana Studies artists of the New Negro Renaissance. Karenga suggests that the Black Aesthetic “had two distinct but interrelated meanings—a distinctive mode of aesthetic expression enabling identification of Black art; and criteria for judging Black art in terms of both creativity and beauty and also in terms of social relevance.”¹³²

The biggest challenge in using a philosophy of science framework to interrogate the nature of Black/Africana Studies, however, is the commitment to political activism to foster social change. Philosopher Stephen Toulmin argues that an area of inquiry develops into a scientific discipline when it has “one and only one set of well-defined goals at a time (that is, explanation of phenomena falling within the scope of the disciplinary inquiry), and one set of selection-criteria for assessing research findings.”¹³³ Because Black/Africana Studies simultaneously engages in intellectual production and political activism, it does not meet Toulmin’s criterion of having a single goal, rendering the characterization of “discipline” problematic. This does not denigrate Black/Africana Studies because a discipline is only one of many types of “rational enterprises” such as the field of law. According to Toulmin, “Rationality is an attribute, not of logical or conceptual systems as such, but of the human activities or enterprises of which particular sets of concepts are the temporary cross-sections; specifically of the procedures by which the concepts, judgments, and formal system currently accepted in those enterprises are criticized and changed.”¹³⁴ Black/Africana Studies with its multiple objectives indeed qualifies as a “transdisciplinary rational enterprise” and the term “enterprise” has been used as a principal descriptor throughout this essay.

Recognizing that Black/Africana Studies is a trans-disciplinary rational enterprise, rather than a discipline as conventionally construed, provides a context for understanding continuing debates regarding its nature and direction. In April 2006 the Ford Foundation convened a symposium involving thirty-two participants entitled “Conversations for Sustaining Black Studies in the 21st Century.” Participants engaged ten important questions central to the future of the enterprise, including the relationship between Black Studies and Critical Race Studies, Diaspora Studies, African Studies, Afro-Latino(a) Studies, and Africana Women’s Studies—appropriate foci for new scholarship, and connections to communities. The presentations and discussions reflected a wide range of viewpoints and have been published in a special issue of the *International Journal of Africana Studies*.¹³⁵ The diversity of approaches advanced in this symposium highlights the difficulty in both advancing the enterprise and focusing scholarship on solving contemporary challenges confronting people of African descent. Revisiting the experiences of participants in the proto-Africana Studies Movement can hopefully prove valuable in efforts to pursue a more focused developmental trajectory.

TOWARD A FUTURE THAT EMBRACES THE PAST

Careful interrogation of the proto-African Studies Movement can provide useful guidance for directing contemporary Black/Africana Studies practitioners through the maze of challenges that have emerged in the early 21st century. Building on the formulations of Du Bois, several approaches to sustainable development have been pursued. Explorations grounded in the philosophy of science generated a conceptual framework described as an “expansive” model of Black Studies intended to provide a blueprint for developing a sustainable stand-alone intellectual enterprise.¹³⁶ At the same time, systematic efforts were undertaken to “historicize” the enterprise to identify its historical roots in the writings and other activities of progenitors. This research focused initially on Du Bois and involved not only scrutinizing his life and writings, but also adapting his modes of presentation. In many respects the volume *Flight in Search of Vision* follows *The Souls of Black Folk* by incorporating a combination of essays, analytical research findings, and poetry. It also adopts the methodology of periodic reassessment fashioned by Du Bois in his three autobiographies by tracing the evolution of the author’s views regarding the nature, scope of inquiry, and praxis of Black/Africana Studies over a thirty-year period.¹³⁷ More recently, attention has been focused on the life and work of Anna Julia Cooper, partly as an effort to confront persistent patriarchal tendencies within the Africana Studies enterprise.¹³⁸ There is an ongoing need for additional efforts to “historicize” rather than “de-historicize” Black/Africana Studies through in-depth investigations of other mem-

bers of the proto-Africana Studies Movement, and by documenting the evolution of the contemporary enterprise.

