

Center for the Study of Philanthropy

A Graduate Curriculum Guide to



TOPICS IN BLACK AMERICAN PHILANTHROPY SINCE 1785

By
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*CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF
PHILANTHROPY*

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*A Graduate Curriculum Guide to
Topics in Black Philanthropy Since 1785*

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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. A 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.

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.

Richard Allen, a bishop in the early history of the A.M.E. Church, was pivotal in the creation of the independent black church movement which led to the establishment of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

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



Ida B. Wells spoke out against racial injustice and violence as a newspaper editor and activist who led an anti-lynching campaign, and worked within the black women's club and suffrage movements.

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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Part I.

**A Graduate Curriculum Guide to:
Topics in Black Philanthropy Since 1785**

by Colin Palmer

Introduction

This course is designed to explore issues in the development, nature, and expression of philanthropic impulses in black America since the formation of the Free African Society in 1785. Black philanthropy refers to the numerous ways in which black men and women contributed their time, resources, and talents to improving the black condition. Consequently, given the texture of the experiences of the peoples of African descent in the United States, black philanthropy includes the organizations that were founded to contest slavery and segregation as well as those that were founded to address matters of economic and political import. It is important for students to understand that what constitutes philanthropy has to be contextualized and that its expression varies in accordance with the groups involved and the causes that are being advanced. Viewed through a black American lens, all voluntary activities that were, and are, designed to improve the black condition may be characterized as philanthropy.

[**Editors note:** This graduate guide serves as a companion to the undergraduate guide ([Topics in Black Philanthropy Since 1785](#)) by Professor Colin Palmer, already appearing in this series. As such, it assumes a familiarity with the history of Black Americans, and identifies primary source materials suitable for research at the graduate level. For supplementary materials and study topics relevant to the weekly units appearing in this guide, please see the aforementioned undergraduate guide.]



Unit 1

Black Philanthropy: Its Origins

There can be no doubt that the enslaved peoples sought to improve their condition in a variety of ways. They developed vibrant cultures that cushioned slavery's blows. Some resisted physically, while others developed networks of relationships that gave them some space within an oppressive societal environment. Those blacks who became free before 1863 or 1865 continued the tradition of self help. Existing in a polity that accorded them few concessions, free blacks had to create a plethora of organizations for the sustenance of their brethren. These were both secular and religious in their orientation and existed in the North as well as the South.

Free blacks founded their first mutual aid organization in Philadelphia in 1785. Known as the Free African Society, it was designed to provide support for the sick and assistance to orphans and widows. Seven years later, the first lodge of Free Masons appeared in Boston. Other fraternal and social welfare organizations were created in several cities. They included the African Benevolent Society of Wilmington, North Carolina, and the Brown Fellowship Society of Charleston, South Carolina. In time, the newly created black religious denominations—the African Methodist Episcopal, and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion—performed a variety of functions in and for the emerging black community.

Graduate students should examine the impetus, organization, structure, and functions of these early black philanthropic organizations. They should be sensitive to the needs such organizations attempted to meet, and the obstacles they confronted. It is also important for students to examine the debates that accompanied the founding of these organizations in order to understand how a people grappled with the task of realizing themselves.

Primary Sources

Dorothy Porter, ed., Early Negro Writing, 1760-1827 (Baltimore, 1995).

Secondary Authorities

Ira Berlin, Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South (New York, 1975).

Carol V. R. George, Segregated Sabbaths: Richard Allen and the Emergence of Independent Black Churches, 1760-1840 (New York, 1975).

Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roark, No Chariot Let Down: Charleston's Free People of Color on the Eve of the Civil War (Chapel Hill, 1984).

Leon Litwack, North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860 (Chicago, 1961).

Gary B. Nash, Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720-1840 (Cambridge, 1988).

Bernard E. Powers Jr., Black Charlestonians: A Social History, 1822-1855 (Fayetteville, 1994).

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

Unit 2

Contesting Slavery as Philanthropy

Those peoples of African descent who were free before the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 launched an aggressive campaign against slavery as soon as their numbers and resources permitted. Located principally in the North, these blacks recognized that as long as the majority of their brethren remained enslaved, they would never be free. Phillis Wheatley, the noted poet, denounced slavery as early as 1774 in a letter that was published in two Boston newspapers.

In their struggles against slavery, black abolitionists founded organizations, published anti-slavery tracts, engaged in direct action and cooperated with their white counterparts in a variety of ways. The movement attracted the energies of both men and women, including Frederick Douglass, Henry Highland Garnet, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, and Martin Delany.

Graduate students should be familiar with the ideologies that animated the black abolitionists, the changing strategies they employed, and the issues that divided the abolitionist movement as a whole. They should address the degree to which the movement was successful, and the relationship between abolitionism and the Civil War.

Primary Sources

Students should immerse themselves in the primary sources relating to the abolitionist movement. The most complete and accessible collection of documents is C. Peter Ripley, ed., The Black Abolitionist Papers, Vol. 3 (Chapel Hill, 1985). See also his shorter collection, Witness for Freedom: African-American Voices on Race, Slavery, and Emancipation (Chapel Hill, 1993).

