
**(RE)CONCEPTUALIZING INTELLECTUAL HISTORIES OF AFRICANA STUDIES:
PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS**

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Abstract**(RE)CONCEPTUALIZING INTELLECTUAL HISTORIES OF AFRICANA STUDIES:
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The overarching objective of this thesis outlines the preliminary rationale for the development of a comprehensive review of the sources that seek to understand disciplinarity, Africana Studies, and Africana intellectual histories. It is the conceptual overlay for an extended work that will eventually offer a (re)conceptualization of Africana Studies intellectual genealogies.

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This work is the product of legions of thinkers. Responsible for my matriculation at Temple University are a coterie of individuals who represent contemporarily the next group of insurgent thinkers this work seeks to understand. Lastly, I thank my thesis committee, Drs. Nathaniel Norment, Jr. and Greg Kimathi Carr, who too have labored and aided greatly in the production of this and future contributions. I hope to contribute a humble addition to this ongoing work.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

While Africana Studies has been variously defined, this thesis will conceptualize the discipline as the contemporary arc of an extensive tradition of *Africans studying*. The intellectual foundations of Africana Studies represent the latest improvisation of a long-view tradition of Africana intellectual thought. As such, Africana Studies is the progeny of generations of thinkers of African heritage, who, as a consequence of European modernity, are now spread throughout the world. As an intellectual enterprise formed to understand and extend these traditions, in the face of a modern world system that seeks to marginalize or negate them, Africana Studies scholars face the necessary task of articulating the constitutive sources of its disciplinarity.

Chapter 2: The Rationale

Africana Studies occupies a unique position within the academic formations of Western-conceived colleges and universities, as a discipline that has been historically situated to address both the total and/or partial erasure of Africana people within normative discourse as well as to extend Africana “deep thought” traditions to the contemporary intellectual landscape.¹ These twin objectives have been articulated in a number of ways since Africana Studies’ institutionalization within mainly historically white colleges and universities in the late 1960s. Scholars within the discipline have focused primarily on the history of this institutionalization, detailing the protracted struggle for academic space to theorize methodological and theoretical language aimed at (re)imagining the Africana experience. While the aforementioned is a necessary endeavor, the recovery of the memory of the collective Africana intellectual experience by African thinkers,

1. “Deep Thought” refers to the corpus of African ideas which have originated from ancient African foundations, with regards to what the West has termed “philosophical” questions. Jacob Carruthers and other Africana thinkers prefer this particular term because it speaks to a distinctly African way of approaching knowledge, while stripping away conceptual confusion around the term, “philosophy.” See Carruthers, *Mdw Ntr: A Historiographical Reflection of African Deep Thought From the Time of the Pharaohs to the Present* (London: Karnak House, 1995), 35-36.

While these two objectives, that of contributing knowledge and extending deep thought traditions, cannot necessarily be said to represent a sort of binary ordering within the various theoretical and ideological positions in the discipline, they operate much like poles on a continuum throughout the history and contemporary moment of Africana Studies as they represent African social and political thought in general. For a general discussion of the strains of thought in Africana intellectual and social/political thought see inter alia, Cedric Robinson, *Black Movements in America* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 96-97, Harold Cruse, *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual: A Historical Analysis* (New York: William Morrow, 1967), as well as Jacob Carruthers, *Intellectual Warfare* (Chicago: Third World Press, 1999) and *Mdw Ntr*, 1-2 .

however, comprises a larger, more expansive history than the past forty or so years.²

The appearance of Black Studies was the logical extension of a long narrative of African educators and students fighting for the creation of studies that were relevant and/or accurate in terms of their treatment of the African experience in American, and on a larger level, global society. On many levels, this endeavor was a battle for the inclusion of content within existing disciplinary outposts. Prior to this period, as many scholars assert, there were very few courses dealing with the experiences of African Americans on American college campuses.³ Academic Black Studies was able to wage a successful battle to extend traditional curriculum models and course offerings to include the experiences of Africans not only in the Americas,

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2. This assertion is made clear in the works of James Turner and C. Steven McGann, "Black Studies as an Integral Tradition in Afro-American Intellectual History," *Journal of Negro Education* 49 (Winter 1980): 52-59 and Lawrence P. Crouchett, "Early Black Studies Movements," *Journal of Black Studies* 2 (December 1971): 189-200.

For a representative sampling of the current conversations among thinkers within Africana Studies see Eddie Glaude, Greg Carr, Elizabeth Alexander, and Tricia Rose, "40th Anniversary of African American Studies in Academia," *The Tavis Smiley Radio Show*, Public Radio International, September 18, 2009, accessed, July 21, 2011, http://thetravissmileyshow.com/1000108_index.html.

The discipline is consistently understood as an outpost of the 1960s era social movements and reduced to a forty year conversation. For a recent discussion of this radio show and the discussions about "grand theory" in Africana Studies, see Martha Biondi, "Controversial Blackness: The Historical Development & Future Trajectory of African American Studies," *Daedalus* 140 (Spring 2011): 226-237.

3. Nick Aaron Ford, writing in 1974, states that: "Black Studies were a part of curriculum in some black college more than fifty years ago." Nick Aaron Ford, "The Black College as Focus for Black Studies," in *The African American Studies Reader*, ed. Nathaniel Norment, Jr. (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2007), 664-674. Historically Black colleges, in the period covering the beginning of the twentieth century until the 1960s, were generally the only places in the academy where one could learn about the experiences and current situations of African and African-descended people. See Greg Carr, "Towards an Intellectual History of Africana Studies: Genealogy and Normative Theory," *The African American Studies Reader*, ed. Nathaniel Norment, Jr., 451n37. Carr briefly summarizes the work of Alan Colon, "Black Studies and Historically Black Colleges and Universities: Toward a New Synthesis" in *Out of the Revolution: The Development of Black Studies*, ed. Delores Aldridge and Carlene Young, (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2000), 287-314; and Darryl Zizwe Poe, "Black Studies in the Historically Black Colleges and Universities," in *Handbook of Black Studies*, ed. Molefi Asante and Maulana Karenga (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2006), 204-224.

but also throughout the world. The past forty years or so, however, has seen the incorporation of this battle by racial regimes in the American academy.⁴ This incorporation has manifested itself as the development of course content claiming to interpret the Black experience within traditional disciplines as well as within multi- and interdisciplines. For scholars in the discipline, the questions that continue to arise are the place, or rationale, of Black/Africana/African American Studies in the face of this incorporation.⁵ In other words, what justifies the continued existence of our discipline?

To answer this question, we must interrogate what practitioners in the discipline of Africana Studies actually seek to do. It is clear however that Africana Studies currently stands at a methodological impasse. Methodology, here defined as the undergirding principles and explanatory modality of a particular research inquiry, provides Africana Studies the space to engage the academy and the world

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4. Cedric Robinson utilizes the term “racial regimes” to characterize the conceptions of the “other” within the film industry. These were linked to the race science (ethnology/anthropology) and mass media of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries but can also be linked to administrative postures in the academy. Africana Studies has, and continues to be seen as “race studies” and diversity education in many institutions. For the discussion of racial regimes, see the introduction to Cedric Robinson, *Forgeries of Memory and Meaning: Blacks & The Regimes of Race in American Theater and Film Before World War II* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).
 5. Nomenclature has been the object of much debate in the forty-year history of the discipline’s institutionalization. The initial naming was “Black Studies”; this thesis will use that designation to refer to the discipline in the formative years of the late 1960s-1980. By 1980, the term “Africana Studies” began to appear, to orient studies toward a fuller appreciation of the interrelatedness of the African experience globally. By the late 1980s, the term Africology appeared, which simply designated the study of African and African-descended people. This thesis will employ the term “Africana Studies” to refer to the contemporary moment in the discipline, following the arguments of John Henrik Clarke, James Turner, and others. See John Henrik Clarke, “Africana Studies: A Decade of Change, Challenge and Conflict” in *The Next Decade: Theoretical and Research Issues in Africana Studies* ed. James E Turner (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Africana Studies and Research Center, 1984), 31-45.

on its own terms.⁶ Much of the scholarship emanating from departments of Africana Studies has been tied methodologically to normative theory arising out of the traditional disciplines. These areas, usually the social sciences and humanities, usually order the ways in which Africana content is approached in studies designated as Black/Africana Studies.⁷ Despite the fact that some scholars have consistently articulated their displeasure with, and the inadequacy of Western theory to address the collective Africana experience, in many ways, their representative intellectual works constitute the (re)inscription of the approaches they almost unanimously disdain.⁸ James B. Stewart writing in his seminal,

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6. Rhett Jones' paper read at the 2006 "State of Africana Studies Conference" convened by the Ford Foundation expresses concerns about the development of methodology. In Jones views the that status of methodology, as an "illegitimate ugly, stepsister in Africana Studies" makes it possible for established disciplines to create what he calls "phantom" Black Studies courses. For Jones' discussion, see Rhett S. Jones, "A Greater Focus on Methodology in Black Studies," *International Journal of Africana Studies* 14 (Spring/Summer 2008): 260-265.
 7. Fabio Rojas' research reveals that "Black studies programs hire from a wide range of graduate programs and academic fields. The kinds of texts that are widely read come from many sources [he includes cultural studies, the social sciences, and the humanities]." He continues stating that the "tendency of black studies professors to have joint appointments, training in various disciplines, and teaching duties in many departments suggest that black studies has highly permeable boundaries, although practitioners have esprit de corps." See Fabio Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies: How a Social Movement Became an Academic Discipline* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 204.
 8. The current/dominant paradigms evolving out of these discussions deserve, perhaps, separate treatment. For an overview of these dominant paradigmatic formations, see Perry Hall, "Paradigms in Black Studies" in *Out of the Revolution: The Development of Africana Studies*, ed. Delores P. Aldridge and Carlene Young (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2000), 25-37 and James Stewart, "Reaching for Higher Ground: Toward an Understanding of Black/Africana Studies" in *The African American Studies Reader*, ed. Nathaniel Norment, Jr., 420-437. Stewart's recent, "Riddles Rhythms, and Rhymes" reviews the methodological issues inherent within the discipline. Viewing the social science and aesthetic/humanities traditions among Africana thinkers as tools which have been altered to aid the social advance of African peoples, the work which remains Stewart is the development of appropriate models to examine "the whole" of the Africana experience that privileges intellectual work unencumbered by social science or humanities boundaries, a resulting formation which he terms "inter-modal" research. For this discussion see James B. Stewart, "Riddles, Rhythms, and Rhymes: Toward an Understanding of Methodological Issues and Possibilities in Black/Africana Studies," in *Ethnic Studies Research: Approaches and Perspectives*, ed. Timothy Fong (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2008), 185-192. For a recent discussion on paradigms in the discipline see Yusuf Nuruddin, "Africana Studies: Which Way

“Reaching For Higher Ground,” explains five rationales which were developed within Africana Studies to expose the limitations of traditional disciplines, and to “justify the existence of a distinct” Africana Studies approach.⁹ These rationales however do not automatically constitute a methodological approach to disciplinary work. Africana Studies is faced then with the magnanimous challenge of effectively molding methodological language to be able to articulate itself outside the bounds of the West. The questions implicit in methodology are not a new question for African people, but in today’s environment, it is in reality synonymous with the rationale for Africana Studies going forward.¹⁰ The intellectual work that is produced by Africana Studies scholars must be grounded in a methodology that accurately speaks to the Africana experience in time and space.

At the heart of the methodological question in Africana Studies is the idea of intellectual traditions. Though they are but one component of methodology and its concomitant, disciplinarity, intellectual traditions provide fundamental understanding of the ways in which knowledge was contextualized, utilized, and approached by precursors within our lineage. The term 'tradition' evokes a particular sense of inherited or transmitted ways of thinking and knowing. Here the

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- Forward– Marxism or Afrocentricity? Neither Mechanical Marxism nor Atavistic Afrocentrism,” *Socialism and Democracy* 25 (March 2011): 93-125.
9. See James B. Stewart, “Reaching for Higher Ground,” 422.
10. Nathaniel Norment, Jr. considers the year 1985, as the beginnings of the institutionalization (or incorporation) of the discipline. It was in this year that the famed Nathaniel Huggins’ Ford Foundation report was published, which viewed the discipline as conceptual adjuncts to the traditional disciplines. This view is widely held and with the exception of few graduate departments, faculties from a range of disciplines contribute their specialties to a multi- or interdisciplinary formation for Black Studies. See Nathaniel Norment, Jr., “Introduction” in *The African American Studies Reader*, ed. Idem (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2007), xxxii and Nathan I. Huggins, *A Report to the Ford Foundation on African American Studies* (New York: The Ford Foundation, 1985). Similarly, those proponents of an “alternative epistemology” have failed to operationalize and practice the implications therein.

term is used and understood as the nature of intergenerational transfer of knowledge: its content, form, and philosophical underpinnings. Etymologically, the term evokes the notion of “handing down.”¹¹ In the context of African culture, tradition is essentially the passing of knowledge to solve problems and create identity. In these contexts, tradition relies on memory. As such, an understanding of these earlier modes of thought among Africana intellectuals allows scholars the ability to connect them to an even older, extended tradition of deep thought, which further contextualizes the ways in which Africana scholarship articulates a distinct view of the world.¹² These connections are important for the discipline in that they create conceptual space to see the ways in which thinkers in today’s milieu can “break the chains.”¹³ While it is clear that prominent intellectuals in Africana Studies have argued the need for this type of conceptual positioning, these implications have not been effectively standardized in any graduate department of Africana Studies.¹⁴ The few who have voiced these positions are small in comparison to most

11. From the Latin *traditio*, meaning “delivery, handing down, or surrender.”

12. Theophile Obenga, Ayi Kwei Armah, and Jacob Carruthers’ collective works, inter alia, represent the perspective that Africana intellectual genealogies are part of a continuum, or what Greg Carr has termed, an “unbroken chain.” This approach to intellectual genealogy presupposes that deep thought traditions, wherever they are found in African contexts, are easily seen as connected to the first evocations of these traditions that are available, usually in classical Africa. For the unbroken genealogy approach see Greg Carr, “What Black Studies is Not: Moving From Crisis to Liberation in Africana Intellectual Work” *Socialism and Democracy* 25 (March 2011): 181.

13. Jacob Carruthers has written that it is time for Africana scholars and intellectuals to “break the chains that link European African ideas to European ideas and listen to the voice of the ancestors without European interpreters.” See Jacob Carruthers, *Mdw Ntr: Divine Speech: A Historiographical Reflection of African Deep Thought From the Time of the Pharaohs to the Present* (London: Karnak House, 1995), xviii. This contention is prefaced with the consideration that tools available to excavate wisdoms of African origin have been made increasingly available and their connections to contemporary ideas have been proven.

