THE FOUR BLACK HISTORY MOVEMENTS
A CASE FOR THE TEACHING OF BLACK HISTORY

Darlene Clark Hine
Purdue University

Black history since the late 1960s has been and remains one of the most dynamic fields of study in American history. The continued proliferation of books and articles on slavery, the black family, civil rights litigation, and protest movements attest to this burgeoning interest. Significantly, both the 1979 and 1980 Pulitizer prizes in history were awarded to scholars for their work on aspects of the black past.[1] The current exalted position of Black history as a legitimate field of inquiry is of recent origin. Fully to appreciate the complexities and paradoxes surrounding the present status of Black history requires a comparative analysis of the three earlier Black History Movements. The contemporary Black History Movement as the fourth such movement in American history is strikingly different from those which preceded it.

While the researching and writing of Black history has proceeded at a phenomenal pace, the same cannot be said of the teaching of it. One hears frequent comments that present day college students are no longer interested in Black history, or, to be more precise, that the enrollment in Black history courses at universities across the country is on the decline. Ironically it was the demands of black student activists and radicals during the mid-sixties that led to the widespread inclusion of Black history courses into collegiate curriculums. It is perplexing to note, therefore, that while the "doing" or writing of Black history by professional historians flourishes, in many institutions the corresponding teaching component languishes. What happened? This essay seeks to address the question by examining the continuities and discontinuities between the four Black History Movements by placing them in the appropriate historical context.

The First Black History Movement began during the antebellum period, 1830-1860, and witnessed the appearance of the first historical publications by articulate blacks. Most blacks were mired in a web of illiteracy; slaves were prevented by law from learning how to read and write; and the number of free blacks attending colleges and universities were understandably negligible. Thus the teaching of Black history in any structured setting or format was nonexistent. The Second Black History Movement arose and flourished in the post-Civil War era, 1871-1916. Teachers in the newly formed freedmen's schools attempted to teach students aspects of the black past. Articulate blacks during this period stressed the desirability and necessity of educating and informing blacks of their contributions to American society. They argued that such content was critical in order to build race pride and solidarity. The Third Black History Movement began with the founding of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in 1915 and The Journal of Negro History in 1916.[2] The life and work of Carter G. Woodson, who more than any other individual popularized the study of the black past, dominates this period. The current or Fourth Black History Movement commenced during the tumultuous decade of the 1960s. It was spurred by angry, alienated black students demanding fundamental alterations in educational curriculum and the establishment of Black Studies departments and programs in both secondary

---

A different verion of this paper was presented at the Purdue University--American Historical Association Conference on the Teaching of History, in West Lafayette, Indiana, December 1-2, 1978. The author wishes to thank Miriam Jackson, Ph.D. candidate in American Studies at Purdue, and Mrs. Clara Jackson of the School of Library Science at Kent State University for their help in locating some of the articles discussed in this study.

schools and institutions of higher learning. The black students succeeded in initiating a revolution in American education insofar as the treatment of blacks in history texts and inclusion in curriculum was concerned.

When considering the two Black History Movements of the nineteenth century, attention necessarily focuses on the early publications of textbooks by blacks. Few whites wrote in the area and educational institutions paid scant attention to the presence and needs of black people. The Black History Movement of the antebellum period began with the 1836 publication of Robert Benjamin Lewis' Light and Truth: Containing the Universal History of the Colored and Indian Races, from the Creation of the World to the Present Time. Lewis' study constituted the first extensive, systematic effort of an American Negro to dig into the black past. While it is possible to note several other historical works published by blacks, such as J.W.C. Pennington's Textbook of the Origin and History of the Colored People (1847), by far the most capable of this early group was William C. Nell. In 1852 Nell published Services of Colored Americans in the Wars of 1776 and 1812, which was subsequently revised and reprinted under the title The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution with Sketches of Several Distinguished Colored Persons to which is Added A Brief Survey of the Conditions and Prospects of Colored Americans.[3]

The titles alone provide some insight into the purposes for which blacks wrote these books and the points of views expressed. These early black historians lived and worked during an era in which the majority of Americans accepted the alleged inferiority and degradation of blacks without question. Black historians, therefore, sought to create, uncover, and document a past in which blacks made valuable contributions to world and American civilization. These writings are characterized by their contributory approach. This practice of identifying and highlighting the major significant contributions of blacks was to become a prominent conceptual framework and methodology of the Black historical tradition.