Secondary Authorities

R. J. M. Blackett, Building an Antislavery Wall : Black Americans in the Atlantic Abolitionist Movement, 1830-1860 (Baton Rouge, 1983).

Paul Finkelman, ed., Antislavery (New York, 1989).

James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community and Protest Among Northern Free Blacks, 1780-1860 (New York, 1997).

Carlton MaBee, Black Freedom: The Non Violent Abolitionists from 1830 Through the Civil War (New York, 1970).

Jane H. Pease and William H. Pease, They Who Would Be Free: Blacks Search for Freedom, 1830-1861 (Urbana, 1990).

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

Shirley Yee, Black Women Abolitionists: A Study in Activism, 1820-1860 (Knoxville, 1992).

Jean Fagan Yellin, and John C. Van Horne, eds., The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America (Ithaca, 1994).

Unit 3

Black Philanthropy in the Aftermath of Slavery

The four million newly freed blacks faced enormous problems in constructing new lives in the aftermath of slavery. The former slaveowners had not been vanquished by the war and they sought to introduce modified forms of slavery once freedom came. The former slaves established organizations to contest the claims of Southern whites and to advance their own interests. Once they acquired the right to vote, black men participated actively in the political process and elected their own representatives.

In addition to their roles as politicians, the newly freed established fraternal and benevolent societies, constructed schools, and organized churches to help meet their needs.

Students should focus on the ways in which blacks made and remade themselves in freedom. They should be familiar with the strategies their leaders embraced to improve the overall black condition. It is important to assess the kinds of programs that the elected officials supported at the national and local levels. In addition, the varieties of self-help programs that the people initiated should be thoroughly explored and discussed. The roles of women in the construction of freedom also deserve particular attention.

Primary Sources

There are numerous published collections on the aftermath of slavery and the construction of freedom, although only a few are devoted exclusively to the experiences of blacks. The following are the most useful and accessible collections:

Ira Berlin, et al., Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation (New York, 1982).

Philip S. Foner and George E. Walker, eds., Proceedings of the Black National and State Conventions, 1865-1900 (Philadelphia, 1986).

Dorothy Sterling, ed., The Trouble They Seen: The Story of Reconstruction in the Words of African-Americans (New York, 1994).

Secondary Authorities

James D. Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935 (Chapel Hill, 1988).

Eric Foner, Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877 (New York, 1988).

Thomas Holt, Black Over White: Negro Political Leadership in South Carolina During Reconstruction (Baton Rouge, 1976).

Leon Litwack, Been in the Storm so Long: The Aftermath of Slavery (New York, 1979).

William E. Montgomery, Under Their Own Vine and Fig Tree: The African-American Church in the South, 1865-1900 (Baton Rouge, 1993).

Robert C. Morris, Reading, 'riting, and Reconstruction: The Education of Freedmen in the South, 1860-1870 (Chicago, 1976).

Carl Osthaus, Freedom, Philanthropy and Fraud: A History of the Freedmen's Savings Bank (Urbana, 1976).

Clarence E. Walker, A Rock in a Weary Land: The Methodist Episcopal Church During the Civil War and Reconstruction (Baton Rouge, 1982).

Unit 4 Taking the Time to Chart the Future: Ideas and Action

As they constructed their future in freedom, blacks were not at all agreed as to the nature of the path they should embrace. Some individuals believed that the acquisition of civil rights should be the primary focus of their struggles. Others thought economic uplift should be the priority. There were also proponents of socialism, and a few persons advocated emigration.

In spite of their ideological disagreements, these people were all concerned about the future of the people of African descent in the United States. They spent a great deal of time thinking, writing, and organizing. Individuals such as W. E. B. Dubois, Booker T. Washington, A. Philip Randolph and Henry McNeal Turner spoke for different constituencies and their commitment to advancing the condition of their people was passionate and unswerving.

Students should be exposed to the debates in which these individuals were engaged. There were many voices in black America and their vigorous debates testified to the energy of a people and their embrace of different paths as they constructed their passageways in a hostile environment. Black America was never monolithic in its vision and students need to be conversant with the variegated constructions of a people's trajectory.

Primary Sources

Frances L. Broderick and August Meier, eds., Negro Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century (Indianapolis, 1960).

David Levering Lewis, ed., W. E. B. Dubois: A Reader (New York, 1996).

Cary Wintz, ed., African American Political Thought, 1890-1930: Washington, Dubois, Garvey and Randolph (New York, 1996). *This edited work contains a good collection of the ideas that various individuals proposed about the future of Black America.*

Secondary Authorities

Louis Harlan, Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901 (New York, 1972).

Louis Harlan, Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee 1901-1915 (New York, 1983).

David Levering Lewis, W. E. B. Dubois, Biography of a Race, 1868-1919 (New York, 1993).

August Meier, Negro Thought in America: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington (Ann Arbor, 1963).

Unit 5

The Ideology and Practice of Racial Uplift

Freedom did not result in a fundamental transformation of the black condition. Some blacks, particularly those who were freed before the 1860s, occupied a higher status than the majority of their brethren. Building upon a tradition of self help that antedated emancipation, members of this elite group assumed the task of “elevating” or “uplifting” those who were mired at the bottom of black society.