14. Perhaps the most widely known exemplar of this particular approach include from the Temple University (the first Ph.D. program in the discipline) School of Afrocentricity, Molefi Kete Asante. Asante’s work, *The Afrocentric Idea* introduces his idea that African knowledge production must be conceptualized via the centrality of African agency. Building upon the

thinkers within the discipline. As such, Africana Studies has much to gain in terms of understanding its disciplinarity through the articulation of an intellectual tradition.

In endeavoring to understand the unique consequences of its institutionalization, recently there have been a number of quasi-histories of Africana Studies written.¹⁵ What these histories accomplish is an ability to contextualize the struggles against academic studies that imbibed a sense of American exceptionalism and Western civilizational idealism within the American university. African American students were able to pinpoint effectively the inadequacies and irrelevance of American college curriculums to their life situations and through social movements develop departments of Black Studies as possible solutions. What the current histories emphasize in many ways is a rationale that is lodged in the idea that Black Studies, as a disciplinarity outpost in the Western academy emerged due to the paucity of Africana content in the course offerings, by recounting their emergence through a truncated view of the social movements of the 1960s. Africana Studies' histories should include the consequences of its emergence in the 1960s,

latter conceptualization, his later volume, *Kemet, Afrocentricity, and Knowledge*, posits ways in which conceptual categories, such as time and space, value systems, and cultural logic based on the African experience and understanding can be formulated and reified. Lucius T. Outlaw, writing in 1987, articulates the need to create, and the circumstances surrounding the creation of, a way of looking at Africana intellectual thought disciplinarily. His work examines a combination of the Asante brand of Afrocentricity and Karenga's Kawaida theory. Outlaw's conclusion largely suggests the inability of the Asante/Karenga conceptualization to establish normative foundations due to their foundations in a loosely-defined and/or developed "African" intellectual tradition. The terms for which African identity is formulated must consider also the discontinuities or disruptions as links and continuity are being theorized. Outlaw's "criticist frame" implies the continued development of careful and responsibly construed norms, which are not universalist and foundationally rigid in nature, from which to base disciplinary practice in the best interest of African people, the world over. These norms should be culled directly from the genealogies, historical, and cultural legacies of African thought. See Lucius T. Outlaw, "Africology: Normative Theory" in *On Race and Philosophy*, ed. Lucius T. Outlaw (New York: Routledge, 1997), 98-134.

15. See the discussions of Noliwe Rooks' *White Money/Black Power* and Fabio Rojas' *From Black Power to Black Studies: How a Radical Social Movement Became an Academic Discipline* inter alia, in this thesis, pp. 49.

but should also serve as institutional *memory*, that is they should stand upon a distinct intellectual tradition. Histories provide the names, places, and events, while the understanding of tradition contextualizes the former.

The development of an accurate and effective narrative of the intellectual impulse and traditions which foregrounded the movements surrounding the creation of Black Studies departments in America is a continuing need for effective disciplinary training in Africana Studies. This long range objective falls beyond the immediate purposes of this particular effort, however, it is with an understanding of this need that it garners much of its impetus.

Chapter 3: The Objective

The author's continued work in this area will compile scholarly literature on the subject of Africana intellectual traditions as a point of departure for articulating a rationale for viewing Africana Studies' disciplinary history as inclusive of the expansive tradition of Africana intellectual thought. It posits several generations of thinkers associated broadly with what can be referred to as Black/African American/Africana Studies have determined that Africana intellectual traditions should influence and often provide the methodological impulse for disciplinary Africana Studies. By collecting the ideas of various scholars in a bibliographical essay, the proposed study will examine the ways in which scholars have understood the origin and role of disciplinary traditions, and how they were conceptualized within Africana thought and/or Africana Studies' theoretical and methodological concerns, while also reviewing the current studies and/or statements around intellectual histories of Africana Studies. There are currently no extended studies of the ways in which Africana Studies, as a discipline, can utilize disciplinary traditions in order to inform its theoretical and methodological considerations. As stated earlier there have been a number of thinkers who have viewed as necessary a conceptual posture which places Africana thought in its various iterations and improvisations as the foundation for disciplinary Africana Studies.

Greg Kimathi Carr is one such scholar, as his works dealing primarily with intellectual genealogy, extend the foundationalist perspective of African

historiography to disciplinary Africana Studies.¹⁶ His 2006 article, “Towards an Intellectual History of Africana Studies: Genealogy and Normative Theory,”¹⁷ largely informs present attempts to understand the challenges confronting scholars in Africana Studies in the creation of effective intellectual histories. Carr elucidates the central methodological considerations inherent in understanding how intellectual genealogies should manifest in a discipline such as Africana Studies, and his essay “suggests a narrative frame for theorizing a working genealogy of disciplinary Africana Studies.”¹⁸ Carr understands the discipline of Africana Studies as the “contemporary academic dimension of what Cedric Robinson has termed the Black Radical Tradition.”¹⁹ Cedric J. Robinson, whose seminal work, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*, is representative of an important approach to Africana intellectual traditions, has viewed Black radical thought as the extension of African ways of understanding liberation as the preservation of the “the collective

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16. The foundationalist perspective to African historiography is defined by Jacob Carruthers as essentially an approach to African history that speaks directly to the primacy of the African experience as the ordering of thought and the normative assumptions of historicity. See Jacob Carruthers, “An African Historiography for the Twenty-First Century,” in *The Association for the Study of Classical African Civilization African World History Project: The Preliminary Challenge*, ed. Jacob H. Carruthers and Leon C. Harris (Los Angeles: Association for the Study of Classical African Civilizations, 1997), 65. See also Greg Kimathi Carr, “The African-Centered Philosophy of History: An Exploratory Essay on the Genealogy of Foundationalist Historical Thought and African Nationalist Identity” in *Ibid*, 285-320. This essay is a genealogy of foundationalist thinkers, a lineage within which Carr can also be identified. See also Carr’s rumination on the study of Malcolm X within Africana Studies, which posits that Africana Studies should imbibe reflections of his legacy within ‘the long-view genealogy of the African-Centered Worldview and the Black Radical Tradition.’ See *idem*, “You Don’t Call the Kittens Biscuits”: Disciplinary Africana Studies and the Study of Malcolm X,” in *Malcolm X: A Historical Reader*, ed. James L. Conyers, Jr. and Andrew P. Smallwood (Carolina Academic Press, 2008), 374.
17. Greg Carr, “Towards an Intellectual History of Africana Studies: Genealogy and Normative Theory,” 438-452.
18. *Ibid*, 439.
19. *Ibid*, 438.

being, the ontological reality.”²⁰ Carr takes this posture to explain the emergence of Africana Studies as the current articulation of a “longer arc of intellectual work over the course of human history.”²¹ As such, in this essay we are presented with a conception of Africana Studies that understands it as a distinct disciplinary endeavor.²² From this foundation, Carr begins the process of creating the conceptual space from which usable intellectual genealogies of the field can be constructed. Following Daudi Ajani ya Azibo, Carr explains that the beginnings of visible Africana intellectual genealogies are essentially their appearance, which coincides with the creation of African worldviews.²³ Azibo’s article, “Articulating the Distinction Between Black Studies and the Study of Blacks,” posits that the discipline of Africana Studies must distill from its normative theory, a way of understanding Africana experiences through the “usage of the conceptual universe afforded by the African worldview.”²⁴ Although Carr, Azibo, and others have contended that changes in circumstances in the Africana experience have somewhat altered the surface appearance of this “conceptual universe;” their fundamental nature, elsewhere termed “deep structure,”²⁵ as well as the ways in which collective understanding is

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20. Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 171.
 21. Carr, “Towards an Intellectual History of Africana Studies,” 438.
 22. The initial efforts to establish Africana Studies within the academy saw discourse centered on whether or not it would be useful to conceptualize the new enterprise as a field of study or a separate discipline. Many current thinkers, as seen in Fabio Rojas’ study, are still unclear as to whether or not the enterprise constitutes a distinct academic discipline. See Fabio Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies: How a Radical Social Movement Became an Academic Discipline*, 195-206.
 23. Carr, “Towards an Intellectual History of Africana Studies,” 439.
 24. Daudi Ajani ya Azibo, “Articulating the Distinction Between Black Studies and the Study of Blacks: The Fundamental Role of Culture and the African-Centered Worldview,” *Afrocentric Scholar* 1, no. 1 (May 1992): 66.
 25. Azibo’s explanation of “deep structure” of culture relies on the model of the African-centered psychologist, Wade W. Nobles: “The deep structure of culture is a popular term used

mediated and interpreted remain tied to processes and institutions that are influential because of their consistence throughout history.²⁶ The challenge, then for Carr is the challenge of time and space, a challenge, which he asserts has been addressed through African forms of improvisation. The current effort, as shown in the general definition above, suggests that Africana Studies itself is such an improvisation. Carr's essay proceeds by quoting Michael A. Gomez who has outlined some specific episodic challenges that have arisen at the behest of the modern world system: 1) the suppression of language, cultural texts, and practices; 2) the creation of "blackness" as the primary marker for power relationships; and 3) the intellectual bifurcation between European and non-European knowledges.²⁷ These episodic challenges are also directly linked to the construction of an "epistemic" of Africana

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- imprecisely (with various meanings) in Black Studies circles. Nobles' model of culture affords a more precise definition and explication, due to its development as a scientific construct. The primary level of culture consists of the "cultural factors," which are cosmology, ontology, and axiology. The secondary or intermediate level of culture consists of the "cultural aspects," which are worldview, ideology, and ethos. Again, the primary and secondary levels together make up the cultural deep structure. Therefore, based on Nobles' model, a people's cultural deep structure is seen to be their conceptual universe as it emerged in response, to or in answer to, the notions of the three cultural factors and the three cultural aspects," Ibid, 69. For Nobles' discussion see Wade W. Nobles, "The Reclamation of Culture and the Right to Reconciliation: An Afro-Centric Perspective on Developing and Implementing Programs for the Mentally Retarded Offender" in *The Black Mentally Retarded Offender: A Wholistic Approach to Prevention and Habilitation*, eds. A. Harvey and T. Carr (New York: United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice, 1982).
26. Carr, "Towards an Intellectual History of Africana Studies," 439.
27. Ibid, 441. Michael A. Gomez, a scholar of African Diaspora Studies, has considered in his many works the notion that development of identity throughout the genealogy of African-descended groups is many cases based upon the foundation of an African antecedent. His 1998 study, *Exchanging Our Country Marks* outlines the process by which Africans of different ethnic groups improvised culture to fashion identity as they were brought to a race-conscious North American society. The three challenges that Carr extracts from Gomez's text are challenges that have historically inhibited this fashioning and contribute in some way to what Gomez concludes as the emergence of divisions among African descendants in America. See Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 291-292. See also Gomez's study of the genealogy of African Muslims in America, which follows a similar trajectory, idem, *Black Crescent: The Experience and Legacy of African Muslims in the Americas* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Studies²⁸; as it is a discipline charged with both extending and understanding the ways in which Africans have “generated improvisational responses” to them.²⁹ Carr then turns to Lucius T. Outlaw’s “Africology: Normative Theory” to explore how elements of Africana Studies’ disciplinarity can develop based on the experiences of an African-descended population now imbued with social constructions of raced identity.³⁰ The essay is largely concerned with how and through what process “norms” are to be developed and operationalized in order to “reconstruct” the disciplinary field of Africology.³¹ He begins by presenting how knowledge complexes generated normative ideas utilizing the works of Michel Foucault and his work on “discursive fields” and Gerard Radnitzsky and the development of the notion of “metascience.” From here Outlaw constructs an archaeological/genealogical criticist frame from which to evaluate the discipline of Africana Studies’ attempt to establish rules and methods for engaging intellectual work. This frame is a synthesis of the critiques and insights of Foucault and Radnitzsky, and includes 1) a historicist postulate; 2) an anti-foundationalist postulate and from these postulates 3) “normative turns” via critical “suspensions” and an 4) exposed field. From the exposed field, the norms of the disciplinary

28. Russell Adams discusses the notion of an epistemic of Black reality that he posits should inform the discourse when analyzing the Africana experience throughout the world. Adams asserts that Black academics must grasp the way in which Africans understand themselves in relation to the world order under which they find themselves, a perspective also advanced by Outlaw. See Russell Adams, “Epistemological Considerations in Afro-American Studies,” in *Out of the Revolution: The Development of Africana Studies*, ed. Delores P. Aldridge and Carlene Young (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2000), 39-58.

29. Carr, “Towards an Intellectual History of Africana Studies,” 441-442.

30. Ibid, 443.

31. Lucius T. Outlaw, “Africology: Normative Theory,” 98.

endeavor develop.³² The works of Molefi Kete Asante and the Temple School of Afrocentricity and Maulana Karenga's Kawaida theory are then described and analyzed under Outlaw's conceptualization of how normative theory would appear.³³ Quoting Outlaw's concerns elsewhere, where he questions whether or not a disciplinary enterprise can be formulated based *simply* upon the "similarities and commonalities" in a people's experiences, "Towards an Intellectual History of Africana Studies" concludes with the articulation of a specific agenda for the field.³⁴ With regard to the process of wedding Africana Studies methodology to the "preservation of the collective being" in Robinson's formulation, Carr has outlined that for setting norms in Africana Studies,

an ordering agenda and set of strategies must be identified and pursued. The agenda has been identified above: nothing less than Jacob Carruthers's "breaking the chains" evoked in the opening epigraph to this article; the rejection of what Cedric Robinson has called elsewhere the 'terms of order' in favor of an embrace of the long-view and expansive African intellectual tradition.³⁵

The resulting formation is within Western academic realities, a site of contestation and controversy. This is not a new phenomenon, for Africana Studies, broadly conceptualized, has historically served as the philosophical dimension of larger

32. See Ibid, 101-109. Outlaw's work utilizes the work of Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972) and Gerard Radnitzsky, *Contemporary Schools of Metascience* (New York: Pantheon, 1984). Their work for Outlaw establishes a conceptual lens from which to deconstruct the autonomy of Western knowledge in order to construct a knowledge complex from its ruins. In his view, Africology can employ the "critiques and insight" of these thinkers in order to develop "norm-setting power" for the discipline.

33. For this discussion see note 14.

34. Quoted in Greg Carr, "Towards an Intellectual History of African Studies," 444. See Lucius T. Outlaw, Jr., "African, African-American, Africana Philosophy" in *African-American Perspectives and Philosophical Traditions*, ed. John Pittman (New York: Routledge, 1997), 63-93.

35. Carr, "Towards an Intellectual History of Africana Studies," 445.

socio-political struggles for Africana peoples.³⁶ This long struggle has included attempts to reveal academic knowledge production as essentially a product of Western worldviews and conceptualizations as opposed to an objective space to analyze and understand reality. In contextualizing disciplinarity in general, Winston Van Horne's, "Africology: A Discipline of the Twenty-First Century," understands disciplinary boundary creations as part of the extended matrix of both a constructed and real Western intellectual thought. It is only this clear conceptual boundary that separates traditional disciplines from other knowledge complexes.³⁷ Going forward the question will remain rooted in determining to what extent Africology can develop a foundation for inquiry that is grounded in Africana people's own ways of knowing and historical experiences.