Du Bois's writings have also yielded useful insights regarding the conduct of historical, social scientific, and literary/artistic research serving as exemplars within Black/Africana Studies. A new approach to historical research has been proposed that expands on Du Bois's concern with reconciling macro- and micro-historical discourses. This approach would embrace genealogical research to enrich the understanding of historical developments and broaden the commitment to, and engagement in, historical inquiry.¹³⁹ In the arena of the social sciences, proposals to pursue authentic multi-authored "interdisciplinary" research have been advanced that involve use of Internet-based simultaneous authorship/editing tools. The most useful starting point for initiating this type of interdisciplinary collaboration is increased use of multi-disciplinary team teaching approaches in Black/Africana Studies classroom instruction.¹⁴⁰

Exploration of strategies to synthesize knowledge emanating from historical, social scientific, and literary/artistic investigations has led to the conceptualization of a Du Bois-inspired "Jazz Theory of Africana Studies." This framework departs from the use of the philosophy of science as a framework to describe the enterprise, and grounds the inquiry in an "indigenous" mode of representation, "Jazz." The Jazz model shifts attention from the individual scholar/researcher to a collective or team working cooperatively to generate new knowledge by moving beyond traditional disciplinary boundaries. It also champions the efficacy of participant observation and other qualitative research protocols to generate information appropriate for Africana Studies analyses.¹⁴¹

Efforts to characterize exemplars of Black/Africana Studies analyses have identified five essential characteristics that differentiate Africana Studies analyses from traditional inquiries: 1) rejection of "victimology" orientations in favor of approaches focusing on efforts by African Americans to shape their own destiny (Africana agency); 2) interpretation of contemporary developments through a framework of analysis that explores the effects of historical forces in shaping current conditions (continuing historical influences); 3) use of multiple analytical methods and modes of presentation to research and articulate the complexities of the experiences of peoples of African descent (wholism/ multidimensionality); 4) exploration of policy implications (simultaneous pursuit of academic excellence and social responsibility); and 5) exploration of historical and continuing cultural and political linkages between Africans in Africa and Africans in the Diaspora (Pan-Africanism).¹⁴² While no individual investigation can be expected to incorporate all of these elements, the absence of characteristics one and two generally suggests that a particular research study is more appropriately identified with a field of inquiry other than Black/Africana Studies. Conversely, studies incorporat-

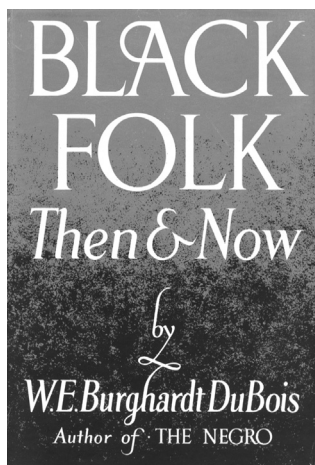
ing more of these characteristics are more representative of the type of Africana Studies scholarship envisioned by founders than studies possessing fewer of these elements.

This specification of Black/Africana Studies exemplars does not exclude post-modernist scholarship. The critical issue is the utilization of post-modernist formulations consistent with the historical trajectory of the enterprise. This requires engaged scholarship beyond that associated with Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault. As an example, cultural theorist Boris Groys has issued a clarion call for the revival of radical politics and radical aesthetics.¹⁴³ To paraphrase Groys, his counter-claim to assertions about the “anachronistic” nature of so-called identity politics is that such movements are absolutely essential to survival in the contemporary era of globalization. In a similar vein, Jacques Ranciere argues that art and politics are always intermixed; “politics has its aesthetics, and aesthetics has its politics” and he asserts that “it is up to the various forms of politics to appropriate, for their own proper use, the modes of presentation or the means of establishing explanatory sequences produced by artistic practices rather than the other way around.”¹⁴⁴