Many of those who espoused the doctrine of racial uplift believed that the black poor needed to change aspects of their culture and behavior in order to gain acceptance by the larger society. They had to embrace the values and culture of white society. To the degree that some blacks conducted themselves differently from whites, they impeded the cause of integration and tarnished the reputation of all blacks in the eyes of whites, the proponents of uplift maintained. In order to promote the cause of racial uplift, these elite blacks employed a number of strategies, and introduced a wide array of programs designed to improve the status and condition of their less fortunate brethren.

Some blacks believed that the progress of their “race” in the United States was also tied to the “redemption” of Africa. Africans needed to be more Westernized and their traditional customs had to be abandoned. Individuals who expressed such views also expended time, energy and resources to “redeem” the African continent.

Primary Sources

Anna Julia Cooper, A Voice From the South (reprint, New York, 1988).

W. E. B. Dubois, The Philadelphia Negro (reprint, New York, 1967).

William H. Ferris, The African Abroad, or His Evolution in Western Civilization, 2 vols. (New York, 1913).

Secondary Authorities

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

Williard B. Gatewood, Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880-1920 (Bloomington, 1990).

Sylvia Jacobs, ed., Black Americans and the Missionary Movement in Africa (Westport, 1982).

Nancy Weiss, The National Urban League, 1910-1940 (New York, 1974).

Walter Williams, Black Americans and the Evangelization of Africa, 1877-1900 (Madison, 1982).

Unit 6 **Women and Philanthropy**

Elite women were particularly active in promoting the cause of racial uplift. Not only did many of them possess the time and requisite resources, but in accordance with the gender constructions of the times, they were deemed to have the human qualities that the task needed. Black women did not operate under the same societal constraints as white women did so they were free to carve their own spheres of activity.

Drawing upon a long tradition of black women's engagement in social welfare activities, women created a series of organizations to promote the cause of racial uplift. Some of them were religious in orientation; others were decidedly secular. Some women became teachers, and others joined the nursing profession so they could make a contribution to the cause.

The animating impulses of these women were both philanthropic and political. Less threatening to white society than black men, they could engage in political activities closed to their husbands and sons. "We can go where you cannot afford to go," one woman told the men. Students should be exposed to the variegated activities in which women were involved and should assess their contributions to the cause of racial uplift and in expanding the roles deemed appropriate to their gender.

Primary Sources

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

Secondary Authorities

Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920 (Chapel Hill, 1996).

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

Tera W. Hunter, To 'Joy my Freedom': Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors After the Civil War (Cambridge, 1997).

Beverly Washington Jones, Quest for Equality: The Life and Writings of Mary Eliza Church Terrell, 1863-1954 (Brooklyn, 1990).

Cynthia Neverdon-Morton, Afro-American Women of the South and the Advancement of the Race, 1895-1925 (Knoxville, 1989).

Stephanie Shaw, What a Woman Ought to Be and Do: Black Professional Women Workers During the Jim Crow Era (Chicago, 1996).

Unit 7

Black Nationalism as Philanthropy: Garveyism

The ideological roots of black nationalism are in the early nineteenth century. As early as 1829, David Walker in The Appeal urged blacks to assume control over their own destinies and create their own institutions. Marcus Garvey, however, was the first of the black nationalists to construct a "nation" for blacks that transcended geographic boundaries. The Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) that he founded in 1914 boasted an international membership of six million in 1924.

In order to promote the economic interests of blacks, the UNIA started a shipping line and opened restaurants. Although these ventures failed, they were important expressions of black economic nationalism and philanthropy.

Primary Sources

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

Robert Hill, ed., Marcus Garvey, Life and Lessons: A Centennial Companion to the Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers (Berkeley, 1987).

Secondary Authorities

Randolph Burkett, Garveyism As a Religious Movement: The Institutionalization of a Black Civil Religion (Metuchen, 1980).

Tony Martin, Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association (Westport, 1976).

Judith Stein, The World of Marcus Garvey: Race and Class in Modern Society (Baton Rouge, 1986).

Emory Tolbert, The UNIA and Black Los Angeles: Ideology and Community in the American Garvey Movement (Los Angeles, 1980).

Unit 8

Black Nationalism as Philanthropy: The Nation of Islam

Although the Universal Negro Improvement Association failed to achieve its economic objectives, the Nation of Islam (NOI) realized those dreams to a far greater extent. Founded in the 1930s, the NOI created an impressive number of enterprises that promoted economic self sufficiency for blacks. It purchased vast amounts of land, started schools, restaurants, dry cleaning establishments, grocery stores, and so on.

The tremendous appeal of the NOI resided in its promotion of a black theology and its aggressive espousal of black economic nationalism. Students should examine the factors that led to its creation, expansion, and survival. The changing nature of its ideology and appeal should also be explored. Students might wish to discuss whether the NOI represents a progressive or reactionary force in the context of African American life and history.

Primary Sources

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

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

Secondary Authorities

Claude Andrew Clegg III, An Original Man: The Life and Times of Elijah Muhammad (New York, 1997).

E. U. Essien-Udom, Black Nationalism: A Search for Identity in America (Chicago, 1962).

Mattias Gardell, In the Name of Elijah Muhammad: Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam (Durham, 1996).