The objective for the author's continued work, then, is aimed at assembling much of the literature that attempts to contextualize disciplinarity firstly, and then those that theorize connections of Africana Studies disciplinary work to intellectual traditions arising out of the African experience. Through a process of culling the intellectual commitments of Western structures of knowledge from general

36. Robert L. Allen, inter alia, has discussed the idea that Black Studies, during its infancy had been attacked for a number of reasons, chief among them its political orientation. See idem, "The Politics of the Attack on Black Studies," *The Black Scholar* 6, no.1 (September 1974): 2-7. See also, Nathaniel Norment, Jr. "Introduction to Section VI" in *The African American Studies Reader*, ed. Nathaniel Norment, Jr. (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2007), 565-567. This is the introduction to a section entitled, "Political Perspectives." The essays that follow also give context to the notion discussed above.

37. See Winston Van Horne, "Africology: A Discipline of the Twenty-First Century," in *The African American Studies Reader*, ed. Nathaniel Norment, 411-419. Van Horne implies elsewhere that the query which seeks to uncover what separates the theories and methods of inquiry of the discipline from others, is "polemical." He states that a "grounding subject matter" is what unifies traditional disciplines and separates Africana Studies. See Winston Van Horne quoted in Greg Carr, "African Philosophy of History in the Contemporary Era: Its Antecedents and Methodological Implications for the African Contribution to World History," (Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 1998), 120-121.

intellectual historical texts and other disciplinary histories, this proposed work will situate its development of communities of thought and their academic and ideological legacies. From there it will assess how Africana thinkers understood these knowledge formations, a process Robinson considers to be the beginnings of a Black intelligentsia.³⁸ The combination of all these reviewed literatures will be analyzed to reveal why and how, if at all, Africana thinkers have and developed work that contributes to the construction of what Outlaw has termed its “disciplinary norms.”³⁹

While Carr, Robinson, Azibo, Van Horne, and Outlaw’s work, among others, provide specifically the main impetus to this discussion, the proposed work would review various the texts that congeal around the convergence of Africana Studies, intellectual genealogies, and disciplinarity in general. These include works that fall in any of the following four categories:

1) Literature recounting the emergence of academic disciplines

In this section, the author reviews works that provide context to the idea of academic disciplines within the Western academy. This is necessary to situate the emergence of disciplined thought in the West, showing its specific evolution and foundation. Texts that expound upon the emergence of the academy in general serve as the general background to understanding that literature which undertakes the explanation or theoretical philosophy behind the structuring of bodies of knowledge in the West. With an understanding of the context and/or setting for the formulation of ideas in the West (the academy), and the structuring/demarcation of content

38. Cedric Robinson, *Black Marxism*, 175.

39. Lucius T. Outlaw, Jr., “Africology: Normative Theory” 98-99.

areas, the review discusses texts that serve as the general histories of the emergent academic disciplines. This section also explores texts that attempt to provide the genealogical foundation to disciplines that have emerged on the heels of the traditional disciplines. These include but are not limited to Area Studies, Cultural Studies, American Studies, Gender Studies, and/or Ethnic Studies. The idea of interdisciplinarity, its foundations and theoretical constructs has been discussed by a number of scholars as well, is also be included here. Africana Studies continues to be understood, in various circles, as the interdisciplinary extension of social science and/or humanities disciplines to African content as well as one of the aforementioned *interdisciplines*. It is therefore necessary to understand their emergence vis-à-vis the intellectual traditions of Africana Studies.

2) Literature theorizing Africana Studies' relationship to the disciplines

There are number of secondary sources that attempt to understand how Africana content has been approached via various disciplines. The attempt by these scholars has been to interrogate whether or not methodological tools of these disciplines can accurately reflect the experience of Africana peoples. This section explores these sources, as they in many ways capture the idea that traditions within Western scholarship often distort the ways in which ideas about Africans are explained or analyzed. These discussions have long roots in the Africana intellectual experience and are in many ways the impetus that forced Africana Studies onto campuses. Along with an exploration of the literature characterizing these roots, this section reviews the literature that offers alternative paradigms to Western academic

methodologies with regards to the study of the Africana experience. These paradigms contain ideas about how to best situate the role of traditional disciplines within Africana Studies. The early attempts to map out these processes are reviewed as well as the emergence in the 1970s of what has been termed the “Black social sciences,” the Afrocentric movement of the 1980s-forward, interdisciplinarity within Africana Studies, and other African-centered paradigms that attempt to de-center Western modes of inquiry within Africana intellectual work. These texts are analyzed to ascertain their understanding of how traditions and genealogies of ideas influence scholarship and disciplinarity in academic settings.

3) Current Africana Studies intellectual and disciplinary histories

Academic disciplines within the academy generally have created narratives that recount their emergence into the academy as well as the articulation of a tradition (usually ancient) from which it is anchored and tied to a unified whole (Western thought). This section compiles the literature that has done so within Africana Studies. It reviews general histories of the discipline, textbooks of the discipline, and other sources that attempt an understanding of the emergence and tradition of Africana Studies. As such this section is closely related to the second section, in that the idea of tradition is wedded to an understanding of how disciplinarity and relationship to the traditional disciplines is conceptualized. General histories provide specific context as to how disciplines enter the academy, and more importantly the rationale for their entrance. Texts reviewed in this section ascertain the level of importance given to the way in which histories of the emergence of Africana Studies are tied to a tradition within the discipline.

4) General intellectual histories of Africana thinkers

This section reviews works that attempt to understand Africana intellectual thought in general. Works not explicitly tied to Africana Studies as a discipline will be reviewed as many of these texts could be utilized to explain the traditions from which Africana Studies emerged within institutions. Using the analytical categories of different approaches to Africana intellectual life, created in Greg Carr's "What Black Studies is Not," this section extends analyses of available approaches to intellectual history.⁴⁰ Lastly, it does so with an emphasis on the implications for Africana Studies intellectual genealogies. This process will create out of the general postures of these current Africana intellectual histories a typology by which to situate these texts within the disciplinary norms of Africana Studies.

The sources reviewed contribute to an increased understanding of how scholars have thought and continue to think about Africana Studies. It is the author's plan that the review will constitute an extensive overview of how Africana Studies' traditions have been conceptualized to eventually contribute to the still-going methodological conversations within the discipline.

40. Greg Carr, "What Black Studies is Not," 180-181.

Chapter 4: Preliminary Consideration for Section Two

This section presents some starting points for Section Two (Africana Studies and Disciplinarity) of the review. The most important section, it provides the initial attempts to confront academia directly, and the continued process of preserving earlier intellectual traditions at non-academic or extra-academic sites of discursive rupture.

Contemporary Africana Studies even in its pre-disciplinary iterations can be conceptualized as a confrontation with the Western intellectual tradition and its concomitant discipline-based structure of knowledge. The body of work associated with this confrontation in both the pre-disciplinary era and the institutionalization era of Africana Studies is the subject of this section of the review.

I. Pre-Disciplinary Africana Thought

The balance of Africana intellectual work in the mid-late modern era (1700s-present) has attempted to both understand and challenge the ways in which Western ways of knowing have been spread. The broad responses to Western hegemonic intellectual frameworks in academic, political, and lay settings have been discussed by a number of theorists of African intellectual traditions.⁴¹ This particular section conceptualizes pre-disciplinary Africana thought, specifically in the mid-late nineteenth century, as informed by these pre-existing epistemological and ontological norms characteristic of older permutations of African intellectual traditions. By the middle of the nineteenth century the transformation of Western

41. These discussions will be the subject of the fourth section.

universities initiated the rise of an increasingly theoretical research-driven, discipline-based, scientific framework. African thinkers of this era were assuredly aware of these evolving paradigms in the new philosophies of science, and many were trained within them. Notwithstanding their training, the ways in which many of these theorists conducted their research sought to question, at the very least, and many times, challenge the supposed infallibility of dominant ways of approaching intellectual work seeking to accurately reflect the true nature, character, and experiences of non-Europeans in general, and African people in particular. Here we will review the works that chronicle attempts by three exemplars during this pre-disciplinary era: Martin Robison Delany (classics, ethnology), Edward Wilmot Blyden (liberal arts education), and William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (social sciences), before walking through a range of early twentieth century exemplars.

Martin Robison Delany

The legacy of the African American thinker, Martin Robison Delany (1812-1885) has been variously and accurately conceptualized as a theorist primarily concerned with the advancement of the African “race” through methods of political maneuvering, economic development, social advocacy, as well as cultural and scholarly production.⁴² His 1879 tract, *Principia of Ethnology: The Origins of Race*

42. An early work on Delany was Frank Rollin, *Life and Public Services of Martin Delany* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1868); this work was commissioned by Delany himself, and was written by Frances Rollin Whipper who assumed the name Frank A. Rollin. Three works focusing primarily on the development of Delany’s nationalism were published in the 1970s: Dorothy Sterling, *The Making of an Afro-American: Martin Robison Delany, 1812-1885* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1971); Victor Ullman, *Martin R. Delany: The Beginnings of Black Nationalism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), and Cyril Griffith, *The African Dream: Martin R. Delany and the Emergence of Pan-African Thought* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University

*and Color*⁴³, however, was Delany's attempt to assert on intellectual and scientific grounds, a classical heritage for African people the world over. This work is certainly not the first assertion, by an African American scholar, of an ancestral link to ancient Africa. However, it is in part, the first attempt by an African American thinker to translate ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs. While biographers such as Victor Ullman in *Martin R. Delany: The Beginnings of Black Nationalism* and Cyril Griffith in *The African Dream* correctly conceptualize *Principia of Ethnology* as a continuation of earlier canon-busting scholarship and intellectual work such as his *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States* (1852) and *Black, or the Huts of America* (1859), their work does not systematically address the process, methodology, and importance of Delany's attempt and his rationale for translating the ancient Egyptian texts in Chapter X of the text.⁴⁴ Not until Mario H. Beatty's 2005 article, "Martin Delany: The First African American to Translate Egyptian Hieroglyphs," was there an attempt to analyze specifically the

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- Press, 1975). Robert Levine's comparative analysis of Black political representation in the nineteenth century is based on Martin Delany's works juxtaposed with those of Frederick Douglass. See Robert Levine, *Martin Delany, Frederick Douglass, and the Politics of Representation* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997). He is also the editor of *Martin Delany: A Documentary Reader* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003). Also published that year was Tunde Adeleke's attempt to frame Delany as more complex (conservative; race neutral) than the uni-dimensional Black nationalist often projected. See Tunde Adeleke, *Without Regard to Race: The Other Martin Robison Delany* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2003).
43. Martin R. Delany, *Principia of Ethnology: The Origins of Race and Color, With an Archaeological Compendium of Ethiopian and Egyptian Civilization* (Philadelphia: Harper and Brothers, 1879).
44. The earlier works of Martin R. Delany, *The Condition, The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States* (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, [1852] 1993) and *Blake, Or the Huts of America* (Boston: Beacon Press, [1859] 1970) were works that attempted to transform prevailing attitudes about African and African American intellectual capabilities as well as ponder their social and political futures in the form of historical and socio-political methods in the case of *Condition* and in literary fiction in *Blake*. Delany biographers Cyril Griffith, Victor Ullman, as well as Tunde Adeleke generally conceptualize *Principia of Ethnology* as a simple continuation of the projects established in these works.

methodology pursued by Delany in *Principia of Ethnology* with regard to ancient Egyptian language.⁴⁵

Beatty's article frames Delany's discussion and translation of the ancient Egyptian language within a larger context of an explicit challenge to the prevailing scientific norms characteristic of Egyptology, ethnology, and the study of classical archaeology.⁴⁶ This context, for Beatty was epitomized by the "American school of ethnology" and its endorsement of racial-scientific epistemologies. The article journeys through the intellectual background of thinkers associated with this school including Josiah Nott, Samuel Morton, and George Gliddon. Their work in the mid-nineteenth century established what came to be foundational scientific norms about Africans in terms of intellectual capacity, based upon biological rather than environmental theories.⁴⁷ Their work in Egyptology and archaeology⁴⁸ set the stage

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45. Mario H. Beatty, "Martin Delany: The First African American to Translate Egyptian Hieroglyphs," *International Journal of Africana Studies* 11 (Fall 2005): 131-153. Beatty states that it is important to note the continuities of this work with prior works, but ultimately "insufficient to account for the significant alterations that Delany makes." In his view, Delany use of hieroglyphics was meant to partially construct a historical genealogy for African humanity. Ibid, 133.
46. Beatty states: "In *Principia of Ethnology*, Delany attempted to refute some of the racist ideas in the emerging scientific discourse of Egyptology, ethnology, and archaeology that perpetuated and promoted the idea that the inferior status of African people had been virtually unchanged since antiquity and their future destiny would inevitably conform to the stability of the past." Ibid, 132.
47. Quoting from William Stanton's, *The Leopard's Spots* Beatty shows that the combined efforts of these three men: Gliddon, Morton, and Nott, among others would produce the 1854 work, *Types of Mankind*, which according to Beatty asserted that "the comprehension of Black inferiority could no longer be understood through the medium of environmental explanations, but rather, had to be sought through more enduring biological explanations." Ibid, 135-136. Beatty's quotes from and suggests the following chapter of the work for context on the prevailing "niggerology," to use Nott's term, and discussion of *Types of Mankind*: William Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes Toward Race in America, 1815-1859* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 161-173 and the representative work Josiah Nott and George Gliddon, *Types of Mankind, Or Ethnological Researches Based upon Ancient Monuments Sculptures, and Crania of Races and upon their Natural, Geographical, Philological and Biblical History* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, & Co, 1855).

for later generations of “objective” science on and about African people, which Delany challenges. The Beatty article then takes us to the section in *Principia of Ethnology* where Delany gives his translation of the Luxor obelisk of Ramses II, based upon a previous translation by George Gliddon. Beatty is able to show both the technical deficiencies and assumptions of both Delany’s and Gliddon’s work, by juxtaposing their various translations. Despite the deficiencies, he is able to conclude from Delany’s translation an attempt to challenge Gliddon’s position that Africans were not genealogically connected to the works of art and science of Egyptian civilization. This for Beatty represented a challenge to the “very stability of the conceptual and political universe of White supremacy.”⁴⁹

Delany’s “discarding” of the prevailing theories of Western ethnological sciences represent conceptualizations inherent within African intellectual traditions that had been characteristic in the works of other thinkers including Frederick Douglass, almost twenty years earlier.⁵⁰ Challenging normative science was for Delany and others, both an attempt to properly understand the African past and part and parcel of the project for political and social empowerment for the global African nation.