Concurrent with the publication of these rudimentary histories was the appearance of radical black tracts and the slave narratives. Antebellum writers such as Frederick Douglass, David Walker, and Martin Delany, to name only a few, used history and a historical perspective to fight for the liberation of blacks from the oppressive conditions of slavery for the masses and tenuous "freedom" for a chosen few. While it is difficult to consider Walker's Appeal (1829), The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass, and Delany's The Condition, Elevation and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States (1852) as histories in the conventional sense, these writings nevertheless form an integral part of the First Black History Movement. Walker, Douglass, Delany, and several others highlighted the contemporary social, economic, and political conditions of slaves and free blacks. They prescribed courses of action, appealed to white consciences for more equitable treatment of blacks, and agitated for the immediate abolition of slavery. They invoked the rhetoric of violence when all else failed.

From the very beginning, the Black History Movement combined scholarship with social concerns. Walker, for example, confessed that his purpose for writing was "to awaken in the breasts of my afflicted, degraded and slumbering brethren, a spirit of inquiry and investigation respecting our miseries and wretchedness in the Republican Land of Liberty! ! ! !" He added, "I have been for years troubling the pages of historians, to find out what our fathers have done to the White Christians of America, to merit such condign punishment as they have inflicted on them, and do continue to inflict on us their children. But I must aver, that my researches have hitherto been to no effect."[4]

The Civil War temporarily interrupted Black historical writings. The sweet promise of freedom, expectations of first-class citizenship, and dreams

of a new social order encouraged articulate blacks. Once the historical writing resumed, it reflected a decidedly integrationist bent. The Second Black History Movement commenced in the immediate post-Emancipation years and continued until the dreams of "freedom" became the nightmare of repression, disfranchisement, lynching, and second-class citizenship.

The most outstanding of the post-Emancipation historians were William Wells Brown and George Washington Williams. In 1874 Brown published The Rising Son: Or the Antecedents and Advancement of the Colored Race. Heralded as the "Negro Bancroft," Williams in 1883 published the two-volume History of the Negro Race in America from 1619-1880. In the preface Williams explained his reasons for writing:

> I commit this work to the public, white and black, to the friends and foes of the Negro, in the hope that the obsolete antagonisms which grew out of the relation of master and slave may speedily sink as storms beneath the horizon; and that the day will hasten when there shall be no North, no South, no Black, no White,--but all be American citizens with equal duties and equal rights.[5]

A few years later his History of the Negro Troops in the Rebellion (1888) appeared.

In 1896 W.E.B. DuBois published the first scientific historical monograph written by a black, The Suppression of the African Slave Trade, 1638-1870. DuBois's book is at the same time an integral part of, yet different from, the black writings of this period. It marked the beginning of work by professionally trained black historians. The period in which DuBois began his career also witnessed the initial professionalization process of the American historical profession: the establishment of the American Historical Association in 1884, the founding of the American Historical Review in 1895, and the development of graduate history departments in many major universities.

The Second Black History Movement, similar to the first, was also characterized by the substantial writings of articulate black laymen. Black ministers, educators, lawyers, and physicians published books on various aspects of the black past: Joseph E. Hayne, an A.M.E. minister, wrote The Negro in Sacred History (1887); Baptist minister Reverend Rufus L. Perry authored The Cushite: The Children of Ham; North Carolina lawyer, businessman, and educator E.A. Johnson published A School History of the Negro in America in 1891. In 1897 Reverend P. Thomas Stanford published the second edition of The Tragedy of the Negro in America: A Condensed History in which he observed, "not by falsehood, then, does this book seek to promote the Negro's cause, but by a simple and brief story of his life in America." He added: "It may be that white men and black men will never be as one people, perhaps cannot be; but none who have accepted the teachings of the Christ can refuse to accord equal opportunity to the sons of Africa."[6]