Martha F. Lee, The Nation of Islam: An American Millenarian Movement (Lewiston, 1988).

C. Eric Lincoln, The Black Muslims in America (rev. ed, Boston, 1973).

Unit 9 **Contesting Segregation**

There can be no doubt that many African Americans have donated a great deal of time, resources, and energy in the struggle against racial discrimination and segregation. Resistance has always been a central theme in the history of black life. The resistance to racially inspired mistreatment accelerated in the twentieth century as blacks became more politically conscious and developed the organizations that would sustain their very difficult and complex struggles.

Several organizations played significant roles in the struggle for justice and they deserve a central place in the analyses of black philanthropy. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League and the Congress for Racial Equality are among the best known, but there were scores of other organizations that operated at both the local and national levels. Most of these organizations included white members but blacks played central roles in making policies and executing them. Students should examine the various objectives, styles, sources of support, and accomplishments of these organizations.

Primary Sources

Frances L. Broderick and August Meier, eds., Negro Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century (Indianapolis, 1960).

Secondary Authorities

Sean Dennis Cashman, African-Americans and the Quest for Civil Rights, 1900-1990 (New York, 1991).

A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., Shades of Freedom: Racial Politics and Presumptions of the American Legal Process (New York, 1996).

Genna Rae McNeil, Ground Work: Charles Hamilton Houston and the Struggle for Civil Rights (Philadelphia, 1983).

Mark V. Tushnet, Making Civil Rights Law: Thurgood Marshall and the Supreme Court, 1936-1961 (New York, 1994).

Robert L. Zangrando, The NAACP's Crusade Against Lynching, 1900-1950 (Philadelphia, 1980).

Unit 10

The Civil Rights Movement as a Philanthropic Movement

The movement against segregation and for civil rights commanded the energies, time, and struggles of numerous individuals and organizations. Beginning in 1955 with the boycott of the buses in Montgomery, Alabama, African Americans carried out a sustained struggle for their rights that lasted for about ten years. This modern civil rights movement achieved significant legislative successes and helped to transform the nature of race relations in the United States.

Although the movement was dominated by men, women played significant roles in it as well. Organizations such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Congress for Race Equality provided leadership and resources to advance the struggle. The churches were also crucial to whatever success the movement achieved. Students will need to identify the principal groups that were involved in the great social movement, the strategies they employed over time, their ideological underpinnings and the bases of their support.

Primary Sources

Clayborne Carson, ed., The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr., 3 vols. (Berkeley, 1992-).

Howell Raines, ed., My Soul is Rested: Movement Days in the Deep South Remembered (New York, 1983).

Secondary Authorities

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

- Taylor Branch, Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963 (New York, 1988).
- Clayborne Carson, In the Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960's (Cambridge, 1981).
- Vicki L. Crawford, et al., eds., Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941-1965 (Bloomington, 1995).
- David Garrow, Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (New York, 1986).
- David Garrow, ed., We Shall Overcome: The Civil Rights Movement in the United States in the 1950's and 1960's, 3 vols. (New York, 1989).
- August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942-1968 (New York, 1973).
- Charles M. Payne, I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle (Berkeley, 1995).
- Harvard Sitkoff, The Struggle for Black Equality, 1954-1980 (New York, 1981).

Units 11 & 12**Philanthropy in the Post Civil Rights Era**

The achievement of civil rights did not lead to a cessation of efforts by blacks to advance their interests and improve their condition. Many new organizations appeared at both the local and national levels to join the struggle. Some, such as the Black Panthers, espoused a form of revolutionary nationalism combined with a number of social welfare programs. The Nation of Islam continued its neighborhood activities, and embraced new ones such as the fight against drugs and an opposition to gang warfare. Black women established feminist organizations to advance the claims of their gender. Many churches expanded their traditional roles as agents of racial uplift and social welfare.

The ghettoization of many urban communities also led to the creation of a plethora of local organizations to address the social conditions that became identified with those enclaves of human misery. Students will need to identify and explore the nature of these organizations and not conflate national organizations with ones that are locally based. They should be sensitive to issues of class and gender as they seek to understand the texture of these new philanthropic organizations. Given the differences between these organizations and their emphases, it is necessary to devote two or more sessions to their study. Students may also wish to address the roles of the emerging black philanthropic elite such as Bill Cosby and Oprah Winfrey.

Primary Sources

Instructors will need to assign readings drawn from contemporary newspapers and magazines. They may also wish to assign readings from collections such as the following ones:

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

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

Secondary Authorities

Readings from secondary authorities may be drawn from such books as:

George M. Fredrickson, Black Liberation: A Comparative History of Black Ideologies in the United States and South Africa (New York, 1995).

Gerald David Jaynes, et al. A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society (Washington, DC. 1989).

Frank R. Parker, Blacks Votes Count: Political Empowerment in Mississippi After 1965 (Chapel Hill, 1990).