48. See Mario H. Beatty, “Martin Delany: The First African American to Translate Egyptian Hieroglyphs,” 135- 136 and William Stanton, *The Leopard’s Spots*, 70.

49. Mario H. Beatty, “Martin Delany: The First African American to Translate Egyptian Hieroglyphs,” 143.

50. See the Martin Delany, *Principia of Ethnology*, 10, for his declarative intent to “discard” the theories of Champollion, Nott, and Gliddon. In 1854, Frederick Douglass speaking before an audience of scientists at Case Western Reserve offered his critique of race science. See Frederick Douglass, *The Claims of the Negro, Ethnologically Considered: An Address Before the Literary Societies of Western Reserve College, at Commencement, July 12, 1854* (Rochester, NY: Press of Lee, Mann, & Co., 1854).

Edward Wilmot Blyden

A second exemplar, writing in roughly the same period as Delany was the St. Thomas-U.S. Virgin Island born educator, Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832-1912). While Africana Studies thinkers have variously remembered Blyden as an early theorist on African culture and on Pan-Africanist political thought, one of his more important contributions to the genealogy of pre-disciplinary Africana thought, is his view of Western ideas of liberal education and the appropriate African response.⁵¹ Of his many writings, which included ruminations on African politics, culture, and Western religions, his address, “The Aims and Methods of Liberal Education for Africans” continues to impart a sense of his Africana nationalist leanings as conceptualized via intellectual and academic work. “The Aims and Methods of Liberal Education for Africans” was Blyden’s inaugural address given in 1881 at Liberia College, and called for a (re)conceptualization of African education that relied primarily on African culture as opposed to the Western model of liberal culture that characterized American and European universities traditionally.⁵² In an address full of quotable statements, many point to his edict that “Africans must advance by methods of his own,” as a quintessential declaration for the creation

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51. Blyden has been tied to political genealogies of Pan-African thought in the works of inter alia, Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978) and Jacob Carruthers, *Intellectual Warfare* (Chicago: Third World Press, 1999). These dissimilar works represent approaches to Blyden originating largely from different epistemological foundations. For Moses, Blyden’s and the other personalities he discusses, nationalism or Pan-Africanism was predicated on Anglo-American values and concepts. Carruthers, however views Blyden and other “Defenders of the African Way” as thinkers attempting to (re)connect themselves to a genealogy of African ways of knowing and doing.
52. Edward Wilmot Blyden, *The Aims and Methods of a Liberal Education for Africans: Inaugural Address* (Cambridge, MA: John Wilson and Son University Press, 1882).

and/or utilization of African-centered methodologies and pedagogies.⁵³ Blyden asserts in this address that Liberia College was in a reconstruction phase in its evolution, and for him that phase required a re-assessment of its general curricular assumptions, in what he terms a “generative” moment.⁵⁴ He then situates the existing modes of education, showing how they have failed to adequately prepare African students for national and/or community leadership and advancement. The combination of negative symbolic representations of Blackness and quasi-scientific race theories are what Blyden suggest created these various failures in the educational system, with regards to development of culture.⁵⁵ After outlining these historical failures, Blyden, speaking in large part to a group of Americo-Liberians, insists that the proper aim of education and the curriculum as it attempts to further the race should be “to preserve an accurate balance to the studies which carry the mind out of itself, and to those which recall it home again” and to develop men and women of “ability.”⁵⁶ This “home” for Blyden was the realization that Africans had within themselves the tools for which to eventually liberate themselves from the mental incarcerations that the current educational systems had intended to enforce.

One of the more important biographies of Blyden, Hollis Lynch’s *Edward Wilmot Blyden: Pan-Negro Patriot* explains the importance of this address within the context of Blyden’s larger objectives for Liberia College which was “to counteract

53. Ibid, 17.

54. He continues: “It [the college] must create a sentiment favorable to its existence. It must generate the intellectual and moral state in the community which will give it not only a congenial atmosphere in which to thrive, but food and nutriment for its enlargement and growth; and out of this will naturally come the material conditions of its success.” Ibid, 11.

55. He explains the result: “Having embraced, or at least assented to these falsehoods about himself, he concludes that his only hope of rising in the scale of respectable manhood, is to strive after whatever is most unlike himself and most alien to his peculiar tastes.” Ibid, 16.

56. Ibid, 19. For his explanation and operationalization of this “ability” see Ibid, 29-30.

the evil influences which European ideas and teachings had had on the Negro, to correct European misrepresentation of Africa and the Negro, and to play the leading role in interoperating Africa to the rest of the world.”⁵⁷ Lynch’s biography also interprets Blyden’s comments on the evolution of the curriculum, in which he kept intact much of the Greco-Roman classical heritage, as an attempt to temporarily remove vestiges of modern racist science and eventually “foster more and more African subjects.”⁵⁸ From Blyden’s own words, it is clear that he intended for Liberia College to one day be the clear leader in the study of African cultures and languages, underpinned by explicit socio-political implications.⁵⁹ James Conyers’ Temple University Ph.D. dissertation on Blyden, looks at his educational philosophy as an early Afrocentric paradigmatic model. Conyers views “The Aims and Methods of Liberal Education for Africans” as the “apex” of Blyden’s educational philosophy and points to his inclusion of women and his strong background in classical African history as important components of his educational philosophy.⁶⁰

Blyden’s idea that African culture could stand alone as the “generative” force for an African university continued to influence and initiate the development and continuity of this pre-disciplinary genealogy. His other works including *African Life and Customs* (1908), *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race* (1887) and *From West Africa To Palestine* (1873), indicate his commitments to understanding and implicating African history and culture within frameworks to achieve the

57. Hollis Lynch, *Edward Wilmot Blyden: Pan-Negro Patriot* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 150.

58. Ibid, 151. The balance of the chapter is devoted to discussing the reasons and consequences behind Liberia College’s failure to implement the idea.

59. Edward Wilmot Blyden, “The Aims and Methods of Liberal Education for Africans,” 29.

60. James Conyers, “An Afrocentric Study of the Philosophy of Edward Wilmot Blyden,” (Ph.D. Diss, Temple University, 1998), 25.

intellectual independence of Africana educational institutions and socio-political structures. His works became the foundation for many scholars, including the thinkers associated with the Harlem History Club in the 1930s.⁶¹

W.E.B. Du Bois

The intellectual work of W.E.B. Du Bois (1868-1963) has been the subject of much academic inquiry the past twenty-five years. Bracketed by David Levering Lewis's major two-volume biography, scholars the last twenty years have attempted to frame Du Bois contributions most consistently through disciplinary lenses from sociology, mainstream philosophy, educational philosophy, and history but increasingly through paradigmatic conceptualizations ranging from Marxian analysis to proto-American Studies.⁶² Africana Studies has long considered Du Bois,

61. On the Harlem History Club and its adoption of the name, The Blyden Society see the section of this chapter, "Early Twentieth Century Exemplars" as well as Greg Carr, "The African Centered Philosophy of History: An Exploratory Essay on the Genealogy of Foundationalist Historical Thought and African Nationalist Identity Construction," in *The African World History Project: The Preliminary Challenge*, eds. Jacob H. Carruthers and Leon C. Harris (Los Angeles: Association for the Study of Classical African Civilizations, 1997), 306. On the influence of the Blyden society, Carr quotes, Donald Franklin Joyce, *Gatekeepers of Black Culture: Black Owned Book Publishing in the United States, 1817-1981* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983), 32-33.

62. See David Levering Lewis, *W.E.B. Du Bois; Biography of a Race* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1993) and *W.E.B. Du Bois: The Fight for Equality and the American Century, 1919-1963* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2004).

Within sociology the recent volume compiled by Robert A. Wortham, ed., *W.E.B. Du Bois and the Sociological Imagination* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2009) and the older Dan S. Green and Edwin S. Driver, ed., *W.E.B. Du Bois on Sociology and the Black Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978) bring together Du Bois' sociological ideas and articles. As we will discuss infra, many intellectual histories of Black sociology point to Du Bois as its initiator. A recent volume that will also be discussed is Reiland Rabaka, *Against Epistemic Apartheid: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Disciplinary Decadence of Sociology* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010).

For a sampling of Du Bois' work within the realm of educational philosophy, see W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Education of Black People: Ten Critiques* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001). These commencement speeches go beyond the often-constraining binary that is usually forcefully thrust upon academics, that of the Du Boisian liberal education vs. Booker T. Washington's vocational education filtered through a notion of the Talented Tenth. A similar

to use James B. Stewart's terminology, an exemplar for the ways in which scholars within the discipline should approach their studies. His "The Legacy of W.E.B. Du Bois for Contemporary Black Studies" is but one of many works that attempt to utilize Du Bois' intellectual contributions as a paragon for scholarly erudition within Africana Studies.⁶³ Nagueyalhti Warren's *Grandfather of Black Studies: W.E.B. Du Bois* is the most recent and the first book-length attempt. Warren's work views Du

volume that also includes Du Bois' periodicals is Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr., ed., *Du Bois on Education* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002). Works that attempt to establish theories about Du Bois' educational philosophy include the recent Derrick P. Alridge, *The Educational Thought of W.E.B. Du Bois* (New York: Teacher's College Press, 2008), Reiland Rabaka, "W.E.B. Du Bois's Evolving Africana Philosophy of Education," *Journal of Black Studies* 33 (2003): 399-449. Rabaka's is an attempt to construct from Du Bois' treatises on education an overarching philosophical idea rooted in an understanding of Africana people's "historical and cultural needs and conditions." See *Ibid*, 419.

On Du Boisian philosophy see the article authored by Lewis Gordon, "Du Bois's Humanistic Philosophy of Human Sciences," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 568 (March 2000): 265-280. Gordon frames Du Bois' work, especially at the turn of the century, as attempting to grapple with and understand the linkages between identity and liberation among African Americans. See also Reiland Rabaka, *Du Bois's Dialectics: Black Radical Politics and the Reconstruction of Critical Social Theory* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008) and *W.E.B. Du Bois and the Problems of the Twentieth Century* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007) which attempt to in effect, decolonize critical theory by applying his formulation of Africana Critical theory to Du Bois, and Robert Gooding-Williams, *In the Shadow of W.E.B. Du Bois: Afro-Modern Political Thought in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), which views Du Bois as a progenitor of African American political philosophy. Earlier works along this trajectory include Manning Marable, *W.E.B. Du Bois: Black Radical Democrat* (New York: G.K. Hall & Co., 1986), Adolph L. Reed, *W.E.B. Du Bois and American Political Thought: Fabianism and the Color Line* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), and Shamooin Zamir, *Dark Voices: W.E.B. Du Bois and American Thought, 1888-1903* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995). Black feminists have also written on Du Bois' contribution, they include inter alia Farah Jasmine Griffin, "Black Feminists and Du Bois: Respectability, Protection, and Beyond," *Annals of the Academy of American Political and Social Science* 568 (March 2000): 28-40 and Joy James, "The Profeminist Politics of W.E.B. Du Bois, with Respects to Anna Julia Cooper an Ida B. Wells Barnett," in *W.E.B. Du Bois On Race & Culture: Philosophy, Politics, and Poetics*, eds., Bernard W. Bell, Emily R. Grosholz, and James B. Stewart (New York: Routledge, 1997), 141-161.

Lastly, works from American Studies and Religion, have increasingly attempted to appropriate Du Bois. Representative examples include Edward J. Blum, *W.E.B. Du Bois: American Prophet* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), Brian L. Johnson, *W.E.B. Du Bois: Toward Agnosticism, 1868-1934* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), Jonathon S. Kahn, *Divine Discontent: The Religious Imagination of W.E.B. Du Bois* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), and Russ Castronovo and Susan Gillman, "The Study of American Problems," in *States of Emergency: The Object of American Studies* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 1-16.

63. James B. Stewart, "The Legacy of W.E.B. Du Bois for Contemporary Black Studies," *Journal of Negro Education* 53 (1984): 296-311.

Bois' interdisciplinary body of work beginning with his early sociological studies as the first evocations of Black Studies.⁶⁴ Du Bois' bibliography begins near the close of the nineteenth century, as African thinkers continued to grapple with prevailing scientific methodologies and with the social sciences themselves, which were in a period of gestation. While many thinkers have considered his methodology to emanate in many ways from training exterior to African-centered spaces, Cedric J. Robinson, and Anthony Monteiro place emphasis also on the roles which racial and/or cultural epistemologies played in the formulation of both his scholarly methodologies and social advocacy.⁶⁵ As biographers Lewis, Elliot Rudwick, Manning Marable, Gerald Horne and Herbert Aptheker and others indicate these two practices were intertwined.⁶⁶ Lucius T. Outlaw, writing in a special issue of the

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64. Warren's understanding of Black Studies is predicated upon an interdisciplinarity that interrogates and critiques the existing traditional discipline's engagement with African Americans. She then traces what she considers Du Bois' novel engagement with science and the Negro, and asserts that it established the perspective and foundation from which Black Studies would emerge. See Nagueyalhti Warren, *Grandfather of Black Studies: W.E.B. Du Bois* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2011), 61-99.
65. According to Monteiro, Du Bois' intellectual evolution included a "crucial rupture with European thought" and the establishment of a trajectory that increasingly approached studies of the African race from groundings inherent in their culture. Anthony Monteiro, "Being African in the World: The Du Boisian Epistemology," *Annals of the Academy of American Political and Social Science* 568 (March 2000): 221-222. In Robinson's discussion of the Black radical tradition, of which he views Du Bois as a seminal thinker, he suggests that the latter was among a group of trained middle class thinkers that would abandon traditional theories in favor of the inventive and unique, Black radicalism. See Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000)183-184.
66. The Lewis, Rudwick, and Broderick biographies discuss Du Bois' as a scholar-activist, and saw his work as linked with the idea of eliminating the problems associated with African citizenship in the European global age. They all explore the theories and ideologies Du Bois would embrace with this in mind See. David Levering Lewis, *W.E.B. Du Bois Biography of a Race*; Elliot Rudwick, *W.E.B. Du Bois: Voice of the Black Protest Movement* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, [1960] 1982); and Francis Broderick, *W.E.B. Du Bois: Negro Leader in a Time of Protest* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1959). Manning Marable and Gerald Horne similarly address Du Bois' political ideologies, but link them to radical and revolutionary politics. See Manning Marable, *W.E.B. Du Bois: Black Radical Democrat* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, [1986] 2005) and Gerald Horne, *Black and Red: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Afro-American Response to the Cold War, 1944-1963* (Albany, NY: State

Annals of American the American Academy of Political and Social Science some one hundred years after the publication of Du Bois' "The Study of the Negro Problems" in the same periodical, gestures to the importance of contextualizing the latter essay in light of his American Negro Academy paper, "The Conservation of Races," which was delivered six months prior.⁶⁷ Outlaw sees the latter paper as important to a trajectory of thought in Du Bois' scholarly production that included three other preliminary essays, culminating in his famous, *The Philadelphia Negro*.⁶⁸