The proto-Africana Studies Movement provides vindication for Black/Africana Studies scholar-activists to be unapologetic about exploring unconventional approaches to inquiry that challenge conventional Eurocentric modalities. Indeed, the title of this essay is a riff on Du Bois’s *Black Folk Then and Now*. Du Bois indicated the book represented an effort to “do again, and . . . somewhat more thoroughly the task that [he] attempted twenty-three years ago in a little volume of the Home University Library, called *The Negro*.”¹⁴⁵ Du Bois insisted, “[I did] not for a moment doubt that my Negro descent and narrow group culture have in many cases predisposed me to interpret my facts too favorably for my race, . . . there is little danger of long misleading here, for the champions of white folk are legion.”¹⁴⁶ Du Bois lamented, “[S]ignificant facts today [1939] are obscured by the personalities and prejudices of observers; the objects of industrial enterprise and colonial governments; the profit in caste; the assumed necessity of bolstering the amour-propre of Europe by excusing the slave trade and degrading the African.”¹⁴⁷

Du Bois’s cautions will hopefully inform ongoing developmental efforts and enable the enterprise to avoid domination by outsized personalities, reject intellectual colonization by Eurocentric epistemes, and decline invitations to join the “champions of white folk” on either side of the Atlantic. While the “beachheads in higher education” must be maintained, constant vigilance will be required to prevent them from becoming isolated desert islands inhabited by those who mistakenly believe they are protected from roiling tides of poverty, backlash, and repression. One of the most important lessons that can be garnered from studying

the past is that Black/Africana Studies cannot be an enterprise that is housed solely in academe if it is to be true to its historical legacy, nor can it be simply a national enterprise.



W. E. B. Du Bois in *Black Folk Then and Now: An Essay in the History and Sociology of the Negro Race* (1939) surveyed the experiences of African-descended peoples from the ancient world to the modern era.

Finally, the activist responses of scholar-activists to the myriad assaults waged on the masses of black people in the early 20th century should provide a model for contemporary counterparts. Bona fide Black/Africana Studies scholar-activists cannot remain silent and ensconced in pristine ivory towers in the wake of tragedies such as the executions of Trayvon Martin in Florida, Michael Brown in Missouri, Eric Garner in New York City, and others. Black/Africana Studies scholar-activists must also speak forcefully about the limited improvement for African Americans during the Barack Obama administration and actively support progressive policies.

Black/Africana Studies practitioners will hopefully come soon to the realization in the spirit of Du Bois that now is a time when there can “be no rift between theory and practice, between pure and applied science.” We can all remain focused on the central challenges by continually invoking Du Bois’s 1905 dictum: “We can only understand the present by continually referring to and studying the past, when any one of the intricate phenomena of our daily life puzzles us, when there arises religious problems, political problems, race problems, we must always remember that while their solution lies in the present, their cause and their explanation lie in the past.”¹⁴⁸

NOTES

¹The term “Black/Africana Studies” encompasses the terms “Black Studies” and “Africana Studies.” This particular construction is intended to acknowledge the original appellation, while simultaneously recognizing the growing preference for “Africana Studies” as a descriptor of the enterprise.

²Charles H. Wesley, “Our Fiftieth Year: The Golden Anniversary, 1965,” *Negro History Bulletin* 29 (November 1965): 19, 172–73.

³Linda McMurtry, *Recorder of the Black Experience: A Biography of Monroe Nathan Work* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1985).

⁴See Jacqueline Goggin, Carter G. Woodson, *A Life in Black History* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1993), 33–5.

⁵*Ibid.*, 34–5.

⁶See Alfred Moss, *The American Negro Academy: Voice of the Talented Tenth* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1981).

⁷See Elizabeth McHenry, *Forgotten Readers: Recovering the Lost History of African American Literary Societies* (Durham, NC, 2002).

⁸See Charles L. Blockson, *Damn Rare: The Memoirs of an African-American Bibliophile* (Tracy, CA, 1998), 227–241.

⁹Kenneth W. Goings, “Introduction,” *The Negro* (1915; repr., Amherst, NY, 2002), 13.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, xvi.

¹¹W. Burghardt Turner with Joyce Moore, “W. E. B. Du Bois and *The Negro*, An Introduction,” *The Negro* (1915; repr., Baltimore, MD, 2005), 15.

¹²Goings, “Introduction,” 11.