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

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

Suggestions for Research

Among the many topics that students may wish to explore are:

1. The roles of the early black religious denominations in developing and executing social welfare programs;
2. The nature of black economic enterprises before 1863;
3. Women and the origins of social welfare programs before 1863;
4. Black political participation after the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment;
5. Roles of various self-help organizations at the local levels after 1863;
6. Case studies of various nationalist groups and their philanthropic causes;
7. Black Americans and their efforts to "redeem" African societies;
8. The changing nature of black philanthropy since the Civil Rights Movement;
9. Educational institutions as philanthropic enterprises, and their role within the black community.



Part II.

A.
Self-help in
the African-
American
Community

Literature Overviews

by James Sweet and Kacy Wiggins

It 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 toward 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 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 perspec-

tive 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, 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 that 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 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, constraining the voluntary and philanthropic efforts 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, and publishers, among others, we cannot forget that the primary aim of black 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 when seven of eight black persons found their humanity denied in the chains of slavery, the word philanthropist hardly seems adequate or accurate 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, 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 reevaluate 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 has remained 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 philanthropy, especially the notion of “gifts for a public purpose.” Public purpose holds a 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, both of 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 and 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 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 it 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 movements, 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*).¹ 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 50 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's 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 of slavery. This volume comprehensively treats lecturers, educators, publishers, benevolent societies, conventioners, and those who aided in protecting fugitive slaves. That Quarles's work has endured testifies to its breadth and depth; however, an updated book that asks similar questions is long overdue.²

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 that 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.³

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 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 on the years until the end of the Civil War, 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 only at experiences at the extremes or from the top down, so should those who look at the lives 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 subclass within black America. By distancing itself from the majority of black Americans, this consciously created subclass 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.⁴

Gatewood's analysis leaves open many questions regarding the activities of the majority of blacks 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.⁵

Among the most enigmatic philanthropists in black American history is W. E. B. Du Bois. David Levering Lewis' W. E. B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race, 1868-1919 chronicles the formative years of the Niagara Movement, the NAACP, and the periodical The Crisis. Du Bois proud-

ly 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 longtime 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 that in many respects bridged the gap between Booker T. Washington's accommodationism and Marcus Garvey's later nationalism.⁶

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 model, which sacrificed the development of 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.⁷

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, nonviolent 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).⁸

In the past 20 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 is the 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.⁹

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.¹⁰

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 of 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 char-

itable 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 asserted 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 that 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, several works that 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. 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.¹¹

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 that 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 that liberate individuals from the crushing weight of racism and poverty.¹²

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.¹³

Endnotes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- ⁹ 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, 1990).
- ¹⁰ Taylor Branch, Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963 (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1988); David J. Garrow, Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Leadership Conference (New York: Random House Books, 1986).
- ¹¹ Dona L. Irvin, The Unsung Heart of Black America: A Middle-Class Church at Mid-Century (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1992), for example, see page 68. King E. Davis, Fund Raising in the Black Community: History, Feasibility, and Conflict (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1975).
- ¹² V. P. Franklin, Black Self-Determination: A History of African American Resistance (Brooklyn: Lawrence Hill Books, 1992).
- ¹³ William Julius Wilson, The Declining Significance of Race: Blacks and Changing American Institutions (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978).

**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.¹ 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.²

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 history³, the number of secular African-American women's associations increased dramatically. By 1896, African-American women had created a sufficient number of 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.⁴ 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.⁵

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 ideology 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.⁶

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 popula-

tion. 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 working-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.⁷

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.⁸

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.⁹ Hopefully future scholarship will address these efforts, and further investigate the long and rich tradition of black women's philanthropy in the United States.

Endnotes

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

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

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

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

⁵ 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).

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

⁷ 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.

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

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

Part III.

Annotated Selected Bibliography

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 that 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 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, antislavery orator, educator, and church leader; Georgia slaves William and Ellen Craft, who spent 19 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 antislavery 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 antislavery lectures to political advocacy and 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."

Bloom, Jack M. Class, Race and the Civil Rights Movement. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987.

Bloom offers an analysis of the collective voluntary and philanthropic efforts that make up the civil right movement, centering on a sociological examination of the dynamics of the economics and the politics of the South. He argued that during the mid-twentieth century the economics and politics began to change to such a degree that it undermined the old agricultural South, paving the way for the organizations and activists who could challenge the racial disparity. Over time, the shifting economic and political ground allowed for increasingly militant organizations to arise. These shifts included increased urbanization and an increasingly manufacture-based economy.

Branch, Taylor. Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-63. New York: Simon & 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 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 garner 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 going toward the purchase 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 a historical examination of black business ventures with case studies of Durham, NC, and Tulsa, OK. The author argues for a strong tradition of black entrepre-

neurship 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 that show the extent of black contributions to both schools and benevolent societies.

Campbell, James T. Songs of Zion: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and South Africa. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Campbell traces the history of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, its activities, and its influence across the Atlantic. Formed by free black Philadelphians in the nineteenth century, by the end of the century it played a pivotal role in the development of the Ethiopian Church of South Africa, which the AME church incorporated as its South African arm in 1896. Campbell begins his story with the origins of the free black church in the United States, dealing specifically with the battles against racism and the resulting race consciousness. He asserts that by adopting Christianity, black Americans rethought and questioned their views of Africa. The ideas that developed were carried with them to South Africa in their various missions and evangelization. Campbell then traces the evolution of the AME church as it began such missions in South Africa. Campbell looks at the AME church as an institution that created a bridge between black Americans and South Africans. He argues further that the church served as a lens that allowed blacks on both sides of the Atlantic to reshape and better understand their worlds, as well as performing philanthropic tasks.