"The Study of Negro Problems," presented before the American Academy of Political and Social Science in 1897, was Du Bois' attempt to frame for the academic

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- University of New York Press, 1986). Lastly, the contributors to *Black Titan*, express their appreciation and the influence of Du Bois on their social activist upbringing. See John Henrik Clarke, et.al, eds., *Black Titan: W.E.B Du Bois* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1974).
67. See Lucius T. Outlaw, Jr., "W.E.B. Du Bois on the Study of Social Problems," *Annals of the Academy of American Political and Social Science* 568 (March 2000): 284-285. While the current effort focuses on "The Study of Negro Problems," Du Bois' earlier presentation of "The Conservation of Races" to the American Negro Academy's inaugural meeting could usefully be employed to illustrate Du Bois' challenge to the dominant modes of scientific understanding. "Conservation" is important to understand, for as Outlaw indicates, it serves as a foundation to understanding how Du Bois viewed the process through which human/racial groups make history. Du Bois' categorizations of what constitute racial groups (common blood, language, history, traditions, impulses and strivings) were for him the constitutive elements of the formation of what Outlaw has termed elsewhere, "communities of meanings" which determine how groups contribute to human civilization. Du Bois' work, then goes beyond the prevailing theoretical (scientific) uses of race, in effect framing racialized groupings as groupings of human cultures, "each [his emphasis on the African] with a contribution to make, that no other race can." See W.E.B Du Bois, *The Conservation of the Races: The American Negro Academy Occasional Papers*, No. 2 (Washington, DC: American Negro Academy, 1897), 26. On "communities of meaning," See Lucius T. Outlaw, Jr., "'Conserve' Races?: In Defense of W.E.B. Du Bois," in *W.E.B. Du Bois On Race & Culture: Philosophy, Politics, and Poetics*, eds. Bernard W. Bell, Emily R. Grosholz, and James B. Stewart, 31-32. Outlaw's piece is a response to Kwame Anthony Appiah's criticism of Du Bois' understanding of race. Appiah is unconvinced that Du Bois was able to successfully accomplish what he deemed, an attempt to "transcend" the biological notions of race. Outlaw's reading of the text assumes that Du Bois was in effect attempting to combine both biological factors and socio-historical factors of race into "clusters" in an attempt to come as close as possible to explaining the phenomenon of racial ideologies of supremacy and power. See Ibid, 23; 27-28. For Appiah's piece see Kwame Anthony Appiah, *In My Father's House* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 28-46. See also Robert Gooding-Williams, "Outlaw, Appiah, and Du Bois's 'The Conservation of Races,'" in *W.E.B. Du Bois On Race & Culture: Philosophy, Politics, and Poetics*, eds. Bernard W. Bell, Emily R. Grosholz, and James B. Stewart, 39-56.
68. Lucius T. Outlaw, Jr., "W.E.B. Du Bois on the Study of Social Problems, 282-283.

world a sense of the need for attuning the prevailing scientific methods to a more thorough knowledge of what he deemed “social problems affecting American Negroes.”⁶⁹ The essay is divided into five parts. The first is concerned with accurately historicizing the status of the African in the United States. Du Bois operates under the assumption that many times science fails to account for the historical realities that underpin, explain, and situate how many of these problems have emerged.⁷⁰ The second section outlines the current problems of the period in which the presentation was given, and Du Bois describes these social problems as belonging to two categories or interrelated parts: 1) problems arising from the result of a failure to acquire “high culture”; 2) problems arising from the dominant culture’s desire to retard the integration of the African into national life, regardless of their “cultural” status.⁷¹ The third section outlines components of what Du Bois believed should be present in future studies of the Negro. He believed that studies that attempt to extend knowledge about African Americans had to proceed from the best historical and, still developing, sociological methods. This according to Du Bois was distinct from the current studies, which proceeded from matters more of “faith than of knowledge.”⁷² In the fourth part, Du Bois then castigates current scholarship

69. W.E.B. Du Bois, “The Study of Negro Problems,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 11 (January 1898): 2. The presentation, “The Study of Negro Problems” was delivered before the academy in November 1897 and published in 1898.

70. Du Bois views this historical development as rooted in the initial need for African labor, which have had concomitant socio-cultural manifestations, unique to them. See *Ibid*, 2-6.

71. *Ibid*, 7.

72. See *Ibid*, 10. Du Bois articulates his *faith* however in the possibilities of science that is grounded in accurate representations of reality: “Whenever any nation allows impulse, whim or hasty conjecture to usurp the place of conscious, normative, intelligent action, it is in grave danger. The sole aim of any society is to settle its problems in accordance with its highest ideals, and the only rational method of accomplishing this is to study those problems in the light of the best scientific research.” As the American social sciences were undergoing their initial gestation, Du Bois in this essay offers general criteria and approaches to

on Negro problems pointing out the academy's and by extension, social science's failure to develop systematic appraisals of truths about African life in America. These were in his view a result of a lack of thoroughness, the prevalence of unsystematic inquiries, and conclusions based on uncritical interpretations.⁷³ In the last section Du Bois suggests places where work like this may flourish, advocating that southern historically Black colleges (Hampton, Tuskegee, and Atlanta) serve as bases, with greater collaboration with major social science research universities. (Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, Pennsylvania).⁷⁴ In his close reading of the article, Lucius Outlaw views Du Bois' articulation of the need for greater understanding of the relationship between accurate scientific knowledge and social well-being as a component of his philosophy of sciences that remains relevant in the context of contemporary debates.⁷⁵ For Outlaw, Du Bois was one of few thinkers

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- knowledge about the Negro, that if not undertaken seriously, would woefully limit their effectiveness in establishing truth. Du Bois viewed systematic studies of the Negro as a means of establishing not only truth about their reality, but in many ways as the litmus test for the possibilities of science. He states: "No such opportunity to watch and measure the history and development of a great race of men ever presented itself to the scholars of a modern nation. If they miss this opportunity— if they do the work in a slipshod, unsystematic manner— if they dally with the truth to humor the whims of the day, they do far more than hurt the good name of the American people; they hurt the cause of scientific truth the world over, they voluntarily decrease human knowledge of a universe of which we are ignorant enough, and they degrade the high end of truth-seeking in a day when they need more and more to dwell upon its sanctity." *Ibid*, 10-11.
73. He opines: "Moreover the studies made hitherto can as a whole be justly criticised in three particulars: (1) They have not been based on a thorough knowledge of details; (2) they have been unsystematical; (3) they have been uncritical." *Ibid*, 11-12.
74. *Ibid*, 22-23.
75. Throughout his essay, Outlaw frames Du Bois' presentation as attempting to establish a philosophy of science suitable to the study of the Negro and aimed at the alleviation of many of these problems. He states: "As perhaps very few persons at the time had the courage or perspicacity to see, Du Bois understood exceedingly well the intimate, pragmatic relationships of truthful and adequate scientific knowledge of social reality, social problematics, and progressive social evolution, and how utterly crucial such knowledge was for resolving America's great racial curse. "The Study of the Negro Problems" remains one of the most astute articulations of such understanding, an exemplary case of a philosophy of social science appropriate to a U.S. context-then and now." See Lucius T. Outlaw, Jr., "W.E.B. Du Bois on the Study of Social Problems," 296.

able to see these links and courageously apply them through the “prism”⁷⁶ of the group of which he viewed himself as “bone of the bone, and flesh of the flesh.”⁷⁷ The result of the application of this novel way of viewing science and social advocacy, were the studies primarily seen as precursors to modern Africana Studies social inquiry, the aforementioned *The Philadelphia Negro* and the Atlanta University Studies, under his editorship.⁷⁸ The previous were challenges to the structuring of disciplines and their attendant methodologies and explicitly centered upon improving the lives of Africans in America.

Early Twentieth Century Historians

The momentum established by the late nineteenth century thinkers continued full force into the twentieth century. The intellectual work of pre-disciplinary Africana Studies thinkers combined historical analysis with social inquiry to produce a synthesis of scholarship that attempted to both connect Africans with their antecedents and solve current problems.

- History

Earl Thorpe’s *Black Historians: A Critique*, among his many works, is aimed at understanding how African American thinkers utilized the tools of historical inquiry for their own benefit. Thorpe distinguishes Black historiography from normative American historiography by explaining that its accent and emphases have been on the point of view and perspective of Afro-Americans, with a central theme of

76. Ibid, 288.

77. W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: McClurg & Co., 1903), 6.

78. See Nagueyalhti Warren, *Grandfather of Black Studies: W.E.B. Du Bois*, 69-80.

“freedom, equality, and manhood.”⁷⁹ Published in 1958, his work shows continuity between nineteenth century historical inquiry and that, which would emerge in the twentieth century, despite academic training of the practitioners of the latter. In terms of criteria including quantity of work, its impact, and their development of historical philosophy and methodologies, Thorpe asserts that the two most important Black historians of the twentieth century, had been W.E.B. Du Bois and Carter Godwin Woodson (1875-1950).⁸⁰

In the first half of the twentieth century, W.E.B. Du Bois would offer historical scholarship aimed at (re)imagining the African past in light of the production of studies that either minimized or neglected their historical contributions and experiences. Much of Du Bois’ works would inhabit the historical-sociological approach he advocated in “The Study of Negro Problems.”⁸¹ These works included before the turn of the century, his Harvard dissertation, *The Suppression of the African-Slave Trade to the United States* (1896), the aforementioned *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899), *John Brown* (1909), *The Negro* (1915), *The Gift of Black Folk* (1924), *Black Reconstruction in America* (1935), *Black Folk Then and Now* (1939), and *The World and Africa* (1945). In Thorpe’s view Du Bois’ place in this historiographical genealogy was guaranteed through his early texts *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States* and *The Philadelphia Negro*, which he conceptualizes as the zenith of his career. Thorpe also sees *Black Reconstruction in*

79. Earl E. Thorpe, *Black Historians: A Critique* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1958), 14.

80. *Ibid.*, vi.

81. See note 70.

America as important in revising the normative view of reconstruction.⁸² Cedric Robinson in *Black Marxism* also looks at *Black Reconstruction in America* viewing it as an attempt by Du Bois to grapple with and critique the emerging paradigm of Marxist class analysis through the historical example of African Americans in the reconstruction era. While viewing it as a work of historical correction, Robinson contextualizes the text as criticism of the expanding socialist movements and as a revision of Marxian theory in terms of its (in)ability to cope with the labor history of the United States.⁸³ Greg Carr is one of few scholars who have analyzed Du Bois' development of a Pan-African philosophy of history. His contribution to *The Preliminary Challenge* as well as his Temple Department of African American Studies dissertation view the works listed above as attempts by Du Bois to utilize empirical

82. According to Thorpe: "Du Bois reached his zenith as a scholar—in the traditional sense—at the outset of his career. The *Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States*; his sociological study, *The Philadelphia Negro*, and the Atlanta University Studies represent his most thorough and objective products. More and more, as he drifted deeper into causes centering around the "race issue," the character of his scholarly productivity changed. Still, perhaps as much because of his "bad" as well as good qualities as a scholar, he gave great impetus to interest in the black race and to the scientific study of its history and culture. The body of writings which he contributed to black studies helped mightily to attract attention to the field of black history." He continues: "His *Black Reconstruction*, by focusing attention on the neglected aspects of that period, contributed greatly to bringing about a reinterpretation of the period." Earl E. Thorpe, *Black Historians: A Critique*, 107. Whether or not Du Bois consciously rejected what Thorpe has termed "the traditional sense" of scholarship, it is clear that the "impetus to interest in the black race and to the scientific study of its history and culture" were central to his philosophy of history.

83. See Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism*, 195-208. Robinson's interpretation calls for the viewing of the work not as simple historical correction, which it certainly was, but also as a critique of the ideologies of "American socialist movements and revision of Marx's theory of revolution and class struggle." Ibid, 196. Robinson places the text in temporal context, coming at time when the Communist Party USA had widespread influence in America and the emergence of Marxist-Leninist thought. According to Robinson, Du Bois had as a purpose in writing the text, the objective of viewing the period of Reconstruction as "labor history", showing the historical dilemma of white and Black class unity. Robinson then organizes the analysis around the various sections of the text examining Du Bois' conception of the relationship between slavery and capitalism, the former two institutions and labor, as well as the relationship of the Black elite to Reconstruction. He then summarizes Du Bois' engagement with Marx as an attempt by Du Bois to reassess Marx in light of the ideological dogma, the existential creed, and theoretical orthodoxy on the question of Blacks exhibited by the Communist Party. For the latter discussion see Ibid, 207.

historical knowledge in an effort to politicize the narrative of the African past with the objective of the development of a global identity among Africans across the world.⁸⁴ Wilson Jeremiah Moses' *Afrotopia* views Du Boisian historiography as a synthesis of dialectical socialist and Pan-African sensibilities rooted in a belief that civilizations were the material results of effective uses of power and authority.⁸⁵ Looking primarily at his religious scholarship as well as his *The Negro*, Moses frames Du Bois' engagement with scientific history as, in part, an attempt to articulate a progressive direction of society which should ultimately introduce and utilize the positive constituent elements that the past African civilizations had bequeathed to its progeny.⁸⁶

Carter G. Woodson's influence upon Africana historical thought was actualized via independent institutions. Woodson biographer, Jacqueline Goggin

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84. See Greg E. Kimathi Carr, "African Centered Philosophy of History," 303. He expands this idea in his Temple University dissertation, stating in works such as *The Negro*: "Du Bois saw Africans as a culturally distinct people, forced by the exigencies of an emerging western political economy to congeal into a racial group, "Negroes," whose labor built and provided the primary civilizing impulse to Western civilization." Similar to Robinson, Carr treats Du Bois' *Black Reconstruction in America* as an attempt to reexamine African contributions and experiences in the era. Also similar to Robinson, Carr places importance on the final chapter of the text, "The Propaganda of History," which summarizes the uses and political motivations behind the writing of history of Africans. See Greg E. Kimathi Carr, "African Philosophy of History in the Contemporary Era: Its Antecedents and Methodological Implications for the African Contribution to World History," (PhD diss., Temple University, 1998), 337-339.
85. See Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *Afrotopia: The Roots of African American Popular History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 167. Moses' study is an attempt to articulate the historiographical tradition among Africans in the United States as ostensibly the drafting of histories through the lens of the rise and decline of civilization. He weaves through various nineteenth century and contemporary texts to establish in some respects a genealogical tie to modern expressions of Afrocentrism, as well as a term he introduces and distinguishes from the former, Egyptocentrism. He views much of this scholarship, often associated with non-trained historians as "folk histories" and even uses the term "fantasies." See the introduction to this volume, *Ibid*, 1-17.
86. The chapter on Du Bois is split into two parts. The first section deals with his framing of Du Bois religious historiography/commentary. The second looks at his historiography through works such as "Conservation of the Races", *The Souls of Black Folk*, and *The Negro*. *Ibid*, 136-168.

chronicles in large part Woodson's establishment of the historical school of thought from a Black perspective through the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, the *Journal of Negro History*, Associated Publishers, and the *Negro History Bulletin*. Goggin's *Carter G. Woodson: A Life in Black History* views Woodson's work as explicit and "highly political acts."⁸⁷ Widely considered the "Father of Black History," many of the scholars concerned with Negro history during the first half of the twentieth century would work under Woodson's tutelage and within the organizations he founded. Along with serving as the head of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Woodson would publish or edit works dealing with the social status of African Americans: *Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (1919), *A Century of Negro Migration* (1918), *The Rural Negro* (1930), *The Negro Wage Earner*, with Lorenzo Johnston Greene (1930); their institutions: *The History of the Negro Church* (1921); and historical monographs summarizing their African past: *The Negro in Our History* (1922), *The African Background Outlined, or Handbook for the Study of the Negro* (1936), *African Myths and African Heroes and Heroines* (1939). All in all, according to Pero Dagbovie, Woodson would publish twenty-two historical works between 1915-1942 in addition to numerous articles and essays within *The Journal of Negro History* and *the Negro History Bulletin*.⁸⁸ A cross-section of representative examples of these articles is provided in the James L. Conyers, edited

87. Jacqueline Goggin, *Carter G. Woodson: A Life in Black History* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), xii.