The Second Black History Movement ended with the appearance in 1916 of C.V. Roman's American Civilization and the Negro: The Afro-American in Relation to National Progress. Roman, a black physician and professor at the Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tennessee, wrote Black history out of a desire to go beyond "accumulating a number of pleasant but incidental and uninteresting details." Roman sought to prove that there existed "no ineffaceable differentiation between the African and the Caucasian." He argued that increasing the race's historical knowledge and teaching black children about the "'glorious deeds of Negro men and women first,' before

they learned of the deeds of the national heroes of the United States would foster race pride and solidarity." Ever the optimist, Roman reasoned that to do so would "furnish an atmosphere of mutual cooperation and helpfulness that will change the winter of our discontent into the glorious summer of racial solidarity, that magic alembic in which most of our racial difficulties will disappear."[7]

The writers and historians of the Second Black History Movement possessed a discernable social vision and were almost obsessed with desires of black-white equality. Their writings were intimately related to and influenced by the peculiar contemporary societal conditions of the masses of black people. They all envisioned their works as tools to cultivate race pride and solidarity. They consciously designed their writings to disprove notions of black inferiority and to convince whites of the worthiness of blacks for first-class citizenship. Black history writing during this period was clearly molded to address the injustices and misperceptions of the times. With the exception of DuBois and T. Thomas Fortune, however, black writers offered no fundamental critique of America, nor did they question the values, myths, and dreams upon which the society was based.

The Third Black History Movement began on the eve of the World War I and continued through the 1950s. Carter G. Woodson, frequently heralded as the "Father of Black History," founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in 1915. In the following year, using his own savings, he launched The Journal of Negro History, which he edited until his death in 1950. Dedicated to the idea of scientific history, angered by the racist and biased writings of prominent white historians, Woodson boldly set out to discover and record the "Truth" of the black experience. He amassed a devastating arsenal of facts to make "the world see the Negro as a participant rather than as a lay figure in history."[8]

Woodson, extraordinarily prolific himself, gathered together a small cadre of professionally trained black historians who proceeded to write books which would correct distortions, unveil inaccuracies, and fill in the "black holes" of white American history. With the aid of substantial contributions from white philanthropic groups such as the Carnegie, Rosenwald, and Rockefeller Foundations, Woodson was able to publish and broadly disseminate these Black history writings. Thus Black history became much more formalized in much the same manner as had been the case in the broader historical profession.

During the early decades of the Association's work Woodson became convinced that if inter-racial harmony was to be achieved it had to begin with unbiased, balanced history-teaching in the classroom. Dismayed by the absence of serious, objective study and analysis of the Negro in the nation's schools, Woodson wrote a series of textbooks in addition to his numberous monographs. In 1922 he prepared The Negro in Our History for college markets; for use in secondary schools he wrote in 1928 Negro Makers of History; and for teenagers he published in 1935 Story of the Negro Retold.[9] Woodson believed that in addition to writing and teaching Black history, it was of critical importance to make Black history written by professional black historians available to the masses. The Negro History Club, Negro History Week, and the Negro History Bulletin were designed to accomplish this objective. Woodson was moderately successful at least in one respect. Towards the end of the Third Black History Movement a few white scholars began to study and publish in the field of Black history.

The significance of the founding of the ASNLH and The Journal of Negro History and the work of the early twentieth-century black historians is best appreciated when viewed in its proper socio-political context. The rise of

the major professional organizations such as the AHA and the concomitant exclusion of blacks underscored the disadvantages under which black scholars labored. They found it virtually impossible to publish in white scholarly journals such as The American Historical Review or to attend conferences held in segregated hotels in Southern cities. If black scholars desired mediums to express their views and to report research findings, they had to found their own. But in founding separate organizations and organs they risked being, and often were, ignored.[10]