Carson, Clayborne. In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981.

Carson provides the first thorough analysis of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and places this organization at the forefront of the civil rights movement. The narrative of his book unfolds the story of an organization primarily

formed by and comprised of black students who took an active role in the struggle for equality starting in the early sixties with sit-ins in the South. Along the way, these activists moved away from embracing the integrationist, non-violent ideas of Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to accepting the increasingly militant notions of 'black power' in the late sixties. Carson provides a close look at the inner workings of SNCC. He examines the organization's effect on other institutions pushing for change in the 1960s, including, for example, its influence upon the student protests of the late sixties.

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 efforts of blacks, from early benevolent societies to urban organizations in the 1970s and 1980s. Carson provides a provocative and insightful introduction to black philanthropy.

Chafe, William. Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Chafe looks at the development of the 'sit in' phase of the civil rights movement which began when four students, from the North Carolina A and T State University at Greensboro, demanded that Woolworth's serve them coffee side by side with white customers. Within five days, the protest drew thousands of participants and led to the development of a student-led civil rights organization—the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and a new vital stage of the civil rights movement.

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 his effort to assess the condition of free blacks in 15 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, Cyprian. The History of Black Catholics in the United States. New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1990

Davis provides a provocative look at the unique position that black Americans have had in the Catholic church, a subject long ignored by scholars. He begins his account with the Catholic Church's involvement and contact with the African slave trade and New World colonialism. Throughout over 300 years of history in the Americas, the Catholic Church, often seen as strictly European, was never without the influence of blacks. Much of the Church's attention was centered the issue of slavery and evangelization of blacks. More importantly from the perspective of the black American Catholics, Davis argues that the Church proved a source of strength and a institutional center for their fight for humanity and equality all the way through to the twentieth century.

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 that 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 that 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 nonprofit 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.).

Essien-Udom, E. U. Black Nationalism: The Search for Identity In America. c. 1962; Newark: Dell, 1964.

The author provides one of the first thorough evaluations of the Nation of Islam and, to a lesser degree, the black nationalist movement in the United States. Essien-Udom rejects the then commonly held notion that the Nation of Islam was best understood as a political organization. Instead, his close analysis reveals that poor blacks from northern cities turned to the Nation of Islam for cultural reasons, including that of establishing a collective identity in a society in which black identity was all but denied. The author places much emphasis on the organization of the Nation of Islam and its educational institutions.

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 nonviolent 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 nonviolence 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 that aided fugitive slaves, the black nationalist press, and the black convention movement. Franklin views all of these movements as active forms of resistance.

Frazier, E. Franklin. Black Bourgeoisie. New York: Free Press, 1957.

This study has had an important impact upon the history of black America. Firstly, it was the first sociological study of the formation of the black middle class. Franklin argues that the move from the segregated and agricultural South to the more integrated and industrial North caused those who were a part of the new black middle class to sever ties with their southern roots. Yet, he argues further that they failed to achieve the recognition and equality in the dominant, white middle-class society of the North. The author discussed the role that philanthropists and various institutions played in this class formation and the limitations that black institutions faced in the process. The picture he painted was bleak. In his assessment, the new black middle class lacked a solid sense of identity and shared a collective inferiority complex. This calls into question the idea of a black middle class responsible for the "uplift" of the black race. As a result of raising such questions about the role of the

black middle class in the struggle for equality for all black Americans, the book made a second impact: it serves as a call to action for many black activists in the civil rights movement and in the black student movement that followed.

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.

Fredrickson, George M. Black Liberation: A Comparative History of Black Ideologies in the United States and South Africa. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Fredrickson's comparative analysis begins in the United States with the Reconstruction, and in South Africa with the start of the liberal colonialism of the British Cape Colony. In both countries, at this point in time, a black elite was marked by a spirit of activism and motivation that fueled collective efforts to bring about equality after years of slavery and racial disparity. These efforts reflected a hopefulness for integration, but proved

a spirit soon dashed. Fredrickson traces the nationalism that afterwards arose in both countries. The author sketches several important themes that arose in the face of racial adversity and became the ideological basis for civil rights organizations and their leaders, including Ethiopianism and Pan Africanism which both W. E. B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey supported in differing forms. The African American Episcopal church figured prominently in connecting these two nations by its evangelistic work. Fredrickson looks beyond the church to the rise of Communist civil rights activism in both countries around the 1920s and 1930s. He traces the adoption of peaceful and nonviolent protest, which in the United States bifurcated the movement between the nationalists and integrationists, and which in South Africa failed and ultimately led to years of bloody confrontation.