88. Pero Dagbovie, *The Early Black History Movement, Carter G. Woodson, and Lorenzo Johnston Greene* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 27.

Carter G. Woodson: A Historical Reader.⁸⁹ Pero Dagbovie, in his *The Early Black History Movement, Carter G. Woodson, and Lorenzo Johnston Greene*, has viewed Carter G. Woodson's legacy of historical scholarly production as essential to the development of Africana Studies, terming it "proto-Black Studies."⁹⁰ Dagbovie juxtaposes Woodson's work with the work of his disciple and one time research assistant, Lorenzo Johnston Greene (1899-1988), whose two volumes of diaries detailing the two's relationship to each other and their historical work were published under the editorship of Arvarh E. Strickland.⁹¹ While establishing an overview of Woodson's contributions to early Black studies and African American history, Dagbovie's work traces the historical career of Greene who would go on to publish works, such as *The Negro in Colonial New England* (1942), and create a firm foundation for historical productivity from his base at historically black Lincoln University in Missouri.⁹² Also connected to Woodson were the thinkers Charles Harris Wesley (1891-1987) and Rayford Whittingham Logan (1897-1982), who would emerge later. Both Wesley and Logan were trained at Harvard and

89. James L. Conyers, ed., *Carter G. Woodson: A Historical Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2000). Conyers splits Woodson's writings into the following headings: 1) Africana Historiography; 2) Economic Historical Studies; 3) Black Education; and 4) Africana biography.

90. Pero Dagbovie, *The Early Black History Movement, Carter G. Woodson, and Lorenzo Johnston Greene*, 44. Dagbovie adds to the literature on Woodson by linking him to a "proto-black studies" movement that attempted continued a tradition that sought combine socio-political concerns with historical science. Dagbovie views Woodson as in many ways a popularizer of African American history (his creation of Negro history week as a key example), with the intent of raising the consciousness of the general African American public. See *Ibid*, 44-62.

91. Lorenzo Johnston Green and Arvarh E. Strickland, *Working With Carter G. Woodson, the Father of Black History: A Diary, 1928-1930* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1989) and *Idem, Selling Black History for Carter G. Woodson: A Diary, 1930-1933* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1996).

92. The second half of the text is one of very few treatments of Greene's work at the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and the work done to promote Black history from Lincoln University (MO). See Pero Dagbovie, *The Early Black History Movement, Carter G. Woodson, and Lorenzo Johnston Greene*, 109-211. See also the discussion of Greene in Earl E. Thorpe, *Black Historians: A Critique*, 176-177.

contributed to the second generation of African Americans in the twentieth century. Janette Hoston Harris gestures to the importance of Wesley in Woodson's organization and the advancement of African American historiography.⁹³ Among his many publications include his seminal *Negro Labor in the United States* (1927) and histories of Black Greek letter organizations and Black participation in the U.S. Civil War. Along with works such as *The Betrayal of the Negro* and his edited *What the Negro Wants* (1944) Logan's concept of "the nadir" advanced in his *The Negro in American Life and Thought* (1954) has been instrumental in the understanding of African American history. Along with his work at Howard, his early involvement in the Pan-African movement is chronicled in Kenneth Janken's biography, *Rayford Logan and the Dilemma of the African American Intellectual*.⁹⁴

Along with Woodson, among the other scholars who mounted a challenge against the prevailing historical assumptions of the African during this early twentieth century era was Monroe Nathan Work (1866-1945). Trained at the University of Chicago, Work published numerous articles within periodicals and

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93. See Janette Hoston Harris, "Woodson and Wesley: A Partnership in Building the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History," *Journal of Negro History* 83 (Spring 1998): 109-119. According to Harris, other important scholars like the aforementioned Logan, Greene, Luther P. Jackson, Alrutheus A. Taylor, and Lawrence D. Reddick would prove loyal to the cause Woodson championed. The women involved with Woodson, Wesley, and Greene within the Association garnered a separate treatment in Dagbovie's work. See Pero Dagbovie, *The Early Black History Movement, Carter G. Woodson, and Lorenzo Johnston Greene*, 83-106. For Thorpe's treatment of Wesley, see Earl E. Thorpe, *Black Historians: A Critique*, 134-137. Much like with Carter G. Woodson, James L. Conyers has compiled and categorized selected writings of Wesley. See James L. Conyers, ed., *Charles H. Wesley: The Intellectual Tradition of a Black Historian* (New York: Garland, 1997).
94. Kenneth Janken, *Rayford Logan the Dilemma of the African American Intellectual* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993). This work envisions Logan as representative of the thoughts and lives of the crop of intellectual-activists that would emerge in the pre-Civil Rights Era. Thorpe also discusses Logan and many similar thinkers. See Earl. E Thorpe, *Black Historians: A Critique*, 173-188. After the 1950s, historians not trained by Carter G. Woodson would begin to impact the enterprise.

during his long tenure as Director of Records and Research at Tuskegee Institute, and ghostwrote Booker T. Washington's two-volume, *The Story of the Negro* (1909), which appeared in Thorpe's *Black Historians* as a pioneer historical text.⁹⁵ Work, who was formally trained in the social sciences, also compiled one of the earlier bibliographies on scholarship on the Negro. His *Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America* (1928) served an important role for many of these pioneer scholars, as did his *Negro Year Book*, which was published yearly by Tuskegee. In her biography of Work, *Recorder of the Black Experience*, Linda O. McMurry frames Work's career as attempting to synthesize in some respects the tension between the socio-political programs of Booker T. Washington and the Niagara movement.⁹⁶ There was also Benjamin Griffith Brawley (1882-1939), the Morehouse thinker, who published important texts such as *A Short History of the American Negro* (1913), *The Negro in Literature and Art* (1918) and *The Social History of the Negro* (1921).⁹⁷ Though they endured criticism from Woodson and others, these works were widely used in university courses, along with the work of the independent scholar John W.

95. Earl E. Thorpe, *Black Historians: A Critique*, 60-61. Thorpe adds in his section on Work, that he gave aid to Washington in the construction of the text. See *Ibid*, 137-139. See also Greg E. Kimathi Carr, "The African Centered Philosophy of History," 304.

96. Exploring Work's time working with Du Bois and the Atlanta University Studies and his eventual transition to Tuskegee, McMurry views Work's approach to understanding the African American experience as rooted in fact-based, pragmatic research. Work's publications in *The Southern Workman* along with his other research projects show his interest in understanding African history as a lens through which to interrogate the African American condition. See Linda O. McMurry, *Recorder of the Black Experience: A Biography of Monroe Nathan Work* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University, 1984). These *Southern Workman* articles ranged from histories of African civilization, folklore, and agriculture and are listed and discussed in *Ibid*, 91-96.

97. On Brawley, see Earl E. Thorpe, *Black Historians: A Critique*, 55-59. Along with these more popular titles, he would publish a history of Morehouse, a text of African American women achievement, on scientists, and a work on the relationship of Africa to the war.

Cromwell, *The History of the Negro American* (1914).⁹⁸ A scholar who emerged later and pioneered the historical work on ancient African history *within* the academy was William Leo Hansberry (1895-1965). Kwame Wes Alford writing in the *Journal of Black Studies* states that Hansberry, inspired by Du Bois' *The Negro* would earn his degrees from Atlanta University and Harvard University before starting the African Civilizations section within the Department of History at Howard University in 1922.⁹⁹ Amidst much controversy and resistance, Hansberry's perseverance and assertion of a very real and living African past as well as his penchant for training thinkers for over thirty years at Howard would lay the foundation for much of the work that was bequeathed to Africana Studies departments. His surviving publications have been edited by Joseph Harris in two volumes and include lectures on ancient African civilization in Ethiopia as well as reviews of Greek writings on ancient African peoples.¹⁰⁰ Devoted in many ways to these teaching and social

98. This is according to the survey conducted by Willis Nathaniel Huggins in his *A Guide to Studies in African History* (New York: Federation of History Clubs, 1934), 40. This survey and text will be discussed infra.

99. See Kwame Wes Alford, "The Early Intellectual Growth and Development of William Leo Hansberry and the Birth of African Studies," *Journal of Black Studies* 30 (January 2000): 269-70.

100. The lion's share of the work of reminding the academic and lay community of the now venerated, Hansberry was done by Howard University's Joseph E. Harris. His edited two volume, *The William Leo Hansberry African History Notebook*, also included invaluable biographical information. See Joseph E. Harris, *Pillars in Ethiopian History: The William Leo Hansberry African History Notebook Volume 1* (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1974) and *African and Africans as Seen By Classical Writers: The William Leo Hansberry African History Notebook Volume II* (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1977). For his biographical information see Idem, *Pillars in Ethiopian History*, 3-30. Two of the more influential biographical articles are James G. Spady, "William Leo Hansberry: Legacy of an African Hunter," *Current Bibliography on African Affairs* 3 (November-December 1970): 25-41 and Nnamdi Azikiwe, "Eulogy of William Leo Hansberry," *Negro Bulletin* 28 (December 1965): 63.

advocacy functions, Hansberry was unable to devote much time to ensuring the publication of his own work.¹⁰¹

William Leo Hansberry was also very much involved with the works of historians who were often not academically trained. Termed by Thorpe as “historians-without-portfolio,” these thinkers were directly involved in establishing a foundation for Africana Studies in the early twentieth century.¹⁰² As such their challenge to existing historical scholarship about Africana peoples must be acknowledged. Both Carr’s “The African-Centered Philosophy of History” and his dissertation, acknowledge the important link, the “historians-without-portfolio” forged between the institutional trained thinkers (Du Bois, Woodson, et al.) and the “street academies” they would work from.¹⁰³ Included in this lineage in Thorpe’s *Black Historians* are the bibliophile, Arturo Alfonso Schomburg and Edward Bruce who, along with William Henry Ferris, in 1911 found the Negro Society for Historical

101. See Greg E. Kimathi Carr, “African-Centered Philosophy of History,” 304n52. Hansberry lectured extensively across the world, notably at the Fourth Pan African Congress in New York and the inaugural lecture at the Hansberry College of African Studies established in his honor at the University of Nigeria in Nsukka by his former student Nnamdi Azikiwe. In addition to these Hansberry’s article appeared in *Ebony Magazine* as well as periodicals such as *Freedomways*. See William Leo Hansberry, *Africana at Nsukka: Inaugural Address Delivered at the Hansberry College of African Studies, Nsukka, Eastern Nigeria, September 22, 1963* (Washington, DC: Howard University Department of History, 1972). Prior to his death in 1965, Hansberry was working on a volume entitled *Ageless Africa: A Pictorial History of the Golden Past*, to be published by Viking Press. Parts of this work actually survive and were exclusively serialized in *Ebony* magazine. This series was entitled “Africa’s Golden Past” and appeared in the following issues: November 1964, January 1965, February 1965, March 1965, and April 1965. See also, William Leo Hansberry, “W.E.B. Du Bois’ Influence on African History,” *Freedomways* 5 (Winter 1965): 73-87.

102. Thorpe, again, writing in 1958 actually uses the terminology, “Black Studies” numerous times to denote these historians’ historiographical objectives and methods.

103. For Thorpe, these thinkers are generally “non-professional persons, in all periods, who have a fondness for the discipline of history, feeling that their life experiences peculiarly fit them for chronicling some historical events.” See Earl E. Thorpe, *Black Historians: A Critique*, 144.

Research.¹⁰⁴ Bruce, born in enslavement, would rise to become of the most important Pan-Africanist journalists, while Ferris, an American Negro Academy veteran would also work with Du Bois, William Monroe Trotter, and others before publishing his impressive *The African Abroad* (1913). Schomburg's most famous work, "The Negro Digs Up His Past" published in Alain Locke's *The New Negro* (1925) advocates the need for the continued development of a historical scholarship that serves the interest of the African world.¹⁰⁵ Twelve years earlier, his *Racial Integrity* (1913) read before teachers at Cheyney Institute, masterfully weaved through elements of African history while demonstrating the need for the establishment of a department of Negro history.¹⁰⁶ According to Carr in "The African-Centered Philosophy of History," The Negro Society for Historical Research led to in the early 1930s, the establishment of the Harlem History Club, another organization of lay historians under the leadership of Willis Nathaniel Huggins

104. Ibid, 145-146; 149. See also Greg E. Kimathi Carr, "African Philosophy of History in the Contemporary Era," 345.

105. Arturo A. Schomburg, "The Negro Digs Up His Past," in *The New Negro*, ed. Alain Locke (New York: Touchstone, 1997), 231-237. Schomburg's importance for other scholars and their research is documented in the biography authored by Elinor de Verney Sinnette. Schomburg would spend a brief moment as professor at Fisk University and serve briefly as the head of the waning American Negro Academy, before returning to New York City. His massive collection would become an important branch of the New York Public Library, and it remains today an essential research center within Africana Studies. See Elinor Des Verney Sinnette, *Arthur Alfonso Schomburg: Black Bibliophile and Collector* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989).

106. Arturo A. Schomburg, *Racial Integrity: A Plea for the Establishment of a Chair of Negro History in our Schools and Colleges, etc.*: Negro Society for Historical Research Occasional Paper No. 3 (New York: August Valentine Bernier, 1913). He relates his purpose: "I am here with a sincere desire to awaken the sensibilities, to kindle the dormant fibres in the soul, and to fire the racial patriotism by the study of the Negro books. We often feel that so many things around us are warped and alienated. Let us see, if we cannot agree to arrange a formula or create a basic construction, for the establishment of a substantial method of instruction for our young women and men in the material and the useful. The object of this paper is not to revolutionize existing standards, but simply to improve them by amending them so that they include the practical history of the Negro race, from the dawn of civilization to the present time." Ibid, 5. Carr's dissertation discusses this work showing the importance of cultural and pedagogical traditions among these thinkers. See Greg E. Kimathi Carr, "African Philosophy of History in the Contemporary Era," 346-347.