Further insight into the lack of status of Black history and the reasons for its negligible impact on educational curriculum can be gleaned from the comments of Woodson's distinguished, but biased, white colleagues. When asked to evaluate Woodson's work and the writings of other black historians, U.B. Phillips, author of numerous books and articles on American Negro slavery, wrote that they seemed to "produce books too hastily. They don't take pains to save the reader pains, therefore they don't get many readers."[11] Vanderbilt University historian W.L. Fleming, author of works on Reconstruction, admitted that while he did not consider "the history in it very sound," he felt that "the standards of the American Historical Review should not be applied to the Journal of Negro History." Fleming accused Woodson of lack of objectivity and alleged that the black historian frequently disregarded "unfavorable sources of information." Furthermore, Fleming insisted, "you can't expect exact scientific unbiased history or economics from these negroes." He particularly objected to the fact that, as he stated it, "every book is distinctly from the negro point of view." In a prophetic note he maintained, however, that in spite of the obvious deficiencies of the black historians, they were undertaking work which white historians one day would find "very useful as sources."[12] These criticisms of Woodson undoubtedly stemmed from the fact that much of his work had been geared towards counteracting the stereotypes, myths, distortions, and omissions evident in the publications of white historians. However, Woodson's interpretations of blacks in history would withstand the test of time.

The Third Black History Movement occurred during the time of the "New Negro" renaissance and the rise of organized black protest traditions, the NAACP and Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association being two examples. The "New Negro" was characterized by an affirmative assertion of the contributions of black people to American society. Black intellectuals and activists expressed in a variety of genres their frustrations with American racism and their yearning to be incorporated fully into the body politic. Black history writing of the era, like the two periods preceding it, was infused with these two strands. The incorporation or integration of blacks into American society had to be achieved by a counterattack on those intellectual traditions which denigrated things black. Black history was used to prove blacks equal to whites, to substantiate and identify significant personalities and contributions, and to make a strong case for black first-class citizenship. Nevertheless, one thing is certain. It would be an exaggeration to suggest that the Third Black History Movement had a profound impact on the nature and structure of the teaching and writing of American history prior to the 1960s.

The Fourth Black History Movement developed during the late 1960s. For the first time, however, the debates on the study and teaching of Black history promulgated by the Civil Rights Movement and urban revolts moved from the lofty confines of academe and ceased to be simply the intellectual indulgence of a few erudite historians. Black students in high schools, junior colleges, and universities spearheaded the new movement. From street corner podiums outside of or on the doorsteps of educational institutions across the country, black students heralded the dawn of a new day. Often

violence or the threat of violence accompanied their demands for Black history courses, Black Studies departments and programs, and more black faculty on predominantly white campuses. The black student unrest of the 1960s accomplished what Woodson and previous generations of black historians and writers had failed to achieve.[13]

The reverberations of the Black Student Movement launched a veritable revolution in American education and served to revive waning interest in the teaching and writing of history. Some scholars, black and white, objected to the demands of the black students because of the alleged nationalistic underpinnings. They viewed the black student demands for the teaching of Black history from a black perspective as a retreat from the goals of complete integration of blacks into American society. Instead the students appeared to be moving towards separatism and segregation. Educators and school administrators correctly perceived that the student demands and actions constituted a fundamental assault on the American educational system and the standard intellectual tradition.[14] Within a span of a few short months after the first black student protests, scholars, educators, school administrators, activists, and professional historians lined up behind various intellectual fronts and guises, pens dripping with ink ready for the ensuing word bath.

The Fourth Black History Movement developed in phases. The first phase spanned the years from 1968 to approximately 1974. During these years the debate over the teaching of Black history and the content of such courses intensified and at times reached fever pitch. The last half of the 1970s witnessed a shift in the emphasis of the Black History Movement. By 1980 attention had seemingly moved from the teaching of Black history to the writing of it. Black history courses and Black Studies departments and programs registered a corresponding decrease in enrollment and interest. In perusing the scores of articles published from 1968 to 1974 one is impressed by the fact that black and white historians were often talking about entirely different issues and concerns. White historians viewed the demand for Black history as an effort to elevate certain black figures to positions of historical eminence. They generally deplored what they perceived to be an effort to make history serve the purpose of enhancing black self-esteem and building race pride and solidarity.