Friedman, Lawrence, J. Gregarious Saints: Self and Community in American Abolitionism, 1830-1870. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Abolitionist opinion in antebellum America spanned a wide range of attitudes and ideas. Focusing on the first generation of "immediatist" abolitionists, Lawrence J. Friedman explores the diversity and factionalism that permeated the movement. He examines the insurgent radicalism of William Garrison and his associates, the "temperate" immediatism of the Lewis Tappan Circle, and the "half-way abolitionism" of moderates like Lyman Beecher and Horace Mann. Friedman traces these differences to their specific social contexts, specifically the intimacy circles or "sanctuaries" of these different abolitionist schools. He focuses on the three most prominent networks: the Boston Clique, the Lewis Tappan Circle in New York City, and the Gerrit Smith faction in upstate New York. Despite their hostility to slavery, differences between these groups ran deep, particularly in their attitudes toward politics, benevolent associations, and churches. The Boston Clique tended to distrust established churches; the radicalism of its members generally alienated them from other benevolent associations. The Tappan Circle, in contrast, was deeply evangelical, and "derived deep comforts from the fellowship of missionaries within the benevolent society movement." (69) Of these factions only Gerrit Smith's group seriously embraced party politics, in this case the Liberty Party

in the 1840s. All of these groups had their own internal tensions and power struggles, and Friedman discusses the social rituals that emerged to “contain” them. He explores how the “social dynamics” and “personal idiosyncrasies” of these circles affected the impact of such pressing issues as the “woman question,” race relations, violence, and the preservation of anti-slavery societies after the war. Friedman’s study captures the social and psychological complexity of abolitionism; he shows how the movement permeated the lives of those who embraced it.

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 it remained dependent on the white political and business elites, 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 and discusses the obstacles that King confronted and the various campaigns that he launched. Garrow provides a human portrait of a 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 subclass of black America. In the immediate years following emancipation, some newcomers broke 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 similar organizations shifted their attentions from "high culture" to social reform. Clubwomen spoke out on behalf of temperance and were at the forefront of the antilynching campaigns. They also raised money for libraries, night schools, orphanages, hospitals, kindergartens, and nursing homes.

Grossman, James R. Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

James Grossman deals with the formation of the black urban working class in Chicago near the turn of the twentieth century. The migration of blacks from the South was not just about physical movement and relocation, but about the development of informal networks which passed on information to southern blacks about opportunities in Chicago. In both the northern 'land of hope' and the Jim Crow South, the church played a prominent role in this network. Once in the North, black migrants took advantage of the welfare capitalism programs that came out of institutions like the church, the YMCA and the YWCA. Perhaps more importantly, these migrants found themselves the target of efforts by black and white middle-class reformers who sought to mold the migrants into workers. Grossman indicates that the desire for education for their children figured prominently in the migrants's decision to move north. In his book, Grossman shows both the importance and the limitations of black and white philanthropic institutions to the great migration of blacks from the South to the North in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Harlan, Louis R. Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972; Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.

In these two volumes, author Louis Harlan details Booker T. Washington's rise from slave to renown African American. Before this book, historians did little to challenge the notion of

Booker T. Washington as simply a proponent of segregation, whose main focus was on the industrial training of Southern blacks, and who directly opposed the idea of an academically trained "talented tenth" propounded by W. E. B. Du Bois. Harlan looks beyond the surface of Washington as a mythical black leader and philanthropist. Harlan argues that focusing solely on Washington's ideological debate with Du Bois fails to reveal the complexity of Washington and his life's work. Instead, Washington must be seen as a man of action rather than just words and ideas. Beyond Washington's apparent acceptance of segregation and his role as founder of the Tuskegee Institute, Harlan presents a more complete picture of a man whose secret philanthropic efforts included personally funding court cases that challenged Jim Crow laws on the trains and other injustices faced by blacks in the segregated South.

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 a 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 40 Downs people, allowing them to express in their own words their life's accomplishments and the influence of Downs in their successes. During the 1950s and early 1960s, 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.

Jackson, Walter A. Gunnar Myrdal and America's Conscience: Social Engineering and Racial Liberalism 1938-1987. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990.

Walter Jackson looks at how Gunnar Myrdal, Swedish Social Democratic scholar and author of An American Dilemma, shaped American public policy and public opinion on race relations in the United States, paving the way for the acceptance of the civil rights movement by Liberals.

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, becoming barbers, tailors, carpenters, and cabinetmakers. 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 members of 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, 1993.

As the subtitle indicates, Lewis ranges far beyond the personage of Du Bois and attempts to encompass as much of the African-American experience 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. Lewis'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. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969.

Lincoln provides a sociological study of the black Muslim movement and of the Nation of Islam, the movement's most well known and enduring component. He traces it from its origins in the black urban North with the development of the Moorish Temple and Garvey movements to the rise of the Nation of Islam. The third edition adds details of the division of the Nation of Islam following the death of Elijah Muhammad and the subsequent rise of Louis Farrakhan.

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 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 up 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.