(1886-1941).¹⁰⁷ Other members of the club included Joel A. Rogers, Richard B. Moore, John G. Jackson, and a young John Henrik Clarke. The group would change its name to the Blyden Society, and out of this collective two published works emerged. Huggins' 1934 text, *A Guide to Studies in African History* (1934) is an overview of the constituent elements of African history as an intellectual enterprise as well as a survey of select scholars' view of the enterprise and the existing course offerings in a few early historically black colleges. It also includes a working bibliography and overview of the existing literature that could potentially be used to instruct African history both within and outside the academy.¹⁰⁸ The origins of Huggins' survey of representative scholars and of course catalogs were in the context of his attempt to "institute courses in African history in the A. and M. College, Huntsville, Alabama."¹⁰⁹

The second text, authored by Huggins and Jackson, *An Introduction to African*

107. He states: "New York City was the incubator for the intergenerational dialogue between these lay scholars and their immediate apprentices." See Greg E. Kimathi Carr, "African Centered Philosophy of History," 306. Huggins, while he received his Ph.D. from Fordham, became involved as an instructor in the New York City public schools, operated a small bookshop, and ran many of these street academies.

108. This working bibliography, categorized by region, includes a contextual overview and introduction before a listing of the associated works is provided and can be found in Willis N. Huggins, *A Guide to Studies in African History*, 43-92. In contextualizing his study and articulating his philosophy of history, Huggins states: "The history of our people, rightly envisioned, is a thrilling story. Our children need it. They cannot fully understand the world as it affects us without knowing something, indeed a great deal, of what we were in the past and how we have come to our present condition. We cannot be fully intelligent American citizens, unless we add to what we know of a modern governments and social institutions, a wider knowledge of governments and institutions which we have created and in which we were dominant actors." See *Ibid*, 20. For general background of Huggins, see also the biographical essay by Ralph L. Crowder, "Willis Nathaniel Huggins (1886-1941): Historian, Activist, and Community Mentor," *Afro Americans in New York Life and History* 30 (July 2006): 127-151.

109. *Ibid*, 35. Select scholars who responded to Huggins were W.E.B. Du Bois, John W. Cromwell, John Edward Bruce, Benjamin Brawley, Robert E. Park, and J.E. Moorland. Huggins included the course offerings of Atlanta, Fisk, Wilberforce, Howard, Morehouse, Paine, Hampton, Virginia Union, Spelman, Tuskegee, and Selma University. Huggins concludes this section saying that as a whole, "there is no apparent tendency here on the part of these educators to identify the needs, interests, or future of the Negro as fundamentally different from what may be the common lot of all groups participating in American life." *Ibid*, 42.

Civilization, With Main Currents in Ethiopian History (1937) has been considered a classic contribution to the understanding of the ancient African past and its connection to recent African history.¹¹⁰ The historians of the Blyden Society offered a collective challenge to the contention, existent in both the historical scholarship and social sciences, that Africans were somehow separated intellectually from the achievements of great civilizations on the African continent.¹¹¹ Carr continues with the importance of the concurrent contributions of Drusilla Dunjee Houston (1876-1941), the Oklahoman journalist who would publish *Wonderful Ethiopians of the Ancient Cushite Empire*, which (re)links Africans to Egypt and ancient Kush as well as establishes the theory of African influence throughout the world including Europe, early America, and southwestern Asia.¹¹² In her *Wonderful Ethiopians*, Houston understand her historical work as a means by which to incite change in the ideas of world leadership, and ultimately the political situation of African people.

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110. Carr places the context of this publication within the symbolic and very real support for Africans in Ethiopia embroiled in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict in the mid-1930s. Their victories stimulated “African pride, resistance, and excellence, after a fashion similar to the valorization of Haiti at the beginning of the nineteenth century.” The Blyden Society had been involved intimately with the Ethiopian leadership, Huggins having met with Emperor Haile Selassie previously and helping to organize the American Friends of Ethiopia. See Greg E. Kimathi Carr, “African Philosophy of History in the Contemporary Era,” 350.
111. See *Ibid.*, 347-354. This remains one of the most extended examinations of the Blyden Society.
112. See *Ibid.*, 344-345 as well as Drusilla Dunjee Houston, *Wonderful Ethiopians of the Ancient Cushite Empire* (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1985), 10-11. As her recent biographer, Peggy-Ann Brooks-Bertram reminds us, Houston was not only the earliest known African woman to author a multi-volume history of ancient Africa, she wrote more than two thousand editorials and poems from 1914-1939 in her brother’s organ *The Black Dispatch*. She also ran the McAlester Seminary For Girls for twelve years and worked heavily with the Black Baptist Convention, and the Federated Women’s Clubs of Oklahoma. See Peggy-Ann Brooks Bertram, “Drusilla Dunjee Houston: Uncrowned Queen in the African American Literary Tradition,” (Ph.D. Diss., State University of New York at Buffalo, 2002). See also W. Paul Coates, “Drusilla Dunjee Houston: An Introductory Note about the Author and Her Work,” in *Wonderful Ethiopians of the Ancient Cushite Empire*, i-v and John Mark Rhea, “Farewell to My Beloved Ethiopia: Drusilla Dunjee Houston as the Voice of Elite African American Women During the Decline and Fall of “Racial Uplift”, 1917-1933” (MA thesis, University of Oklahoma, 2004).

She prudently, claimed that “we cannot solve the stupendous problems that the world faces until we can read aright the riddle of the evolution of races.”¹¹³

Thorpe’s genealogy, while it does not include the Blyden society, continues from Schomburg and Bruce to the work of the aforementioned John W. Cromwell, as well as Henry Wallace, Laura Wilkes, William Crogman, Edward Austin Johnson, and Theophilus Gould Steward.¹¹⁴ These lay thinkers, many of whom were grounded in community work, all produced in the early twentieth century historical works that broke with traditional historical philosophies, which attempted to divorce Africans from any sense of a past.

113. Drusilla Dunjee Houston, *Wonderful Ethiopians of the Ancient Cushite Empire*, 7.

114. See Earl E. Thorpe, *Black Historians: A Critique*, 146-153. With the exception of J.A. Rogers, whose works receive attention, Thorpe does not mention Huggins, Jackson, or any other scholars who were intimately connected to the Blyden Society.

Chapter 5: Preliminary Considerations: Section Three

This section gives a preliminary overview of the current treatment of Africana Studies intellectual and general histories.

The works of Noliwe Rooks and Fabio Rojas, which are quasi-official histories of Africana Studies, rarely view Africana Studies as an extension of an intellectual tradition, let alone attempt to trace this said tradition. Africana Studies is often completely understood as the academic outpost of the late-1960s Black political and cultural awakening. Within interdisciplinary theorist conceptualizations of knowledge, Africana Studies is seen as one of many branches of knowledge that exist to fill gaps within the Western institutional-academic structure. As such, Africana Studies is seen as *solely* a temporal reaction to Western intellectual and institutional hegemony, and often with a greatly reduced intellectual genealogy. This component of the review examines these attempts to chronicle the emergence in the academy of institutionalized Africana Studies as well as representative works that suggest that the discipline of Africana Studies rests on the shoulders of earlier African American intellectual movements.

Noliwe M. Rooks' *White Money/ Black Power* mainly assesses the political milieu that attended the rise of Black Studies departments. The text is largely concerned with the ways in which outside funding determined the destiny and construction of departments of Black Studies as an institutional and university housed venture.¹¹⁵ Her analysis thus centers on the role of the Ford Foundation in

115. See Noliwe Rooks, *White Money/Black Power: The Surprising History of African American Studies and the Crisis of Race in Higher Education* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006), 1-3.

Black Studies, which she understands centrally as a disciplinary venture concerned with the problems of race in American culture.¹¹⁶ The text begins by focusing on the San Francisco State University student strikes of the mid-1960s. Limiting her view to a protracted historical lens of the civil rights era, she concludes that the successful efforts of a “multiracial” alliance of the students was responsible for the first department of Black Studies in 1968.¹¹⁷ For Rooks, the milieu is important because the struggles associated with this initial implementation “persists in far too many minds as a constant theme and meaning attached to the field.”¹¹⁸ After detailing the complex dynamics that led to an eventual comprise at San Francisco State, Rooks briefly examines the takeover of Willard Straight Hall at Cornell University before concluding with her view that the initial objectives of higher education reform that these movements represented has been woefully neglected by administrators.¹¹⁹

The next section discusses the figure and institution widely responsible for philanthropic efforts within Black Studies: McGeorge Bundy and the Ford Foundation. After giving sweeping context to the developing ideologies within Black Studies, Rooks concludes that an assimilationist/integrationist vs. nationalist binary

116. Rooks laments the dominant view of Black Studies as a capitulation to the demands of Black students and as an affirmative action measure: “However Black Studies is rarely viewed as a successful example of social justice, a means of multiracial democratic reform, or a harbinger of widespread institutional and cultural change in relation to race, integration and desegregation at the postsecondary level.” She then views the discipline as a way to theorize “about race and racial difference.” See *Ibid*, 8-9.

117. She states that the “battle for Black Studies was won the day that the strike ended at San Francisco State,” *Ibid*, 56.

118. *Ibid*, 31.

119. This neglect is in Rooks’ reconstruction due to the haste in which these programs were built. She consistently refers to the discipline of Black Studies as set of imbricated practices tied to reforming the American academy: “At San Francisco State Black Studies was seen as a means of reforming higher education, but that idea got hopelessly lost as administrators rushed to implement Black Studies programs.” *Ibid*, 58.

persisted among African Americans during this era and supports this assumption through discussions of the 1969 Yale Conference, the 1967 election of Carl Stokes, and the 1969 Ocean Hill-Brownsville teacher strike.¹²⁰ She views these events as shaping the approach Bundy and other philanthropists funding Black Studies would undertake.¹²¹ The binary she, and assuredly others, have constructed suggests that the assimilationist model, characterized by inter/multi-disciplinary structuring of Black Studies won both the favor and funding of The Ford Foundation.¹²² Rooks attempts to make this claim by cross-checking the grant-receiving institutions with their ideological orientations and by accessing the ideological approach within Bundy's own writings and statements. According to Rooks, if not for the intervention of the foundation, institutionalized Black Studies may not have survived beyond its initial impulse.¹²³ She concludes the text by assessing the implications of this particular legacy in the present iteration of the discipline suggesting that it is important to keep in mind the academic structures and socio-cultural realities that influence variation and norms within disciplinary Africana

120. Ibid, 9.

121. According to Rooks, "During 1967 and 1968, the years preceding the Yale conference, Bundy used resources from the Ford Foundation to support a number of key, highly visible political contest and social strategies undertaken by Black Power proponents." She gives as an example the Gray Areas program as well as the examples listed above. See Ibid, 83. The "resulting political and media firestorms" as well as changes in the views about Black Power, in turn may have affected Bundy's reluctance to support the "nationalist/separatist" departments. See also Ibid, 89-92.

122. On the discussions of this binary as it related to specific departments' funding possibilities see Ibid, 94-102. Rooks reviews interviews and documents from funding officers within the foundations to suggest that the funding was given to departments at institutions that fostered an integrationist position. On specific cases involving the schools associated with the first round of Foundation funding, see 106-114, and on Bundy's personal views see Ibid, 118-121.

123. Ibid, 59. This contention has not come without controversy. See the response by Perry Hall, "History, Memory, and Bad Memories," (Unpublished paper: April 11, 2006), accessed June 30, 2011. http://wings.buffalo.edu/cas/aas/department/rooks_review.pdf.

Studies. The work then treats the emergence of Black Studies in the academy as an interdisciplinary race-driven field of study, as the sole result of the militant, direct action of the late 1960s and its preservation in the academy as largely a mechanism for affirmative action and the institutional enclave of diversity initiatives.¹²⁴

Fabio Rojas' sociological-historical account of Black Studies, *From Black Power to Black Studies*, views the history of the discipline as the result of an integrated social movement against authority. The study is chiefly concerned with how social movements work to successfully alter organizational control of both resources and ideas. Viewing Black Studies' institutionalization as an example, Rojas seeks to theorize how these processes can work to foster institutional change.¹²⁵ The work then traverses the history of the San Francisco State strike, as well as other movements through sociological lenses attempting to explain how radicals endeavored to create a discipline, which Rojas defines and characterizes in the penultimate chapter.

From Black Power to Black Studies contextualizes the discipline squarely within the Civil Rights/Black Power era of the mid 1960s. Rojas views these events as the foundation that served as the springboard for its creation. The development of revolutionary Black Nationalism, as students became "disillusioned" with the mainstream Civil Rights thinkers, became the specific mechanism for the creation

124. Having established this view of institutionalized Black Studies, Rooks offers her perspective of the current state of the discipline of African American Studies. She gives specific examples of departments of African American Studies that have been used to increase diversity among both students and the professoriate. See *Ibid*, 127-151; 165-177.

125. Social movements theory is ultimately the lens through which Rojas chooses to understand and critique the discipline of African American Studies, and the work is not meant to be a definitive history of the movement. See Fabio Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies: How a Radical Social Movement Became an Academic Discipline* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 7-10.

and instigation of “calls for black courses.”¹²⁶ According to Rojas, many of these radicals had “one foot in the university and another in the burgeoning nationalist movement.”¹²⁷ Rojas then devotes a small section to some twentieth century African Americans forerunners involved in African intellectual work. He briefly mentions the fact that many historians compiled historical accounts of Africans during the Reconstruction era, before stating the names of W.E.B. Du Bois, St. Clair Drake, E. Franklin Frazier, and Cheikh Anta Diop as important thinkers. Rojas however does not link these thinkers with the later nationalist thinkers in any systematic way, choosing to emphasize that their research would not have as wide an impact as would the movement to force Black Studies onto American campuses.¹²⁸

Rojas continues by bracketing the conversation on the rise and decline of Black studies programs with historical discussions of the San Francisco State strike and the Ford Foundation’s role within the discipline.¹²⁹ His analysis of three cases of

126. Ibid, 42.

127. Ibid. Rojas characterizes the 1968 movement as an “overnight” phenomenon that sparked interest in the institutionalization of the study of Black culture. He weaves through discussions of nationalism represented by organizations such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Black Panther Party, and the Revolutionary Action Movement viewing them as important “tools” in this process. For Rojas, their role as initiators is clearly identified as central to the discussion of Black Studies in the university. See the full discussion, Ibid, 22-42. See also the review of the text by Jonathan Fenderson, which considers the impact of Rojas’ decision to gloss over the differences in nationalism, “Book Review: From Black Power to Black Studies: How a Radical Social Movement Became an Academic Discipline,” *The Western Journal of Black Studies* 32 (2008): 51-53.