¹³Herbert Aptheker, *Annotated Bibliography of the Published Writings of W. E. B. Du Bois* (Millwood, NY, 1973), 549.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 550.

¹⁵W. E. B. Du Bois, “The Atlanta Conferences,” *Voice of the Negro* 1 (March 1904): 85.

¹⁶LaVonne Leslie, ed., *The History of the National Association of Colored Women’s Clubs, Inc.: A Legacy of Service* (Xlibris, 2012).

¹⁷Toure F. Reed, *Not Alms But Opportunity: The Urban League and the Politics of Racial Uplift, 1910–1950* (Durham, NC, 2008).

¹⁸Julian Ellison, *Ten Black Economists of Note, 1850–1950* (Gaithersburg, MD, 1990).

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²⁰See Angela Jones, *African American Civil Rights, Early Activism and the Civil Rights Movement* (Santa Barbara, CA, 2011).

²¹W. E. B. Du Bois, “My Evolving Program for Negro Freedom,” in *What the Negro Wants* ed., Rayford Logan (Chapel Hill, NC, 1944), 56.

²²For a detailed exploration of the life and activities of Barnett, see Mia Bay, *To Tell the Truth Freely: The Life of Ida B. Wells* (New York, 2009).

²³W. E. B. Du Bois, “Editorial,” *Crisis* 1 (November 1910), 10.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶Mrs. John E. Milholland, “Talks About Women, Number One,” *Crisis* 1 (December 1910): 28.

²⁷George Edmund Haynes, *The Negro at Work During the World War and During Reconstruction* (Washington, DC, 1921), 12.

²⁸W. E. B. Du Bois, “African Roots of War,” *Atlantic Monthly* 115 (May 1915): 707–714.

²⁹W. E. B. Du Bois “Close Ranks,” *Crisis* 9 (July 1918): 29.

³⁰For a comprehensive discussion of the experiences of Blacks during the World War I era, see Nina Mjagkij, *Loyalty in Time of Trial: The African American Experience during World War I* (Lanham, MD, 2011).

³¹For information about the *Messenger* see “*Messenger* (1917–1928),” *Blackpast*. <http://www.blackpast.org/aah/messenger-1917-1928>.

³²For a discussion of the global impact of the Garvey Movement, see Adam Ewing, *The Age of Garvey: How a Jamaican Activist Created a Mass Movement and Changed Black Global Politics* (Princeton, NJ, 2014).

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³⁴“The ‘Garvey Must Go’ Campaign,” American Experience. http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/garvey/peoplevents/e_mustgo.html.

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³⁷Carter G. Woodson, “Ten Years of Collecting and Publishing the Records of the Negro,” *The Journal of Negro History* 10 (October 1925): 605.

³⁸*The Journal of Negro History* 1 (January 1916): 1–135.

³⁹Goggin’s *Carter G. Woodson* includes an extensive discussion of the Associated Publishers, 66–78.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 47–53, for a detailed discussion of Woodson’s tenure at Howard University.

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⁴²*Ibid.*, 67.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 67–8.

⁴⁴Goggin, *Carter G. Woodson*, 94.

⁴⁵W. E. B. Du Bois, *Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept* (New York, 1940), 203.

⁴⁶Goggin, *Carter G. Woodson*, 84.

⁴⁷See W. E. B. Du Bois, “The Krigwa Players Little Negro Theatre,” *Amsterdam News*, 5 October 1927.

⁴⁸James Weldon Johnson, “To America,” *Crisis* 15 (November 1917): 13.

⁴⁹Langston Hughes, “The Negro Speaks of Rivers,” *Crisis* 22 (June 1921): 71.

⁵⁰For information about Johnson’s involvement with the Urban League, see Patrick J. Gilpin and Marybeth Gasman, *Charles S. Johnson: Leadership Beyond the Veil in the Age of Jim Crow* (Albany, NY, 2003).

⁵¹David Levering Lewis, *When Harlem Was in Vogue* (New York, 1981), 113–125.