Matthews, Donald G. Slavery and Methodism: A Chapter in American Morality, 1780-1845. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Methodism spread rapidly across the country, soon becoming the largest Protestant sect in America. In this book Donald G. Matthews explores the confrontation between this highly popular church and the institution of slavery. The relationship between Methodism and slavery was defined largely by context. New England Methodists were more likely to speak out against

slavery than their southern counterparts, many of whom owned slaves. Even in New England, however, criticism of slavery was often cautious and low-keyed. Nevertheless, there had always been abolitionist currents of dissent within the church. John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, had proclaimed slavery "one of the greatest evils that a Christian should fight."⁽⁵⁾ Francis Asbury and Thomas Coke, the most vocal Methodist evangelicals in eighteenth century America, were rabid abolitionists. Their early efforts to abolish slavery failed however, and thus began a long process of "acquiescence, compromise, and conscientious moral struggle." In the South, abolitionism gave way to evangelism and conversion, and during the 1810s and 1820s, Methodist missionary societies flourished. Thousands of slaves were preached to, black pastors were ordained, and church membership soared. Some Methodists, however, spoke out against slavery. Many endorsed the American Colonization Society. Particularly interesting is the story of Methodist abolitionism, which emerged primarily in New England and Western New York, especially in Utica. A minority in the church, the abolitionists were vocal and influential. They established abolitionist societies and set up their own newspapers, such as The Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Herald and Zion's Watchman. Orange Scott, La Roy Sunderland, and George Storrs, three of the most active and influential abolitionist preachers of the day, traveled widely, lecturing and writing and "vigorously [assailing] ecclesiastical authoritarianism." In 1838, Scott claimed there were 50,000 abolitionists within the Methodist church—"probably as accurate an estimation as possible." (168) Abolitionists, however, came up against a great deal of resistance, and like the rest of the country the Methodist church became increasingly torn with internal disputes. In 1844 the church divided over the slavery question. Overall, Matthews does a superb job of elucidating the tensions and power struggles that emerged as Methodists grappled with the issues of slavery, colonization, and emancipation.

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 that 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, 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 created a 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, focusing on the years from 1953 to 1963. Relying on 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 ideas 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 concepts. 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 that 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 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 that 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, Bernard E., Jr. Black Charlestonians: A Social History, 1822-1885. Fayetteville, AR: The University of Arkansas Press, 1994.

Powers argues that in order for black Charlestonians to give substance to the statutory 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 from 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 man 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 mem-

bers 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 that 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 firsthand the precariousness of their so-called "freedom." Quarles provides lengthy discussions of benevolent and literary societies, the black convention movement, emigrationists and their opponents, antislavery 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 antislavery struggle. Others gave sums of money. Though most antislavery organizations received predominantly small donations from free blacks, some people 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 that claim 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 con-

sciousness 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, but there are also a fair number that 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 that 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.

Shapiro, Herbert. White Violence and Black Response: From Reconstruction to Montgomery. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988.

This volume clearly outlines the environment of violence and racial hostility in the years following the U.S. Civil War. Lynching was one example of the violence toward blacks that led to collective and individual action by blacks to rise to the challenge of racial adversity. The formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Color People (NAACP) was one such response. Shapiro also looks at the violence that met peaceful activists like Martin Luther King, and its role in creating and shaping the more militant attitudes reflected in the call for self defense by black Muslims, outspoken activists like Robert Williams, and even the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Sorin, Gerald. The New York Abolitionists: A Case Study of Political Radicalism. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Corporation, 1971.

Focusing on the years 1838-1845, Gerald Sorin presents a series of biographical sketches of high ranking radical abolitionists in New York State. Drawing from a variety of primary New York and national anti-slavery sources, Sorin ranks Henry B. Stanton, Joshua Leavitt, Lewis Tappan, William Jay, Theodore S. Wright, Samuel Ringgold Ward, Henry H. Garnet, Samuel E. Cornish, Charles B. Ray, and James C. Jackson as New York's "ten high ranking abolitionist leaders." Through his analysis of the lives and careers of these people, Sorin sets out to discredit the "tension-reduction theory of political radicalism."(ix) The

radicalism of New York's abolitionist movement did not, he argues, spring from emotional frustration wrought by economic dislocation. These radicals were not merely "inert objects wafted about in a public domain by external forces." Rather, they were empowered by "intelligent vision" suffused with the ardor of religious revivalism. Those unwilling "to work inside the gates of the city" saw the elimination of slavery as only one aspect—albeit a crucial one—of major, widespread reform. "Many saw or came to see American society and its institutions as basically corrupt and in need of restructuring." (126) Sorin critiques the "bad press" so often given to radical abolitionism. Intense radicalism, he argues, need not be a "symptom of personality disturbance" but rather a "symptom of maturity and health."

Sterkx, H. E. The Free Negro in Ante-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 black social and economic institutions in 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, but 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, businesspeople, 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, 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 lesser-known 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 tied not 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 manuscripts, 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 identifying with 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 that 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 color-blind. 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 a example of the unique problems faced by some black volunteers in predominantly white organizations.

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

In 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.

B. Women

Giddings, Paula. In Search of Sisterhood: Delta Sigma Theta and the Challenge of the Black Sorority Movement. New York: William Morrow, 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 Northern 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 (Winter 1990); reprinted in *Black Women in America, Social Science Perspectives*, ed. 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 anti-slavery societies to black women's work within religious institutions, turn-of-the-century women's clubs, and 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.

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, and 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 at 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 part 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 6, 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 governmental 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 antilynching 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 that gathered to discuss the latest novels or write maudlin poetry, the black female literary societies of Philadelphia were egalitarian organizations that 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 women 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 that 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 submitting 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.

Part IV

Additional Citations

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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Part V

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