Louis Harlan lamented what he felt to be an attempt by "black revolutionaries . . . to enlist all of black culture but particularly black history in the cause of racial revolution." He lashed out at the tendency of "many 'popular black historians' to change the tortured odyssey of the black man along Freedom Road into a succession of sugar-coated success stories designed to give black children a more favorable and hopeful self-concept. . . ." Borrowing a phrase coined by August Meier, Harlan referred to the brand of history written by "popular black historians" as "cherry-tree history," the black man's answer to the Fourth of July preachers' idea of our national heritage. "What good will it do to trade the old stereotypes and myths for a new one?" he asked rhetorically. "Crispus Attucks may replace Molly Pitcher but neither one plays a significant part in our history, nor I hope in our classroom teaching about it."[15]

Melvin Drimmer admonished that Black history should not be a panacea for all the ills besetting the black community and American society. "Black History in itself will not put bread on the table, eliminate white racism, solve the problems of the cities, end the war in Viet Nam or wherever the next Viet Nam is going to take place, or reorient national priorities." Drimmer went so far as to suggest that Black history could even have a negative effect on black people. He wrote: "It may be that Black History by showing how deeply ingrained racism is in American history and how hard whites

have fought to keep Blacks down would discourage Blacks from changing or fighting a system which they viewed as impregnable."[16]

C. Vann Woodward entered into the fray with his 1968 presidential address to the Organization of American Historians. In a speech entitled "Clio with Soul" Woodward admitted that "in the past a certain moral obtuseness and intellectual irresponsibility regarding the Negro people have cropped up again and again in our most respectable historical literatures." But he too missed the point his black colleagues were making when he added, "Negro history is too important to be left entirely to Negro historians." Woodward viewed Black history from a contributory perspective, precisely the point of view black historians challenged. He argued, "American history, the white man's version, could profit from an infusion of soul. It would be an essential corrective in line with the countervailing forces in American historiography."[17]

Black historians were, for the most part, no longer content to have Black history play merely a "corrective" role in American historiography. Black historian Vincent Harding viewed Black history as a "political struggle for the power of self-definition and self-determination." He urged that new black historians break away from the old contributory and inclusionary history which had characterized the writings of black historians from Pennington to Woodson. Harding asserted that the old approach was bankrupt because it never questioned the idea of the basic goodness and greatness of American society. He argued that "Black History," as opposed to "Negro History," should emphasize exposure, disclosure, redefinition, and reinterpretation of the entire American past and force historians to ask new questions of the very meaning of America.[18]

Sterling Stuckey likewise criticized previous black historians for their failure to "condemn America for crimes against black people." Stuckey sounded the clarion for historians to move away from "integrating" blacks into American history. He did not advocate a separatist history. Rather Stuckey argued that "Black History" must ask new questions and force the re-examination of the larger society from a different frame of reference. Stuckey delineated some of the pivotal questions about which Black history should be concerned:

> To what extent did white people during slavery internalize the mentality of the slave overlord? What were the processes by which racism was transmitted within specific institutions, public and private, from century to century, from generation to generation, down to the present? To what extent has the white family been a kind of nerve center of racist pathology, transmitting impulses to and receiving them from institution after institution for the past three and a half centuries? To what extent has racism affected American foreign policy from the slave era to the present?[19]

Historian Otey M. Scruggs contended that one of the most important reasons to study the Afro-American past was because it would lead to a more accurate understanding of the entire American past. He pointed out that "A study of the Afro-American past, with its tragedy and its irony, would do much to alter our romantic notion that the United States has been destined from its inception to escape the tragedies and ambiguities that have been the fate of other nations."[20] In a similar vein Benjamin Quarles interjected into the debate that "Black history reveals not only what the Afro-American has done; it also unbares the things that have been done to him."[21]