⁵²See Sondra Kathryn Wilson, ed., *The Messenger Reader: Stories, Poetry, and Essays from the Messenger Magazine* (New York, 2000). <http://www.blackpast.org/aah/messenger-1917-1928#sthash.h6Glul87.dpuf>.

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⁵⁴W. E. B. Du Bois, “On Being Ashamed of Oneself: An Essay on Race Pride,” *Crisis* 40 (September 1933): 199–200; W. E. B. Du Bois, “Postscript,” *Crisis* 41 (January 1934): 20–1.

⁵⁵Du Bois, “On Being Ashamed of Oneself,” 200.

⁵⁶W. E. B. Du Bois, “The Study of the Negro Problems,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 11 (January 1898), 12.

⁵⁷See Malik Simba, “The Association for the Study of African American Life and History: A Brief History,” *Blackpast.org*. <http://www.blackpast.org/perspectives/association-study-african-american-life-and-history-brief-history#sthash.Q5W5wav7.dpu>.

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⁶¹Zachery R. Williams, *In Search of the Talented Tenth, Howard University Public Intellectuals and the Dilemmas of Race, 1926–1970* (Columbia, MO, 2009), 1.

⁶²See W. E. B. Du Bois, *Report of the First Conference of Negro Land-Grant Colleges for Coordinating a Program of Social Studies: Convened at Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga., April 19, 20, 1943* (Atlanta, GA, 1943).

⁶³W. E. B. Du Bois, “Phylon: Science or Propaganda,” *Phylon* 5 (1944): 7.

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- ⁶⁷Romare Bearden, "The Negro Artist and Modern Art," in *ibid.*, 223. (Originally published in *Opportunity* 12, December 1934.)
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- ⁷⁰John Henrik Clarke, "Reclaiming the Lost African Heritage," in Patterson, ed., *Introduction to Black Literature in America*, 279.
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- ⁷⁸*Ibid.*
- ⁷⁹See Jonathan Fenderson, James Stewart, and Kabria Baumgartner, "Expanding the History of the Black Studies Movement: Some Prefatory Notes," *Journal of African American Studies* 16 (March 2012): 1–20.
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- ⁸¹Delores P. Aldridge and Carlene Young, "Historical Development and Introduction to the Academy," in Aldridge and Young, eds., *Out of the Revolution*, 6.
- ⁸²For a list of degree-granting programs as of the beginning of the 21st century, see the National Center for Education Statistics, "Digest of Education Statistics, 2000" at <http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2001/digest/>.
- ⁸³Marjorie Coeyman, "Black Studies on the Move," *Christian Science Monitor*, 12 February 2002, L11, 14.
- ⁸⁴Abdul Alkalimat, "Africana Studies in the United States," March 2007, eblackstudies.org.
- ⁸⁵These changes in the location of the administrative offices have generally accompanied changes in top leadership of the organization.
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- ⁸⁷William M. King, "The Early Years of Three Major Professional Black Organizations," in Aldridge and Young, eds., *Out of the Revolution*, 125.
- ⁸⁸For information about ASCAC, see the organization's website: <http://ascac.squarespace.com>. The 32nd Ancient Kemetic (Egyptian) Conference sponsored by ASCAC was held in Seattle, Washington in March 2015.
- ⁸⁹Derrick E. White, "An Independent Approach to Black Studies: The Institute of the Black World (IBW) and Its Evaluation and Support of Black Studies," *Journal of African American Studies* 16 (March 2012): 70–88.
- ⁹⁰Information about the organization can be found at the following website: <http://www.scaasi.org/Introduction/introduction.php>.
- ⁹¹*UMOJA* and the *New England Journal of Black Studies* are two early Black/Africana Studies periodicals that did not survive.
- ⁹²The first NCBS Summer Faculty Institutes funded by the Ford Foundation were held in the summers of 1989, 1990, 1991, and 1992.
- ⁹³NCBS offers grants for outreach through funding provided by the National Black United Fund.
- ⁹⁴See King, "The Early Years of Three Major Professional Black Organizations."
- ⁹⁵*Ibid.*, 28.
- ⁹⁶The other women who have headed NCBS are Carlene Young, Delores Aldridge, Shirley Weber, and Georgene Bess-Montgomery.