128. Rojas opens this chapter discussing the prevalence of nineteenth century works he considers to be historical, sociological, and literary, yet he does not attempt to draw connections to even the twentieth century or the 1960s in particular. He views the absence of an element of nationalism as precluding this corpus of intellectual activity from having any real impact in the academy. See Ibid 22; 43-44.

129. In the middle chapters, Rojas gives a historical analysis of the San Francisco State strike and concludes in contradistinction to Rooks, that the Ford Foundation’s impact was minimal in sustaining African American Studies. He adds to Rooks’ analysis treatments of Howard University and the Institute of the Black World, concluding that despite its clear attempt to influence the discipline it ultimately had a “modest” effect. See Ibid, 163-164. On his extended discussion of San Francisco State, see 45-92. Rojas views the handling of the case at

Black Studies at the University of Chicago, the University of Illinois-Chicago, and at Harvard is an attempt at a conclusion to explain how social movements built on similar grounds to that of Black Studies survive and fail. Rojas then takes these historical discussions and gives his “bird’s-eye view” of the discipline’s current intellectual makeup. His statistical analysis assesses how programs and departments who were engaged in disruptive institutional processes as opposed to non-disruptive institutional engagement varied in their development of stable disciplinary practices. Much like Rooks, Rojas is keen on pointing out the successes of programs or departments that were more amenable to the dominant knowledge structuring and administrative proclivities of academic life. Rojas gestures to the ideological variation inherent within departments of African American Studies as an outgrowth of its initial foray into the academy.¹³⁰ He concludes that the development of disciplinary characteristics of African American Studies is at best tenuous or dependent on outside disciplines, viewing the enterprise as a “permanent interdiscipline.”¹³¹ Rojas’ conclusion to the text utilizes the sociological concept, of “counter-center” to describe African American Studies in both its historical and contemporary iterations, viewing the discipline’s stability as a

San Francisco State as examples of the methods of university bureaucratic and organizational control and their results.

130. Rojas includes a section that profiles the professors within the discipline showing the intellectual variation by way of institutional differences and the different sources of disciplinarity. The professionalization impulse is also evident as many of the professors surveyed attempted to divorce themselves or delink themselves to the 1960s movement, often for ideological reasons. *Ibid*, 182-184.

131. This status of “permanent interdiscipline is understood by Rojas as an intellectual arena with autonomy but “dependent on and highly connected to other academic disciplines.” See *Ibid*, 205-206.

consequence of its rejection of community education and cultural nationalism.¹³² Much of Rojas' work is centered on understanding the discipline through the lens of social movements theory, which renders an intellectual history of its disciplinary work as tied to a reduced pantheon of thought that emerged only *within* that social movement. Scholars and historians tied more concretely to the discipline have recognized that this is largely insufficient and have attempted to at least imply a very real connection with the thinkers who preceded them in the academic study of the Africana experience.

As stated in the opening paragraph, there are a number of scholarly articles and book chapters that broaden the historical origins of Africana Studies. They differ from the works of Rooks and Rojas by focusing on the continuity between earlier representative intellectual work within the African American academic and lay community. Lawrence P. Crouchett's 1971 article, "Early Black Studies Movements" is one such piece. In this essay, Crouchett examines studies of the African going back to the Quaker educational systems of the eighteenth century. He also however, gestures to the existence of "secret classrooms" where African teachers and preachers were able to give "private lessons" on African history and culture.¹³³ The latter unnamed pioneers in Crouchett's view gave rise to activists such as David Walker, Frederick Douglass, Charlotte Forten, and David Ruggles who emphasized the importance of the study of history, which was put into the practice by African American writers including James W.C. Pennington, E.A. Johnson, and

132. See *Ibid*, 215-225.

133. Lawrence P. Crouchett, "Early Black Studies Movements," *Journal of Black Studies* 2 (December 1971): 189. On the Quakers attempts to introduce a form of "Black Studies" in the 1700s, see *Ibid*, 189-191.

George Washington Williams, the authors of historical texts in the nineteenth century.¹³⁴ Along with early historical societies of the nineteenth century, Crouchett points to the development the American Negro Academy (c. 1897), and the Association for the Study of the Negro Life and History (c. 1915) which both emphasized the importance of the study of Africana history, revealing their distinct character by quoting Lawrence Reddick on the differences between “the study of the Negro and Negro History.”¹³⁵ The article ends with a brief discussion of Carter G. Woodson’s 1919 report on the status of “course(s) bearing on Negro life and history” before linking the birth of the Black Studies movement of the 1960s to earlier intellectual movements, of the 20s, 30s, and 40s.¹³⁶ Crouchett focuses largely on the evolution of African American history, while the intellectual development of the Black social sciences is traced in Robert L. Harris’ essay, “The Intellectual and Institutional Development of Africana Studies,” first appearing in the edited volume, *Three Essays: Black Studies in the United States*. Harris begins his analysis in the late nineteenth century, showing that Du Bois’ contributions found in his Atlanta University Studies constitute the beginnings of multidisciplinary Africana Studies. This initial stage also included the development of history under Woodson’s

134. See Ibid, 192-193. James William Charles Pennington’s 1841 work, *A Textbook of the Origin and History of the Colored People* was a pioneering educational tool. George Washington Williams’ two-volume, *History of the Negro Race in America* appearing in 1882 is generally considered the earliest history of the African American. On Pennington and Williams’ work see Earl E. Thorpe, *Black Historians: A Critique* (New York: William Morrow, 1958): 35; 46-55. On Williams generally see John Hope Franklin, *George Washington Williams: A Biography* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998).

135. See Ibid, 193-195.

136. Ibid, 197.

tutelage.¹³⁷ He follows this initial stage with a second stage characterized by studies of the African American during the drafting of Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* in 1939. Harris is able to trace the vestiges of Myrdalian logic through the 1950s in select works that attempted to view inferiority as not necessarily genetic but developed through a process of enslavement and disavowal of middle class values.¹³⁸ He views the third stage, the 1960s-1980s, as the explicit challenge to these notions of inferiority inherent in social science research and the institutionalization and legitimization of Africana Studies.¹³⁹

James Turner and C. Steven McGann's "Black Studies as an Integral Tradition in African-American Intellectual History" focuses more broadly on historical and social scientific precursors to the discipline. They situate its origins in 1913, though they trace it to W.E.B. Du Bois' Department of Labor studies and the Atlanta University Studies almost a generation earlier. Turner and McGann also view the importance of Woodson and the development of Africana history.¹⁴⁰ They understand the period encompassing 1930-1940 as the period where the discipline would develop as a "field." They point to the development of the idea that historical

137. He also includes during this period the various historical and literary associations that emerged in the Northeast: Bethel (DC: 1881), American Negro Historical Society (Philadelphia: 1897), the American Negro Academy (DC: 1897), and the Negro Society for Historical Research (NY: 1911). See Robert L. Harris, Jr., "The Intellectual and Institutional Development of Africana Studies," in *Three Essays: Black Studies in the United States* (New York: the Ford Foundation, 1990), 7-8.

138. Harris characterizes this era as a "setback." See *Ibid*, 8. He collectively views the works of White scholars at this time as viewing African Americans "not with an inglorious past but with deficiencies occasioned by slavery, segregations, and discrimination." He also implies that these scholars viewed the pathologies as generational and not simply reversible by the assuaging of racial oppression. See *Ibid*, 9-10.

139. This challenge was reversing an academic curriculum which had a Eurocentric focus. See *Ibid*, 11.

140. James Turner and C. Steven McGann, "Black Studies as an Integral Tradition in Afro-American Intellectual History," *Journal of Negro Education* 49 (Winter 1980):52-53.

knowledge must be rooted in distinctly African interpretations and perspectives. Chronicling an Association for the Study of Negro Life and History proceeding, the authors quote Joseph J. Rhoads and Lawrence Reddick's questioning of the "modus operandi" of white scholarship and the "development of an independent Black inquiry."¹⁴¹ Turner and McGann also reveal the existence of a Howard University Studies in History series and a Howard University Studies in the Social Sciences series, in 1921 and 1938, respectively.¹⁴² The recasting of the field in the 1930s saw a number of important works emerge as exemplars to Turner and McGann's notion of a field.¹⁴³ They close this era with discussion of the Myrdal study viewing as important the contributions of E. Franklin Frazier and Ralph Bunche.¹⁴⁴ The authors view the period, 1940-1960, as an intellectual hiatus largely due to World War II and the following ear of McCarthyism which they view as impinging upon the "free thought and critical comment" by scholars on various issues within African America.¹⁴⁵ They end the essay viewing 1960-1976, as the era of institutionalization

141. See Ibid, 54-55. Turner and McGann view Rhoads' and Reddick's words as a challenge to the conventional understanding of academic objectivity. They continue by stating that increasingly thinkers saw "not just historical documentation" as important but "also the exemplification of the motivation, direction, and self-conception of Black people." Ibid, 55.

142. See Ibid, 53; 55. The importance of the institutional space provided by Black colleges is important to the development of scholarship that attempted to understand the social structure and historically document the African past. This fact has been emphasized by inter alia, Darryl Zizwe Poe, "Black Studies in Historically Black Colleges and Universities," in *Handbook of Black Studies*, eds. Molefi Kete Asante and Maulana Karenga (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2006), 204-224.

143. They state: "The publication of seminal works forced the recognition of a new radical interpretation of the status of Black Americans and their past. Again in the forefront, Du Bois' *Black Reconstruction in America* (1935), portions of Horace Mann Bond's *The Education of the Negro* (1934), and A.L. Harris and S. P. Spero's *The Black Worker* (1931) presented the beginnings of the different perspective in Black Studies." Ibid, 55.

144. See Ibid, 56.

145. Ibid, 57.

of the discipline characterized by the development of Black consciousness among students within the academy.¹⁴⁶

Similar to the foregoing is Jeffrey Lynn Woodyard's "Evolution of a Discipline: Intellectual Antecedents of African American Studies," which contextualizes all intellectual work by African Americans prior to the development of Temple's school of Afrocentricity as "pre-discipline".¹⁴⁷ His works uses Kuhnian language to suggest that Afrocentricity built upon many of the personalities included in Crouchett's and Turner and McGann's article to create a paradigm, a necessary criteria for a discipline.¹⁴⁸

Another source of intellectual histories can be found in the textbooks of Africana Studies. The two main textbooks give brief biographies of some intellectual precursors of Africana Studies. Along with Maulana Abdul Alkalimat's *Introduction to Afro-American Studies*, Talmadge Anderson and James Stewart's *Introduction to African American Studies* provides somewhat of an extended section on some of these intellectual forerunners as the foundation for the discipline.¹⁴⁹

146. See Ibid, 58-59.

147. He states: "Anything prior to the articulation and use of Asante's theoretical thrust and the establishment of graduate research at Temple University, in this view, is predisciplinary, and marked, among other things, by a search for theoretical exemplars." Jeffrey Lynn Woodyard, "Evolution of a Discipline: Intellectual Antecedents of African American Studies," *Journal of Black Studies* 22 (December 1991): 240.

148. Woodyard's article builds upon the work of both Crouchett and Turner and McGann, as well a section of the Stanford dissertation of Alan K. Colon and Ronald Bailey's 1973 article "Black Studies in Historical Perspective." Utilizing Thomas Kuhn's notion of paradigm, Woodyard following Maulana Karenga and James B. Stewart states that, "without such an exemplar or disciplinary paradigm, there is no discipline—only rhetoric about discipline." See Ibid, 250. Bailey's work is similar to Robert Harris' contribution discussed earlier, focusing on the social science research of Du Bois, et.al. See Ronald Bailey, "Black Studies in Historical Perspective," *Journal of Social Issues* 29 (1973): 97-108.

149. The latter part of chapter one of Talmadge Anderson and James Stewart, *Introduction to African American Studies* (Baltimore, Inprint Editions, 2007), 9-23, provides, in some respects, the foundation for Africana Studies. See also Abdul Alkalimat, *Introduction to Afro-American Studies* (Chicago: Twentieth Century Publications, 1974), 7-13.

These journal articles are important and useful early formulations of an extended genealogy of Africana Studies intellectual work. As initial attempts, the reviewed works suggest the need for a systematic analysis of the pre-institutionalization phase of Africana Studies that attempts to connect the multitude of variation and the simultaneous unity of intellectual work to contemporary manifestations of Africana Studies, a connection Rojas and Rooks did not deem essential to their historical analysis. With regards to disciplinary theoretical and methodological development, this connection would not only reveal the tradition which Africana Studies rests upon, it would present its own historical *modus operandi*.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

For people of color have always theorized—but in forms quite different from the Western form of abstract logic. And I am inclined to say that our theorizing (and I intentionally use the verb rather than the noun) is often in narrative forms, in the stories we create, in riddles and proverbs, in the play with language, since dynamic rather than fixed ideas seem more to our liking. How else have we managed to survive with such spiritedness the assault on our bodies, social institutions, countries, our very humanity? And women, at least the women I grew up around, continuously speculated about the nature of life through pithy language that unmasked the power relations of their world. It is this language, and the grace and pleasure with which they played with it, that I find celebrated, refined, critiqued in the works of writers like Toni Morrison and Alice Walker. My folk, in other words, have always been a race of theory—though more in the form of the hieroglyph, a written figure which is both sensual and abstract, both beautiful and communicative.

-Barbara Christian, "The Race For Theory"¹⁵⁰

The above quote contextualizes the pursuit of language to identify and explain Africana ways of meaning in their current improvisations. Discussions of Africana Studies intellectual thought must be interrogated and understood through conceptual foundations that draw meaning from long-view cultural contexts, while acknowledging (rather than simply privileging) those important specific discontinuities. The work remains of producing the articulation of a contemporary iteration of Africana Studies intellectual histories, and then linking through language and deep thought traditions and conceptualizations, the ground, which these intellectual activities have emerged, or in Christian's words, the long view "race of theory." Future research must continue to reveal the subjective terrain of Western disciplinarity, and move beyond the normative definitions of disciplinarity by

150. Barbara Christian, "The Race for Theory," in *Within The Circle: An Anthology of African American Literary Criticism*, ed. Angelyn Mitchell (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), 349.

contextualizing both its foundation as a concept as well its context. Secondly, it must reconsider the works of precursors to Africana Studies, for instance thinkers such as W.E.B. Du Bois and Cheikh Anta Diop, as contributors, not to traditional disciplinary areas but to a conception of thought that extends Africana intellectual traditions. Simply put, methodology must be understood and linked through genealogy, a genealogy that takes us to the beginning of human history. This overarching concern connects African Studies in a manner, that by its very definition, develops the ways of reproducing and improvising upon scholarship that move beyond normative representations of Africana thought, history, and culture, which was the original stated purpose of Black Studies.

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