Nathan I. Huggins doubted that a positive historical sense necessarily improved the life or self-image of any one. While he loathed the blind celebration of any heroes, blacks included, he forcefully projected that the oversight or systematical exclusion of blacks from American history by white historians had contributed to the emasculation and dehumanization of all colored people in America. Huggins advocated the study of Black history for its insights into how the American dream had failed. He observed that the black man had always been beyond the limits of what appeared to be a limitless America. "The American Revolution stopped short, democracy stopped short, progressivism and liberal reform stopped short, and always the Negro seemed to have marked the limits."[22]

As the 1975 recession set in, the discussion surrounding the teaching and uses of Black history subsided. Young black students turned their attention to the more mundane problems of earning a living. Higher educational institutions quietly incorporated Black history into virtually all history departments offerings. There ensued a frantic scramble for young black PhDs to fill these new teaching positions. The supply was never quite sufficient to meet the demand. By the end of the decade Black history had been accorded a stature similar to other fields of American history. In sum, as John Blassingame pointedly maintained, the ensuing debates and clashes arising out of the black student demands for Black history had served "to revive a subject which appeared to be on the verge of dying because of its irrelevance, or of sinking out of sight under the weight of its footnotes."[23]

The resurgence of interest in history in general and in Black history in particular proved a bonanza for the professional historians already in positions to capitalize from the movement. The large number of award-winning books produced by white historians on black subject matter has done much to legitimize the study of Black history. Indeed one of the ironies of the Fourth Black History Movement was that most of the highly-acclaimed historical works were, with a few exceptions, written by white scholars.[24] This turn of events should come as no surprise, for a decade ago Stuckey, for one, predicted "While it is highly unlikely that they [white historians] will write the uncompromising history which is needed, there is no absolute guarantee that current black historians will write that history."[25]

The Fourth Black History Movement launched a new tradition in Black history writing, a tradition that is being shaped by the work of white scholars. It is too soon to evaluate the impact of this movement on the larger society. Nor is it possible or advisable, at this point, to evaluate the thrust and quality of the Black history written by whites. The movement has not yet run its course and perhaps will not until there are more works produced by the black historians.

NOTES

[1]Don E. Fehrenbacher, The Dred Scott Case: Its Significance in American Law and Politics (New York, 1978), winner of the 1979 Pulitzer Prize. Leon F. Litwack, Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery (New York, 1979), winner of the 1980 Pulitzer Prize.

[2]For a more complete listing and discussion of the writings of the earlier black historians, see Earl E. Thorpe, Negro Historians in the United States (New York, 1959); Helen Boardman, "The Rise of the Negro Historian," Negro History Bulletin VIII (April, 1945), 148-151; John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes (2nd. ed., New York, 1961); August Meier, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington (Ann Arbor, 1963), 52-53, 260-266.

[3]Ibid.

[4]David Walker, Walker's Appeal (Boston, 1829), 39-117, in Sterling Stuckey (ed.), The Ideological Origins of Black Nationalism (Boston, 1972). In the introduction Stuckey provides an excellent analysis of the writings of blacks such as Henry Highland Garnet and Martin R. Delany.

[5]George Washington Williams, History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880 (New York, 1885), x.

[6]Reverend P. Thomas Stanford, The Tragedy of the Negro in America: A Condensed History of the Enslavement, Sufferings, Emancipation, Present Condition and Progress of the Negro Race in the United States of America (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1897), 9.

[7]C.V. Roman, American Civilization and the Negro: The Afro-American in Relation to National Progress (Northbrook, Illinois, 1972 [Orig. pub. in Philadelphia, 1916]), 31: Last quote taken from Roman's A Knowledge of History is Conducive to Racial Solidarity (1911), 25-33, quoted in Meier, Negro Thought, 262.

[8]Carter G. Woodson, "Ten Years of Collecting and Publishing the Records of the Negro," January, 1929; Kelly Miller, "An Estimate of Carter G. Woodson and His Work in Connection with the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History," 1926. Copies of these essays found in the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Papers at the Rockefeller Archive Center, Pocantico Hills, New York, Box 96, Folder 967. Michael R. Winston, "Carter Godwin Woodson: Prophet of a Black Tradition," Journal of Negro History, LX (October, 1975), 459-463.