- ⁹⁷Information about these organizations can be found on their respective websites.
- ⁹⁸Long-term negative consequences of discipline-based caucuses for development of Black/Africana Studies were predicted in the mid-1980s. See James B. Stewart, "Alternative Models of Black Studies," *UMOJA* 5 (1981): 17–39.
- ⁹⁹See, for example, Michael Baker, "Center of Controversy: Africana Studies and Research Center Leadership Tumult Creating Conflict," http://www.ithaca.com/news/article_682fb3ac-f9cc-11e0-a5cb-001cc4c002e0.html.
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- ¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*
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- ¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 35–6.
- ¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, 43.
- ¹¹¹For an early discussion of this issue, see James B. Stewart, "The Legacy of W. E. B. Du Bois for Contemporary Black Studies," *The Journal of Negro Education* 53 (October 1984): 296–311.
- ¹¹²See James B. Stewart, "Reaching for Higher Ground: Toward an Understanding of Black/African Studies," *The Afrocentric Scholar* 1 (1992): 1–63.
- ¹¹³Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 2nd edition (Chicago, IL, 1970).
- ¹¹⁴Molefi Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea* (Philadelphia, PA, 1987).
- ¹¹⁵Molefi Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge* (Trenton, NJ, 1990), 12.
- ¹¹⁶Perry Hall, *In the Vineyard: Working in African American Studies* (Nashville, TN, 2004).
- ¹¹⁷See Abdul Alkalimat, ed., *Paradigms in Black Studies* (Chicago, IL, 1990).
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- ¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, 22.
- ¹²⁰See Abdul Alkalimat, "The Ideology of Black Social Science"; Robert Staples, "What Is Black Sociology? Toward a Sociology of Black Liberation"; and Ronald W. Walters, "Toward a Definition of Black Social Science," in *The Death of White Sociology*, ed. Joyce Ladner, 173–189, 161–172, 190–212.
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- ¹²²Examples include James L. Conyers, ed., *Africana Studies: A Disciplinary Quest for Both Theory and Method* (Jefferson, NC, 2005); Molefi Kete Asante and Maulana Karenga, eds., *Handbook of Black Studies* (Thousand Oaks, CA, 2006); Delores P. Aldridge and E. Lincoln James, eds., *Africana Studies, Philosophical Perspectives, and Theoretical Paradigms* (Pullman, WA, 2007); Talmadge Anderson and James Stewart, *Introduction to African American Studies, Transdisciplinary Approaches and Implications* (Baltimore, MD, 2007); Molefi Asante and Ama Mazama, *Encyclopedia of Black Studies* (Thousand Oaks, CA, 2007); and Jeanette R. Davidson, *African American Studies* (New York, 2010).
- ¹²³See Clenora Hudson-Weems, *Africana Womanism: Reclaiming Ourselves* (Troy, MI, 1993).
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- ¹²⁵The Association of Black Women Historians was established in 1979 and holds meetings concurrently with the ASALH. For additional information see the organization's website: <http://abwh.org>.
- ¹²⁶See Alexander G. Weheliye, guest editor, Special Issue: "State of Black Studies," *The Black Scholar* 44 (Summer 2014): 1–107.
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- ¹²⁸Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 15.

¹²⁹In Kuhn's formulation scientific revolutions involve wholesale rejection of the previously accepted disciplinary matrix.

¹³⁰For a good summary of Jacques Derrida's ideas see the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/derrida/>.

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¹³²Karenga, *Introduction to Black Studies*, 2nd edition, 388.

¹³³Stephen Toulmin, *Human Understanding*, Volume 1 (Princeton, NJ, 1972), 133.

¹³⁴*Ibid.*

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¹³⁶Stewart, "Alternative Models," 17–39.

¹³⁷James B. Stewart, *Flight in Search of Vision* (Trenton, NJ, 2004).

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¹⁴⁵W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now: An Essay in the History and Sociology of the Negro Race* (New York, 1939), viii.

¹⁴⁶*Ibid.*, ix

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*, viii–ix.

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