[9]Carter G. Woodson, "Negro Life and History in Our Schools," Journal of Negro History, IV (July, 1919), 273-280; Sister Anthony Scally, "The Carter G. Woodson Letters in the Library of Congress," Negro History Bulletin, XXXVIII (June/July, 1975), 419-421.

[10]The best known Black historians of this period are Charles H. Wesley, Rayford W. Logan, Benjamin Quarles, and John Hope Franklin. For an insightful discussion of the obstacles confronting black scholars, see Michael R. Winston, "Through the Back Door: Academic Racism and the Negro Scholar in Historical Perspective," Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, C (Summer, 1971), 678-719.

[11]Ulrich B. Phillips to Sydnor H. Walker, May 9, 1929, Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Papers, Box 96, Folder 967.

[12]Walter L. Fleming to Walker, May 10, 1929, ibid.

[13]Articles chronicling the demands and rebellions of black students appeared in America's leading periodicals; see "Soul Brothers and Swahili," Newsweek, LXX (October, 1967), 59; "Agony of State: Problems of San Francisco State," ibid., LXXI (January 22, 1968), 59; Nation's Schools, LXXXII (September, 1968), 58-62; John Henrik Clarke, "Black Power and Black History," Black World, XVIII (February, 1969), 13-33, 83-85; Nick Aaron Ford, Black Studies: Threat-or-Challenge (Port Washington, New York, 1973); Nathan Hare, "The Teaching of Black History and Culture in the Secondary Schools," Social Education, XXXIII (April, 1969), 385-388; Larry Cuban, "Black History, Negro History, and White Folk," Saturday Review, LI (Sept. 26, 1968), 64-65.

[14]C. Vann Woodward, "Clio with Soul," Journal of American History, LVI (June, 1969), 5-20.

[15]Louis R. Harlan, "Tell It Like It Was: Suggestions on Black History," Social Education, XXXIII (April, 1969), 390-395.

[16]Melvin Drimmer, "Teaching Black History in America: What are the Problems?" Negro History Bulletin, XXXIII (February, 1970), 32-34.

[17]Woodward, "Clio With Soul," 5-20.

[18]Vincent Harding, "Beyond Chaos: Black History and the Search for the New Land," in Amistad 1: Writings on Black History and Culture, eds. John A. Williams and Charles F. Harris (New York, 1970), 267-292.

[19]Sterling Stuckey, "Twilight of Our Past: Reflections on the Origins of Black History," in Amistad 2: Writings on Black History and Culture, eds. John A. Williams and Charles F. Harris (New York, 1971), 261-296.

[20]Otey M. Scruggs, Why Study Afro-American History," in Seven on Black: Reflections on the Negro Experience in America, eds. William G. Shade and Roy C. Herremkohl (Philadelphia, 1969), 9-23.

[21]Benjamin Quarles, "Black History's Beckoning Horizons," Black Books Bulletin, III (Spring, 1975), 26-27.

[22]Nathan I. Huggins, "Afro-American History: Myths, Heroes, Reality," Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience, eds. Nathan I. Huggins, Martin Kilson, and Daniel M. Fox (New York, 1971), 5-19.

[23]John W. Blassingame, editor, New Perspectives On Black Studies (Urbana, Illinois, 1971), 226.

[24]See for example: Ira Berlin, Slave Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South (New York, 1974); Stanley E. Engerman and Robert William Fogel, Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Slavery (Boston, 1974); Theodore Rosengarten, All God's Dangers: The Life of Nate Shaw (New York, 1974); Eugene D. Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made (New York, 1974); Herbert G. Gutman, The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925 (New York, 1976); Lawrence W. Levine, Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom (New York, 1977); David Brion Davis, The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823 (Ithaca, New York, 1975). The list is by no means exhaustive. During the last two years of the 1970s several young blacks published first monographs. Hopefully they will continue to be productive.

[25]Stuckey, "Twilights of Our Past," 292.